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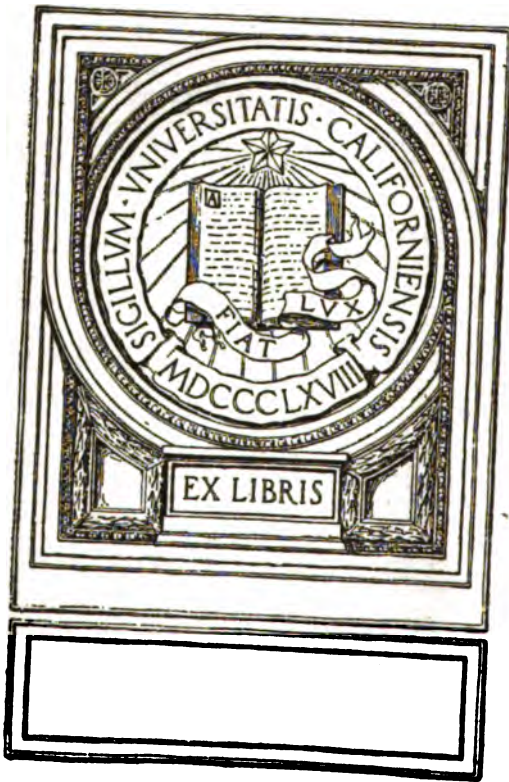
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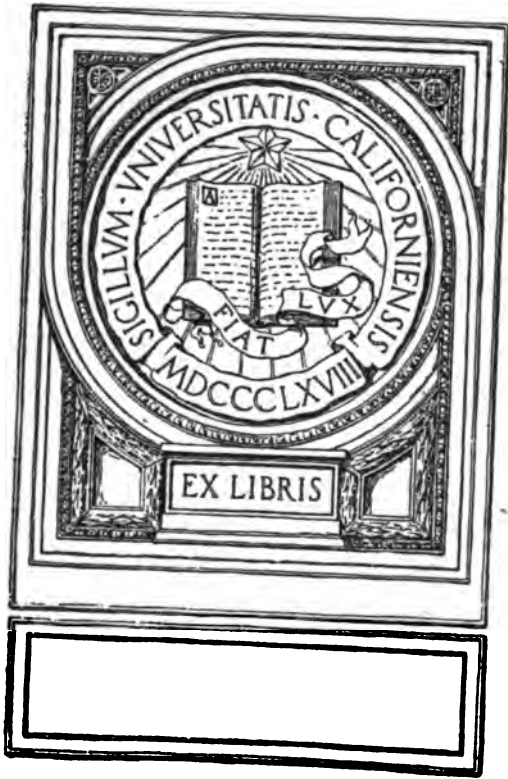
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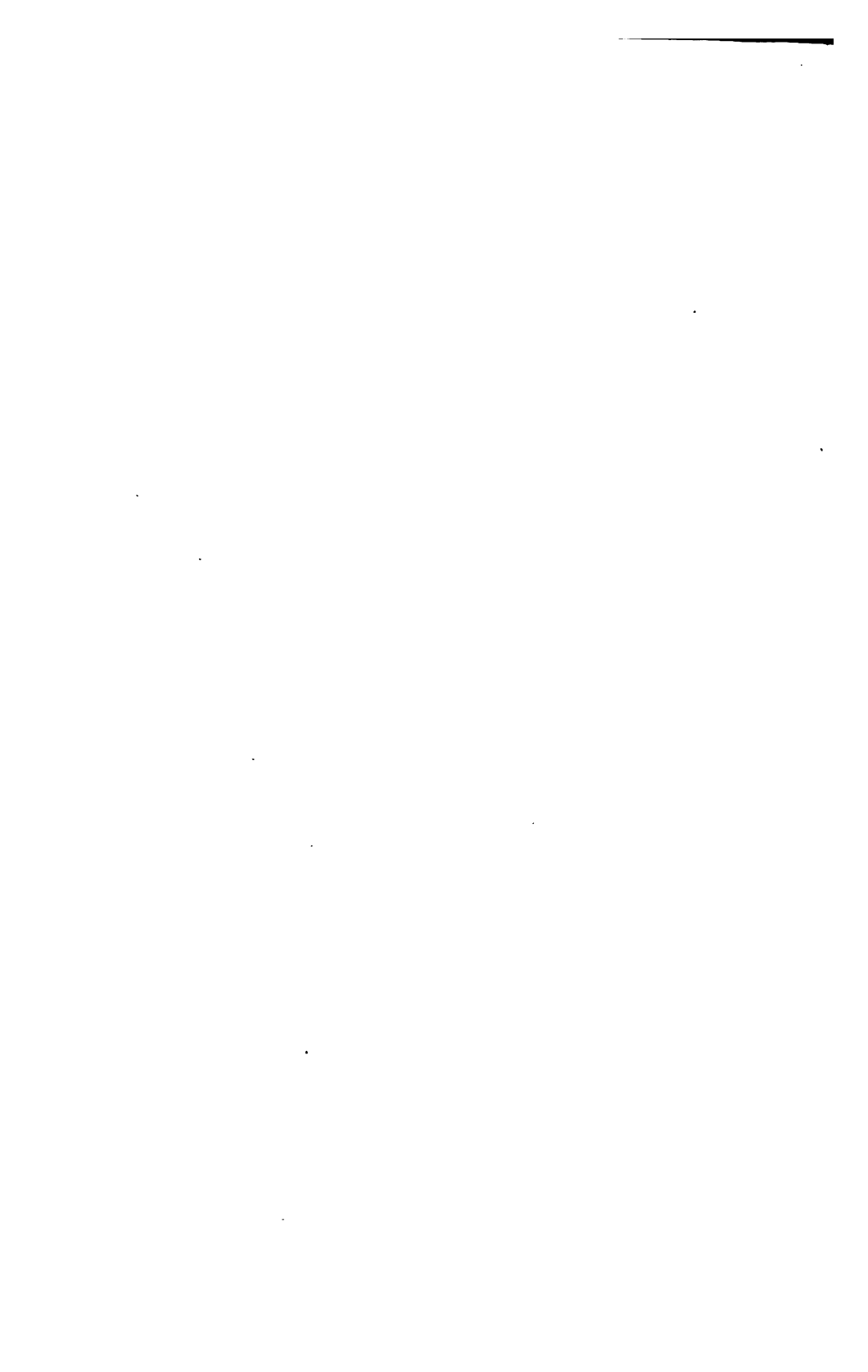


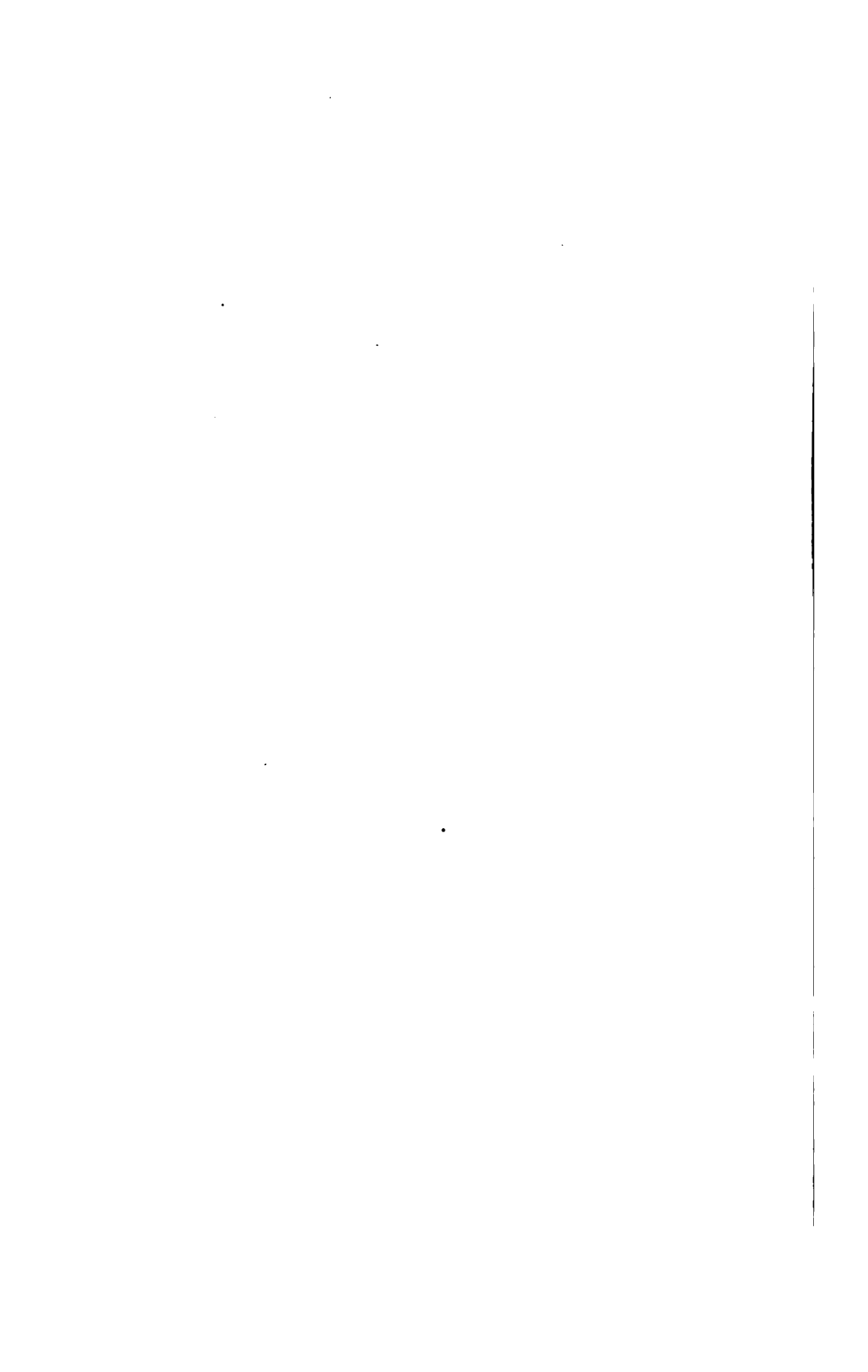
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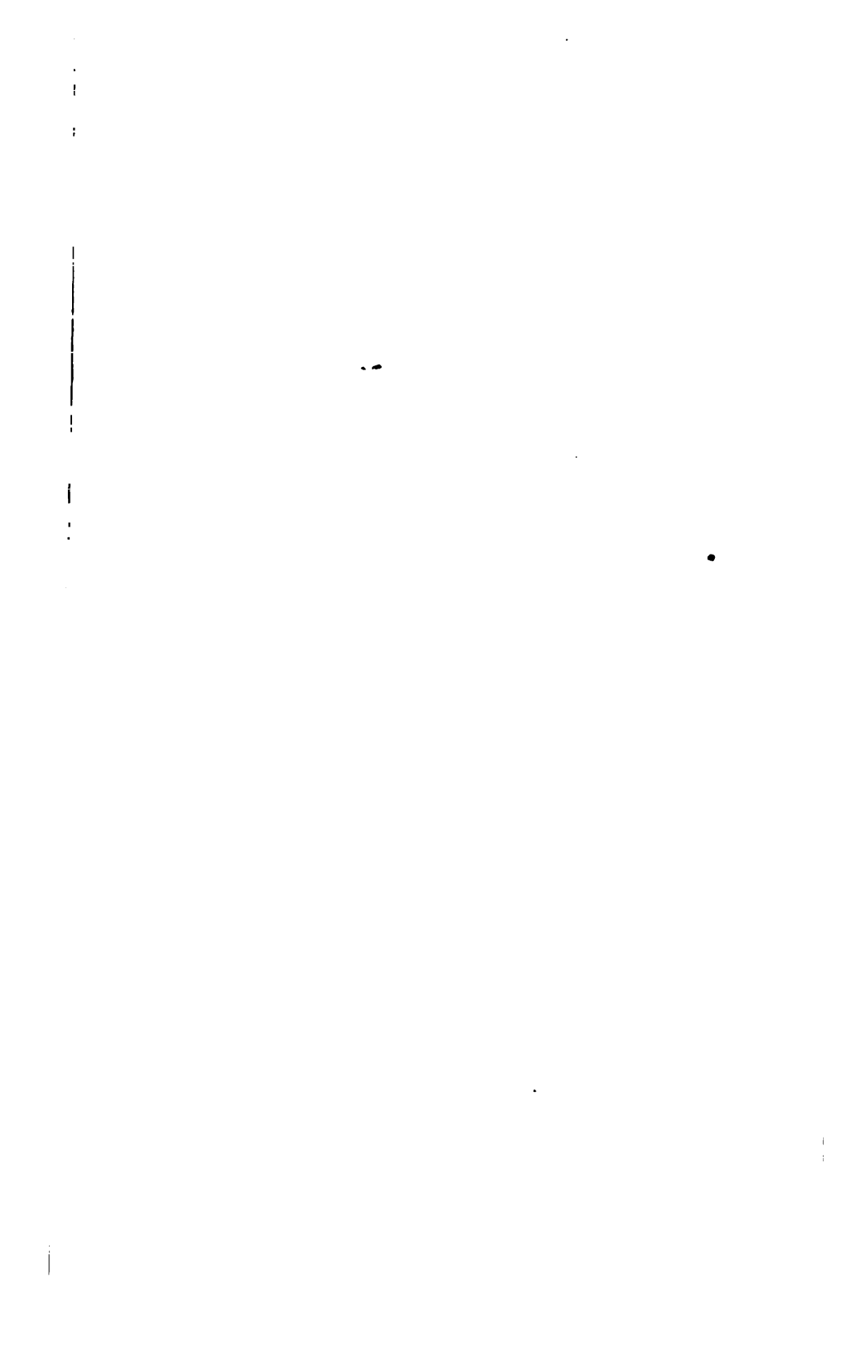




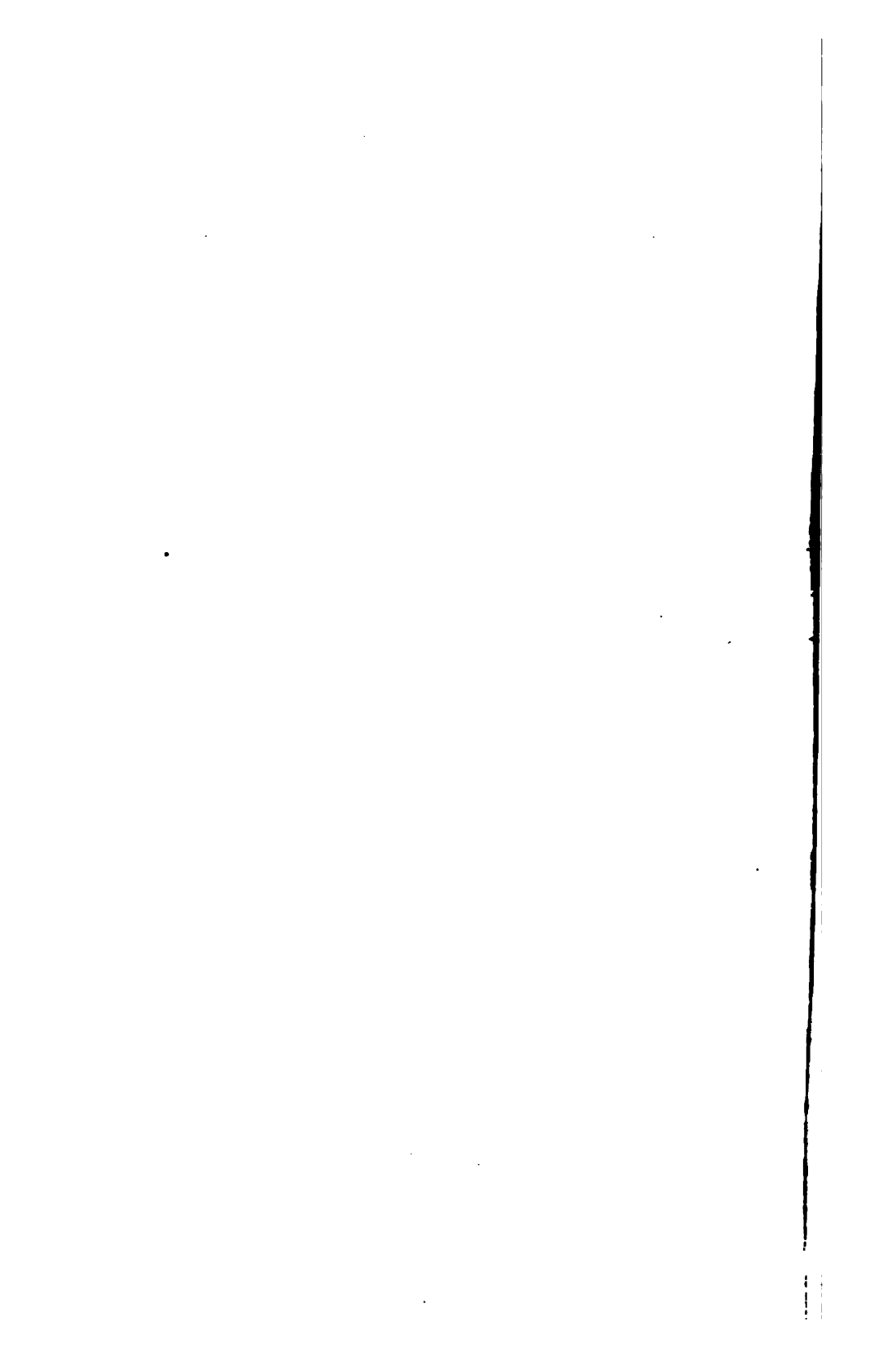












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of the Honourable

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## Ð Cymmrodor.

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VOL. X.

“CARED DOETH YR ENCILLION.”

PARTS 1 & 2.

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### COMPARATIVE NOTES TO THE MABINOZION.

BY PROFESSOR HENRY GAIDOZ.

#### I.

#### RANSOM BY WEIGHT.

---

IN the *Mabinogi* of “Branwen, the daughter of Llŷr,” when Matholwch, King of Ireland, is returning to his own land at enmity with the Britons, owing to the insult he received from Evnissyen, Bendigeid Vran says (I quote from Lady Guest’s translation, iii. 109): “Arise, Manawyddan son of Llŷr, and Heveydd Hir, and Unic Glew Ysgwyd, and go after him [Matholwch], and tell him that he shall have . . . as an atonement for the insult, . . . a staff of silver, as large and as tall as himself, and a plate of gold of the breadth of his face.”

In her note on this passage, Lady Guest says: “The compensation here offered to Matholwch is strictly in accordance, *except as regards the size of the silver rod*, with what was required by the Laws of Hywel Dda, where the fine for insult to a king is fixed at ‘a hundred cows on account of every cantrev in the kingdom, and a silver rod with three knobs at the top, that shall reach from the

ground to the king's face when he sits in his chair, and as thick as his ring-finger; and a golden bason, which shall hold fully as much as the king drinks, of the thickness of a husbandman's nail, who shall have followed husbandry for seven years, and a golden cover, as broad as the king's face, equally thick as the bason.' In another MS. the payment, instead of being only partly in gold, is said to have been entirely in that metal: thus, 'A golden rod as long as himself, of the thickness of his little finger, and a golden tablet as broad as his face, and as thick as a husbandman's nail.'"<sup>1</sup>

The lives of the British saints will furnish us with examples of this custom. Let us take the *Vita S. Brioci*, "Life of Saint Briec," to call him by his French name, who was the founder and is the patron of the Breton town, Saint-Briec, in France. This life, which is very old and is preserved in MSS. of the tenth or eleventh centuries, was published by the Rev. Father Plaine, of the Benedictine Order, in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. ii. (Brussels, 1883), p. 161—190. St. Briec was from Cardigan, *Coriticianæ regionis indigena*.<sup>2</sup>

Briec's father, Cerpus, and his mother, Eldruda, were pagans. Yet an angel appears to Eldruda in her sleep, and foretells her that she will conceive a son, who will be a great saint, Brioccius by name. And he adds:—

<sup>1</sup> See the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, edited and translated by Aneurin Owen, vol. i., London, 1841, pp. 6—7, and 778—779. "Gold," says the Venedotian Code, "is paid only to the King of Aberffraw." The Gwentian Code has *gwialen aryant*, "a silver rod," which Aneurin Owen, by a strange mistake, translates "a gold rod."

<sup>2</sup> Father Plaine has misunderstood this passage, for he says: "i.e. Comitatus de *Kerry* in Hibernia," and therefore he made an Irishman of St. Briec!

“You will therefore make three staves. Two shall be of silver, one for your husband and one for yourself; the third, for your son, shall be of gold. You will deposit them in your treasure-chamber until his birth. When the child is born, you will send him to the city of Paris, to the holy man Germanus, its bishop, that he may educate him in liberal branches of knowledge, and train him to right living by good discipline.”<sup>3</sup>

Later on the young Briauc is sent to Paris with the three staves of silver and gold to the holy Germanus, who educates him.

Another instance of the same custom is found in the life of another British saint, Samson, Bishop of Dol in Brittany. St. Samson's father was from Dyved, in South Wales (*Demetiano ex genere*). In an ancient life of the saint, edited by the same Rev. Father Plaine, Ammon and Anna despair of ever having children, but a holy man to whom they go for advice and prayers says to them:—

“I know the reason of your visit. Your wife has hitherto been barren, but I believe the divine mercy will soon light on her. Do you make a silver staff of your wife's exact height, and give it in alms for her soul and for yours: and then Almighty God will raise up seed to you according to His will and according to your desire.’ And Ammon, on hearing this answer, joyfully said, ‘I will give three staves of her own weight.’ And the teacher, seeing the man's discernment and wisdom, made them stay as guests with him.”

The result of this scheme was Samson's conception and birth.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Faciatis itaque tres virgas, duas quidem ex eis argenteas, unam pro te, alteram pro viro tuo. Tertia vero erit aurea pro filio vestro: quas usque ad ejus nativitatem in thesauro vestro reponitis (sic). Cum autem natus fuerit infans, mittetis eum in civitatem Parisiacam ad beatum virum Germanum, ejusdem civitatis episcopum, qui illum liberalibus disciplinis erudiat et bonis moribus ad bene vivendum informet.—Analecta Bollandiana, vol. ii. (Brussels, 1883), p. 164.*

<sup>4</sup> “*Causam scio adventus vestri: quia uxor tua hucusque sterilis fuit, sed credo quod divina misericordia mox adveniet illi. Tu vero fac virgam argenteam secundum uxoris tuæ longitudinis mensuram, et da pro anima illius et pro tua in eleemosynam, et deinde Deus*



In the course of the ninth century a Breton prince of Armorica, Salomon III. (who was after his death honoured as a saint) had made a vow to go to Rome as a pilgrim. The disturbed state of affairs at home did not allow him to fulfil his vow. To make his apology he wrote a letter to Pope Adrian II., which a special embassy brought to Rome with a great number of presents, and among these presents was "a statue of gold, of his own size, in breadth as well as in height."<sup>5</sup>

The sense of *ransom* is in the bottom of the pious practice alluded to, whether the staves of silver and gold be given to the poor or to holy men. But it appears more forcibly in some stories of ancient Ireland. In one of them Corc, son of Lugaid, pledges himself to give his weight of silver to Feradach,<sup>6</sup> and later on the question is of "the weight of three in silver,"<sup>7</sup> probably of Corc, his wife, and his son.

In another story Cairpre Cend-chait has ordered his newly-born son to be drowned. Yet the boy is saved, unknown to the king, and is brought up by the king's smith, Maen. One day the boy is playing before the king and the queen, who are pleased with him. The attendants,

omnipotens resuscitabit vobis semen secundum voluntatem suam, et secundum desiderium vestrum." Quo audito, Ammon hilariter respondens dixit: "Tres virgas cœquantas sibi dabo." Videns autem magister intellectum et prudentiam viri, manere eos apud se in hospitium fecit. *Vita antiqua S. Samsonis*.—*Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. vi. (Brussels, 1887), p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> Precor almpotentiam vestræ dignitatis ut hæc munuscula placido ac sereno vultu in persona supradictorum apostolorum dignetur aspicere, hoc est statuam auream nostræ magnitudinis tam in altitudine quam in latitudine, etc.—D. Morice, *Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne*, vol. i., col. 302—303.

<sup>6</sup> Fonaise a comthrom do argut for Feradach.—*Book of Leinster*, p. 287, a, 50.

<sup>7</sup> *Beir latt ere triir do arggut*.—*Ibid.* 287, b, 32.

who had saved the babe, saw their opportunity: "There would be a good boon for the man who should bring thee a son like this boy?" "There would, indeed," was the king's reply; "there should be his weight of silver for him, and a third of it in gold, but there is no use in speaking of that, it is only idle talk."<sup>8</sup> In another tale from one of the Ashburnham MSS., which we know only by a note of Prof. Rhys,<sup>9</sup> mention is made of the weight in gold and in silver of Emer and her foster-sister.

Now that we have collected the instances we know in old Celtic literature and history, we will compare those furnished by other countries, and we will begin with India, where this practice has remained in use up to the present time, under the name of *tulā-dāna*, lit. "the gift of the weight."

I am indebted to my friend M. A. Barth for the following note on the Hindoo custom:—

"*Tulādāna* (the weight-offering), *tulāpurusha* (a weight-man, or balance-man), *tulāpurushadāna* (the offering of a man by weight), or simply *tulā* (weight).

"The offering made to brāhmins or to a temple, of one's own weight in gold or other materials more or less precious. This practice is not mentioned in the *Sūtras* or the most ancient *Dharmaśāstras*, such as *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya*. By the name *tulāpurusha* or its synonym *tulāpumams* they only understand a penance which consists in living on nothing but oil-cake made of oleaginous seeds, the scum of boiled rice, whey, crushed rice and water for a period varying from ten to seventeen days, with intervals of absolute fasting.—*Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, iv., 5, 22; *Vishṅusmṛiti*, xlvii., 22; *Yājñavalkya*, iii., 323.

"The earliest description of the rite occurs in the 10th *Parisīshṭa* (or appendices, short writings without date, considered to form part) of the *Atharvaveda*. (Catalogue of Berlin MSS., No. 365.) Most of

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<sup>8</sup> *Book of Leinster*, p. 120. We quote the passage from Mr. Atkinson's analysis in the Introduction, p. 31, a.

<sup>9</sup> Rhys' *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 456, n.

the *Purāṇas* which treat of ritual contain similar descriptions, and a number of modern authors who have written of *Dāna*, or of pious offerings or good works, have devoted long chapters or even special treatises to *tulāpurusha*. For instance, Hemādri, the minister of Mahādeva, King of Devagiri (*Nizām*, latter half of the 13th century) gives a long description of it in the 5th chapter of the *Dānakhaṇḍa*, or section of offerings, of his great encyclopædia, the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, pp. 182 *et seq.* in the Bibliotheca Indica edition. The rite affords protection against diseases and ills of every kind, and if carried out with gold, is efficacious enough to expiate even the murder of a brāhmani.<sup>1</sup>

"The rite is often mentioned in literature and in inscriptions. Some examples follow, of different dates and from different provinces of India.

"Dantidurga, who reigned in the Western Deccan in the middle of the 8th century, mentions a *tulāpurusha*.—Inscript. ap. *Ind. Antiq.*, xi., p. 114.

"Candra-deva, King of Canoje, in the middle of the 11th century, is said to have celebrated the *tulāpurusha* some hundreds of times in different pilgrimages to Benares.—Inscript. ap. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, ii., p. 253; *Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, xlii., p. 325, and lvi., p. 111.

"Bukka, Harihara, and Narasiṃha, who reigned in Vijayanagava, Presidency of Madras, from the middle of the 14th to the end of the 15th century, made similar offerings.—Inscript. ap. *Journ. Asiat. Soc., Bombay Branch*, xii., pp. 374, 376, 392.

"Pratāpamalla, King of Kātmāndu, Nepaul, in the middle of the 17th century.—Inscript. ap. *Ind. Antiq.*, ix., p. 191.

"Caṇḍeśvava, minister of the King of Mithilā (Western Bengal), Harasiṃhadēva, who ordered the edition of the seven treatises entitled *Ratnākara*s about A.D. 1314, tells us himself in the opening of his *Vivādaratnākara* (Biblioth. Ind. Edit., p. 1) that he offered a *tulāpurusha* to the brāhmanas.

"The rite still flourishes, and we have several contemporary examples of it, as well in Bengal as in the extreme south of the peninsula. Carried out with substances less valuable than gold, it is within the reach of the common people. Thus at a temple dedicated to Renukā Ammā, at Candragutti in Mysore, to which pilgrimages are made from long distances, it is obligatory for the pilgrims to make an offering of their weight in coins, fruit, grain, or other objects of small value.—*Ind. Antiq.*, xi., p. 122."

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<sup>1</sup> Wife of a brāhman.

A writer in the *Panjab Notes and Queries*, vol. ii. (1885), p. 132, says also :—

“Persons can be relieved of sickness or be granted a painless death by the performance of the ceremony known as *tuldán*, or weighing patients against silver coins, and the seven sorts of corn known as the *satanájá*. Poor persons may be weighed against coppers and coarse corn. After weighing, the coins and the corn are given to *Dakauts*,<sup>2</sup> who also receive alms on Saturdays.

“Sons, with a view to prolong their lives, are weighed at six months or a year against gold or silver.”

Many travellers have given similar descriptions, and people who will atone for their particular sins are weighed against different matters corresponding to their sins. People addicted to gluttony weigh themselves against honey, or sugar, or any other luxury, and give it away to the bráhmans, &c.<sup>3</sup>

The practice which is so faithfully preserved in India to the present day was originally a war-custom. The prisoner redeemed himself with his own weight in the most precious material, gold or silver. As Grimm has pointed out,<sup>4</sup> this ransom is alluded to in Homer :—

Οὐδ' εἰ κέν σ' αὐτὸν χρυσῷ ἐρίσασθαι ἀνάγοι  
Δαρδανίδης Πρίαμος.—(*Iliad*, xxii., 351).

And Grimm has collected several passages of mediæval chronicles where prisoners or murderers are redeemed by their own weight in gold or in silver.

The following is a contemporary instance, and it reads like a story of live stock sold to a butcher at so much the

<sup>2</sup> A tribe of mendicants of bráhman descent, practising astrology, fortune-telling, and the like. See H. H. Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, s. v.

<sup>3</sup> See for instance, Pinto's *Travels* (XVIIth century), quoted in Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 505.

<sup>4</sup> Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, 2nd Edit., p. 673.

pound, but it is certainly the survival of the idea of ransom by weight.

The question is of tinker gypsies in Italy, and the incident occurred at Bergamo in January or February, 1889; we quote from the *Journal of the Gipsy Lore Society* for April, 1889 (p. 298):—

“Yesterday the preliminaries of a strange contract appear to have been completed between the gypsies and a landlord there. The latter, who bears the sobriquet of Pacio, took temporarily into his service, during the gypsies’ stay in the Campo di Marte, one of their boys, with whom he was so much pleased that he asked the gypsies whether they would agree to leave him altogether with him. To this the gypsies did not show themselves altogether averse, but on the understanding that they should be recompensed, Pacio desired to learn the amount of such recompense. Five *lire* for every kilo the boy weighs, replied the gypsies. We do not know the lad’s weight, but he is strongly built and stout, so that Pacio saw at a glance that the compensation was a little too serious.<sup>5</sup> However he ventured to offer two *lire* for every kilo, and the bargain broke off.”

Popular ballads allude, many a time, to the custom. In a Breton song a father tries to get the release of his son—

The old Le Glaouiar said  
To the Sheriff this day:  
Put my son in the scale,  
And I’ll give you his weight of goods.<sup>6</sup>

In a Sicilian song, the fair Scibilia has been carried off by sea-robbers; her husband cries in vain: “I will give you gold—as much as she can weigh.”<sup>6</sup>

Deceased bodies of men of rank were often bought back in the same way; and we see from Liebrecht that when St. Adelbert, the first Apostle of the Prussians, had been assassinated by these ferocious heathens in the

<sup>5</sup> Luzel, *Gwerziou Breiz-Izel*, vol. ii., p. 423.

<sup>6</sup> Song quoted in Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 227. Grimm, *loc. cit.*, has quoted a Spanish song to the same effect.

year 997, Duke Boleslav, of Poland, redeemed his body by the same weight of gold.

From the idea of redeeming one's self out of the hands of an enemy, when a prisoner, arises quite naturally the notion of redeeming one's self from a sickness by a ransom paid to a supernatural power whose protection is considered to be efficacious. In former times, Christians have done as Hindoos go on doing. When Chararicus, King of the Sueves, whose son was ill, heard of the wonders at the tomb of St. Martin of Tours, he had his son weighed against gold and silver, and sent the precious weight to the sanctuary of Tours.<sup>7</sup>

But such an offering was expensive, and a contrivance was found to fulfil the requirements of the ceremony at a small expense. To a certain quantity of gold or of silver, or of coins, any quantity of worthless matters, such as stones, &c., was probably added to complete the weight.

In this way the rite was performed as usual, the saint, i.e. the church, had his benefit, and the patient was considered as being redeemed. In their offerings to supernatural powers men have always had a tendency to *cheat* the divinity. When they sacrificed an ox, the Greeks gave to the gods in reality only the tip of the tongue, and the priests or the offerers enjoyed the rest; when they had no oxen, they offered pastry oxen, and the gods had to be satisfied with them.

Instances of patients weighing themselves at the tomb of a celebrated saint against only a pound of silver, or even against a gold or silver coin, are recorded in the following text relating to St. Erminold († 1121), founder of the monastery of Prufening, near Ratisbon:—

<sup>7</sup> Gregor. Turon. *De Mirac. S. Martini*, i., 11.

“The Lord has granted to his saint, as a special privilege, that sick children if weighed at his tomb, as is used to be done there, either straightway recover their health through his merits, or are released from further prolongation of sickness by the short way of death. Nay, when Conrad of pious memory, the Lord Archbishop of Mayence, had learned of this by the voice of rumour, seeing that he laboured under a chronic malady . . . and the skill of his physicians availed him nothing, he weighed himself with tears and loud outcries at the tomb of the holy man against a mark of silver, and was hearkened to for the manner of his supplication. . . . A woman named Jeruta weighed herself at the tomb of the saint against a piece of money.”<sup>8</sup>

It is well known that in Catholic countries it is customary to present the saints with votive offerings in wax, which are representative of the sicknesses for which the saints are invoked; a wax limb, or a wax eye, for instance, are representative of a sore limb or of a sore eye, the cure of which is expected from the saint. Wax bodies were offered in the same way, as we learn from a ludicrous story told by Henri Estienne, a French writer of the sixteenth century. The story is about a clever monk who made credulous parents believe he had saved their child by his prayers, and he says to the father: “Now your son is safe, thanks to God; one hour ago I should not have thought you would have kept him alive. But do you know what you are to do? You ought to have a wax effigy of his own

<sup>8</sup> Dominus sancto suo quasi privilegium speciale concessit, quod pueri ægrotantes, ad ejus, ut fieri solet, ponderati sepulchrum, vel continuo ejus meritis convalescunt aut ab ægritudinis diuturnitate mortis compendio absolvetur. Hoc etiam cum piæ memoriæ dominus Chunradus Moguntinus Archiepiscopus famæ præconio comperisset, cum diutina laboraret infirmitate . . . nec quicquam sibi conferret experientia medicorum, ad sepulchrum sancti viri cum marca argenti se ponderans cum clamore valido et lacrimis, exauditus est pro suæ forma petitionis. . . . Quædam Jeruta nomine ad sepulchrum sancti nummo se ponderavit, etc.—Canisii *Antiquæ Lectiones*, vol. ii., p. 539, quoted in Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 237.

size made for the glory of God, and put it before the image of the holy Ambrose, at whose intercession Our Lord did this favour to you." <sup>9</sup>

We fear the reader may have considered this series of examples rather long, but they were necessary to show the full meaning of the practice alluded to in the *Mabinogi* of Branwen, in the Lives of the British Saints, and in the ancient Welsh Laws. In the Laws the fact that the staff of gold or silver, although as tall as the king, is only as thick as his little finger, is an extenuation and a decay of the old custom: it is no more "the price of the weight," it is a substitute for it, and the measure is now a ready one, it is no more weighed by the scale.

On the other hand, "the plate of gold of the breadth of his face," is not to be found anywhere but in Wales. It is quite in accordance with Celtic ideas, which made the face the seat of honour, as is known by the law terms of the Irish and Welsh.

The Hindoos have been more conservative than their Celtic and European brethren, and their *tulá-dána* is the survival both of a war-custom and of a religious rite common to the Celtic (and German) ancestors of the present rulers of India.

<sup>9</sup> Henri Estienne's *Apologie pour Hérodote*, ch. xv.



## NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF BANGOR IS Y COED.<sup>1</sup>

BY ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

---

It may conduce to the better understanding of certain points dealt with in the following paper if, at the outset, it is stated that the modern parish of Bangor Is y Coed (otherwise called "Bangor Monachorum") contains five townships. Of these, Bangor is situated on the right bank of the Dee, and lies in the commote of Maelor Saesneg, or hundred of Maelor, within the county of Flint. The other five townships are Ryton, Eyton, Sesswick, and Pickhill, which are all on the left bank of the river, in the commote of Maelor Gymraeg, or hundred of Bromfield, and in the county of Denbigh. The portions of the present townships of Pickhill and Sesswick adjoining the parish of Marchwiell made up formerly a distinct township, that of Bedwell.

To the settlement of the question whether Bangor is to be identified with the *Bovium* of Antonine's *Second Iter*, I have no new contribution to make. Upon this point, therefore, I shall only say that there is no sufficient reason for supposing that the Roman station occupied the particular site, nearly opposite Bangor Rectory, which a recent writer has marked out for it. The writer just mentioned has planted the camp in a field called *Gro Iolyn* ('Iolyn's Strand' or 'Iolyn's Pebble Beach'), in the township of Sesswick, on the left bank of the Dee, a little below Bangor Bridge.

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Society, February 6th, 1889.

This field is liable to periodical floods, and is now as flat as a table. And though it is said that "all kinds of mounds and hillocks" were cleared away about thirty years ago from this very place, it is not pretended that anything was removed at all resembling the regular walls and ramparts of a Roman camp. The main reason alleged for locating the camp in this field is that along one side of it runs a narrow ditch called "The Foss," a name, it is remarked, "so decidedly Roman." But *ffôs* is the ordinary Welsh word for a 'ditch,' so that if this name is the note of a Roman camp, we must look for such a camp along every ditch in Wales. If there ever was a Roman camp in Bangor, and the river held in Roman times its present course, a much more likely place to look for it would be on the opposite bank of the river, within a tract of land which includes the site of the existing church and churchyard, and which includes also "The Stanyards," a field in which, according to Pennant, squared stones have in fact been dug up. But nothing can now be pointed out which would warrant us in saying that on this or any other site in Bangor a Roman camp actually stood. I cannot even learn that a single Roman tile—that characteristic and imperishable mark of the Roman builder—has ever been found within the parish.

Nor is it possible to agree with the conclusions attempted to be drawn from the name "Buck Morgan." This is the name given (probably incorrectly) in the tithe-apportionment survey to a field near the Villa Farm, Bangor. The first part of this name is assumed to be the form into which "Bovium" has been degraded in the course of time, while in the latter part of it we have reference, it is said, to the Pelagius of the Pelagian heresy, under his supposed Welsh name of Morgan. But it is impossible to believe that "Bovium" could, in any number of Welsh-speaking or

English-speaking mouths, ever become, "Buck;" and as to *Morgan*, *Morcant*, which is the older form of this name, does not mean 'sea-born,' and is not the counterpart of Pelagius. Moreover, Pelagius left Britain long before the founding of Bangor monastery. "Buck-kil," a name by Willington Cross, has also been brought forward as containing a reference to *Buck*, the supposed later form of Bovium. "Buck-kil" is evidently interpreted as meaning 'Cell of Bovium,' an explanation manifestly incorrect, the name probably meaning nothing more than 'Hill of the Buck,' and its proper form being Buckhill. It is, however, intimated that Bangor was in the thirteenth century still called by the Roman name Bovium, and that when in 1278 Margaret, widow of Prince Madoc Fychan ap Gruffydd, claimed *Bonwm*, among other places, as belonging to her, it was Bangor that she meant. But it is safer to believe that she meant what she said, and that it was *Bonwm*, a township in the parish of Corwen, which she claimed, and which had been part of the possessions of her husband's family. There are thus no reminiscences in local nomenclature of the Roman station, and we shall have for the present to be satisfied with the two facts that there runs through Bangor an indubitably ancient road, leading on the one hand to Deva, and on the other towards Uriconium, and that, taking the *Second Iter* for our guide as to the distances, Bangor is *approximately* the same number of miles from both these places as Bovium was.

Something must now be said as to a later phase of Bangor history. People talk of the Abbey of Bangor, but there never was, strictly speaking, any abbey in that place at all. There was a monastic settlement or monastery there, and a very important one, but the brethren lived, it is pretty certain, not in a single building or group of buildings, but apart from one another in wattled huts, or dwellings of rude

stone, which were scattered over the flat river-valley that had been chosen for their retreat. It is probable that in the whole valley there was not a single building of wrought stone, and that the very church was built of wattle and dab. The cross and the few figured stones dug up at Bangor are of mediæval date, nor has the soil there, *so far as can be ascertained*, yielded anything to the digger that could be referred to an earlier time.

I do not think it is generally recognized for how short a time the monastic settlement at Bangor lasted. It is said to have been founded by Dunawd Ffûr (now called Dinoth), son of Pabo Post Prydain, who was also its first abbot. But he had spent most of his days in fighting, and was called one of the *tri phost cād*, or 'three pillars of battle,' so that it was only towards the close of his life that the community at Bangor could have come into existence under his direction. Now, although Dunawd was dead in the year 607, he was living but a few years before, for he took part in the conference of the British ecclesiastics with St. Augustine of Canterbury, who did not come into this island until the year 597. We conclude from all this that Bangor monastery was not founded until the last half, or even perhaps the last quarter, of the sixth century.<sup>2</sup> But it was destroyed in the year 607, or at latest in the year 613. If the monastery had lasted even a couple of centuries, crosses and lettered stones would have accumulated, and the chances would have been greater of some of them being preserved for our eyes to look upon.

<sup>2</sup> We come to pretty much the same conclusion if we accept the statement that it was Cyngen Glodrydd, King of Powys, who in the first instance endowed the monastery with lands. For Cyngen appears to have reigned in the middle of the sixth century. He sheltered Pabo, Dunawd's father, and gave lands to him, when he was driven by the English from his dominions in North Britain.

But since it was of so brief continuance, its memorials were but few, and these, it is to be feared, have long ago perished.

It is quite clear that the stories as to the extent and magnificence of the monastic buildings are gross inventions. William of Malmesbury does indeed speak of "the half-destroyed walls of churches," and of "the masses of ruins" at Bangor, but he spoke from hearsay only, and later observers could not find such ruins as he described. Leland, who visited the place between 1536 and 1542, says only "that the compace of it was as of a waulled towne," and that "Foundations of Squaryd Stonys" were ploughed up within it as well as "Romayne money;" but he did not see the encompassing walls, and the squared stones may have been of any date. Mr. Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, who was born in 1592, says that there were in his time "no footsteps of the old city except the rubbish [whatever that may mean] of the two principal gates, Porth Kleis and Porth Hwgan."

The walls of Bangor were the high banks from which the river had receded, the Dee having at this point, at a remote date, gradually changed and rechanged its course, and so formed at last a long broad flat river-valley, narrowing at its two ends, hemmed in by high banks, surrounded by woods, an abode of ancient peace. Here were the monks planted. Along the top of the banks may have been set a wattled fence, giving the brethren additional security, and shutting them in the more from the outer world, but there is no reason to suppose that the banks were topped by a high wall.

The name "Bangor" is generally explained as meaning 'High Choir,' and that this *may be* the true explanation of it is not to be denied, but this very word *bangor* is used again and again in the Welsh Laws for 'wattling.' Thus, to give but one example, in the second chapter of the

thirteenth book of *Cyfreithiau Amryful* we read<sup>3</sup> that there are three things necessary for a summer-shieling (*bwd hafodwr*)—a roof-tree, forked uprights and wattling (*bangor*), and it is free to the *hafodwr* to cut these in any wild wood he pleases. A wattled fence was also called *bangor*, and then apparently the space which it enclosed. Thus the name “Bangor” may have had originally no ecclesiastical significance at all, though the fame of the monastery (whichever monastery it was) first so called subsequently gave it such a significance.

The gates into the monastic enclosure corresponded doubtless with the points at which the ancient trackways entered it. Two of these entrances were subsequently called “Porth Hwgan” and “Porth Clais.” “Porth Hwgan” is the name still given to the point at which the road from Wrexham to Bangor Bridge cuts its way through the ancient river-bank to the lower level of the river-side meadows. *Porth Hwgan* means ‘Hwgan’s Gate,’ Hwgan (or Wgan) being a personal name also perhaps met with in the older name of Bettws yn Rhôs (near Abergele), which was called “Bettws Wyrion Wgan” (*Bettws of the grandsons of Wgan*) to distinguish it from another Bettws called “Bettws Wyrion Iddon” (*Bettws of the grandsons of Iddon*). The compiler of the six-inch ordnance map has altered “Porth Hwgan” to “Porth y gân” or ‘Gate of the Song,’ and we think at once of the *dyfal gyfangan* or ‘unceasing choral song’ of the three Bangors mentioned in one of the Triads. But the alteration has been made without any authority. I have met with the name again and again in deeds and transcripts of various date, reaching to something like three centuries back, and have never found it otherwise spelled than “Porthhwgan,” “Porthwgan,” or

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (8vo edition) II., 562-3 (No. 237).

“Porthugan,” and it is by one or other of these names that it is still known to the people of the neighbourhood.

As to the second gate mentioned, “Porth Clais,” “Porth Cleis,” or “Porth Clays” (for in these several forms is its name spelled), Robert Vaughan and Leland agree that the river ran between the two gates. Leland says that “Porth Clays” was to the south, “Porth Hwgan” being to the north, and Vaughan says that it looked towards England, while Porth Hwgan looked towards Wales. It is clear then that it was in the southern part of the township of Bangor. Now the southern part of that township, like the adjoining portion of the parish of Overton, is still known as “Cloy” or “Clay,”<sup>4</sup> so that it looks as though “Porth Clays,” meaning ‘The Clays Gate,’ were the proper form of the name, and that the gate was situate somewhere in the district over which the various farms called “Cloy” or “Clay” are scattered. There does not appear to be any authority for “Porth Clas” as the true form of the name, nor can it be admitted that “Porth Clas” is equivalent to “Porta Ecclesiastica.” “Clâs,” in its ecclesiastical sense, meant at first *the religious community belonging to a mother-church or church-collegiate*, as is abundantly clear from a study of the several passages in the Welsh laws in which this word occurs.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Egerton Phillimore suggests the

<sup>4</sup> Now more commonly called “Cloy,” but always, or nearly always, called “Clay” in the older parish-registers of Bangor.

<sup>5</sup> See for example, Cod. Ven., Lib. I., Cap. XLIII., 20. *Ib.*, Lib. II., Cap. II., 2. *Ib.*, Lib. II., Cap. X., 6. Such being the meaning of *clas*, the head of the community might be called *Penclas*, and that the provost of the college of priests at Caergybi was actually called by this name, we know. *Clasdir* was not, I imagine, at first glebe-land in general, but only the land belonging to churches served by such religious communities as I have above hinted at, and as I have described very fully in the essay on “The Portionary Churches of Mediæval North Wales,” suffixed to my *History of the Parish Church of Wrexham*.

orm "Porth Clais" where "Clais" would perhaps mean 'trench' or 'rivulet.'

With the exception, however, of *Cae Ffynnon Daniel*,<sup>6</sup> which, strange to say, no one has hitherto brought forward, we are able to find in the place-nomenclature of the parish no indubitable reminiscence of the monastery which, while it existed, made Bangor Monachorum so famous. There are, indeed, or were recently there many place-names that possess an ecclesiastical or religious significance,<sup>7</sup> but these probably belong to what I call "the *second* Welsh period in Bangor." It is generally forgotten that from about the year 800, for at least two centuries, the two Maelors<sup>8</sup> and much of the adjoining country were thoroughly settled by Englishmen.

<sup>6</sup> *Cae Ffynnon Daniel*—'Field of Daniel's Well'—is mentioned in Norden's Survey (A.D. 1620) as the name of a field in the manor of Pickhill and Sesswick. The Daniel commemorated in the name is almost certainly Daniel or Deinoel, son of Dunawd, the Abbot.

<sup>7</sup> It may be of interest to put these on record :—

*Croes Wladys*—'The Cross of Gwladys,' was the name of a cross that stood somewhere along the boundary of the Manor of Pickhill and Sesswick.

*Croesau Gwynion*—'White Crosses'—was the name of a spot in Bedwell which I have again and again found mentioned in early documents, though I have never yet been able precisely to localize it.

There are still two fields called *Maes y Groes*—'Field of the Cross,'—one in the township of Sesswick and the other in that of Bangor, and in the last-named township is another field called *Cae Croesau*—'Field of the Crosses.'

"The Saint's Well Meadow" is the name of a field in the township of Ryton, on the right-hand side of the road leading from Bangor Bridge to Ruabon, immediately opposite Ryton Hall; and on the hither side of it is another field, called *Y Berth Lwyd*—'The Hoar (or Holy) Bush.'

*Cae Coed y Person*—'Field of the Parson's Wood'—and *Tir y Deon*—'The Dean's Land,' were names formerly occurring in the Manor of Pickhill and Sesswick.

<sup>8</sup> The parish of Bangor, it will be remembered, lies partly or Maelor Saesneg and partly in Maelor Gymraeg.



This fact fully explains the extirpation at Bangor of nearly all the place-names given in the time of the monks, as well as the complete absence there at the present time of any real tradition of the monastery.

Four names taken from the tithe apportionment schedule of the parish (in the form given to them by a surveyor who did not understand Welsh) have been adduced as possibly containing reminiscences of Bangor Monastery. Let us examine, one by one, these four names: "Bryn Hylan," "Lletion," "Bryn Rogog," and "Erw Glossya." BRYN HYLAN is said to mean "Bank of the Holy Place," a meaning, I respectfully submit, exceedingly unlikely, if not wholly impossible: we have here, it appears to me, merely a corruption of "Bryn Heilyn," *Heilyn's Hill*, Heilyn being a personal name quite common in mediæval Wales, as common as Robert or George is now. LLETION is said to mean *lodgings*, and as a reference is made to Heb. xiii. 2, it is apparently suggested that we have here perhaps a memorial of the guest-house of the monastery, but *lletion* is not the plural of *lletty*, and I have no doubt that the field by Porth Hwgan, so named, is the same as that which the Bangor people, before they ceased to speak Welsh, called "Lletty Owen," that is 'Owen's Lodging,' or even 'Owen's Tavern.' BRYN ROGOG has been supposed to stand for "Bryn yr ogof," which is incorrectly translated "Hill of the Cell:" "Bryn Rogog is evidently the same field the name of which is given in Norden's *Survey of Pickhill and Sesswick* as "Bryn Caregog" or "Stony Hill." As to ERW GLOSSYA in Pickhill, it is certain that this is a corrupt form of the true name: that it stands for "Erw y Clwys," *Acre of the Cloister*, is a mere guess. Norden, in 1620, gives the name of every field in Pickhill and Sesswick, and no such name appears in his list. Is not "Erw Glossya" much more

likely to be a corruption of "Erwau Gleision"—*Green Acres?*

Something must also be said as to "Bryn Bleddyn," *Bleddyn's Hill*, the name of a field in the township of Bangor. It has been stated that "Bleddyn" is the Welsh form of 'Lupus,' and that in "Bryn Bleddyn" we have commemorated the St. Lupus of Troyes who came over with St. Germanus from Gaul. But "Bleddyn" and "Lupus" do not in fact answer one to another,<sup>9</sup> and if they did, "Bleddyn" was aforesaid so common a name in Wales that the probabilities are immensely against the Bleddyn of "Bryn Bleddyn" being the Lupus of the hagiologies. It is clear to me that all these names are of comparatively late date.

Neither Lupus, Germanus, nor Pelagius could ever have been connected with Bangor. Nor is there any evidence for connecting Gildas or Nennius with it. I doubt, moreover, whether St. Cybi was ever a member of this monastery. The more, in fact, one looks into the evidence upon which the connection with our monastery of certain well-known saints rests, the more unsatisfactory does that evidence become. We meet with anachronisms, discrepancies, if not actual forgeries. And it would not be safe specifically to name any saint as belonging to the monastery of Bangor Is y Coed except Dunawd himself, and perhaps his son Deinioel.

The Venerable Bede was born in the same century in which Bangor was destroyed, and had access to various authentic sources of information. We have no reason therefore to doubt the accuracy of his statements as to the

<sup>9</sup> "Bleiddian" is generally, though, as Mr. Phillimore assures me, incorrectly, understood to have been the Welsh name of Lupus; but "Blaidd" is, of course, the word that, strictly speaking, answers to "Lupus."

number of the monks there, or as to their arrangements in classes. Bede's description implies that no fewer than 2100 monks (seven divisions of 300 each) were necessary to make up the full rota of the establishment. And when we consider the fertility of the valley, stretching, let us say, from Overton Bridge to the mouth of the Clywedog, and take into account the way in which the monks were housed, the fewness of their wants, and the fact that they all laboured with their hands, there seems no reason to doubt the possibility of more than 2000 brethren being maintained there.

I have felt it incumbent on me to dissipate some of the myths that have gathered about the monastery of Bangor, but I am far from wishing to disguise such importance as it really had.

We have now to speak of the event, or events, which led to the obliteration of nearly all the older place-names of the district. In the year 607, Æthelfrith, king of Northumberland, having defeated the Welsh in the Battle of Chester, and massacred a company of monks<sup>1</sup> who were praying for the success of their countrymen, captured the city, and afterwards went on to Bangor and laid waste the monastic settlement there. The Welsh accounts add that when he had finished this bad business, Æthelfrith was attacked at Bangor by a new Welsh army and badly beaten there. This second battle,<sup>2</sup> which was called

<sup>1</sup> The monks slain numbered 1200 according to Bede and the Welsh accounts, but only 200 according to the Saxon Chronicle. They were in charge of a certain Brochfael, who fled. According to the Welsh and Irish accounts, the Battle of Chester was fought in 613.

<sup>2</sup> Selyf Sarpth Gadau (*Selyf, the Serpent of Battles*), the son of Cynan Garwyn, is said to have been present at the battle of Chester, and to have been slain there. Assuming this statement to be accurate, there is a remark made in one of the Triads which ought to be noted. Selyf is called one of the three "aerfeddigion" of the Isle of Britain, this being explained to mean one of

"Gwaith Perllan Bangor," *The Action of Bangor Orchard*, is not mentioned in the English accounts, but it probably took place all the same. It is certain, at any rate, that Æthelfrith did not add to his kingdom the country which his victory at Chester laid open to him. And when the inevitable wave of Saxon colonization began to flow, which did not stay until it reached the line along which Offa's Dyke was subsequently raised, Mercia rather than Northumbria was the centre from which it was propagated. It was, in fact, the "Wreocen-sætas," as the settlers round the Wrekin were then called, who may be surmised to have seized and colonized the country of the Lower Dee, so that it is possible there is some truth in Mr. Grant Allen's suggestion that there is in the name of Wrexham some reference to that famous hill.

The parish of Bangor was Anglicized so completely that every township in it except the township of Bangor itself acquired an English name.<sup>3</sup> In other parts of North Wales also, the country east of the Dyke which had hitherto been Welsh, and which afterwards became Welsh again, was now set out into townships bearing for the most part English names, most of which names lived through the

the three, who, from their graves, revenged the wrong done to them. If Selyf fell at the Battle of Chester, he may be surmised to have got his revenge at the Battle of Bangor. As to the latter, another of the Triads mentions the following as the three sustainers (*porthorion*) of "The Action of Bangor Orchard":—Gwgawn Gleddyfrudd ('Gwgon, the red-sworded'), Madawg ap Rhun, and Gwiawn ap Cyndrwyn. The names of three others are mentioned as being at the same time engaged on the part of Æthelfrith, but they are so puzzling that I feel it impossible satisfactorily to deal with them.

<sup>3</sup> "Sesswick," indeed, is said to carry in its second syllable the memory of a Roman "vicus," but "wick" is one of the commonest terminations of Teutonic place-names, and "Sesswick" has on the whole a thoroughly English sound.

subsequent Welsh reconquest of the country, and still remain. The persistence of these names shows that the English occupation of the district was fairly complete and long continued.

As a result of the Danish invasion, the English power became much weakened, and the Welsh began to swarm across Offa's Dyke, driving the English inhabitants before them, or settling among them, and assimilating them. This process went on until the Welsh had occupied not merely the whole of the modern county of Denbigh, but had overflowed into the western portions of the modern counties of Chester and Salop. Edward the Confessor granted a portion of Maelor Gymraeg, including the greater part of the parish of Bangor, to Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, which we may be sure he could not have done if the district had not become already Welsh, and if he had not experienced some difficulty in retaining it. When, however, the English king felt himself firmly seated on the throne, and Gruffydd had proved troublesome, he took the district in question away from the latter, and gave it to the Bishop of Lichfield, who, we are told, had before enjoyed the same. It was in 1043, probably, that the Bishop first acquired this tract of land, for in that year Leofric, Earl of Mercia, granted Eyton, one of the townships of Bangor parish, to the minster of St. Chad, Lichfield. Why did the earl do this? Perhaps he thought that the possessions of the Church would be respected, and that he would be able to retain more easily the territory which lay behind the barrier formed by them. This policy of planting the Church as a buffer in the Welsh March seems to have been adopted at that time rather largely. In Sutton, a district on the west bank of the Dee, and a little north of Eyton, the chapter of St. Chad had also a hide of land. In the time of Edward the Confessor, the same chapter had another

hide of land, half in "Chespric," which I take to be Sesswick, between Sutton and Eyton, and half in "Radenoure," which I take to be Bangor,<sup>4</sup> the whole of which land by 1087 St. Chad had lost. In "Odeslei," which is probably Hoesley, in the parish of Gresford, another hide of land belonged to the church of St. Werburgh, Chester. A strip of territory in Maelor Gymraeg, containing the forenamed and other lands, was all that at the time of Domesday pertained to the Earl of Chester, all the rest of Maelor Gymraeg being abandoned to the Welsh, and, shortly after, the whole of both Maelors, as well as a great deal of territory to the north of Maelor Gymraeg, passed into the possession of Welsh lords.<sup>5</sup>

It is possible to give the name of the Welsh lord who about this time seized the greater part of the parish of Bangor. This was no other than Elidyr ap Rhÿs Sais. His father, Rhÿs Sais, a descendant of Lluddoccaf, one of the sons of Tudor Trefor, was already in possession of most of the country about Chirk and Whittington, and before the coming of the Normans had got possession of Erbistock also.<sup>6</sup> We may form some idea of the position and

<sup>4</sup> "Radenoure" cannot have been Radnor, for it is described in connection with the manor of Gresford, which appears to have at that time extended a long way up the Dee. St. Chad's possessions in Bettisfield were probably acquired at an earlier period and under different circumstances.

<sup>5</sup> It is very probable that it was at this time that the district of Maelor was distinguished into English and Welsh. That portion of it which had acquired the name of "Bromfield," having become absolutely Welsh, was now provided with all the social and political arrangements of a Welsh commote, and became *Maelor Gymraeg*. But in the rest of the district, which now came to be called *Maelor Saesneg*, many of the English inhabitants remained, and though this portion of Maelor was officially recognized as a commote, the internal arrangements of a Welsh commote were never, I believe, fully carried out in it.

<sup>6</sup> Rhÿs seems to have held Erbistock, and perhaps other of his

extent of the territory seized by Elidyr by noting the possessions of three of his sons. His son Meilir had a great part of Eyton, and was the ancestor of the Eytons of Lower Eyton, as well as of the Eytons of Wattstay, Belan, and Pentre Madoc. His son Madoc had a large part of Sutton, and was ancestor of the Suttons of Sutton and Gwersyllt. His son Matthew had lands in Ryton, and also, it is said, in Sesswick, Pickhill, and Bedwell, and was the ancestor of the Deccafs of Ryton and Parcau, and of other local families. It was the lands of St. Chad that Elidyr appears for the most part to have seized. But Elidyr was not the only spoiler. Cynwrig ap Rhiwallon, a descendant of Dingad, another son of Tudor Trefor, held about the time of the Norman Conquest a large portion of the western part of Maelor Gymraeg, and it was probably his son Niniaw or his grandson Ieuf ap Niniaw who seized other portions of Eyton and Ryton. This at any rate is certain, that from Iorwerth ap Ieuf ap Niniaw descended the Wynnes of Ryton, and from Einion ap Ieuf, his brother, descended the Eytons of Upper Eyton, and the Sontleys of Sontley. Into whose hands the township of Bangor fell, I do not know.

Pickhill, Sesswick, and Bedwell became now bond townships, and were apparently attached to the raglotry of Marford, while Eyton and Ryton became free townships, and were attached to the raglotry of Wrexham.

I have now introduced my readers to what I call "the *second* Welsh period in Bangor." And here an interesting question presents itself. The parish church is dedicated to

English possessions also, of the Earl of Mercia. The appellation, *Sais* ('Englishman'), attached to a Welshman's name, as in the case of Rhys Sais, is always explained as indicating a Welshman who could speak English, but it appears rather to have designated a Welshman who owed allegiance for all or part of his lands to an English lord.

St. Dinoth, that is, to Dunawd the Abbot. Worthenbury church also, formerly a chapel to Bangor, is dedicated to St. Deiniol, son of Dunawd. The church of the neighbouring parish of Marchwiell is moreover said to have been formerly under the invocation of this same St. Deiniol. The question now arises, Do these dedications belong to the first or to the second Welsh period? It is impossible to answer this question with confidence. For, in the first place, the Englishmen who first really settled in the Bangor district were perhaps already Christianized, and may therefore not merely have left untouched the churches they found existing, but even have allowed the ancient dedications of those churches to remain. But, on the other hand, it should be said that churches were not always founded by the saints whose name they bear, though it seems to be generally supposed that, as far as Celtic dedications are concerned, this was in fact always the case; and it is quite possible that the churches of St. Dunawd and St. Deiniol were founded in the second Welsh period *in memory* of the saints who were known to have been connected with the locality. One would like to believe that these dedications, at any rate, have come down to us from the time of the monks, but the breach of continuity represented by the first English period prevents absolute certainty as to this point.

In the beginning of the second Welsh period we see already developing those germs out of which the later history of the parish was to spring. But what seems needful to be said as to this later history, it is better to reserve for a subsequent paper. I present, in the form of a distinct paper supplementary to the present one, a formal proof of a statement, incidentally made in the latter, as to the colonization during the troublous times following the Danish and Norman invasions of the western parts of the



counties of Chester and Salop. The descendants of those Welshmen who at this time settled in the counties just named were compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Norman Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury (or of their dependent Barons), and ultimately became completely Anglicized, but how long it was before this Anglicizing of them was effected, few people, I believe, have any idea.

In conclusion, I wish to express my obligation to Mr. Egerton Phillimore for many valuable suggestions made by him during my revision of the foregoing paper.

## WELSH SETTLEMENTS, EAST OF OFFA'S DYKE, DURING THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.<sup>1</sup>

BY ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

IN the foregoing paper the forward movement of the Northern Welsh in the eleventh century has been incidentally mentioned. That forward movement, and the Welsh settlements in Cheshire and Shropshire which were the result of it, form the subject of the paper that follows.

### *Part I.—The Welsh Settlers in Cheshire.*

Let us deal, first of all, with Cheshire. And here it will suffice to show that the hundred of Broxton in that county, which is the hundred adjoining the two Maelors, was, in its western and southern parts, for at least three centuries after the Norman Conquest, predominantly, I do not say exclusively, Welsh.

Perhaps it will be well to begin by asking how certain ancient and important families connected with the hundred of Broxton were represented during the epoch now under consideration—the three centuries or three centuries and a half following the Norman Conquest.

And here, at the very threshold of our inquiry, we come upon the fact that the chief family of the hundred, the holders of the barony of Malpas itself, themselves probably of Norman origin, became during the period under review, for two or three generations, partially Cymricized. Here

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Society, February 6th, 1889.

are the facts. Towards the end of the twelfth century a moiety of the barony was in the hands of David de Malpas, otherwise called "David the Clerk." There is much obscurity (which I do not profess to clear up) as to his marriage. Perhaps he married three times. Three ladies, at any rate, are mentioned in different pedigrees as wives to him—Constans, daughter of the Lord Owen Cyfeiliog; Catherine, daughter of Owain Fychan, of Maelor; and Margaret, daughter of Ralph ap Einion, an Anglo-Welshman.<sup>2</sup> It is said that this Ralph ap Einion had been in possession of the other moiety of the barony, and that, by marrying Ralph's daughter, David de Malpas became entitled to the whole barony. These statements can hardly be correct, as the other moiety of the barony belonged at that time to the Patric family, but it is probably true that Ralph ap Einion had considerable possessions in the barony, which his daughter carried to David de Malpas. This David was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir William de Malpas, Knight, who married Margaret, daughter of Cadwgan of Lynton, an Anglo-Welshman. Sir William had no legitimate issue, but his illegitimate son, "David the Bastard," or "David the Clerk" (the *second* so-called), managed to intrude himself into the half-barony. This second David the Clerk is said to have married Constans, daughter of Owen Cyfeiliog, but I think it probable, taking points of date into consideration, that if Constans married David the Clerk at all, it was the first of that name whose wife she was. That David the Bastard married Angharad, daughter of Madoc ap Maredydd, of Mechain, we know, and

<sup>2</sup> This Ralph ap Einion is more fully described as Ralph ap Einion ap Gruffydd, which last is said to have been the son of Owen ap Iago ap Idwal, Lord of Bromfield. I know no such Lord of Bromfield, but it is impossible not to wonder whether he was not a son of Iago ap Idwal ap Meurig, Prince of Gwynedd, who was slain in 1037.

that she had a daughter and heir who married, for her first husband, William Patric, the holder of the other moiety of the barony, and for her second husband a certain Roderic ap Griffin (Gruffydd) ap Llewelyn, an Anglo-Welshman who will be mentioned again. The true heir of Sir William de Malpas was his brother Philip. Now this brother was commonly called "Philip Gôch" (*Philip the Red*), an appellation which has no meaning except in Welsh. He married Catherine, otherwise Angharad, daughter of Jorveth (Iorwerth) of Hulton, another Anglo-Welshman, and had two sons, David, from whom descend the Egertons of Oulton, and Hwfa. I had almost forgotten to say that, according to the Welsh accounts, Beatrix, a daughter of the first David de Malpas, married Roderig ap Gruffydd, a younger brother of Madoc ap Gruffydd Maelor, the founder of Valle Crucis Abbey. But I think that this Roderig has been confused with the Roderig ap Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, who married the daughter of the *second* David de Malpas. I make no pretence of reconciling the various discrepancies, or correcting the several anachronisms which the pedigree of the earlier mediæval lords of Malpas presents. But I lay stress on a fact which stands out clearly, the fact, namely, that the members of the family represented by those lords, during the period now under consideration, intermarried with Welsh or Anglo-Welsh people, that they bore, as often as not, Welsh names, and that one of them—Philip Gôch—received an appellation which could only have been given by Welsh-speaking people.

Now let us look into the case of the well-known Cheshire family of the Dods of Edge and Broxton. The pedigree of the Dods begins with Cadwgan Dod, of Edge, whose son was Hwfa Dod, the son and successor of whom was Cenric Dod, who had two sons—Cadwgan, the ancestor of the Dods of Edge, and Stephen, the ancestor of the Dods of Broxton. Thus,

if we grant that the Dods were a family of English origin, we see, from the fact of their adopting Welsh personal names, that they lived in a district in which such names were in common use.

The Stocktons of Stockton appear to have become for a time wholly Cymricized. William de Stockton, in the early part of the reign of Edward I., had by his wife Leuca (that is Lleucu), daughter of Ithel the Clerk, two sons—David de Stockton and Eynon (Einion) de Stockton. From David de Stockton, whose wife's name was Wenthlian (Gwenllian), the main stock proceeds. Einion, the second son of William de Stockton, was the father of Madoc de Stockton, Ithel de Stockton and Iorwerth de Stockton. The last-named appears to have been the father of Madoc ap Iorwerth of Coddington, whose son, Iorwerth ap Madoc of Coddington, was living in 1341.

The Hortons of Horton were probably originally wholly Welsh. Their pedigree starts with a certain Elia de Horton, who lived about the time of Edward the First. This Elia had two sons—Owen de Horton and Huva (that is, Hwfa), and a daughter Nest, who married Hwva ap Griffin (Hwfa ap Gruffydd). Owen de Horton, whose wife's name was Tangwystl, had three sons, William de Horton (mentioned in 1312), Wronow (that is Goronwy or Grono) de Horton, and Eynon Gogh (Einion Gôch). William de Horton had two sons, Philip and Owen. Grono de Horton had a son who was the father of David and Ithel.

And here I ought to say that the territorial names given in contemporary deeds to these freeholders of the hundred concealed in many cases their real nationality. Thus he whose name appears in the pedigree as David de Horton would doubtless have been known to his fellows as David ap Madoc.

Let us now look at the subject discussed in this paper

from another standpoint. In the recent edition (by Mr. Thomas Helsby) of Ormerod's *Cheshire*, there are appended, in the case of many townships, valuable foot-notes containing abstracts of ancient deeds and summaries of other original documents relating to those townships. I will now, taking four or five representative townships, summarize these summaries, and see how far they confirm the conclusions already expressed.

Let us begin with the two townships called respectively *Church Shocklach* and *Church Oviat*. The following names occur in the Plea and Recognizance Rolls: "John, son of Llewelin, son of David of Schocklache," in the year 1340, and "Ior (-werth) and Griffith, sons of David de Shocklach," in 1331 and 1356. Note also the following summaries: In 1312 Rotheric, son of Griffin (Roderig, son of Gruffydd)<sup>3</sup> and Catherine his wife, held lands in Church Shocklach, between whom and Tegengle (elsewhere called Tangwystl) de Horton, an action at law took place. In 1354, Margaret, who was the wife of David, son of Iorwerth son of Gruffydd, sued John fitz Richard fitz Robert for dower of a messuage and four acres of lands in Horton next Shocklach, and sued also Richard fitz Robert for the same, who vouched to warranty Griffith, son and heir of David, son of Griffith. In 1310 Alice, who was the wife of David Bolgragh (*Bolgrach* = "Scabby-belly") sued Thomas the son of William of Broxton for dower of two messuages and ten acres of land in Shocklach Ovyat. In 1394 Ievan ap David ap Ithel, of Shocklach, is mentioned as the lessor of the lands in Shocklach of David de Shocklach. Again, so late as 1428, "Gwervil," the daughter of David, the son

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Helsby thinks that this Roderig ap Gruffydd was the same who had previously been the husband of Beatrice, the daughter of David the Bastard, and who by his second wife became the ancestor of the Schocklaches, of Shocklach.

of Iorwerth, of Shocklach, occurs. There is no mistaking the significance of names like these; they are the names of Welsh-speaking people (the nickname "Bolgrach," given to David, the husband of Alice, assures us of that), and they are the names, not of *villani*, but of freeholders and lords of manors.

But it will be said: Shocklach is so close to the admittedly Welsh district of Maelor, that all this is not so very surprising. Well, let us go further inland, and nearer Chester. Let us go to Coddington. But it is the same at Coddington. In 1288 we find "Yarward or Jorward (Iorwerth), the son of Madoc, the son of Eynon [Einion] of Cudynton," granting lands at Coddington, and fifty-four years later (in 1342) Iorwerth, the son of Madoc ap Iorwerth of Coddington, granting other lands there to William de Stockton and Robert his son, and in 1347 Iorwerth ap Madoc ap Einion of Coddington is also mentioned as a grantor of lands "in Pursalgh." The next year William de Stockton assigns to "John Caderig his brother" lands in Coddington, "lately held by" David ap Edenewey [Ednyfed], Kenard ap Cado-gan, and Wladus [Gwladys] his widow. Finally, in 1362, it was attested on the oaths of twelve jurors that Gwenllian, daughter and one of the heirs of "Wylym ap Jon," of Coddington, was born there, and baptized in Malpas Church on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin in the 20th year of Edward III.

Let us now go further eastward—to Tushingham. In 1305 Leuca (Llencu) daughter of Ithel the Clerk, granted lands in Tushingham to David de Stockton, her son. In the time of Edward III. "Kenwric [Cynwric] son of David," and "Kenwric, son of Hova," of Tushingham, are mentioned as having lands in the township, and in 1347 Roger, son of Ithel, son of Matthew of Tushingham, as granting other lands there. Finally, in the time of Richard II., the name

of John, son of Roger, son of Hova of Tushingham, occurs as granting lands in Masefen.

Names such as the above could be repeated until my readers would be weary, and I must ask them to accept my statement that in the case of almost every other township in the western, southern, and midmost parts of the hundred, Welsh freeholders, or the descendants of Welsh freeholders, were, during the period now under review, quite common. In some townships the inhabitants appear to have been wholly Welsh. Yet the townships in which they lived bore English names. The inference is that, as in the case of the two Maelors, a district formerly English had been settled by Welshmen. When did this settlement take place? All the manors in which the aforesaid townships lay are said to have belonged, in the time of Edward the Confessor, to English lords, but that these were for the most part titular lords merely is plain from the further statement that their manors were in general "waste." This shows that the hundred had been harried, but gives no hint of any Welsh occupation of it. Nor was there, it would appear, any such occupation of it at the time when the Great Survey was taken, for there are no references to Welsh freeholders in the *Cheshire Domesday Book*, such as occur, for example, in the *Shropshire Domesday Book*. It looks, therefore, as if the Welsh migration into the hundred of Broxton<sup>4</sup> took place after the year 1086. If it was an armed and forcible migration, it probably happened at the time when the two Maelors passed wholly into the possession of the Prince of Powys; but it may have been a

<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere in Cheshire, outside the hundred of Broxton, Anglo-Welsh proprietors of large estate might be found. Thus, in the year 1354, Urian de St. Pierre had seisin of a tenth part of the lordships of Ridley, Spurstow, and Halton, in the hundred of Edisbury, which were "held of Houa, son of Eygnon [Hwfa, son of Einion] in socage."



peaceable one, taking place under the direct encouragement of the Norman lords, who wished to see their lands, then waste, duly settled. In any case, the migration is an example of the eastward movement of the Welsh in the eleventh century. So far as I know, attention has never hitherto been called to the fact of this migration, nor to the fact that the hundred of Broxton contained a Welsh-speaking population for more than three centuries after the Norman Conquest.

*Part II.—The Welsh Settlers in Shropshire.*

As to Shropshire, I shall only deal with that portion of it—its north-west corner—which is best known to me. This district, which includes the hundreds of Pimhill and Oswestry, is very much larger than that bit of Cheshire of which in Part I. we have been speaking, and the descendants of the Welsh who settled in it continued, in the western part of the district, to speak Welsh down to our own time. Much of what I wish to urge on this subject is already very well known to those who live on the spot, or who have given attention to its history. Still, as historians in general seem either not to have recognized the phenomenon, or to have missed its true significance, and as many important points in connection with it have never been noticed at all, I have thought it best to set forth, formally but briefly, the evidence for the statements made in my former paper as to the Cymricizing of this corner of Shropshire. These statements are three:—1st, That this district was once predominantly, and, except perhaps in a small portion of it immediately east of Offa's Dyke, almost exclusively English, or at least Anglicized; 2ndly, That the greater part of it was subsequently seized by the Welsh, and settled by them, and that the western part became almost

exclusively Welsh; and 3rdly, That the people of this district, becoming soon after English, so far as their allegiance was concerned, continued nevertheless to speak Welsh for a very long time, and in the western portions of it to do so down to our own time. It is impossible, in a paper like this, fully to support or duly to qualify these statements, and all therefore that remains is to do the best I can under the circumstances.

Let us first take the old hundred of Baschurch, which roughly corresponds with the later hundred of Pimhill, and begin with the lordship of Ellesmere within that hundred. In 1177 Henry II. granted this lordship to Dafydd ap Owain Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, who had married Emma, the king's sister, and in Dafydd's possession it remained until his death in 1204. After that event, King John took the lordship into his own hands, giving Owain ap Dafydd, the prince's son, lands elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> But six months afterwards the king re-granted the manor to the ruling Prince of North Wales, Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, who married Joan, the king's daughter, in whose tenure it remained for three or four years. Now we may be sure that two kings of England would not have given up to two successive Welsh princes such a district as the lordship of Ellesmere, if that district did not already contain a very large number of Welsh-speaking people. But we are not left to conjecture in this matter. In an "extent" of 1276, Madoc fitz Ralph and Ednyfed of Stocks are mentioned among the names of the free tenants, and we are also told that Meuric held one-third and Llewelyn Fychan two-thirds of the township of Greenhill; that Llewelyn Fychan and his brethren held the township of Estwick; and that Gwrgeneu fitz Madoc, Madoc fitz

<sup>5</sup> The lands were in Warwickshire, and it is from this Owain ap Dafydd that Hales Owen derives part of its name.

Iorwerth, Gwyn Fychan, and Llewelyn fitz Rouhard [Rhirið?], and other Welshmen held four virgates of land in the township of Marton. In 1341 the greater part of the lordship of Ellesmere was exempted from the payment of ninths as being "*in Wales*," nor was it re-attached to Shropshire until the reign of Henry VIII.

In other parts of the hundred we meet with a state of things similar to that we have found in the lordship of Ellesmere. Thus we learn from Domesday Survey that in "Nessham" (= Great Ness) were six Welshmen who rendered twenty shillings, and at a later date we find various Welsh families planted in the more western townships of the hundred, and other evidences of a Welsh population. Now were these people the descendants of the Welsh whom the English found occupying the district when they first came into it? or were they later intruders into a district already Anglicized? I believe they were late intruders. All the evidence that supports this conclusion cannot be presented until we come to deal with the case of the hundred of Oswestry; but here is one point: If so many descendants of the original Welsh population of the hundred of Baschurch remained un-absorbed and un-Anglicized until late in the Middle Ages, would not some at least of the townships in which they lived have retained their ancient Welsh names? But at the time of Domesday, with one doubtful exception, all these names were thoroughly English.

We now come to speak of the hundred of Oswestry, or rather of that portion of it which lies east of Offa's Dyke, a district which is almost identical with the Domesday hundred of Merset. Except eight or nine townships near the dyke,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Llanforda, Tref ar Glawdd, Treflach, Trefonen, Lllynclys, Bron y Garth, Treprenal, Llwyn Tidman, and Llan y Myneich.

and four<sup>7</sup> in the middle portion of the district, all the townships which make up the latter bear English names. Even in the western portion of the district the townships that have English names far outnumber those that have Welsh. And these names do not merely go back as far as the Middle Ages, and up to and beyond the time of the Domesday Survey, but township names of this class appear to have been more numerous in the eleventh and twelfth centuries than they are now. We read of Newton, Caldicote, Hauston, Tibeton, Norslepe, and Ulpheresford—names which have either been displaced by Welsh names or which stand for townships that have since been added to and absorbed by other townships. Such thoroughly English names as Meresbury and Meresbrook have also since been partially Welshified into Maesbury and Maesbrook, and Porkington has been turned into Brogyntyn. It is quite plain that the hundred of Merset was, in the early part of the eleventh century, mainly, if not wholly, English. In the time of King Æthelred the Unready, it yielded a substantial revenue to the king's exchequer, and Domesday Book gives us the names of the several lords of manors there in the time of Edward the Confessor, and these names are all English. Yet it is evident these lords had become, in the Confessor's time, titular lords merely, for it is recorded of nearly all of them that their manors were then "waste," that is to say, yielded them no revenue. From this it would appear that it was in Edward the Confessor's reign that the successive Welsh settlements took place within the hundred, which in a few years converted it into a district almost wholly Welsh. It is very possible, in fact, that the hundred of Merset was at this time actually re-organized, and made into a Welsh commote. The Rev. R. W. Eyton, it is true, ridicules the statement made in

<sup>7</sup> Argoed, Tir y Coed, Knockyn, and Henlle.

the most trustworthy texts that Croes Oswallt<sup>8</sup> was one of the three commotes composing a Welsh cantref; but the only defect in Mr. Eyton's otherwise admirable work is the lack of appreciation which it shows of the Welsh evidence. Now in the case of every Welsh commote the occupiers of land were liable to certain peculiar customs and services due to the lord of the commote. And the revenues of the lords marcher of Oswestry include items which represent many of these peculiar customs and services.<sup>9</sup> This seems to point

<sup>8</sup> *Croes Oswallt*, or 'Oswald's Cross,' is the Welsh form of the name "Oswald's tree," now Oswestry.

<sup>9</sup> Thus in the accounts of 1276 (given in full by Mr. Eyton), we find mentioned items called "Umbarge," elsewhere called "Trethmorkey"; "Kilh," elsewhere called "Treth canidion"; and "Mut"; and at another date we find one of the townships of the hundred (Aston) described as liable to a custom called "Keys." These words are much mangled by the transcriber, but not so far mangled as to be wholly unrecognizable. "Umbarge" stands evidently for *amobr*, a fee payable by all the men of the commote to the lord on the marriage of their daughters, and that this is the true interpretation is plain from the alternative name given to the custom—"trethmorkey," which is manifestly a transcriber's mistake for *treth merched*—"the daughters' tax." "Kilh" stands for *cylch*, and "treth canidion" for *trêth cynyddion*. The *taeogion*, or bond-tenants of a commote, were liable for the entertainment of the lord's dogs and huntsmen, who were entitled to make a *cylch* or circuit among them, the tax payable in discharge of his obligation being called *treth cynyddion*—"the huntsmen's tax." An officer of the lord of the commote called "Cais" (whose English title was "sergeant of the peace"), was also entitled to make a *cylch* among the bond-tenants, and it was the commutation for this custom which in the Oswestry accounts is called "keys," that is *trêth cais*. Finally, the payment called "mut" is evidently the same tax which in the adjoining commotes of the lordship of Chirk was called "treth muyt." I discussed this name in my *History of Ancient Tenures of Land in the Marches of North Wales* (p. 50, note 2), but could not explain it. It is described in the Oswestry accounts for 1276 as "a certain custom called *Mut*, paid by the men of Shotover in time of war for keeping their cattle at Oswestry in peace." Can any of my readers suggest the true form of the name? I fancy it should be *trêth*

to the conclusion that a part at least—what was called “The Walcheria”—of Oswestry had actually been, though but for a short time, a Welsh commote, and it conclusively proves that the occupiers of land within that district had become subject to the incidents of Welsh tenure.

The question, “Who were the Welsh chieftains who laid violent hands upon the hundred of Merset?” can only be answered in part. One of them, it is pretty certain, was the Rhÿs Sais who has already been named. He appears to have seized a great part of Dudleston, and it was this portion of his possessions which fell, after his death in 1073, to his son Iddon, whose name is, *perhaps*, preserved to us in Crogen Iddon in Glyn Ceiriog. From Trahaiarn, the son of this Iddon, at any rate, nearly all the notable families of Dudleston are derived. Cadifor ap Trahaiarn was the ancestor of the Edwardses of Cil Hendref. Heilin ap Trahaiarn, commemorated in “Pentre Heilin,” was the ancestor of the Holbeaches, and of the Kynastons of Pant y Bursley; and Hwfa ap Trahaiarn was the ancestor of the Vaughans of Plas Thomas. Then, in the female line, Morgan ap Iddon was the ancestor of the Wynnes of Pentre Morgan, and the Fytons of Pentre Madoc were, in like manner, descended from Tudor, another son of Rhys Sais. Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, afterwards the reigning Prince of Powys, may also be surmised to have had a considerable share in driving the English out of the hundred, and appropriating the land, for it is pretty certain that his son, Madoc ap Bleddyn, was the Madoc who at the time of the Domesday was in actual possession of the manor of Burton (= Porkington), in which manor he was ultimately succeeded by his great-nephew Owain, whom the English called “Owen de Porkington,”

*mwd*, *mwd* or *bwd* being an enclosure within the precincts of the lord's castle, to which the cattle would be driven from the common pastures and woods when they were in danger there.

and who has since been known to the Welsh as "Owain Brogyntyn." Finally, Gwrgeneu ap Ednowein ap Ithel, who was living about the time of Edward the Confessor, is said to have been lord of Ruyton of the Eleven Towns, and, if so, was probably another leader in the forward movement of the Welsh which resulted in the temporary loss to the English of this part of Shropshire.

We shall probably not be far wrong in assigning the year 1055 as the date of the capture and settlement of the hundred of Merset by the Welsh; for it was in that year that Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, King of Wales, in conjunction with Ælfgar, the outlawed Earl of the East Angles, made his memorable harrying of Herefordshire and of the country which lay in his line of march.

Not only did Welshmen at this time occupy the hundred of Merset, but it became subject to Welsh law. That this was so has already in part been proved. Here is further proof. One of the townships, still recognized as such in 1302, became known as "Gwely Cadwgan," or "Cadwgan's Bed," the whole township being a *gwely* or tract of land belonging to a free family, the descendants of a certain Cadwgan, among whom it was parcelled according to the law of gavelkind. A *gwely*, called "Gwely Moselgoch," formed also a distinct portion of Weston Rhun, while another township was called "Rhandir Kneyris," or "Shareland of Geneurys," a name in which we have reference to the same method of partition by equal sharing.

No sooner, however, was Earl Roger of Shrewsbury firmly seated in his earldom than he hastened to establish his authority over the old hundred of Merset, so that at the time of Domesday every manor in the hundred, except Porkington, was held by Normans, the Welsh proprietors becoming free tenants, but preserving probably most of their privileges under the name of "customs of the manor."

These are the Welshmen who are evidently indicated in such Domesday entries as these :—" There six Welshmen render twenty shillings ;" or, " there two Welshmen have one carucate, and render thirty-two pence ;" or, " there one Welshman renders one hawk." <sup>1</sup>

The subjection of the people of the district to the allegiance, direct or indirect, of the English king did not for centuries make any serious inroad on their Welsh speech or characteristics. The lordships of Oswestry and Whittington were taken to be not in England, but in the Marches of Wales, and were not re-annexed to Shropshire until the time of Henry VIII. Every parish in the hundred of Oswestry, except that of West Felton, belonged not to the English see of Lichfield or Chester, but to the Welsh see of St. Asaph. The Anglicizing of the western part of the district did not really begin until about the time of Elizabeth, nor is the process, so long delayed, completed even now.

The general remarks that have been made as to the hundred of Oswestry apply also to that portion of the parish of Chirk, in Denbighshire, which lies east of Offa's Dyke. There was a " first English period " in Chirk also, but the

<sup>1</sup> It is quite likely, as Mr. Eyton has admitted, that, during the troublous times of King Stephen, the hundred of Oswestry may have fallen for a few years into the hands of Madoc ap Meredydd, Prince of Powys. This would explain the statement, made in the Welsh accounts, that this Madoc built Oswestry Castle, a statement which must then be taken as meaning that he *re*-built or repaired the castle. It would also explain the statement that Einion Efell, one of Prince Madoc's illegitimate sons, lived at Llwyn y Maen, near Oswestry, which was perhaps granted him by his father, and which he was afterwards allowed to retain. The immediate descendants of Einion Efell did actually live at Llwyn y Maen, and from him the Lloyds of Llwyn y Maen and Llanforda descended. It is very likely that it was from Einion's son, Rhûn, that Weston Rhun and Ifton Rhun got the distinctive part of their names.

That Whittington Castle was two or three times after the Norman Conquest in the hands of the Princes of North Wales we know.



district was so early and so thoroughly Cymricized, and remained Welsh for so long a time, that we ought not to wonder if no township-names dating from that first English period should have come down to us. Yet there are two or three such names that have in fact come down. "Chirk" itself is obviously an English corruption of the name of the river Ceiriog; it is true, Chirk had an alternative Welsh name, "Y Waun," but the name "Chirk" was also used at a very early date, certainly before the beginning of the fourteenth century. "Halghton," or "Halton," is another of these township-names; and "Manatton," or "Maenattyn," the disused name of one of the old townships of Chirk parish, is also partly English.<sup>2</sup> It was probably Rhÿs Sais, already named, or one of his immediate progenitors, who captured from the English that portion of Chirk parish which lies east of Offa's Dyke, for from Tudor ap Rhÿs Sais descend nearly all the ancient Welsh families of the district—the Lloyds of Bryn Cunnallt, the Edwardses of Plas Newydd, and the Lloyds of Plas y Clawdd. This portion of Chirk is not mentioned in Domesday Survey, unless it be included in that "March of Welshland" (*Finis terre Wallensis*) for which Tudor [ap Rhÿs Sais] is therein described as paying 4*l.* 5*s.* a year to Roger the Earl.

I have not dealt in the foregoing notes with the large tract of *Flintshire* lying east of Offa's Dyke, not having had time adequately to study the history of that district, but I believe the same general remarks which have been made as to the portions of *Denbighshire* and *Shropshire* some miles

<sup>2</sup> We may suppose that the original form of the name was *Acton* = 'Oak-town,' and that the syllable "man" or "maen" was added to distinguish it from other Actons. Boreatton and Shottatton, in *Shropshire*, are known to have been at first called simply "Acton," and to have assumed the form "Atton" under the influence of the distinguishing first syllable, subsequently added. "Sulatyn" is, in like manner, probably *Plough Acton*, and "Prestatyn" *Priest Acton*.

east of the Dyke will apply also to that portion of Flintshire which is similarly situated.

In reviewing the foregoing paper, we see that the large tract of country therein dealt with was (during, let us say, the ninth and tenth centuries) Anglicized quite up to Offa's Dyke; that subsequently (in the eleventh century) the Welsh swarmed across the Dyke in such numbers that the population, for something like fifteen miles east of it, became wholly or partially Cymricized; and that by the gradual Anglicizing of these intruders, a process which it has taken eight hundred years to effect, Offa's Dyke has now again become, roughly speaking, the border-line between those who speak English and those who speak Welsh.

## SOME MINOR WELSH POETS OF THE GEORGIAN ERA (1714—1830).<sup>1</sup>

BY RICHARD WILLIAMS, F.R. HIST. SOC., OF CELYNOG, NEWTOWN.

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THE Georgian era is often spoken of as tame, commonplace, and artificial; but the era which produced Johnson, Gray, Goldsmith, Cowper, Campbell, Byron, and Scott in the department of English literature, and Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Wilson in the domain of art, cannot justly be condemned as barren or unprofitable. The same may be said, and perhaps still more emphatically, of Wales. Never did the Principality produce greater poets than the matchless Goronwy Owain, and the scarcely inferior Dewi Wyn, who was in truth a Georgian poet, although he lived some years under our own Queen. Nor were these illustrious sons of the *Awen* alone, but around them shone a goodly number of others of enduring fame, who may be termed the *Major* Poets of the era we are dealing with, such as William Wynn, Ieuan Brydydd Hir, Llewelyn Ddû o Fôn, Dafydd Ddû o Eryri, Dafydd Ionawr, and Gwallter Mechain.

This era, extending as it did over 116 years, may be very properly divided into three distinct periods,—in the first of which the central and representative figure was Goronwy Owain, in the second *Twm o'r Nant*, and in the third Dafydd Ionawr.

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Society, January 23rd, 1889.

When George I. ascended the throne, Wales could boast of no poet of eminence, except perhaps Owen Gruffydd, who was tottering to his grave. Hugh Morris, one of our best song-writers, had died a few years before, nor had he left a successor. Servile imitators there were in plenty, who frittered away their talents in composing inane carols or sensual and obscene love-songs. The Eisteddfod had degenerated into a pot-house assembly of drunken bards and minstrels,

“Deunaw clér yn d'wyno clod  
Dan henwau dynion hynod.”

It was truly a dreary time. But better days were at hand. The dawn appeared in Anglesey—*Môn Mam Cymru*—where that brilliant luminary Goronwy Owain soon arose to dazzle the eyes of all beholders. In an obscure corner of that island, too, were born three remarkable brothers—Richard, Lewis, and William Morris—who by their patriotic efforts contributed in no small degree to bring about a revival of Welsh poetry and literature. Lewis Morris (*Llewelyn Ddŷ o Fôn*), whose name is more familiar to us than those of most of his contemporaries, was a man of brilliant gifts, a good scholar and antiquary, and an accomplished wit. He was also himself a poet of considerable merit, as his “*Caniad y Gŵg i Feirionydd*” sufficiently proves. But with regret we are compelled to own that much of his poetry reflects, alas, too faithfully, the lax morality of those degenerate and evil days. He and his brothers were placed in circumstances which enabled them to befriend and assist many of their less fortunate countrymen. Among their contemporaries, besides Goronwy Owain, the most celebrated were William Wynn, Hugh Hughes (*Y Bardd Cŵch*), Ieuan Brydydd Hir, Edward Richard, and Robin Ddŷ yr Ail o Fôn. The Morrisises took an active part in the establishment of

the Cymmrodorion Society in 1751, which was the means of rescuing from destruction many valuable Welsh MSS., and did much to foster Welsh patriotism and the Welsh language. Twenty years later the Gwyneddigion Society was also established by Mr. Owen Jones (*Owain Myfyfyr*), the munificent publisher of the *Archæology of Wales*, its more immediate object being the encouragement of Welsh poetry and music by the revival of Eisteddfodau and otherwise.

But we now come to the second period referred to. Twm o'r Nant appeared on the scene, and introduced his celebrated Interludes, and for many years their popularity well-nigh drove the *Awdl* and *Cywydd* from the field. He was a decidedly clever poet, but his Muse was a low-bred, brazen-faced, and impudent hussy, who for a time jostled off the stage her more gentle and modest sisters. That his keen satire did some good in his day cannot be doubted, for he was a real terror to corrupt magistrates, drunken clergymen, and rapacious land agents, whose misdeeds he lashed without mercy. But his coarseness and vulgarity vitiated and demoralized the public taste. Even Twm o'r Nant himself, however, was outdone in ribaldry and obscenity by Rice Jones of Blaenau. For thirty years after Goronwy and his generation had passed away, these two, with Hugh Jones of Llangwm, Siôn Glan y Gors, Ellis y Cowper, and others of the same stamp, held almost undisputed sway. The result was that Welsh poetry sank again into a truly deplorable condition, and the very name of "poet" became a byword and a reproach. But the Methodists, who were now becoming a power in the land, and other religious people, rose up in arms and waged fierce warfare against the Interludes and *Cerddi*. The priests and prophets of impurity were overwhelmed, and driven to hide their heads in the rocks and caves of the mountains.

Dafydd Ionawr and Dafydd Ddû o Eryri were the first

to herald the better days of the third period we have referred to, and to raise the *Awen* to higher ground and a purer atmosphere. Dafydd Ionawr was a man whose austere Puritanism sometimes carried him to the other extreme, as shown by the well-known rebuff he gave to Siôn Glan y Gors. The close of the long and severe struggle with Napoleon enabled our countrymen to breathe more freely, and this relief sought and found expression in poetry and song. The Eisteddfod renewed its strength like the eagle, and several new Magazines, such as *Seren Gomer*, *Goleuad Cymru*, and *Y Gwylidydd* were started.\* In 1820 the Cymmrodorion Society was re-established. Similar societies were also founded in all parts of Wales, and there appeared quite a galaxy of eminent poets, of whom I need only name Dewi Wyn, Gutyn Peris, Robert ab Gwilym Ddû, Gwallter Mechain, Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, Alun, Tegid, Daniel Ddû, Cawrdaf, Eben Fardd, Caledfryn, and Hiraethog—some of whom lived down to our own times.

It is not always easy to draw the line so as to distinguish with any degree of precision between the *Major* and *Minor* poets of any era; so objection may perhaps be made to one or two whom we shall bring under notice this evening being classed as "*Minor Poets*." We apply that term, however, with reference rather to the number than to the quality of their productions, and not by way of making

\* *Seren Gomer* was at first started by the Rev. Joseph Harries as a newspaper on the 1st of January, 1814, but discontinued on the 16th of August, 1815. It was again re-commenced as a monthly magazine on the 1st of January, 1818. The first number of *Goleuad Cymru* was published on the 1st of November, 1818, under the editorship of Mr. John Parry, of Chester. It was given up in December, 1830, in favour of *Y Drysorfa*, the organ of the Calvinistic Methodists. *Y Gwylidydd* first came out in 1822. Its publication ceased about the year 1838.

distinctions which might otherwise be considered invidious and unjust.

One of the earliest in point of date, as well as one of the worthiest of mention, is

EDWARD RICHARD (born 1714, died 1777), the founder of Ystrad Meurig School, and the father of Welsh pastoral poetry. He was born and spent nearly the whole of his life in the little rustic hamlet of Ystrad Meurig, among the Cardiganshire hills, and there also he died. When he was about twenty years of age he opened a school in his native village, but, feeling himself less qualified than he considered he ought to be, he with characteristic honesty suddenly dismissed all his scholars, and for two years applied himself with indefatigable industry to the acquisition of a more perfect knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics. Every morning, summer and winter, he was to be found at four o'clock in the parish church, where he pursued these studies, having generally for his companion the Rev. Evan Evans, who afterwards became celebrated as a poet under the name of Ieuan Brydydd Hir. After this Spartan training, he reopened his school, and it soon attained a high repute. Pupils from all parts of the Principality flocked to it; among others, the eminent poet Dafydd Ionawr, who wrote an admirable elegy on his old master's death. With a strong constitution, a dignified presence, and a well-trained intellect, Richard was a model school-master; and having led the life of a bachelor in the most retired and simple style, he saved sufficient money to buy several farms in the neighbourhood, which he settled upon trust as a permanent endowment for the Grammar School which he had founded. The death of his mother, with whom he had been living, occasioned the composition of his first pastoral—which is also the first pastoral, if I am not mistaken, in the Welsh language. It is in the form of a dia-

logue between two shepherds (Gruffydd and Meurig), the one lamenting the death of a mother, the other trying to comfort him by suggesting various topics of consolation. The metre is that of *Y Tri Tharawiad*, or the tune known as *Gadael y Tir* ('Leave the Land'), an old favourite with the song-writers of the last century, and in the hands of a master a very effective one. This exquisite little poem, which for the tenderness and purity of its sentiments and the melodiousness of its style is scarcely excelled in the Welsh language, first appeared in 1766 through the humble medium of an almanack. As specimens of its style, I will quote the following, being the bard's complaint :—

"Fy nydd sydd yn nyddu yn fanwl i fynu,  
A'r nos sydd yn nesu i roi'n isel fy mhen,  
Ac un nid oes geny' er wylo ar oer wely,  
Pan bo im' glafychu glyw f' ochain."

And again his wish to a friend :—

"Pob math ar fendithion fy nghâr am gynghorion,  
Fo'n lloni dy galon mewn dynion a da;  
Diwael fo dy wely mewn lafant a lili,  
A'r mêl fo 'n diferu 'n dy fara."

The alliterative symmetry of these lines, and of the poet's works generally, is so perfect, that it is impossible to take a word out without destroying the beauty of the whole. Some years later Richard produced another and a longer pastoral<sup>3</sup> in the same form and on the same metre, wherein two shepherds (Hywel and Iwan) complain of the evils of the time, and comfort and advise one another. The scene is laid at a shepherd's cot in the hills near the pool which forms the source of the river Teifi, the shepherds being surrounded by their flocks, grazing and playing about them. His other compositions are *Cân y Bont* ('The Song of the

<sup>3</sup> *Bugeilgerdd yr Ail yn yr Iaith Gymraeg*. Gan Edward Richard. Mwythig (Orm), 1776.



Bridge') and a reply to it, both in the same metre; and a short hymn.<sup>4</sup> Richard's favourite place for study, we are told, was the hill-side near his native village, and the time the early morning, and all his pastorals breathe the fresh mountain air. Like his contemporary Gray, he seems to have been fastidious almost to a fault. The result is that all he wrote, or at any rate that has been left to us, scarcely exceeds 500 lines. Many attempts have been made to translate into English Richard's charming pastorals, but they have proved utter failures.

SIÓN POWEL (born 1731, died 1767), of Rhyd yr Eirin, Llanfair Talhaiarn, Denbighshire, was a weaver by trade, and is said to have been somewhat lazy and thriftless,<sup>5</sup> but he was an excellent poet. Some of his compositions have been published in *Y Greal* and *Y Brython*, but many are said to be still in MS. only, and never published.<sup>6</sup> The "Piser Hir" MS.,<sup>7</sup> sold by Talhaiarn to the late Rev. Robert Jones, of Rotherhithe, and now in the Public Library at Swansea, contains eight of his Cywyddau. There are some fine passages in his "Cywydd i'r Haul." (*Y Brython*, iv., p. 455), such as this:—

" Fo gaid ein henafaid ni  
Ydoedd ddwl yn d'addoli;

---

<sup>4</sup> These were first published in a collected form by J. Evans, at Carmarthen, in 1803, under the title of *Yr Eos*, including also the translation of *Gray's Elegy* by Davies of Castell Hywel (who probably edited it), but without his name. A second edition, with an English life of the author, was published by E. Williams, London, 1811. The late Mr. Spurrell, of Carmarthen, also published a neat edition of Richard's works in 1856.

<sup>5</sup> See *Talhaiarn's Works*, vol. i., p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> I have three which I believe have not been published.

<sup>7</sup> This MS. is in the handwriting of the Rev. D. Ellis, of Cricieth. Talhaiarn bought it for 3*l.* of Mrs. Parry, of Chester, and sold it for the same amount to the Rev. Robert Jones. See *Y Brython*, 1861, p. 278.

Os yw frwd dy eirias fry,  
 Fy hunan ni wnaf hyny,  
 Addolaf yn ddi alaeth  
 Y Nêr bendigaid a'th wnaeth."

Here again is a spirited and masterly *Hir a Thoddaid* of his  
 "To the Cock :"—

"Clywais aderyn culaus da ortog  
 O dan hoyw ddwyres o adenydd eurog,  
 Yn canu lleisiau ceinwiw lluosog,  
 Mwyn ar foreugwaith mewn âr farugog ;  
 A chân bereiddiach na chôg—yw dy dôn,  
 Iechyd i'th galon wych odiaeth geiliog."

Well might Talhaiarn exclaim—"Dyna i chwi geiliog !"<sup>8</sup>  
 Beautiful too is his "Englyn i'r Sêr," which I have in the  
 handwriting of the Rev. John Blackwell (*Alun*) :—

"Dysglau arian dysglaerwych,—neu flodau  
 Fal adar yn 'r entrych,  
 Tarianau aur tirionwych,  
 Meillion nef, mae 'u lliw yn wych !"

Talhaiarn has given an inferior version of this in his  
*Works*, vol. i., p. 21.

Siôn Powel was a friend and frequent companion of  
 Ieuan Brydydd Hir, who at that time was Curate of Llan-  
 fair Talhaiarn.<sup>9</sup> When he died in 1767, at the early age of  
 thirty-six, the Prydydd Hir wrote a very mournful elegy  
 upon him,<sup>10</sup> and Goronwy Owain even went so far as to say  
 that Wales had in him lost her best poet. Siôn Powel was  
 certainly a very gifted son of the *Awen* ; but it would have  
 been more strictly correct, perhaps, to say that he might  
 have attained such a position but for his natural indolence.

<sup>8</sup> *Talhaiarn's Works*, vol. i., p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Two other poets and friends of Siôn Powel also lived at Llanfair  
 at that time, namely, Robert Thomas, the parish clerk, and Dafydd  
 Siôn Prys. (*Y Brython*, 1861, p. 278.)

<sup>10</sup> *Y Brython*, 1862, p. 47. Canon Williams has not included Siôn  
 Powel in his work on *Eminent Welshmen*.

ROBERT HUGHES, of Caint Bach (*Robin Ddu yr Ail o Fôn*—born 1744, died 1785), was one of the best poets of his day, and, unlike many of his contemporaries, one who never wrote an impure line, or suggested an impure thought. When but a mere child he showed marvellous skill as a versifier; and he was only seventeen when he wrote his masterly “*Cywydd Molawd Môn*” (“*Cywydd* in Praise of Anglesey”). The following extract will give an idea of the chaste and simple beauty of this poem:—

“Cadeirfeirdd caed o Arfon,  
Ond mwy a gafwyd ym Môn;  
Mawrwych a mwyn yw Meirion,  
Hawddgarach, mwynach yw Môn;  
Rhai a drig yn Ngher'digion,  
Gwell i mi gael lle ym Môn;  
Er tecced maes y Saeson,  
Dwys iawn fodd dewiswn Fôn.”<sup>1</sup>

Two years later he wrote his “*Cywydd Myfyrdod y Bardd am ei Gariad pan oedd hi yn mordwyo o Fôn i Fanaw*” (“The Bard’s Meditation when his lady-love was on her voyage from Anglesey to the Isle of Man”).<sup>2</sup> Of this little poem Dafydd Ddŷ o Eryri, a most competent judge, said that it was one of the finest pieces in the Welsh language. “*Os cellwair,*” says the poet,

“*Os cellwair is y collwyn  
Wnai Dafydd a’i Forfydd fwyn,  
Anwylach ydoedd Neli,  
Ferch wen rhwng fy nwyfraich i.*”

After a spirited description of the vessel (which was named *The Bull*) setting sail:

“*Llam carw roi’r Tarw ar wâr tŷn,  
Rhwygai foelydd yr eigion,*”

<sup>1</sup> *Y Brython*, 1861, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> *Y Brython*, 1860, p. 376; *Golud yr Oes*, 1863, p. 52.

the poet loses sight of the ship and its precious cargo, and shudders at the bare possibility of their going to the bottom of the sea :—

“ Heb obaith i'm mûn bybyr,  
Ond cwmni pŷg ym mysg mŷr.”

The poet concludes with a very beautiful passage apostrophizing the elements, and entreating the wind to blow very softly, and the waves to keep holiday while they bring his love safely and softly to land :—

“ Dyrched f' anwyl ei hwylian  
Er marchog môr brigog brau ;  
A thi'r gwaredd ogleddwynt,  
Cyfod,—ac nid gormod gwynt ;  
A phared Iôn i'w pherwyl,  
I'r môr, gwiwdeg Iôr, gadw gŵyl,  
Yn ael nos, mal na wêl neb  
Unrhyw dôn 'r hyd ei wyneb ;  
Tra bo fy rhian fainir,  
Liw 'r ôd, yn dyfod i dir.”

Robert Hughes spent twenty years of his life in London where he was employed as a barrister's clerk. He, with Owain Myfyr and Siôn Ceiriog, founded the Gwyneddigion Society in 1771, and for the first three years of its existence he was its Secretary. He was President also for one year. Dr. Owen Pughe in the preface to his larger Dictionary refers to him in grateful terms as having first introduced him to Owain Myfyr. But ill-health compelled the poet to leave the metropolis and retire to Wales. Consumption had marked him for its own ; for a year or two he struggled with the disease, but finally succumbed to it at the comparatively early age of forty-one. He was buried at Hên Eglwys, Anglesey. Siôn Lley'n wrote a touching elegy on his death,<sup>3</sup> and the Gwyneddigion erected a monument to his memory in Llanbeblig Church.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Corph y Gaingc*, p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> *Leathart's Origin and Progress of the Gwyneddigion Society*, p. 19.

We now come to a poet whose genius and style were of a very different order, the rollicking and witty

JOHN JONES (*Sion Glan y Gors*—born 1763, died 1821),—one of the best comic and satirical song-writers, not merely of his own day, but that the Principality ever produced. His “*Sessiwn yn Nghymru*” and “*Dic Shôn Dafydd*” are of their kind inimitable. As Dickens is said to have described in the early life of David Copperfield some of his own experiences, so the account of *Dic Shôn Dafydd*’s journey to London “*a’i drwyn ’fewn llathen at gynffon llo*” is said to be a true account of how *Glan y Gors* himself found his way there from the home of his boyhood at *Cerrig y Druidion*. *Dic*’s subsequent career is well known—how he pushed his way by selling pins and tapes until he became a haberdasher on his own account, how he began to swagger, wear a ring, and drive about in a gig on Sundays, how he visited his mother’s home, but could not make himself understood to her, having forgotten his Welsh, how *Lowry Dafydd* had to send for an interpreter in order to converse with her own son, and how by wine-drinking and meddling with bills he got into trouble and failed, and ended his life just as he had begun it. “*Sessiwn yn Nghymru*” gives an amusing account of the trial of an action to recover the value of a lamb killed by a dog, and the muddle which the Court got into through ignorance of Welsh, and the bungling of the old interpreter, who, among other instances of his incapacity, rendered *earn lleidr* as ‘the hilt of a thief.’ There are six other songs by *Glan y Gors* more or less widely known, namely, “*Bess yu teyrnasu*,” “*Offeiriad o Sir Aberteifi*,” “*Betti o Lantantffraid*,” “*Miss Morgans Fawr*,” “*Priodas Siencyn Morgan*,” and “*Gweno Bach*.”<sup>5</sup> The racy satire and spark-

<sup>5</sup> These may be found in a collected form in *Yr Awen Fywiog* (Llanrwst, 1858).

ling wit of these were much enjoyed by our grandfathers, but they contain passages that will not bear quotation in this more fastidious age. His "Cerdd y Cymreigyddion,"<sup>6</sup> and his touching "Verses on seeing a little girl five years old dying," show that *Glan y Gors* could write in another vein.<sup>7</sup> His works display a good deal of originality and knowledge of human nature, as well as vigour of language and skill in versification. He was, it appears, a shrewd, well-informed, and estimable man, genial and kind in disposition, at all times ready to place himself, his house, and his money at the service of his poorer countrymen who needed help.<sup>8</sup> He spent the greater part of his life in London, where he prospered and kept the King's Head Inn on Ludgate Hill, of which he was also the owner. He was an active and much-respected member of the Gwyneddigion Society, whose meetings were held at his house; and he at various times filled the offices of Bard, Secretary, and Vice-President, but always declined the post of President of the Society, though often pressed to accept it.<sup>9</sup> He was the author of a little tract called *Seren tan Gwmmwl*, which contained some Republican sentiments that were considered dangerous by the Government of the day. In consequence of this, *Glan y Gors* found it necessary for his own safety to leave London for a time and hide himself in Wales, until the storm was past.<sup>1</sup> He published another

<sup>6</sup> Printed in 1796, by order of the Cymreigyddion Society, by Vaughan Griffiths, No. 1, Paternoster Row, London. This song, written to the tune *Hearts of Oak*, was sung on the admission of a new member. See a copy in *Golud yr Oes* for 1863, p. 345. The Cymreigyddion Society was established in 1795, and held its meetings every Thursday night in Distaff Lane, Friday Street. It should not be confounded with the Cymmrodorion and Gwyneddigion Societies referred to *suprà*.

<sup>7</sup> *Y Gwyl.*, 1833, p. 313.

<sup>8</sup> *Seren Gomer*, 1821, p. 214.

<sup>9</sup> Leathart's *Origin and Progress of the Gwyneddigion Society*, p. 61.

<sup>1</sup> *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 595; *Y Geninen*, 1883, p. 275.

work in 1797, under the title *Toriad y Dydd*, treating of the rights of man (a burning question in those days), and condemning in unmeasured terms some old laws and usages.<sup>2</sup> He died in May, 1821.

JOHN ROBERTS (*Siôn Lleyrn*, born 1749, died 1817) was held in high esteem as a poet by his contemporaries. He resided at different times in various parts of Carnarvonshire, following for some years the occupation of a schoolmaster. At the time of his death he lived at Pen'r Allt, near Pwllheli. He appears to have gone through severe trials, and his life closed in great suffering from a most painful disease—cancer in the face. To these trying circumstances he thus alludes in an address to Dafydd Ddû o Eryri:—

“Heb dŷ, heb wely, heb aelwyd,—neu gyfaill,  
Mewn gofid y'm rhoddwyd;  
I drist ing fe'm dar'styngwyd,  
Wyf yn rhwym o fewn y rhwyd.”<sup>3</sup>

He was twice married,—the second time in his sixty-second year, his first wife's name being Mary, his second Ellen. On his second marriage Gutyn Peris addressed congratulatory *Englynion*<sup>4</sup> to him, wherein he asks:—

“Pan'd anhardd wael fardd wyf fi,—ac eraill,  
At gywrain gysoni  
Cerdd priodas addas i  
Ganwr er cyn ein geni?”

To this and other congratulations the old poet replied:—

“Moliant a rôf am *Mali*,—o galon;  
Ac eilwaith am *Neli*;  
Lluniaidd y daeth i'm lloni  
Ym min nos, am a wn i.”<sup>5</sup>

A deeply religious tone pervades all *Siôn Lleyrn's* poetry.

<sup>2</sup> *Llyfr. y Cymry*, p. 704.

<sup>4</sup> *Awengerdd Peris*, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Golud yr Oes*, 1863, p. 195.

<sup>5</sup> *Awengerdd Peris*, p. 48.

Four of his compositions may be found in *Corph y Gaingc*, two in *Awengerdd Peris*, and a number of others in the pages of *Goleuad Cymru*, *Y Gwyliedydd*, *Y Drysorfa*, *Y Brython*, and *Golud yr Oes*; but many are said to be in unpublished MSS., and are therefore in great danger, like so much other Welsh poetry, of being for ever lost, unless speedily rescued from such a fate. Among the best of Siôn Lleyn's compositions are "Cywydd y Greadigaeth,"<sup>6</sup> "Paradwysgerdd,"<sup>7</sup> and "Cywydd Lleyn."<sup>8</sup> As a specimen of the author's style, we will quote from the first of these:—

"Ef a luniodd fillynan  
 Afrifed o bryfed bran;  
 Cedyrn ymlusgiaid coedydd,  
 Lle mae y rhai'n llam yr hydd;  
 Carnolion, gwylltion, a gwâr  
 Diau er hiliaw daear,  
 Rhoes y rhai'n, cain, fyrdd, cant,  
 I gynal ei ogoniant.  
 Pob lle'n deg, pob llwyn, a dail,  
 Hyfrydwch y fawr adail,  
 Y lliwiau, lluniau llonwych,  
 Gwyrdd, rhuddion, gwynion, a gwych;  
 Dolydd, a'r coedydd deiliog,  
 Y bronydd, a'r creigydd crôg;  
 Mynyddau, mal tyrau teg  
 I'r adail hardd oreudeg."

THE REV. DAVID DAVIES, of Castell Hywel (born 1745, died 1827), was, like Edward Richard, an eminent schoolmaster in South Wales. He was a Presbyterian minister of somewhat latitudinarian views, and was an excellent classical scholar. In personal appearance he was gross, bulky, and somewhat ungainly, with long flowing yellow hair. Two bright twinkling eyes in rather deep sockets alone redeemed the heaviness of his looks, and indicated

<sup>6</sup> *Gol. Cymru*, 1822, p. 454.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1826, p. 377.

<sup>8</sup> *Golud yr Oes*, 1863, p. 91.



the intellectual power within. As a poet his imitative faculties were certainly stronger than his creative powers, and it is as a translator into Welsh that he will be remembered, for in that capacity he has never been excelled. In 1824—three years before he died—he published his works in a collected form under the title *Telyn Dewi*. A second edition with some additions was published in 1876. His original compositions are few in number and unimportant in character. His “Epitaph intended for Dr. Priestley,” referring to his materialistic creed, is well known:—

“ Here lie at rest,  
 In oaken chest,  
 Together pack'd most nicely,  
 The bones and brains,  
 Flesh, blood, and veins,  
 And *soul* of Doctor Priestley.”

With regard to his translations, his diction, it is true, is not always faultless, but no one has succeeded so admirably in conveying in plain and simple language the sentiments of the original authors. They are, indeed, generally, which is seldom the case, quite equal, if not sometimes even superior to the originals. Take, for instance, the following rendering of Cowper's lines, “Man wants but little here below:”—

“ Dyn nis gofyn ond ychydig  
 Na'r ychydig hyny 'n hir;  
 Yn eu beddau caiff cybyddion  
 Eu digonedd bawb o dir:  
 Tir a leinw 'r gôl a'r galon,  
 A'r ddau lygad fynu'n lân,  
 Nes bo'r gêg yn gwaeddi, ‘Digon,’  
 Gair na chlyw'd erioed o'r blâ'n.”

Equally happy is his version of the lines in Gray's *Elegy* beginning with “The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power:”—

“Beth yw mawrfri, uchel achau,  
 Rhwysg a mawredd, bonedd byd?  
 Rhyw oferedd sâl disylwedd  
 Gwynt a gwagedd oll i gyd,  
 Nad all estyn un funydyn  
 Ar eu heinioes hwy na'u hedd;  
 Holl ffyrdd llwyddiant a gogoniant  
 A ddibenant yn y bedd.”

Special attention might be called also to his very successful translations of Cowper's "Alexander Selkirk," some passages from Young's "Night Thoughts," and Mrs. Barbauld's "Address to the Deity" and "Invitation of Mercy."

GRIFFITH WILLIAMS (*Gutyn Peris*, born 1769, died 1836) was the son of poor parents who lived at Llanberis, and therefore received but little education. He had, in fact, to earn his bread at an early age as a shepherd, then he became a farm-servant, after that a quarryman, and finally a quarry agent under Lord Penrhyn at Bethesda.<sup>9</sup> In his "Anerch Gwilym Peris," he says:—

“Er im' gael yr ymgeledd  
 A allo hwn oll a'i hedd,  
 Cael y gân mewn cil gynes,  
 A chael ty i ochel tês,  
 A chael yn oruchwyliwr  
 Drigfod dan gysgod y gwr,  
 Carwn yn fil cywirach  
 Fyd is yn Llanberis bach.”<sup>1</sup>

Some of Gutyn Peris's compositions are to be found in *Corph y Gaingc*, *Eos Padarn*, and *Awengerdd Peris*. He published one book of his own under the title *Ffrwyth Awen*, and was a constant contributor to *Y Gwyllyddydd*,

<sup>9</sup> The *Gwladgarwr* for Feb. 1839 contains a full and interesting biography of the poet. See also *Y Gwyllyddydd*, 1836, p. 346, and Williams' *Eminent Welshmen*.

<sup>1</sup> *Awengerdd Peris*, p. 35.

which contains about thirty of his compositions. His prize odes on "*Drylliad y Rothsay Castle*" ('The Wreck of the Rothsay Castle'), "*Marwnad er Coffadwriaeth am y Frenhines Siarlot*"<sup>2</sup> ('An Elegy on the Death of Queen Charlotte'), and "*Gwledd Belsassar*"<sup>3</sup> ('Belshazzar's Feast'), have also been published. He is said also to have left behind him a considerable number of poems in MS., some of which have appeared in *Y Brython* and elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> An able writer in *Y Traethodydd* (for 1853, p. 287) thus sums up his merits and characteristics:—

"The scenery of Llanberis is deeply impressed on all his compositions. Its bracing atmosphere pervades the scenes he describes. The great noise of the fall of slate-rock in the quarries is heard in his *cynghaneddion*. He leads the reader at will through the romantic wilds, but sometimes makes us tremble by taking us too near the precipice. He causes us to shudder by standing too long under the overhanging rocks while we follow him to listen to the deafening roar of cataracts. . . . We are allured along the most unfrequented paths; we are compelled to stride across the large and prickly stumps of the gorse-bush, but forget the pain from the prickles and the shame of our torn garments when the sweet perfume of the gorse-blossom rises to our nostrils. Wild roses grow on every bank he describes, and our eyes and ears meet with the nest and song of the bird in every hedgerow. His muse delights in describing the grandeur of nature rather than men and their habits. There is a special sympathy between his mind and wild and solitary places. He had his throne in the wilderness. He loved grandeur rather than beauty. He chose the firmament full of stars rather than the flower. . . . The song of the blackbird, the murmur of the homeless brook, and the humming of the bee among the heather-blossoms were the music he loved."

This is very high praise, but I must confess I cannot help thinking it is a little extravagant. Take, for instance, the following extract from the poet's "*Cywydd Serch*," which is a fair specimen of his style:—

<sup>2</sup> *Awen Dyfed*, 1822.

<sup>3</sup> *Gwyneddion*, 1830.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. John Jones (*Myrddin Fardd*) has a small volume in Gutyn Peris's own handwriting.

"Dyrysais gan fawr draserch,  
 Cryd mau ydyw cariad merch;  
 Gwelais hon im' boddloni,  
 Chwenychais a hoffais hi—  
 Nid ei thrâs, nid ei thrysor,  
 Dewis dyn ac nid ei stôr;  
 Nid ei gwycheder a gerais  
 Na'i llun, na'i harddwch, na'i llais.

Adroddais yn dra addwyn  
 Ryw rês o'm cyffes a'm cwyn;

Cês o gyffes fynwes fan  
 Lathen o'i meddwl hithau."<sup>5</sup>

This is not the language of fervid passion, such as Dafydd ab Gwilym so often addressed to his Morfydd, but rather the plain unvarnished account of his selection of a wife by a man of business. Indeed, although Gutyn Peris as a poet was original, pure, and substantial, his fancy seldom soared very high, nor were his views very wide. In these respects his "Cywydd y Daran,"<sup>6</sup> for instance, is far inferior to that of Dafydd Ionawr. His ideas were shrewd and homely rather than sublime. His diction, however, was elegant and forcible, and as a clever versifier he stood in the first rank. Speaking of him to his friend, Mr. Ellis Owen of Cefn y Meusydd, Dewi Wyn said, "I have seen no one whose *cynghaneddion* it is so hard to improve upon as those of Gutyn Peris."

JOHN JONES (*Myllin*, born 1800, died 1826) was a native of Llanfyllin, Montgomeryshire. He was born in humble circumstances, and was brought up as a shoemaker. At an early age his brilliant poetic genius became manifest, and he was soon regarded as one of the most promising young poets of the day. The readiness with which he could compose *Englynion* became well known. Being away from

<sup>5</sup> *Y Brython*, 1860, p. 261.

<sup>6</sup> *Y Gwyl.*, 1832, p. 249.

home on one occasion, he was asked how things were going at Llanfyllin, to which he at once replied:—

“Ochain a gerain garw,—a 'morol .  
Am arian sydd acw,  
Drwy'r wlad, a bagad mewn bw  
O'u hachos ar roi Hwchwl!”<sup>7</sup>

At the Welshpool Eisteddfod in 1824 he electrified the audience with a poetical address of rare power, and gained a prize for six stanzas, “Beddargraph Dic Shôn Dafydd” (‘Dic Shôn Dafydd’s Epitaph’). A considerable number of lyric and other poems of his composition may be found scattered over the pages of the magazines of his day, but they have never been collected together. They invariably show great power of condensation, a glowing fancy, and much skill in versification. Perhaps his masterpiece is his “Song of the Cymreigyddion,” written to the tune of “The March of the Men of Harlech.” Take the second verse as a specimen of its close texture and stirring character:—

“Rhown fal gwrol ddoniol ddyinion,  
Barch i'n gwlad o ddifrad ddwyfron,  
Gan goffau'r hen gampau gynt,  
A helynt ein gwyr hylon.  
Coledd yr encilion,  
Wyr gwiwlwys wnawn o'r galon;  
A noddi'n llawn bob dawn a dysg  
Yn hyddysg frodyr hoywlon;  
A doed i'n plith heb rith pob Brython  
Dirion garo'i deyrn a'i goron,  
A chaiff serchog, enwog, union,  
Grosaw llon pob llais.”<sup>8</sup>

Among Myllin's other best-known poems are “Awdl Ddiolchgarwch am y Cynauaf”<sup>1</sup> (‘An Ode of Thanksgiving for the Harvest’); “Rhianod Sir Drefaldwyn”<sup>2</sup> (‘The Maidens

<sup>7</sup> *Y Gwyl.*, 1823, p. 349, and *Golud yr Oes*, 1864, p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> *Montgomeryshire Collections*, vol. viii., p. 143.

<sup>1</sup> *Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd*, 1825, p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> *Golud yr Oes*, 1864, p. 155.

of Montgomeryshire')—a subject suggested, I need hardly say, by Lewis Morris's well-known "Morwynion Glân Meirionydd," and treated by our bard with almost equal skill and felicity; "Myfyrdodau wrth wrando 'r Cnul"<sup>3</sup> ('Meditations on listening to the Tolling of the Bell'); and his excellent translations of "Auld Lang Syne" and Dibdin's "Lash'd to the Helm."<sup>4</sup> How beautiful is the description of the ripe, wavy corn, given in the first of the above poems!—

"Yr yd oedd yn ymredeg  
Hyd ryniau fal tdnau teg;  
A'i ben ffraw yn gwyraw i'r gwynt,  
Yn hylwydd iawn ei helynt,  
Nid allai 'r wiwlwys dwysen,  
Gan ei phwys, gwnu ei phen."

But, after a lingering illness, Myllin fell a victim to consumption. A few hours before his death he was visited by his dear and intimate friend, the Rev. Robert Jones of Rotherhithe, who asked him how he was. In a deep tone of sadness, the dying poet slowly replied in the following exquisite and intensely pathetic lines:—

"Mae trwm gystudd prudd yn parhau—arnaf,  
Mal oer ernes angau;  
Egwanu mae 'm gewynau;  
O! na chawn fy llawn iachâu!

"Gan nychdod darfod bob dydd—y mae 'm corph;  
A mwy yw 'm cur beunydd;  
Ofnaf—O! brau yw 'nefnydd!  
Mai marw wnaif ym moreu 'nydd.

"Eiddigor y Pen-meddygon—eto  
All atal gofidion;  
A rhoi iechyd llwyrbryd, llon,  
Dinam, pan ballo dynion."<sup>5</sup>

The following day his pure spirit fled to the land where

<sup>3</sup> *Eurgrawn Wesleyaidd*, 1825, p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> *Golud yr Oes*, 1864, p. 156.

<sup>5</sup> *Golud yr Oes*, 1864, p. 156, and *Mont. Coll.*, viii., p. 148.

the inhabitant shall not say, "I am sick." Thus, at the early age of twenty-six, was prematurely closed the career of one who, had his life been spared, might perhaps have become one of the leading poets of Wales. Over his grave, in Llanfyllin churchyard, some of his friends and admirers have erected a monument, on which the following stanzas, composed by Myllin himself in anticipation of his early death, have been engraved :—

"Och! er cau dorau durol,—a gwyllo,  
 A galw gwyr meddygol;  
 Llaw angau, y llew ingol,  
 Dwylaw neb nis deil hi 'n ol.

"Nid i'entid llawn gwrid, na grym,—na ffrydiawg  
 Amgyffredion cyflym,  
 A etyl gledd lleithwedd llym  
 Y creulawn Angau crylym."

Had space permitted, I should have been glad to make some remarks upon Hugh Jones of Llangwm, Jonathan Hughes, Siôn Ceiriog, David Saunders, John Thomas of Pentrefoelas, Gwilym Padarn, Gwilym Peris, Edward Jones of Maes y Plwm, and other poets of the same era, including a few of our hymnologists, particularly the sweet singer of Pant y Celyn and the seraphic Ann Griffiths. But this must at present be left.

PROF. HOFFMANN AND SIR W. JONES.

BY THE REV. JOHN DAVIES, M.A.

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IN my last paper<sup>1</sup> on Sir William Jones, I have said that German scholars are not often favourable to scholars of another country, but that the logic of facts had compelled some of them to give to Sir William the honour of discovering the relationship of the Sanskrit to many European tongues, and of forming thus what is now called the Indo-European class of languages. Dr. Rost, the learned Librarian of the India Office Library, has, however, sent me a volume of the Annual Report of the German Oriental Society for 1845-6, containing an address<sup>2</sup> by Professor Hoffmann, in which he speaks of Sir William in the highest terms of honour, and with a generous warmth that leaves nothing to be desired. Dr. Rost was at that time a student of the University of Jena, where the address was given, and has a distinct recollection of the eulogy pronounced on Sir W. Jones, which appears to have made a deep impression on those who heard it. At the time when this address was given, Dr. A. G. Hoffmann was Professor of Theology at the University of Jena. His name appears in the first Year-book of the German Oriental Society as one of its original members. He was also a member of the Ecclesiastical Privy Council. Whatever may have been at first the functions of

<sup>1</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. ix., p. 304 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See "Jahresbericht der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft für das Jahr 1846" (Leipzig, 1847), where Dr. Hoffmann's address will be found at pp. 19—30.



this Council, they were at this time in abeyance, as those of our own Convocation for many years, but the title<sup>3</sup> remained, and was only given to persons of high social position. He is mentioned by Bentley in his history of German Orientalism as having translated and illustrated—I presume by notes—some Æthiopic works. As an Orientalist, however, he had not limited his studies to this language. He knew both Arabic and Persian, and in 1845 Dr. Rost received instruction from him in both these languages. He was also familiar with Syriac, and as early as 1826 he published an extensive and excellent Syriac Grammar, which is still held by scholars in high estimation. In this case the Latin proverb, “*laudari a viro laudato maxima est laus,*” may be justly applied. Dr. Hoffmann stood so high as an Orientalist that he was, of all men, the most fitted to speak of Sir W. Jones’s position, and he describes him as an immortal, incomparable man, the patron saint of the German Society, and the very ideal of an Oriental scholar.

I offer a translation of the title and that part of the address which refers to Sir William.

#### TRANSLATION.

THE INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE OF THE PRESIDENT, DR. HOFFMANN, A  
MEMBER OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL PRIVY COUNCIL.

MUCH-HONOURED GENTLEMEN,—

[Dr. Hoffmann, in the first part of his discourse, congratulates his hearers on their first festal gathering, and enlarges on the importance of Oriental studies. He then refers to Sir William Jones in the following terms:—]

In this respect (devotion to Oriental learning) we honour a splendid example in the truly great, immortal man who was given, a hundred years ago yesterday, at first to Britain, so justly proud of him, but also equally to the rest of the cultivated world. Sir William Jones,

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<sup>3</sup> *Geheimer Kirchenrath.*

—for it is he whom I mean—although he fell a victim to a fatal climate in the prime of life, has left behind him a reputation by which he ranks only with the heroes of literature—a stainless fame, which in him has not been disparaged or dimmed, as, alas! so often happens, by paltry feelings, an envious detraction of others, or by partiality of judgment. This amiability, which was reflected in his countenance, manifestly appears in all his manifold works. As his sagacious clear eye attracts us even against our will, and his free, friendly aspect constrains us to give him our confidence, so the records of his intellectual life prove his complete learning, his profound culture, and the true greatness to which he had raised himself in his varied life. In that rare personality, the author and the man were in fairest harmony, and any one who found an opportunity to observe him more closely in business matters or the administration of justice, knew also what he might promise himself from his Oriental researches. This incomparable man, glowing with the liveliest enthusiasm for the advancement of learning; a scholar as daring and eager as he was conscientious, thorough, and many-sided; this ideal of an Orientalist and man of business, as he is, began his illustrious life-career in the field of literature, when he was a boy of fourteen years, by translating excellent passages from Latin and English poets into Greek verse, showing thereby, not only his love for the immortal masterpieces of ancient Hellas, but also his constant and complete familiarity with them, and the language in which they are written, from his youth. The treasures of Oriental literature which Oxford possesses produced in Jones, at a later time, the determination, so fruitful in results, to devote his life wholly to them, and though his life-course seemed to divert him occasionally from them, yet the inclination of his heart thereto was indestructible, and all difficulties or hindrances only served to increase his love, to give new zest to his eagerness, and to double his devotedness to these researches. Herein he belongs to the fortunate exceptions on whom the poet's assertion in "Tasso,"—

"Where thou lookest upon genius,  
Thou lookest also on the martyr's crown,"<sup>4</sup>

has not proved true in the ordinary sense; for he had already found among his contemporaries an universal recognition, and some of his works have retained their utility and aptness to such an extent, that national jealousy has thereby been appeased, and even in France, for example, his Persian Grammar has very lately been published again.

[Dr. Hoffmann then refers to Sir William's appointment as

<sup>4</sup> "Wo du das Genie erblickst,  
Erblickst du auch die Märterkrone."

Chief Judge in the High Court of Justice situated in Bengal, and to the fact that in his voyage thither on one occasion he had India before him, Persia on his left hand, while a breeze from Arabia impelled the ship onward, and that he determined to withdraw the veil that, before his time, had covered the intellectual wealth of these countries. He then goes on:—]

Here the design was matured to make every preparation for the founding of an Asiatic society in Bengal, in the country that was best adapted for that purpose. Already, on the 15th January, 1784, this famous society began its existence, and its highly-deserving president was Jones himself; four years later appeared the first volume of the important "Asiatic Researches." It is well known that this compilation, which contained some very valuable dissertations, excited a most unusual interest, so that—for an Oriental journal certainly an unheard-of rarity—the first volumes were published thrice, and, in France as well as Germany, were made, by translations, available for the common good. If Jones had limited his writings on Oriental literature to his contributions to these Asiatic researches, and had only made provision to withdraw the separate inquiries about the races that are found in India from their isolation, his name would have been crowned with fame in the annals of science. For that Asiatic Society, which he founded, has become the mother of other similar unions; and the latest in our German Fatherland, this Oriental Society, projected chiefly through the meritorious diligence of our associates in Leipsic and Halle, first in Dresden in 1844, and then in 1845 formally constituted in Darmstadt, and to-day for the first time in a formal organization collected in a festival form, must be considered as its youngest daughter, for whose long continuance and successful work all our desires certainly unite. The circumstance, unsought for, coming before us accidentally, that this Society should meet together, for the first time since it was arranged and consolidated, to receive information about its condition and relationships at the time when this hero in linguistic research was born, a hundred years ago—[a hero] who had learned twenty languages, and had eight in perfect command for speaking and writing—is to me a good omen for the strength, constancy, and earnestness of the Society, and I exclaim with joy, *Accipio omen*. The spirit of William Jones abides with us; he is, as it were, the guardian saint of our Society, and so our affairs are well ordered for us, and we may rest perfectly assured for the future of our knowledge of Oriental languages and literature. It is indeed true that the German Orientalist, often discouraged, sees that many

heavy claims are made upon him, and though he gives up nothing as to the value of his peculiar scientific department and the necessarily small circle of those who commit themselves to his guidance, he feels obliged to devote himself to theology, and occasionally to some other branch of science that receives a greater degree of acceptance, and thereby to despoil and deprive himself of a portion of his powers, which his soul ought to develop, though alone, and for which he ought to claim an absolute sympathy. But let us consider what this Jones, in spite of his actual occupation, has been enabled alone to do for his disciples by his earnest will, and so will we, in these circumstances, console ourselves and abide in peace. For the peculiar position in which Oriental studies, in our German Fatherland, seem to languish is, in my judgment, not purely prejudicial and disadvantageous, though indeed some of our German Orientalists, hindered by divided interest, have not been able to produce such splendid results as might be expected from them. It may be ascribed to the circumstance that I have mentioned, that the love for this difficult branch of knowledge and research, which is in part deterrent at the beginning, is in Germany comparatively so continuous, and gains ground so far and wide.

So far, Dr. Hoffmann and Sir W. Jones are connected together in this address. The concluding part is devoted to the labours of some special German Orientalists, who at that time, as their successors now, have maintained the reputation of Germany in this respect, but, as Sir William is not further alluded to, I need not quote it.

Dr. Hoffmann's remarks on the want of sympathy in Germany for Orientalists and their researches are not, I think, applicable to that country now. But, whatever may have been the motives that impelled them, such Oriental scholars as Bopp, Kuhn, Schleicher, Hoffmann, Curtius, at that time, and Bezenberger, Windisch, Zimmer, Fick, with many others, both then and at the present time, are scholars of whom Germany may well be proud. They have enlarged our knowledge on many Oriental questions, and the German Oriental Society has been a worthy and successful follower of that primary one in Bengal, which was founded by Sir William Jones.

## WELSH PEDIGREES.

BY HENRY F. J. VAUGHAN, B.A., S.C.L., OXON.

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THE love of genealogy which pervades the British nation has become nearly proverbial. Few large collections of manuscripts exist, at least in this country, wherein books of Welsh pedigrees are not to be found. They abound in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the libraries of several colleges in the Universities, and in private collections, such as that formerly at Hengwrt, now at Peniarth, and other places, and in point of date reach from the present to an early period of time. As to their value the greatest difference of opinion exists; many, taking them up with avidity, soon grow discouraged by the contradictions and anachronisms with which they meet, and so lay them aside: others, after studying them for many years, find more evidences of truth and reality scattered throughout them; but the impression left upon every mind by such study must be that there is much which requires correction, much which is obscure, much which is confused. It remains to be considered whether any light can be thrown upon this obscurity, any correction of these errors take place, any unravelling of the tangled threads be brought to pass.

For the most part Welsh genealogies may be divided into three classes: firstly, those compiled before the date of Henry VII.; secondly, those of about that date; and thirdly, those subsequent to that era. The first class are naturally scarce, but from them we find that the

descents which gradually became considered as authentic were not at that time in so stereotyped a form, and we further find a far greater antiquity attributed to several persons who in pedigrees of the second period are treated as immediate ancestors of existent houses. The third class are mostly copies, or in some cases compilations, showing the variations of different lines.

A great impetus was given to genealogy and heraldry in the time of Henry VII., and probably the usually received classification of arms and pedigrees belongs to about that date. Indeed, prior to that period, arms are for the most part adaptations of the insignia of either some royal person or noble of great territorial influence; thus, in the border county of Shropshire, we have numerous adaptations of the arms: quarterly, *per fess* indented, varied, firstly by different tinctures, then by bearing a further charge in the quarters: thus Burwardesley, Lacon, Sandford, and Leighton bear the simple coat: De Beysin has a difference at an early period: then follow Forster, &c., with the quarters further charged. Nor is it very difficult to see how this arose; for under the feudal system the chief lords of the several fiefs led on their vassals, who, though themselves of gentle birth, still bore the livery or insignia of the chief under whom they served. Thus John Paston, writing to his father from the Duke of Norfolk's castle at Holt in Denbighshire, on the 1st November, 1462, says "the bearer hereof should buy me a gown with part of the money, for I have but one gown at Framlyngham and another here, and that is my livery gown, and we must wear them every day for the more part, and one gown without change will soon be done." Private families as a rule did not bear arms, nor, indeed, in earlier times were arms hereditary. Many coats are attributed to persons in whose time the science of heraldry was unknown, and yet

it must be remembered that the bearing of badges was certainly customary at a very early period. Heraldry becomes a short form of writing history, and is a very valuable science for that reason: but it is obvious that each person ought to have his distinctive mark therein, and it was therefore no idle thought of the old heralds to attribute coats to great persons of high antiquity, though it looks at first sight like a gross anachronism. Unfortunately this has not been done so carefully as one might wish, and consequently more than one coat is attributed to the same person: for example, there are two coats, if not more, attributed to Rhodri Mawr, one *or*, a lion passant guardant *gules*, and another *or*, a lion's gamb erased *gules*; while in Milles' *Catalogue of Honour* quarterly *gules* and *or*, four lions passant guardant counterchanged, are ascribed to him, and in Enderbie's *Cambria Triumphans* *gules*, a chevron inter three roses *argent*. Of these the first seems preferable, and is the one given as the cognizance of Rhodri Mawr among the quarterings of the Vaughans, formerly Earls of Carbery, sent to the writer from the College of Arms. The coats assigned by the heralds frequently have some allusion to the name of the family, their place of residence, or some legend connected with them, at least in later days, for the earlier coats were very simple, and for the most part divisions of the shield. There is a very suspicious resemblance to certain arms of the Lord Marchers in some of the Welsh coats. The red lion rampant, on the golden shield of the Princes of Powys, is the same as that of the Fitzalans with the tinctures reversed; the ermine shield of the House of Bretagne and the golden lion of Arundel form the shield of what is termed the March Tribe, and the arms of the Princes of South Wales seem founded upon the same model. Sometimes arms became altered by the mistakes of workmen:

thus there are, or were, a shield of France and England reversed at Stafford Castle, and the arms of Gruffudd ab Cynan quartering Owain Gwynedd carved in oak at Gwydir. In one of the Hengwrt MSS., attributed to Ieuan Brechva,<sup>1</sup> the arms of Tudor Trevor appear as party per bend dexter ermine and ermines, a lion rampant *or*. The coat of Gruffudd ab Cynan, the first Royal Tribe, seems founded upon the lioncels of England. The broomslip powdering of the descendants of Moreiddig ab Sanddev Hardd, lord of Burton, seems to bear reference to the relationship which existed between that House and the Plantagenets, and there can be very little doubt that this Moreiddig, and not the Moreiddig of South Wales,<sup>2</sup> was the ancestor of the House of Gwydir, whose arms are quartered in their shield; indeed, Sir John Wynn suggests, in his *History of the House of Gwydir*, that such might be the case. Welsh names of a certain class, like Iddon, Ithel, etc., seem to have been supplied with boars or boars' heads, probably from some suggestion of the name; and many Welsh families, which became landowners in England about the time of Henry VII., have different arms from those borne by the tribe to which they belong; in some cases new arms may have been granted to those who assisted the Earl of Richmond in his enterprise as an additional honour, but it seems not unlikely that in other cases it arose from the ignorance of the heralds. Thus we have the family of Edwards, descended from Iddon ab Rhys Sais, of the lineage of Tudor Trevor, bearing *gules*, a chevron engrailed inter three boars' heads erased at the neck *argent*, and the family of Jones of Chilton, which came from Holt, bearing *argent*, a lion rampant *vert*, armed *gules*, which have been supposed by some to have been a modification of the coat: *vert*, a lion rampant *argent*, head,

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 85, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 148, *infra*.



paws, and tail *gules*; for it was not uncommon to counter-change the tinctures of the charge and shield; others have suggested a more fanciful derivation, viz., that the word *lioness*, when denuded of its first and last letters, forms the word *Jones*, and the word *Holt* is applied to a verdant grove, whence the tincture, as well as to the site of *Lyons* Castle. No one acquainted with heraldry can doubt the tendency there was among the earlier heralds to make playful allusions to the name or circumstances of people in their armorial bearings, and indeed such allusions are not uncommonly found in sculpture, or in the architecture of the period, e.g., an arrow and barrel for Bolton, a hand holding a comb for Hanscombe, etc., etc.; but the Chilton family is derived from Owain Bendew, to whom are attributed the arms: *argent*, a chevron inter three boars' heads *sa.*, couped, langued, and snouted *gules*, tusked *or*; while the family of Edwardes is derived from Tudor Trevor, to whom are now attributed the arms: *per bend sinister ermine and ermines*, a lion rampant *or*. It may, of course, be replied that such differences are only proofs of the fact that arms before the time of Henry VII. were not as a rule hereditary, and that different branches of the same family chose this method of distinguishing themselves. With respect to the arms of Iddon mentioned above, the peculiar bearing of the boars' heads caused them in later times to be mistaken for heraldic tigers, and in another case perhaps for horses' heads erased, and, the colour *gules* having a great tendency to go black, as is found upon many old emblazoned pedigrees, this bearing became confused with that attributed to Brochwel Ysgythrog, Prince of Powys. In a very beautifully emblazoned pedigree of the Egertons, lent to the writer by the late Sir Philip De Grey Egerton, Bart., the *gules* had in nearly every coat become *sable*; and this is a matter well worth bearing in

mind, for it will then be evident that if we take the arms of Elystan Glodrydd, viz., *gules*, a lion rampant regardant *or*, and allow the *gules* to become *sable* by atmospheric influence, we shall have the arms of Gwaithvoed, and these arms are customarily quartered with the three boars' heads of Owain Bendew, who is called by the heralds of the second period grandson of Gwaithvoed. In other cases the tincture *azure* has become *vert*, and in this way, the *azure* shield with the lion rampant becoming discoloured by time, the bearing of *vert*, a lion rampant *argent*, may have arisen, attributed to Gwaithvoed of Powys. More to the south, we have the triple chevronels of De Clare, corresponding with the same bearing attributed to Iestyn ab Gwrgant. Taken collectively, the resemblance between these several armorial ensigns is striking.

Since the Welsh do not acknowledge the distinction of primogeniture, they naturally have not adopted the use of particular differences for the several sons of a father or different houses of the same family; but when any branch of a family desired to assert itself, recourse was had to some change in the coat, or an entirely new coat was taken; and, even if we suppose the arms to have been attributed at a much later date than the person to whom they are assigned, yet this rule seems to have been observed. Thus, in the Royal House, Cadwaladr bears *azure*, a cross formée fitchée *or*; Idwal Iwrch the same, inter four martlets *or*; Rhodri Molwynog the same, inter four ducal coronets *or*; while their ancestor, Coel Godebog,<sup>2</sup> is accredited with *azure*, a cross raguly inter four Eastern crowns *or*. Coming to a later date, Mervyn Vrych has *argent*, three lozenges in fess *gules*, each charged with an eagle displayed *or*; later still, Gruffudd, the last who bore the title of King of Wales, bears *gules*, three lions

<sup>2</sup> See note (a) at end of article (p. 157, *infra*).

passant in pale *argent*, armed *azure*; and his son, reverting to the ancestral bearing, probably suggested by the eagle of Rome, bears *vert*, three eagles displayed in fess *or*; nor does the difference end here, for his son Iorwerth bears *sable*, a lion rampant in a bordure engrailed *or*; his son, Llewelyn the Great, quarterly *gules* and *or*, four lions passant counterchanged; while his son Gruffudd bears the same, with the lions rampant; and his son, Prince Davydd, bore *sable*, a lion rampant *argent*, in a bordure engrailed *or*. The variations in the coats of the South Welsh Royal line were perhaps slighter, but in the line of the Princes of Powys we come from the *sable*, three nags' heads erased *argent*, of Brochwel Ysgythrog, through the *or*, a lion rampant *gules*, to *argent*, a lion rampant *sable*. The same rule holds good in private families; for among the descendants of Edwal ab Owain Bendew, the Chief of the Noble Tribes, we have the descendants of the eldest son, Madoc, bearing *argent*, a chevron inter three boars' heads *sable*, coupéd, langued, and snouted *gules*, tusked *or*, changed in the time of Henry VII. into *argent*, a lion rampant *vert*, armed *gules*; and later the heralds added a wound proper in the breast of the lion, and tags to the sun's rays in the crest, by way of difference for a junior branch, whereas the branch descending from Bledrws ab Edwal ab Owain Bendew bore the chevron between the boars' heads *gules*, and for a crest, instead of a boar's head, as in the arms, pierced with a dagger proper hilted *or*, as Madoc's descendants had, they have the boar's head in a ducal coronet *or*. The descendants of Cowryd ab Cadvan, who bore *argent*, three boars' heads coupéd *sable*, also in many cases changed them, e.g., Meredydd ab Iorwerth ab Llewelyn ab Iorwerth ab Heilyn ab Cowryd bore *or*, three lions dormant in pale *sable*. Hedd Molwynog<sup>3</sup> bore *sable*, a hart passant *argent*,

<sup>3</sup> See p. 155, *infra*, and notes 9 and 2 thereon.—[Ebs.]

attired *or*, but his descendants *argent*, an eagle displayed *sable*. We have previously spoken of the arms of Tudor Trevor, some of whose descendants, however, differenced them by bordures; Cynric bore *ermine*, a lion rampant *sable*; Elidyr *ermine*, a lion rampant *azure*; Trahaiarn ab Iddon *gules*, a chevron engrailed inter three boars' heads erased at the neck *argent*; and his descendant Edward ab Hywel ab Einion Gôch *argent*, a chevron inter three boars' heads coupé *gules*. It must be remembered that there are still remaining several monuments of early date with armorial bearings carved upon them, as that of Gruffudd ab Davydd Gôch at Bettws y Coed, on which is carved a chevron between three spear-heads.

Reviewing the several considerations before us, we are brought to the conclusion that the Welsh heralds probably received their initiation into that science from England, and in earlier times copied English coats, though forming in themselves a distinct college from that of their *confrères*. The rules of Welsh heraldry latterly became somewhat different from those of English heraldry; and in the former, either the old rule of arms, not being hereditary, was retained to a much later period, or we must say that the mode of differencing was different; the former seems the better statement of the case. But when, in the time of Henry VII., England and Wales were more closely conjoined, and the College in London became the chief seat of the heralds, Welsh families settling in England received new grants of arms from that monarch in consideration of their services, which they thenceforward used instead of their tribal insignia; and this would be done more naturally from the fact of their continuing the old rule of arms, by which each person might take his own coat with due observance of the rights of others; whereas in England we have become accustomed to associate dignity with a coat according

to its antiquity. Another important consideration should not be pretermitted, namely, that the removal to London of the chief interest of the Welsh nation was followed by a declension of the type of heralds and genealogists in Wales; and had it not been for the laudable efforts of some of the Welsh gentry and a few others, probably a far larger number of our genealogical manuscripts would have perished than has been the case. Among these stand out pre-eminently John Jones of Gelli Lyvdy and Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, two men whose patriotic endeavours to collect the remains of manuscripts of Welsh literature ought to endear them to every Welshman, and whose names stand amongst the first as authorities in matters of pedigrees. Fearing lest the valuable collections which each had made should be dispersed and destroyed, they came to an agreement that the survivor should inherit the whole, which happy fate fell to the lot of Vaughan of Hengwrt. And we ought to accept pedigrees drawn up by him as having the authority derived from a knowledge of not only his own manuscripts, but also of others which have since been lost or ceased to exist.

Welsh manuscripts suffer under many disadvantages. Many of the earlier ones are fragmentary, they are difficult to decipher, and when read there is the further difficulty of the archaic language; and furthermore, in the class of manuscripts of which we are speaking, the contractions render the meaning obscure, and are peculiarly liable to be misread. It would enlarge the scope of our observations too widely to enter into any disquisition regarding the more ancient writings upon which our manuscripts profess to be founded. It is scarcely possible that a people in constant intercourse with the most civilized nations of the East, the seat of civilization at a time when Rome was unknown, and which continued that intercourse after Rome had be-

come a name and power, should have been uncivilized barbarians. Part of the history of early Britain lies buried in the wreck of the Phœnicians, the ruins of Tyre and Carthage; for with the East was her earliest connection, from the East her traditions draw the origin of her people.<sup>4</sup> The Romans knew nothing of her except as connected with nations of Eastern origin; indeed, in later times Britain was separated from the rest of the civilized world by a flood of barbarous tribes which had passed westward; so that even to the Gauls her men, her country, her ports, her harbours, were nearly unknown, for none went thither except some merchants, and even to them nothing was known except her coast and those regions which were opposite to Gaul—*Toto divisos orbe Britannos*. It would be foolish to contend that Britain had no literature during the time when the Romans were constantly here and mixed with her people; and, much as they were troubled and harassed, we have no reason to suppose that at the time when the Saxons landed the British had become totally illiterate, and though no doubt both seats of learning and their contents were destroyed during the wars with these heathen and uncivilized invaders, yet the words of Gildas the monk seem too sweeping when he says that in his day no historical documents existed.<sup>5</sup> It is not unreasonable, therefore, to conclude that British history has a foundation

<sup>4</sup> Long before the foundation of Gades (about 1100 B.C.) the Phœnicians drew from Britain their supply of tin, and, as they were in the habit of forming colonies for commercial purposes, there is no probability that they made an exception in the case of Britain. They possibly introduced human sacrifices to their god Moloch ('king') into Britain, a variation on the older worship of Bel or the god of the Sun, of which so many traces remain, at one time apparently the common religion of mankind.

<sup>5</sup> *Gildas*, § 4 (p. 13-4), ed. Stevenson, where he says that he will write his narrative "non tam ex scripturis patriæ scriptorumve

in fact ; and our present early manuscripts probably reflect that history, though in many parts distorted.

The following difficulties occur at once to the student of Welsh genealogies—(1) the letters often differ so little in shape that they may be easily mistaken for one another ; (2) the names in the pedigrees are frequently contracted, and, some of the letters being interchangeable, these contracted forms may stand for more than one name ; (3) after the line from father to son has been given for several generations, an ellipse of the remaining names takes place, and the chief ancestor is given, and frequently even several generations are omitted in a pedigree ; (4) the word *vab* or *verch* is often omitted altogether,<sup>6</sup> and the latter frequently contracted into *vch*, which is easily mistaken for *vab*, and thus the female line, which is in many cases given, has been mistaken for the male line ; consequently many persons seem to have more than one father. Such are some of the principal difficulties ; there remain, however, of course, others specially belonging to different manuscripts ; we must also bear in mind that, as they have continued for many centuries, it is not surprising if the result has been considerable confusion—indeed, so great a confusion, that many have given up the pedigrees in despair, while others have been content with giving them from the manuscripts with all their anachronisms, inconsistencies, and imperfections.

In order to measure other pedigrees, we must select one which we can depend upon as probably correct or nearly so ; this will naturally be that of the best-known family, and

monimentis,—quippe quæ, vel si qua fuerint, aut ignibus hostium exusta, aut civium exilii classe longius deportata, non compareant, —quam transmarina relatione.”—[Eds.]

<sup>6</sup> And it is very often wrongly inserted too, especially in Jesus Coll. MS. 20, so frequently cited below.—[Eds.]

that family will equally naturally be the one which occupied the throne. Now, it is very much in favour of the Royal pedigree that it is fairly consistent, that the several authors agree with respect to it, and that, where it is defective, current history may often throw light upon it.

When speaking of the earlier portion of British history, we are necessarily brought into contact with the neighbouring race of the Gaels or Irish, whose traditions bring them along the north coast of Africa, whence passing across the sea, they left traces of themselves upon the west coast of the Spanish peninsula, the western extremity of Cornwall, and perhaps the western parts of Wales. At a later period they passed from the northern part of Ireland to Scotland. Their influence upon the Britons was great, and their connection with them constant and intimate, though not always of an amicable nature. It may be questioned whether the Gaels remained in the western parts of this island from the time of their first coming here, or whether they did not rather come over from their island when the British nation was reduced and exhausted, and settle in what were then wild wastes nearly uninhabited. In whichever way it took place, British history plainly acknowledges that the Gaels or Irish Picts had possession of Wales in the time of Cunedda<sup>7</sup> or Maxen. Harl. MS. 4181,<sup>8</sup> which professes to be a transcript from the works of Llewelyn

<sup>7</sup> The Irish occupied Gwynedd, Dyfed, Gower, and Kedweli.—*Nennius*, ed. Stevenson, § 14; "*Saxon Genealogies*," *ib.*, § 82.—[Eds.]

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Phillimore, after an examination of the MSS., came to the conclusion that parts of Harl. MS. 4181 were taken from Jesus Coll. MS. 20, wherein the name of Llewelyn Offeiriad appears, not as the *writer* of any of the MS., but merely as the *author* of the (Welsh translation of) *Seith Doethion Ruvein*, with a copy of which it concludes. [Harl. MS. 4181 is in the autograph of Hugh Thomas of Brecon, who died in 1714. J. C. MS. 20 is a MS., not of *circ.* 1200, but of *circ.* 1300—1350, partly, however, copied from originals at least 100 years older.—See note (i), at end of "Additional Notes."—Eds.]



Offeiriad (1200), by him copied from a much more ancient manuscript, says that "Maximus the Briton having married Helen, sole daughter and heir of Eudaf, Prince of Euias and Vrchingfield,<sup>1</sup> his issue became presently possessed of all the Champian country between the rivers Wey and Severn; and this was the only family we find that seated themselves in Wales in the time of the Romans; after which marriage, Maximus, being made Governor of Britain, gave almost all Wales between his relations, and then declared himself Emperor of Rome, &c."

On the other hand, it is stated that the sons of Cunedda, being driven from the North, carved for themselves dominions out of the lands held by the Gwyddyl Ffichti in Wales; and an early manuscript, in the library of Jesus College, Oxon (No. 20<sup>1</sup>), says that Einyaw and Katwallawn Lawhir, sons (or grandsons) of Cunedda, were brothers, and their two mothers were daughters of Tidlet,<sup>2</sup> King of the Gwyddyl Ffichti in Powys; while we also find that, of the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog,<sup>3</sup> Gwawr is wife of Elidyr Lydanwyn, Nyvain<sup>4</sup> of Cynvarch, both sons of Meirchion Gul, Marchell of Gwryn Varvdrwch<sup>5</sup> of Meirionydd, father of Gwyddno Garanhir, Tudglid of Cyngen ab Cadell (Deyrnllwg) of Powys, and Ariauwen of Iorwerth Hirvlawdd. These were the principal families of Britain. Meirchion Gul was son of Gwrwst ab Cener ab Coel Godebog,<sup>6</sup> and Gwyddno Garanhir, according to one set of pedigrees,<sup>7</sup> son of Gorvyniawn ab Dvynwal

<sup>1</sup> See note (z), at end of "Additional Notes."

<sup>2</sup> The so-called *Llyfr Llywelyn Offeiriad* (see note 8, last page). The genealogies of this MS. are printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. viii., pp. 83—92, and the passage here referred to will be found in Genealogy No. XXIII. (p. 87). Cf. pp. 88, 93, *infra*.—[Eds.] <sup>3</sup> See note (b).

<sup>4</sup> See note (c).

<sup>5</sup> See note (d).

<sup>6</sup> See note (e).

<sup>7</sup> Harl. 3859, Nos. VIII., XII. (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 173, 175, and notes); J. C. MS. 20, Nos. V., XVII., XXXIV. (*ib.*, viii. 84, 87, 89).

<sup>8</sup> See *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd*, from Hengwrt MS. 536, Nos. IX., X.

Hên ab Ednyved ab Maxen ab Maximianus ab Constantine ab Constans; other pedigrees, however, make him son of Cadivor ab Cadwaladr ab Meirion ab Tibion ab Cunedda.<sup>7</sup> Cadell Deyrnllwg was the son of Cadehern ab Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu ab Gwidawl ab Gwdoloeu ab Gloyw Gwallt-hir,<sup>8</sup> and by distaff descent ancestor of the subsequent Princes of Powys. Iorwerth Hirvlawdd was, we are told, the son of Tegonwy ab Teon ab Gwinau Dau Vreuddwyd ab Powyr Lew ab Bywdeg ab Rhûn Rudd Baladr ab Llary ab Casnar Wledig ab Lludd ab Beli Mawr.<sup>9</sup>

Here, then, we have a direct statement, which is confirmed by Harl. MS. 4181, Hengwrt MS. 113-4 (*Llyvr Ieuan Brechva*),<sup>1</sup> etc., and this gives us the following data: (1) That Elidyr Lydanwyn, Cynvarch ab Meirchion, Gwryn Varvdrwch<sup>2</sup> of Meirionydd, Iorwerth Hirvlawdd, and Cyngen ab Cadell (Deyrnllwg) were contemporaries. (2) That these representatives of the chief races in Wales allied themselves with the daughters of an Irishman; and possibly the statement that the mother of Brychan's children was Marchell, daughter of Tewdrig ab

(Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 454-5), where one Cawrdaf comes, however, between Gorfynion and Dyfnwal.—[Eds.]

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 178 (No. XVIII.); *ib.*, viii. 89 (No. XLI.).

<sup>8</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 86-7 (Nos. XV., XVI., XVIII.). The original pedigree, in *Nennius*, § 49, of which parts of Nos. XIV. and XV. are a corrupted version, is given in note (g).—[Eds.]

<sup>9</sup> See *Hanesyn Hên* (the lost Hengwrt MS. 33), p. 72 (and cf. pp. 4, 71, 74) of the copy by John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy, preserved in the Cardiff Free Library (from the Breese collection). In all future references to the *Hanesyn Hên*, this copy is the one quoted.—[Eds.]

<sup>1</sup> Only Hengwrt MS. 114 (also numbered 414) is in Ieuan Brechfa's autograph; MS. 113 has nothing to do with him, but happens to have been recently bound with 114. See the late Mr. Wynne's *Catalogue of the Hengwrt MSS.* in *Arch. Camb.* for 1869 (3rd series, vol. xv.), p. 356; *id.* for 1870 (4th series, vol. i.), p. 339.—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> See note (e); and cf. pp. 86-7, 89, 91-2, *infra*.

Teithvalch ab Teitheryn ab Tathal ab Annun Ddu,<sup>3</sup> carries us further in the belief that intermarriages were not uncommon between the British and Irish. Some would see in these alliances a proof that a pacification was made between the Irish and British, cemented by these marriages. What further information we have is to the effect that Gwraldeg, King of Garth Madrun or Brecon, left an heiress Morvudd, wife of the Tathal previously mentioned, whose great-grandson Tewdwr or Tewdrig was living in 365, when a great irruption of the Gwyddyl Ffichti took place, and he, as seems usually to have been the case, married an Irishwoman, a daughter of Eochaidh Muighmedhuin, by whom he had a sole daughter and heiress, Marchell, the wife of Cormac Mac Cairbre. It does not appear likely that this Cormac ought to be identified with Cairbre Liffechair, the great-great-grandfather of the above Eochaidh, but rather with Cormac Caoch, son of Cairbre, younger son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, son of Eochaidh by Carthan Casduff, daughter of the King of Britain. We have the statement that Cormac was allowed to remain in Wales, though Irish, after giving his son as a hostage, perhaps because of his British blood and alliances. Here occurs what seems a difficulty, namely, that Cunedda is said to have driven out the Irish from Wales in the time of Cormac Mac Cairbre, the father of Brychan. Therefore we might suppose that Cunedda would be found in the pedigrees in a corresponding generation with Cormac; but such is not the case, for if we take Gwryn Varvdrwch as

<sup>3</sup> See *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 83 (No. I.). In the *Cognatio* of Cott. Vesp. A. XIV., fo. 11\*, Tewdrig is called "filius Teudfall f. Teuder f. Teudfal f. Annhun rex Grecorum," where the italicized portion is apparently a reduplication of what has preceded. *Annhun* is from *Antonius*, and Mark Antony, called in Harl. 3859 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 176), No. XVI., "Antun du," is probably meant.—[Eds.]

representing in generation a child of Brychan, then Cormac would be the contemporary of his grandfather, i.e., of Cadivor,<sup>4</sup> but this Cadivor is in reality, taking the later pedigrees, the great-great-grandson of Cunedda. However, by the borrowed light of history we can somewhat reconcile this; for though some manuscripts say that Cunedda drove out the Irish, they seem rather to speak in the sense of "qui facit per alios facit per se," since we learn from other quarters that it was the sons of Cunedda who carried out this work; and perhaps, even here, we must use the word sons in the sense of direct descendants,<sup>5</sup> for it is allowed that in one case, at least, the son of Cunedda was dead and the grandson had his portion; and so, if we find the grandson of Cunedda fighting with the Picts in the time of Cormac, we are only one generation out, which does not materially affect our point. But further, what is mentioned somewhat casually by our annalists as though a feat accomplished "about this time," will be seen, if considered carefully, to have been a tremendous war; for this Cormac Mac Cairbre was of the line of the chief King of Ireland, and though the struggle with the British is limited in the language of the annalists to Wales, it would naturally embrace all those parts from north to south where the Irish were in contact with the British, and so this great war must have been one of the most important facts in British history.

<sup>4</sup> Or, according to Harl. MS. 3859, Meriaun (Meirion), the son or grandson of Cunedda. [See Pedigrees XVIII., XXXII., in *Y Cymmwr.*, ix. 178, 182-3: and cf. No. XLI., *ib.*, viii. 89. Cadivor is, however, mentioned in none of these, nor in *Hanesyn Hên*, pp. 79, 80.—Eds.]

<sup>5</sup> His grandson Cadwallon Lawhir, according to Triad 40 of the Red Book Series (*Y Cymmrodor*, iii. 58-9, vii. 129; and Rhys and Evans' *Mabinogion*, p. 305, ll. 2-5); aided by his other grandsons, Cynyr, Meilir, and Yneigeir (whence Rhôs *Neigir*), sons of Gwron ab Cunedda (*Hanesyn Hên*, p. 84; and cf. *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 122-3).—[Eds.]

*Harl. MS.* 4181 says that Meleri, daughter of Brychan, was wife of Ceredig, Prince of Cardigan, ab Cunedda, and mother to Xanth,<sup>6</sup> the father of St. David; and that Tutvyl (Tudglid<sup>7</sup>) had issue by her husband Cyngen<sup>8</sup> ab Cynvawr, Prince of Powys, Gynyr Cadgaduc, Cadelh Dyrnlhuc,<sup>9</sup> Brochmael Ysgythrauc, Meic Mengwrach, and Sanant, wife of Maelgwn Gwynedd, King of Britain, and mother of St. Eurgain.<sup>1</sup> This seems to be rather a confused account. It will be remembered that Maelgwn Gwynedd was the son of Cadwallon Lawhir, son of Einion Yrth ab Cunedda Wledig; but there is a passage in *Jesus Coll. MS.* 20,<sup>2</sup> which says that Einio[n Yrth?] and Katwallawn Lawhir were brothers, and their two mothers were sisters, daughters of Tidlet, King of the Gwyddyl Ffichti in Powys. But Maelgwn Gwynedd died, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, in 547,<sup>3</sup> and there were therefore probably more generations between him and Cunedda Wledig than those given. On the other hand, we have somewhat in favour of Cunedda being later in date; for he is called the son of EIdern by Gwawl, daughter of Coel Godebog, King of Britain, whose wife Stradweul<sup>4</sup> was

<sup>6</sup> The correct form is *Sant*, written in Latin *Sanctus*. All early authorities have one of these two forms; later compilers were wont to torture his name either into *Xanthus* or into *Sandde*, two names perfectly distinct both from *Sant* and from each other.—[Eds.]

<sup>7</sup> See note (f).

<sup>8</sup> See note (g).

<sup>9</sup> "Dyrnlhuc" is not in the older MSS.; Cadell Dwrnllwg or Deyrnlwg was quite another person, who flourished (if at all) much earlier, viz., A.D. 420—450. See *Nennius*, §§ 32, 34-5.—[Eds.]

<sup>1</sup> Authorities: Cott. Vesp. A. XIV., fo. 11<sup>a</sup> (*Cognatio de Brychan*), *Jesus Coll. MS.* 20, No. III. (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 83), and *Bonedd y Saint* (*Myo. Arch.*, ii. 25).—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> No. XXIII.; *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 87. See p. 84, *supra*, and p. 93 and note (b), *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Y Cymmr.*, ix. 155.

<sup>4</sup> See notes (h) and (z).

daughter and heir of Gadean ab Cynan, King of Wales.<sup>4</sup> Coel is also called Prince of the Brigantes of Bernicia. Now here we have Cunedda of the contemporary generation with Brychan, and Maelgwn Gwynedd corresponds in date to Urien Rheged; but, if we accept many manuscripts,<sup>5</sup> we must acknowledge Brychan as son of Aulac Mac Cormac Mac Cairbre, and if Cadwallon Lawhir was not son of Einion Yrth, as most MSS. say, then some descents have probably been omitted. If we take the date 389, given in the *Myv. Arch.* for the death of Cunedda, it does not seem probable that his grandson, scarcely so that his great-grandson, would live until 547. Other considerations here enter into the question; for it is most probable that there is a confusion, caused by misreading, in the manuscripts, and that Gwryn Varvdrwch has been made a distinct person from Ynyr (or Cynyr) Varvdrwch. Gwryn was the son of Cadwaladr ab Meirion ab Tibion ab Cunedda Wledig, and was Lord of Harlech and Cantrev y Gwaelod, and father of Clydno, father of Gwyddno Garanhir,<sup>6</sup> though another author calls him son of Gwyddno. Gwyddno Garanhir was the grandson of Gwryn Varvdrwch by Marchell, daughter of Brychan; and this Gwyddno himself is said to have married Ystradwen, daughter of Cadell Deyrnllwg. It is of course possible that Gwyddno Garanhir married as above; but there would be no difficulty in

<sup>4</sup> See J. C. MS., No. VII., in *Y C.*, viii. 85, which makes Gwawl Cunedda's wife; *Hanesyn Hén*, pp. 8, 66, makes her his mother.—[Eds.]

<sup>5</sup> J. C. MS. 20, I. (see *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 83), omits "Aulac" (called *Anlac*, *Anlach*, or *Anlauch* in the *Cognatio* of Cott. Vesp. A. XIV., fos. 10<sup>b</sup>, 11<sup>b</sup>), and calls "Cairbre" *Eurbre*, probably a mistake for *Ceirbre* or the like. The *Cognatio* in Dom. A. I. (fo. 158<sup>b</sup>) also has *Eurbre*, but does not omit "Anlach."—[Eds.]

<sup>6</sup> This *Clydno* is first mentioned *eo nomine* in *Hanesyn Hén*, p. 79. Cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 178 (No. XVIII.), and notes; *ib.*, viii. 89 (No. XLI.). And see p. 146 and note (e), *infra*.—[Eds.]

accepting the dictum of other manuscripts to the effect that Cyngen of Powys married a granddaughter (not daughter) of Brychan; and indeed, from the very large family attributed to Brychan, some of them were probably at least his grandchildren. It would not be difficult, perhaps, to settle the date of Cunedda by an appeal to the history of his uncle Constantius, who is supposed to have been born *circa* 250, and who was appointed Cæsar on the 1st March, 292, having previously repudiated his British wife, and taken instead Theodora, the daughter of the Emperor Maximian. He died at York on the 25th July, 306, whilst accompanied by his son Constantine in an expedition against the Picts.

Now, if such were the dates of the principal events of the life of Constantius, from analogy we should say that the year 389 was a probable date for the death of Cunedda; and if Maelgwn Gwynedd died in 547, 158 years later, we should expect something like five generations to intervene; whereas we are told that Maelgwn Gwynedd was the grandson or great-grandson of Cunedda—a manifest improbability, not to say impossibility. But if Gwyddno Garanhir married, as stated, a daughter of Cadell Deyrnllwg, his grandfather Gwryn Varvdrwch might marry a daughter of Brychan, but it is scarcely possible that any grandson of Cunedda could have married one of his daughters. However, another consideration with respect to the line of Coel comes before us, which shows that, accepting the pedigree as it exists, there must have been an elision of some generations; for we are told<sup>7</sup> that Lot or Llew, the son of Cynvarch ab Meirchion Gul ab Gorwst ab Ceneu ab Coel Godebog, married Anna, the sister of King Arthur, they being the children of Uther Pendragon, whose date is given as 500; this Lot or Llew,

<sup>7</sup> See Geoffrey of Monmouth, viii. 21, ix. 9; and note 5, p. 84, *supra*.  
—[Eds.]

King of the Picts, was therefore the brother of Urien Rheged, and his wife Anna was daughter of Uther Pen-dragon ab Constantine ab Tudwal ab Morvawr ab Gadean ab Cynan Meiriadog ab Caradog Vychan, brother of Eudav, and son of Caradog, brother of Gadean, father of Stradweul,<sup>8</sup> the wife of Coel Godebog.

The historical part of the matter seems to be that at an early period (which Harl. MS. 4181 says was A.D. 365) the Irish had possession or took possession of Wales. If, however, we accept the date of Cunedda's death as 389, the former date is probably too late; if, on the other hand, we consider this irruption to have taken place in his time, and that he fell in conflict with the invading nation, that would at least coincide with two points in Welsh history. At his death he left to his descendants the difficult and wearisome task of expelling these Irish from Wales, which they proceeded to do, probably little by little, with varying success, until, tired of the useless strife, they made peace, and in the time of Brychan formed one nation. The whole matter has been condensed by our historians, and has so come to be looked upon as one event.

Now if we turn to the genealogies, it is evident that the one from Coel Godebog to Maelgwn Gwynedd is too short. It is absurd to say that the grandson of Coel died in 389, and that three generations later his descendants died in 547—i.e., rather more than 52 years to a generation. More especially is this manifest from the fact that there are pedigrees in existence which will coincide with the ordinary rules of living: I refer to those of Gwryn Varvdrwch and of Arthur, who lived in the earlier part of the sixth cen-

<sup>8</sup> For her see notes (h) and (z), and cf. pp. 88-9, *supra*; and see the *Cardiff MS.* (the part *not* taken from *Hanesyn Hên*), pp. 107, 122, where (and elsewhere), Cynfor intervenes between Constantine and Tudwal. See J. C. MS., Nos. IV., XI., in *Y Cymmwr.*, viii. 84, 86.—[Eds.]



ture. Thus Arthur and Anna, wife of Lot or Llen (brother of Urien Rheged and Elidyr Lydanwyn), were children of Uther Pendragon ab Constantine ab Tudwal [ab?] Morvawr ab Gadean ab Cynan Meiriadog ab Caradog Vychan ab Caradog ab Cynan ab Eudav Hên; and, on the other hand, Gwryn Varvdrwch, Lord of Harlech and Cantrev y Gwaelod, is called son of Cadivor ab Cadwaladr ab Meirion ab Tibiawn ab Cunedda (*ob.* 389), ab Edern, by Gwawl verch Goel Godebog ab Gadean ab Cynan ab Eudav Hên, as before. It will be remembered that Gwryn Varvdrwch and his cousin Cyngen ab Cynvawr ab Cadell both married daughters of Brychan, and the latter was father of Brochwel Ysgythrog (606) and Sanant,<sup>9</sup> wife of Maelgwn Gwynedd, who could not therefore have lived four generations earlier; nor is it probable, if he died in 547, that he could have married the sister of a man who was alive in 606. The *Myv. Archæology* says, indeed, that Maelgwn died in 560, and the number of generations between Maelgwn Gwynedd and Rhodri Mawr shows that his era was rather that of 547 than of 606; so we must suppose that the Maelgwn who married Sanant, the daughter of Cyngen and sister of Brochwel Ysgythrog, was some other Maelgwn. There is, indeed, of course, the explanation left that the sons of Brychan, as put down in the pedigrees, are so confused and so improbable in their number that several generations have been entered as the children of one man; so that the issue of Brychan, as generally described, may apply to several succeeding generations. Such confusions are by no means without parallel in these genealogies, but at the same time even this sup-

<sup>9</sup> The later form is *Sannan(n)* or *Sanan*. There is more than one brook called *Sannan* (and one *Frut Sanant* in an old charter: Dugdale, vi. 1630) in Wales, and the same name seems also to occur in *Llansannan*, Denbighshire. It was rather a common woman's name.—[Eds.]

position could not make it likely that Sanant, sister of Brochwel, might marry Maelgwn Gwynedd; nor does it solve the anachronism, on the other hand, of the brother of Urien Rheged and Elidyr Lydanwyn marrying the sister of King Arthur. Such difficulties are frequently overcome (in these accounts) by supposing men to live for 150 or 180 years; it is, however, far more probable that names repeated have been mistaken for the same person, and the intervening generations have dropped out.

The dates assigned to the Cunedda line are as follows: Cunedda *ob.* 389, Einion Yrth *ob.* 433, Cadwallon Lawhir *ob.* 517, Maelgwn Gwynedd *ob.* 547. There are probably omissions in the pedigree, and between Cunedda and Cadwallon Lawhir we should expect that two names have dropped out. Cadwallon Lawhir is the monarch to whom is attributed the final success over the Irish in Gwynedd,<sup>1</sup> to which country his son succeeded, and is said to have fixed his residence at Deganwy Castle. These people had been settled in Wales from the year 365 at least, and Gwynedd was not freed until about the year 500, which points to a prolonged struggle; nor, because Gwynedd was free, must we therefore presume that the rest of Wales was freed from them; nor, again, was it entirely a victorious extirpation of them, for we read that the mother of Cadwallon Lawhir was a daughter of Tidlet, King of the Gwyddyl Ffichti in Powys.<sup>2</sup> Gwynedd included Tegeingl, which is never associated with any other principality, and which is said to have passed from St. Helena to her nephew Cunedda by inheritance. Whence the name is derived, amidst so many conflicting opinions, we must decline to say—*Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites*; whether from the Ceangi,

<sup>1</sup> See note 5 on p. 87, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. MS. 20, No. XXIII. (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 87). See pp. 84, 88, *supra*; and note (b), *infra*.

the "fair Angles" (*Tég Eingl*), or from Deganwy,<sup>3</sup> the fact remains that the little state itself formed part of the dominions of the Kings of Gwynedd, except when in possession of the Saxons or other invaders, and was generally given to one of the younger sons of the house as a patrimony.

It is a misfortune for the British that their history has been subjected to the prejudice and caprices of writers belonging to different nations. Thus the classical writers entirely ignore the British side of their history, and more modern authors have followed in their steps, very possibly because, though the Latin tongue was known to them, that of the British was a sealed book. Cæsar, or whoever wrote his *Commentaries*, approached the British as a nation of barbarians, very much as a middle-class Englishman used to look upon the Chinese or Japanese, incapable of understanding a civilization or habits of mind which differed from his own. We have previously spoken of the improbability of the British being in constant communication with the Phœnicians and nations of the East for centuries without becoming acquainted with their habits; it is equally impossible that the Romans lived (and many of them died also) in Britain during a period of about 400 years without any admixture with the British. Looking at the facts as they are known to us, we must say that there was probably a large admixture of Phœnician, Carthaginian, and other Eastern blood amongst the British when the Romans arrived in this country, and that the Romans in the same manner introduced their blood into the houses of the original inhabitants, not only among the lower orders, but also among the higher. Writers are perhaps too apt to argue from con-

<sup>3</sup> *Tegeingl* said to be a daughter of Cunedda (J. C. MS., No. VII., in *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 85); it is otherwise authenticated as a female personal name. (See Giraldus, *Descriptio Cambria*, i. 14).—[EDS.]

ventional premises, rather than from the great laws which govern human society; and in an epitome of history there is always the danger of making an event which required a long period for its consummation appear to have taken place at a particular date. Thus there can be no doubt that Britain had been subject to the predatory attacks of the Saxons long before the era of Vortigern; and indeed in later days they defended themselves against them, as Zosimus<sup>4</sup> says: “Οἱ τε οὖν ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανίας ὄπλα ἐνδύντες, καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν προκινδυνεύσαντες, ἠλευθέρωσαν τῶν ἐπικειμένων βαρβάρων τὰς πόλεις.” So that there were probably many Saxons already in Britain.

Again, we must be on our guard against supposing that, because authors do not mention certain events, therefore those events never took place; so that, unless accounts are palpably contrary to truth, it is more reasonable to see how far they can be substantiated and fitted into their proper places, than to pass them over as fabulous, though the latter course has undoubtedly the advantage of saving a considerable expenditure of time, trouble, and research. We have a constant claim of intermarriage between the Princes of the Britons and the chief Roman families in Britain, and it is natural that such connections should have taken place. We are inclined to attribute the peculiar title of *Gwledig* to those descended from such connections; and if we take the Emperor Constantius Chlorus for example, and find, as we do, that by his wife St. Helena he had seven children, and by his wife Theodora at least six others, it is more reasonable to suppose that his progeny intermarried with persons not noticed by classical writers than to suppose that it became extinct. So again with the Emperor

<sup>4</sup> Zosimus, vi. 6 in *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. lxxviii. (end). “The people, therefore, of Britain, taking up arms, and braving every danger, freed their cities from the invading barbarians.”—[Eds.]

Maximus. Both of these Emperors were connected with Britain; and even if it can be shown that the British pedigree attributed to them is false or incorrect, the descent from them is not necessarily so. What became of the issue of Crispus and Helena, of Constantine the younger and his two wives, of Constans and Olympia, or of Constantia and her two husbands, or of Helena Flavia and her husband Julian?—and these are the offspring of the discarded wife. It is a well-known fact that the Emperor Maximus spent many years in Britain subsequently to 368, and there is no difficulty in the way of his having left issue by his wife Elen, daughter of Eudav of Cair Segeint.\* He was not proclaimed Emperor until 383, and no inconsistency is involved in the supposition of his having had a family in Britain.

It will be observed from the dates that Cunedda Wledig and Maxen Wledig were nearly contemporaries, the latter being somewhat later, and not only is his progeny much confused with that of Cunedda, but he has even been called a son of Cunedda; the pedigrees are often made to ascend to either the one or the other, and, as we have seen above, it is affirmed of both that they gave portions of Wales to their descendants, with injunctions to expel thence the Gwyddyl Ffichti, the chief difference being that the progeny of Cunedda is more connected with North, that of Maximus with South Wales. In *Jesus Coll. MS.* 20,<sup>b</sup> Dunawd is called the son of Maxen Wledig, and his son is named Ednevet, but in later MSS. Dunawd is called son of Cunedda Wledig, and Ednyved is the son of Maxen Wledig. There are two forms of descent given in this

\* I.e., *Caer Saint* (yn Arfon), now Carnarvon.—[J. R.]

<sup>b</sup> No. XIX.; *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 87 (see pp. 105-6, *infra*). But cf. the same pedigree in Harl. MS. 3859, No. IV. (*Y C.*, ix. 172, col. 2); and cf. *ib.*, note 4, p. 171, where "ix." should be read "iv."—[EDS.]

manuscript which are worthy of notice. In one<sup>6</sup> we have Dingat ab Einawn ab Dunawt ab Cunedda, in the other<sup>7</sup> we have Dingat ab Tutwawl ab Ednevet ab Dunawt ab Maxen; and, as reflecting upon the date of Maelgwn Gwynedd, we may remark that Caradog Vreichvras, who is called his first cousin by the genealogists of Henry VII., married Tegai Eurvron, the daughter of Nudd Hael, and this Nudd Hael, though called in other places<sup>8</sup> son of Senyllt ab Cedig ab Dyvwal Hên ab Ednyved ab Maxen Wledig, is suspiciously like the Neidaon of the Jesus Coll. MS.,<sup>1</sup> son of Senilth Hael, the Third Liberal One of the North, ab Dingad ab Tutwal ab Edneved ab Dunawt ab Maxen—that is to say, Maelgwn Gwynedd's first cousin's wife was seventh in descent from Maxen or Cunedda, which is much more reasonable than supposing him only third in descent.

Rhûn, the son of Maelgwn Gwynedd, removed his residence to the Roman Canovium on the banks of the Conway, which was thence called *Caer Rhûn*, and was succeeded by his son Beli, and he again by his son Iago, assassinated in 613 by Cadavael Wyllt.<sup>2</sup> Cadavael seized upon the throne of Gwynedd, but seems to have been unable to hold it against Cadvan, the son of Iago, and contemporary of Brochwel Ysgythrog. The Britons were at this time hard pressed by the Saxons and others, and at the battle of Chester suffered a most disastrous defeat. This battle,

<sup>6</sup> No. XL. (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 89); and see the same pedigree in Harl. 3859, No. XVII. (*Y C.*, ix. 177-8, and notes).—[Eds.]

<sup>7</sup> The pedigree cited in note 5 on last page.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., in the Venedotian Code of Welsh Laws (8vo. edn., vol. i., p. 104; folio edn., p. 50); and in the old *Bonedd y Saint*, *Myv. Arch.*, ii. 24 top. And see notes 8, 9, pp. 105-6, and note (k), *infra*.—[Eds.]

<sup>1</sup> No. XIX. *Y Cymmr.*, viii. 87. See note 5 on last page.

<sup>2</sup> See note (j).

according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, took place in 613,<sup>3</sup> and the same date is given in the *Annals of Tighernach* and of *Ulster*; but the MSS. of the *A.-Saxon Chron.* place it in 605-6. The Saxons were headed by Ethelfrith of Northumbria, and appear completely to have overthrown the British, massacred 1200 monks who had attended their army to pray for victory,<sup>4</sup> and overrun the whole of their territory in North Wales, much of which, including Tegeingl, they did not regain for some centuries afterwards.

So great a blow to the British power raised an alarm throughout the nation, and a general union amongst its princes took place to drive back the Saxons from their newly acquired territory. In this expedition were engaged Cadvan ab Iago of Gwynedd, Brochwel Ysgythrog of Powys, Margadud (Meredydd) of Dyved, Bledri of Cornwall, and others. The combined forces met Ethelfrith on the banks of the Dee, and routed his army so completely that he, being wounded, escaped with difficulty; but this victory does not seem to have resulted in the settlement of North Wales, since the sons of Bledri remained there for many generations afterwards, probably on lands granted them for their services. The Welsh History places this British victory at Bangor Is Coed, and states that it took place in 617.<sup>5</sup> Brochwel Ysgythrog of Powys married Arddun,<sup>6</sup> daughter of Pabo Post Prydain ab Athrwyys ab Mor (ab Newydd) ab Ceneu ab Coel Godebog,<sup>7</sup> by Gwenassedd, daughter of Rhuvon, as is said; but it is evident that the number of generations is far too small, especially if this Rhuvon were Rhuvon Rhuvoniog, son of Cunedda; he may, however, have been

<sup>3</sup> See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 156 (col. 2).      <sup>4</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See Geoffrey, xi. 13.—[Eds.]      <sup>6</sup> See note (k).

<sup>7</sup> See Harl. 3859, Nos. XI., XIX., in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 174, 179, and *Bonedd y Saint* in *Myr. Arch.*, ii. 23-4; and cf. them with Hengwrt 536, No. IV., in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 454-5.—[Eds.]

Rhuvon the son of Gwyddno Garanhir, which would be more reasonable. The Welsh History places Ceredig as King of Britain before Cadvan, who was vanquished by the Saxons under Gurmund,<sup>5</sup> and so the title of King of Britain is only nominal in the succeeding princes, Cadvan, Cadwallon, and Cadwaladr; for the Saxons had gained such victories that the Britons were forced to retire, some to the North, some beyond the Severn and Dee, some to Cornwall.<sup>6</sup>

With respect to the dates, Cadwallon ab Cadvan was killed at the battle of Cantscaul in 631, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*,<sup>1</sup> but others say at Hatfield in Yorkshire;<sup>2</sup> and his son Cadwaladr took refuge, we are told, for a time with Alan II., King of Bretagne,<sup>3</sup> the son of Gilquil,<sup>4</sup> who had succeeded his brother Solomon, son of Howel ab Alan ab Howel Vychan ab Howel ab Emyr Llydaw ab Audroenus ab Tudwal (ab?) Morvawr ab Gadean ab Cynan Meiriadog. This Alan II. was ten generations from Cynan Meiriadog, whose father, Caradog Vychan, is called Lord of Caerleon and Gwent, and is further stated to be uncle of Elen, wife of the Emperor Maximus, and first cousin of Stradweul, wife of Coel Godebog. If, on the other hand, we number eleven generations back from Cadwaladr the Blessed, we come to Cunedda Wledig at the ninth, which would be where we should expect to find him placed; but if we divide the number of years into generations, we shall find that the date of Maelgwn Gwynedd would be about 480, instead of 547 or 560, as usually stated. Moreover, we are told that

<sup>5</sup> Geoffrey, xi. 8.—[Eds.]

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, xi. 10, 11.—[Eds.]

<sup>1</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 157; called *Cantscaul* in *Nenn.*, § 64.—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> Bede (*Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 20) says "in campo qui vocatur *Hæthfelth*," and the *A.-S Chron.* in Bodl. Laud 636 "on Heðfelda," without further indicating its locality.—[Eds.]

<sup>3</sup> Geoffrey, xii. 15, 16.—[Eds.]

<sup>4</sup> I.e., Iudicael (son of Iudhael or Ithel), who succeeded to the throne circ. 632; he is called *Gilquellus* in the *Life* of his brother St. Iudoc (*Surius, Vita Sanctorum*, December, p. 253).—[Eds.]



Howel II. of Bretagne is the Howel Vychan previously mentioned, who married a daughter of Maelgwn Gwynedd, King of Great Britain; and it is true that this Howel Vychan, from his position in the pedigree, might naturally marry the daughter of a man who died in 547-60. The Welsh History<sup>4</sup> gives the succession as Maelgwn, Ceredig, Cadvan, Cadwallon, Cadwaladr; which, taking the generations in connection with the years, would again make him die about 547. In the *Annales Cambriæ* we have the death of Iago ab Beli in 613; Ceredig dies in 616; next year Edwin begins to reign; in 629 King Cadwallon is besieged; in 630 is the battle of Meigen,<sup>5</sup> wherein Cadwallon is victorious and Edwin and his two sons are slain; and next year Cadwallon is slain. We then have the entry, in 682, that there was a great plague in Britain, in which Cadwaladr, son of Cadwallon, died<sup>7</sup>; but in other manuscripts<sup>8</sup> it says that he went over into Bretagne. The above entries would seem to mean that, upon the death of Iago ab Beli, Ceredig ruled for three years, and then Edwin seized upon the country, which he held in spite of Cadwallon until the battle of Meigen, in 630, wherein Cadwallon was victor, and recovered his throne by the death of Edwin and his two sons, but was slain in 631, when his son Cadwaladr became king, who reigned until his death in 682. Here Ceredig is either used for Cadvan, or occupied the place of Cadvan.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey, xii. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, xi. 7 to xii. 14.—[Eds.]

<sup>6</sup> Called "Meiceren" in the Rolls edition, edited by the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel. [And in that given in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* (see p. 832). But see the origin of this error exposed in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 157, note 4. No MS. reads "Meiceren," but MS. *A* *Meicen* (see *Y C.*, *loc. cit.*) and MS. *B* *Meigen*. MS. *C* does not mention the battle.—Eds.]

<sup>7</sup> See for the original ("MS. *A*") *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 156-9.—[Eds.]

<sup>8</sup> *Viz.*, MSS. *B* and *C* of *Ann. Camb.* under the same year, who take the statement from Geoffrey, xii. 15, 16.—[Eds.]

The number of entries in which the dates sufficiently coincide would lead us to believe that Maelgwn Gwynedd died *circa* 550-60; but we hesitate to accept this Maelgwn as the great-grandson of a man who died in 389, especially in an age when confessedly both himself and his ancestors were engaged in a deadly struggle with a powerful and war-like enemy. It is very improbable that in such a state of affairs the length of the several generations should have exceeded the usual lot of man; and, knowing how often two persons of the same name are confused, we suspect that this Maelgwn has been confused with a direct ancestor of the same name. Either such a confusion has taken place, or Cunedda was later than the date assigned to him; and we have some reason for believing such to have been the case. That he was of Roman descent, at least paternally, seems pointed out by the Latin form of his father's and grandfather's names, *Æternus* and *Paternus* "of the Purple Robe," an epithet which would suggest high rank.<sup>9</sup> Whatever the intervening descents may have been, Maelgwn seems to have been acknowledged as his representative, and also as the representative of the British monarchy. For though it has been ever acknowledged among the British that all sons of the same father are equal, and therefore any son of the Royal race might for sufficient reason be placed upon the throne by the heads of the chief families, yet there was a restriction to that race, and the assembly of the Heads of Tribes or chiefs may be reasonably supposed to have placed upon the throne the next rightful heir, when it fell to their lot to name the monarch. Now what was the descent of the

<sup>9</sup> For the oldest manuscript form of this pedigree see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 170. In the later MSS. of this pedigree (e.g., in J. C. MS. 20, No. VI., *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 85) there are two more Latin names, viz. Tegid (Tacitus), Padarn's father, and Iago (Jacobus), his grandfather. Cf. *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 82, 100, 102, 144.—[Eds.]

crown? We have Ambrosius Aurelius, son of Constantine, who was succeeded in 500 by Uther Pendragon, and he by his son Arthur, of famous memory, by whose desire the crown next went to Constantine Goronawg, son of Cador, Arthur's half-brother on the mother's side, who was slain by Cynan Wledig in 544, an ambitious young man, capable of murdering his uncle and two cousins, who stood before him in the right to the throne. He, dying in the second year of his reign, was succeeded by Gwrthefyr or Wortiporius,<sup>10</sup> and he by Maelgwn Gwynedd in 546.<sup>1</sup> We may therefore conclude that Maelgwn was in his day one of the best representatives of these princes and of Coel; and it is not impossible that he was the descendant both of Maximus and Constantine, whether those personages were Britons or not.

From Maelgwn to Cadwaladr there is a sufficient consensus of authorities; but here again, as shown above, one part says that he died, the other that he went over into Armorica, in 682; but at least all agree that with him the title of King of Britain ended. In the *Annales Cambriæ*, MS. C,<sup>2</sup> we have the entry, under the year 734, "Iuor filius Cadwaladir;" but the ordinary Welsh History tells us that Cadwaladr asked for aid against the Saxons from his relative Alan II., King of Bretagne, who sent over his son Ivor, and he, being successful, reigned over part of Britain,<sup>3</sup> while Idwal Iwrch, the son of Cadwaladr, who was young at his father's death, reigned over Gwynedd, using the title of King of Wales instead of that of King of Britain. In 736 we have the

<sup>10</sup> The Welsh form *Gwrthefyr* (fendigaid) properly represents "Vortimer"; "Vortipore" appears as *Guortepir* in Harl. MS. 3859, No. II. (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 171, col. 1), and as *Gwrdeber* in J. C. MS. 20, No. XII. (*ib.*, viii. 86).—[Eds.]

<sup>1</sup> See Geoffrey, viii. 2, 17; ix. 1; xi. 2-7.—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> I. e., MS. Cott. Domitian. A. I., fo. 140<sup>r</sup>, col. 2 (13th cent.).—[Eds.]

<sup>3</sup> See Geoffrey, xii. 15-19.—[Eds.]

entry that Owen, King of the Picts, died; and in 750 Tewdwr ab Beli dies,<sup>4</sup> whose son Dunnagual (Dyvnwal) was killed at the battle of Hereford, between the Britons and Saxons, in 760. Rhodri, surnamed Molwynog, the son and successor of Idwal on the throne of Wales, died in 754; and in 768 was brought about a great ecclesiastical change under Elvod, Archbishop of Gwynedd, who prevailed upon the British bishops to conform to the usage of the rest of the Western Church as to the time of celebrating Easter. In 775 Ffernwael, son of King Ithel,<sup>5</sup> died, and three years later follows the devastation of South Wales by Offa. In 796 was the battle of Rhuddlan, and two years later Caradog, King of Gwynedd, had his throat cut by the Saxons.<sup>6</sup> We learn from the Welsh History that this Caradog, who had taken to himself the title of King of North Wales, was the son of Gwyn ab Collwyn ab Ednowain ab Bleddyn ab Bledri, Prince of Cornwall<sup>7</sup> in 617, who with Brochwel Ysgythrog, Prince of Powys, Meredydd, King of Dyved, and Cadvan, King of Gwynedd, had defeated Ethelred at Bangor on the Dee.<sup>8</sup> In 807, Arthen, King of Ceredigion, died, and next year Cadell, King of Powys.<sup>9</sup>

Rhodri Molwynog was succeeded by his son Cynan Tindaethwy, who died in 816; and in 822 the Saxons destroyed the Royal Castle of Deganwy and took into their possession the kingdom of Powys.<sup>1</sup> Cynan Tindaethwy, the sovereign

<sup>4</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 161. See note (l).

<sup>5</sup> Kings of Gwent or Morganwg, or of both.—[Eds.]

<sup>6</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 161-3.

<sup>7</sup> *Hanesyn Hén*, p. 5 (*Plant Ywein Gwynedd*), has not *Bletri* here, but *Bletrws*, whom it makes the son of Cynog Mawr (and therefore of the Powysian tribe of Iorwerthion); but it says nothing about Bledrws' (alias *Bledri's*) connection with Cornwall.—[Eds.]

<sup>8</sup> See Sir John Price's *Description of Wales* in Powel (ed. 1584), p. 15; Powel, p. 20; and Geoffrey, xi. 13 (and cf. p. 98, *supra*).—[Eds.]

<sup>9</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 163.

<sup>1</sup> *Id.*, *ib.*, 164.

of Wales, had to compete with his enemies the Saxons; and, as if that were not enough, his brother Howel, dissatisfied, it is said, with his condition, seized upon the Isle of Anglesey, but, being driven from thence, retired to the Isle of Man, where he died without issue. His brother, the King, died in 816, a date when the Saxons ravaged the mountains of Eryri, and took the state of Rhuvoniog;<sup>2</sup> and when they afterwards took the kingdom of Powys and destroyed the Royal Castle of Deganwy, the dominions of the King of Wales in the north must have been reduced to a comparatively small territory. Howel, the brother of Cynan Tindaethwy, died in 825,<sup>3</sup> and possibly there was a third brother, Idwal; but the representation now vested in Essyllt, the daughter and sole heiress of Cynan Tindaethwy, the wife, according to Jesus College MS. 20,<sup>4</sup> of "Gwrhyat ab Elidyr ab Sandef ab Alcun (or as others, Handdcar Alcwn) ab Tegyth ab Ceit (or as others, Gwair) ab Douc (or Diwg or Dwywg) ab Llewarch. Hen ab Elidyr. Lydanwyn ab Meirchawn ab Gwrgust ab Keneu ab Coil Hen." This heiress is also called Ethyllt, and made the wife<sup>5</sup> of Mervyn Vrych, the son of Gwriad (or Uriet) aforesaid. Now, if we suppose Coel to have died *cir.* 300, we shall have twelve generations in rather more than 500 years, which corroborates the belief that the pedigree is defective. There seems to be a confusion between Coel and Carawn, since it is asserted that Constantius was sent over to subdue Coel;<sup>6</sup> but we know from other sources that it was Carausius whom he was sent over to reduce to subjection, though it is perfectly possible that they were both engaged in the

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. Camb.*, MSS. B and C (under 816); *B. y Tywysogion* (under 817).—[EDS.]

<sup>3</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 164.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. XVII., XIX., XXII. *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 87.

<sup>5</sup> See note 1, p. 106, *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> Geoffrey, v. 6.—[EDS.]

attempt the Britons then made to maintain their independence, and that Constantius strengthened himself against Carausius by an alliance with the family of Coel, an alliance afterwards repudiated when he became Emperor. The history of the house of Constantine, teeming with accounts of the most atrocious murders of near relatives, naturally suggests that some of his descendants would seek refuge from death in the more remote parts of the empire, and betake themselves to Britain.

If we compare the two pedigrees of Gwriad and his wife Essyllt,<sup>6</sup> it is remarkable that Essyllt is in the thirteenth generation from Cunedda, the grandson of Coel, while if we take that of her husband, Gwriad, he is only in the thirteenth generation from Coel; but a still more curious fact is given in the Jesus College MS.,<sup>7</sup> for Sanddev, the grandfather of Gwriad, is there said to have married Celenion, daughter of Tutwal Tuelith ab Anarawd Gwalch Crwn ab Mervyn Mawr ab Kyuyn ab Anlech ab Tutwawl ab Run ab Neidaon ab Senilth Hael ab Dingat ab Tutwawl ab Ednevet ab Dunawt ab Maxen Wledic. That is, the wife of Sanddev, grandfather of Gwriad, was in the fourteenth generation from Maxen Wledig; so that from Gwriad, Essyllt's husband, to Maxen is sixteen generations—the most reasonable number we have yet had. However, other authors do not agree with this pedigree; for Nudd Hael is in other places<sup>8</sup> called the son of Senyllt ab Tegid ab Dyvnwal Hên ab Ednyved

<sup>6</sup> In Harl. MS. 3859 this name is "Etthil," [and in J. C. 20 "Ethellt." See *Y C.*, viii. 87, ix. 169 end; and note 1 on p. 106, *infra*.—Eds.]

<sup>7</sup> No. XIX. (cf. XVII.) *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 87, and cf. No. IV. of Harl. 3859, in *Y C.*, ix. 172. And see *supra*, pp. 96-7, and notes 5, 8, thereon. In *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 64, she is called *Keleinion*.—[Eds.]

<sup>8</sup> See the authorities given for this pedigree in note 8 on p. 97, *supra*; and add to them the Triad which forms No. 32 of the *Red Book Series* (*Y Cymmr.*, iii. 58, vii. 128; Rhys and Evans' *Mab.*, 304) and No. 2 of the Triads printed by Skene, ii., 456-7.—[Eds.]

ab Maxen,<sup>9</sup> and Dunawt is one of the sons of Cunedda Wledig.

With respect to the wife of Gwriad, the question whether he married Essyllt, heiress of Britain, or Nest, heiress of Powys,<sup>1</sup> may receive some light from the dates. Cadell, King of Powys, died in 808, Cynan Tindaethwy died in 816, and Mervyn Vrych died in 844. The usual account is that Mervyn Vrych was King of the Isle of Man, and, having kindly received Howel, brother of Cynan Tindaethwy, through his influence married his niece Essyllt; but there remains the difficulty that it was not likely that Howel's influence with his brother should be very great, unless, indeed, we suppose the marriage to have taken place after the death of Cynan in 816, and before that of Howel in 825.

And now, turning to the House of Powys, we find that Cadell died in 808, leaving a son, Cyngen, and, as some state, a daughter, Nest, wife of Gwriad<sup>1</sup>; but Cyngen had two sons, Elisse and Gruffudd,<sup>2</sup> the former of whom murdered the latter in 814, whilst Cyngen himself went to Rome, where he died in 854. We therefore have the latest date applied to Cyngen, who, we are told, was then murdered by his servants; but of his son Elisse, who would have succeeded him, we hear nothing further. It is not a point of material importance, perhaps, whether the heiress of Britain was wife or mother of Mervyn Vrych. It is evident

<sup>9</sup> See pp. 96-7, *supra*, and notes; and cf. also, for parts of this pedigree, Hengwrt 536, where (and in *Bonedd y Saint, sup. cit.*) Tegid is called "Cedic" (Skene, *Four Books*, ii. 454-5, Nos. VII., VIII., X.).—[Eds.]

<sup>1</sup> In the tract on the mothers of the Kings of Wales, in *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 64, Nest, daughter of Cadell Powys, is called Mervyn's *mother*, and in a Triad occurring on pp. 8, 66, of the same MS. (and reproduced in note (*h*), *infra*), "Esill" or "Ethyll," daughter of Cynan "Dindeethwy," is called Mervyn's *wife*.—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> According to Harl. 3859, No. XXXI. (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 182, and notes 2, 3, thereon), he had 2 more sons, viz., Ieuaf and Aeddan.—[Eds.]

that the House of Powys, like that of Britain, closed in bloodshed, and certain that both houses were represented by Rhodri Mawr, the son of Mervyn Vrych, who added to his influence by marrying Angharad, the daughter and heiress of Meurig, Prince of Ceredigion, son of Dyvnwal ab Arthen (*ob.* 807) ab Seissyllt ab Clydawg ab Argloes or Artgloes,<sup>3</sup> who, according to Jesus College MS. 20,<sup>4</sup> was son of Podew ab Seruuel ab Usai ab Ceredic ab Cunedda, but the son of Arnothen ab Brothan ab Seirwell ab Ussa ab Ceredig ab Cunedda according to the genealogists of Henry VII., who thus give eleven generations between Cunedda, who is said to have died in 389, and Rhodri Mawr, who is said to have been put to death by the Saxons in 877; which would give an average of about 44½ years for each generation—too high a number. Gwgon, the brother of Angharad, was drowned in 871. We have seen that in the first year of Mervyn's reign (816-7) Egbert invaded North Wales, laid waste the country up to Snowdon, and seized upon Rhuvoniog, which seems then to have been in the possession of the Welsh. The date of Mervyn's death at Cetill is given as 844, so that he survived his enemy Egbert, who ruled over England from 827 to 836.

The British arms were successful at the *Dial Rhodri*, which took place in 878, or, as the *Ann. Camb.* and *Brut* have it, in 880. We have in Rhodri Mawr a new starting-place, as it were, he having united in himself the several chief princedoms in Wales, and become paramount.

It is usually said that he distributed his kingdom among his sons, giving to Anarawd the chief sovereignty over all, with the throne of Gwynedd or North Wales; to Cadell, the

<sup>3</sup> *Arthlwys* would be the correct modern Welsh form.—[Eds.]

<sup>4</sup> Nos. XXI., XLII. (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 87, 89); and cf. Harl. 3859, No. XXVI. (*Y C.*, ix. 180-1).



throne of Ceredigion or South Wales<sup>4</sup>; to Mervyn, that of Powys: but we learn further from the *Llyvr Ieuan Brechva*<sup>5</sup> that he also gave Gwentland to the descendants of Morgan Mwynvawr, and the land between the Wye and Severn to the descendants of Caradog Vreichvras. Besides the above-mentioned sons, Rhodri Mawr had also by his consort Queen Angharad: Rhodri, Meuric,<sup>6</sup> Edwal or Tudwal, Gwriad, Gathelic, and a daughter Elen, consort of Morgan Hên, Prince of Glamorgan, who died *circa* 974.<sup>7</sup>

The above-named Caradog Vreichvras was a prince of Cornwall, and the son of Llŷr Merini ab Einion Yrth ab Cunedda Wledig; and we are told that his mother was a daughter of Brychan, and that he flourished at the close of the fifth century. Now in Harl. MS. 4181 is a pedigree which mentions the wife of Caradog Vreichvras, namely, Tegai Eurvron, daughter and heir of King Pelinor (though in other places she is called the daughter of Nudd Hael); and King Pelinor is there conjectured to be brother of Rudd Fedelfrych, son of Vortimer, son of Vortigern ab Gwyddawl ab Gwyndolin ab Constantine ab Maxen Wledig. There are, therefore, nine generations from Tegai Eurvron to Llewelyn,<sup>8</sup> brother of Coel Godebog, and there are five generations between Caradog Vreichvras and Coel Godebog—rather a remarkable discrepancy. Now if Vortigern died at the latter end of the fifth century, in 481,<sup>9</sup> it is certainly possible that his great-granddaughter might be the wife of a man

<sup>4</sup> See note (w).

<sup>5</sup> See note l, p. 85, *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> Who fell from his horse at Ystrad Meurig, and died *s. p.* (*Hanesyn Hên*, p. 68; which MS. does not mention his brother Rhodri).—[Eds.]

<sup>7</sup> See the J. C. MS., No. XX. (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 87) for another account of the children of Rhodri. *Gathelic* is called "Gwyddelig" in *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 69, where he is said to be the ancestor of the Men of Penmon Llys. And see note 7, p. 112, *infra*.—[Eds.]

<sup>8</sup> See note (q).

<sup>9</sup> See note (p).

flourishing about that era; and it is also possible that he, flourishing in 481, might be the great grandson of a man who died in 389. Unfortunately we are not told who were the representatives by descent of Caradog Vreichvras in the time of Rhodri Mawr.

Upon turning to the Glamorgan pedigree, we find Elen, daughter of Rhodri Mawr, said to be the wife of Owain, King of Glamorgan, and mother of Morgan Hên, who is stated to have lived from 872 until 974,<sup>1</sup> which is consistent with his grandfather having been slain by the Saxons in 877.

The pedigree of Owain, King of Glamorgan, as given in Harl. MS. 4181, does not in the lower part very much differ from the same as given in Jesus College MS. 20,<sup>2</sup> and is as follows: Owain was the son of Howel ab Rhys ab Arthmael ab Edwin Vryth ab Brochwel ab Meurig ab Rhys ab Enyth<sup>3</sup> ab Morgan (Morganwg) ab Athrwy (or Ad[r]os) ab Meurig, who was excommunicated, ab St. Tewdrig,<sup>4</sup> who became a hermit, ab Teithvael<sup>5</sup> ab Kynaw ab Urban ab Cadivor ab Edric, who married Henwin,<sup>6</sup> daughter of Cynvarch ab Meirchion ab Gorwst ab Ceneu ab Coel Godebog; which Edric was son of Meuric ab Karairyw ab Meurig ab Meirchion ab Gwgan Vrych ab Arthmael, King of Morganwg, ab Sarwth, &c. As given in Jesus Coll. MS. 20,<sup>2</sup> it is as follows: "Eweint ab Howel ab Rees ab Arthwael (or Aruael) ab Gwryat ab

<sup>1</sup> See note (r).

<sup>2</sup> Nos. IX.—XVI., *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 85, 86; and cf. Harl. 3859, Nos. XXVIII.—IX. (*ib.*, ix. 181-2), which presents important discrepancies from J. C. 20.—[Eds.]

<sup>3</sup> See note (s).

<sup>4</sup> See Nos. XXVIII.—IX. of the Pedigrees from Harl. 3859 in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 181-2, which only go up to Tewdrig; and the fuller one (No. IX.) *ib.*, viii. 85, from J. C. 20.—[Eds.]

<sup>5</sup> See note (u).

<sup>6</sup> See note (t).

Brochuael ab Rees ab Nud hael (*read* Iudhael) ab Morgant ab Adroes ab Meuric ab Thewdric ab Llywarch ab Nynnyaw ab Erb ab Erbic ab Meuric ab Enenni (*verch*)<sup>7</sup> Erbic ab Meuric ab Caradawc Vreichvras." It will be noticed that a change takes place in the two pedigrees after Tewdrig or Thewdric, the former making him son of Teithvael, and the latter of Llywarch. Though this Tewdrig ab Teithvael is suspiciously like the Tewdwr (or Tewdrig) ab Teidvallt (or Teithvalch) of Brychan's pedigree, still that may be simply a coincidence; but we have here at least a tangible point in Hennynni, daughter of Cynvarch ab Meirchion, for it will be remembered<sup>8</sup> that this is the Cynvarch who is said to have married Nyvain, daughter of Brychan, and he is also the brother of Elidyr Lydanwyn, from whom to Rhodri Mawr is ten generations; while, in this case, from Cynvarch to Owain, husband of Elen, daughter of Rhodri, is eighteen generations! But again, Arthmael, Arthual, Arthwael, or Aruael, for in all these ways is the name presented, is in Harl. MS. 4181 stated to have been the husband of Cenedhlon, or in the Jesus Coll. MS. *son* of Kenedlon, daughter of Binael Vrydic (or Briavael Vrydig) ab Llywarch ab Tewdwr ab Peibio (or Pibiawn) glavorawc<sup>9</sup> (uncle of St. Dubricius, who crowned King Arthur,<sup>10</sup> according to Harl. 4181) ab Arbeth ab Deuric Sant, as the J. C. MS. says.<sup>1</sup> In the next generation, Harl. MS. 4181 says that Rhys married Prawst, daughter of Cloydh (or Cloud) ab Aescan Byell (Pascen Buellt) ab Gwedhgad ab Meyric ab Elaid ab Peul ab Idnerth ab Riagath ab Aescan (Pascen) ab Prydy ab Rhwydh Vedhul

<sup>7</sup> This "*verch*" is wrongly inserted in the MS., and should be replaced by a full stop. See No. IX., in *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 85.—[Eds.]

<sup>8</sup> See p. 84, *supra*, and note (*d*).

<sup>9</sup> See note (*m*).

<sup>10</sup> Geoffrey, ix. 1.—[Eds.]

<sup>1</sup> No. X. *Y C.*, viii. 86; Harl. MS. 4181, fo. 39<sup>b</sup> (p. 62).—[Eds.]

Vrych ab Kyndirn ab Gurtheyrn ab Gurtheney,<sup>2</sup> &c.; that is to say, according to this, it is about sixteen generations from Rhodri Mawr to Maximus, for Vortigern is stated to have married a daughter of Maximus.

In the next generation, Howel ab Rhys married (Harl. MS. 4181) Gwengar, evidently the Ceingar of the Jesus Coll. MS.,<sup>3</sup> who, we are told, was daughter of Meredydd<sup>4</sup> ab Teudor (Tewdos) ab Gwrgan ab Kythiur (Cathen) ab Rothen (Eleothen) ab Ninney (Nennue) ab Arthen (Arthur) ab Pedyr (Peder) ab Caingar (Kyngar) ab Gyrdeber ab Erbin ab Evith Llawhir (Aircol Lawhir) ab Tryffin (Tryphun) ab Owen Vraaisg ab Kyndwr Vendigaid ab Owen ab Myser ab Constant ab Maxen, Emperor of Rome, ab Maximian ab Constantine, Emperor of Rome. But the Jesus Coll. MS., whose reading of the several names is inserted above in brackets, states that Owen Vraaisg was the son of Cyndwr Vendigaid ab Ewein ab Kyngar ab Prwtech ab Ewein ab Miser ab Custennin ab Maxen. Here then we have again a descent from the Emperor Maximus, which would make the number of generations nineteen between Rhodri Mawr and himself, or according to the Jesus Coll. MS. twenty-four generations. We have the date of Maximus' death at Aquileia in 388, and Rhodri Mawr was slain in 877.<sup>5</sup> So that we might expect from sixteen to nineteen generations between the two—sufficiently near to make the pedigree we are examining one of the most probable which has yet come before us. But, unfortunately, Harl. 4181 in another place gives the pedigree of Kyndeyrn Vendigaid as: ab Mernyth ab

<sup>2</sup> See J. C. MS. 20, Nos. X., XIV. (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 86) for a variant of this pedigree. Rhys is there made *son* of "Brawstud" by Arthfael. And cf. p. 120, *infra*, and note 1 thereon; and the Buellt pedigree from *Nennius*, § 49, given in note (g).—[Eds.]

<sup>3</sup> No. XII. *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 86. And see *Lib. Land.*, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> See note (n), and the corresponding pedigree in *Y C.*, ix. 171, given at p. 118, *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 166.

Mornevet ab Moraeth ab Morgwyn ab Botang ab Morien Glas.<sup>6</sup>

However, we may take it as a fact that the children of Rhodri Mawr were co-temporary with Morgan Morganwg (or Hên) of Glamorgan, or his father Owain; Harl. MS. 4181 says the latter, Caradog of Llancarvan the former. From another of the sons of Rhodri Mawr, Edwal or Tudwal, surnamed *Gloff* or the *Lame*, from a wound received in his knee at a battle near Conway<sup>7</sup> in 877, we are enabled to obtain some further dates; for in the *Golden Grove Book* he is said, on the authority of Mr. Edwards, to have married Elen, daughter of Alaeth, King of Dyved, and their son, Alser or Alan, Prince of Dyved, is stated to have married Gwladus, daughter of Rhûn ab Ednowen, Prince of Tegeingl. We need only notice in passing that Mervyn, Prince of Powys, died in 903; and that Cadell, Prince of South Wales, died in 909, leaving a son, Howel Dda, who died in 950, and whose son, Owain, Prince of South Wales, died in 988,<sup>8</sup> having married Angharad, the daughter and heiress of Llewelyn, son of Mervyn, Prince of Powys. With respect to Anarawd, King of Wales and Prince of Gwynedd, who died in 915, there are some matters of interest occurring during his reign; but, before proceeding to them, it is more in chronological order to notice the assertion that Howel Dda had—besides his son, Owain, who died in 988—a daughter, called by our genealogists Angharad, who became the wife of Tudor, called by our

<sup>6</sup> Fo. 107<sup>a</sup> (p. 208). The same statement is made in Harl. 2289, fo. 162<sup>b</sup> (p. 319). But see Harl. 3859, No. XXV., in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 180, for the correct form of this pedigree.—[Ens.] And see note (o).

<sup>7</sup> "Tudwal gloff ap Rhodri a vrathwyt ym penn y 'lin y ngwaith Kymrit Konwy . . . , ag or brath hwnnw y kloffes, am hynny y rhoddes y vrodyr iddaw Uchelogoed Gwynedd." (*Hanesyn Hên*, p. 68). That MS. and J. C. 20 agree in calling him *Tudwal*, not *Edwal*.—[Ens.]

<sup>8</sup> *Ann. Camb.; Brut y Tyw*. And see note (w), paragraph 3.

later writers Tudor Trefor or Trevor, a name probably no older than Awr, his descendant, from whom Cantrev Awr was named. But the further we proceed in this pedigree the worse the confusion becomes; for this Tudor is said to have had two sons, Goronwy and Lluddocav, of whom the former is said to marry Tangwystl, the daughter of Dyvnwal ab Alan ab Alser ab Tudwal Gloff, and the latter married Angharad, daughter of Iago ab Idwal ab Meurig ab Idwal ab Anarawd, King of Wales, by whom he had a daughter, Gwervul, wife of Ednowen, Prince of Tegeingl, whom we have seen above as the grandfather of the wife of Alan, Prince of Dyved, son of Tudwal Gloff; which is absurd.

We have another equally absurd assertion that Gwladus, the wife of Alser ab Tudwal Gloff, was also the wife of Elystan Glodrydd, Prince of Fferlis, who was the son maternally of Rhieingar, daughter and heiress of the aforementioned Goronwy ab Tudor (Trevor); nor is the absurdity diminished, but rather increased, if, with other manuscripts, we call her sole daughter and heir of Rhûn ab Cynan Veiniad (or Feiniad) of Tregaron, since in that case she would be a niece of Ednowen, Prince of Tegeingl. What does seem possible, and may be correct, is that Goronwy and Lluddocav, two sons of Tudor, married respectively Tangwystl, daughter of Dyvnwal ab Eunydd ab Alan ab Alser ab Tudwal Gloff, and Angharad, daughter of Iago ab Idwal Voel, King of North Wales; and the early date of Ednowen of Tegeingl is as mythical as that of Tudor.<sup>9</sup> The great absurdity of so placing Ednowain of Tegeingl, as he is called, is further demonstrated by the

<sup>9</sup> The name Ednowain Bendew is applied in different places to Ednowain ab Bleddyn ab Bledri of North Wales, to Ednowain ab Ednyved, of Meirionydd, ab Eunydd ab Brochwel, and to Owain, of Tegeingl, ab Cynan ab Avandred (so called from his mother); all of whom were distinct persons.

fact that Meredydd, Prince of Powys, who died in 1132, married his daughter. Probably this confusion has arisen from confounding this Tudor with Tewdwr ab Beli, who died in 750, and whose son, Dyvnwal, is said to have been slain at Hereford in 760;<sup>1</sup> but speculation as to the source of error would be here useless. We must dismiss these alleged alliances as untrue, and pass on to Anarawd, King of Wales. It may be remembered<sup>2</sup> that the Saxon Egbert had wasted the north of Wales up to Snowdon, and seized upon Rhuvoniog, &c., while Kenulph of Mercia had invaded and seized upon Powysland—nor does this country seem ever to have been regained in its entirety; for, during the reign of King Anarawd,<sup>3</sup> the Northern Britons, finding themselves cruelly pressed by the Saxons, Scots, Picts, and Danes, and losing their king Constantine in battle, besought King Anarawd to grant them a place of refuge in his dominions. He replied that, however willing to do so, he could not, because he had no territory at his disposal which he could offer them; but if they could dispossess the Saxons who had taken the country from the Conwy to the Dee, which included Tegeingl, they might settle there under their own princes, and he would assist them so far as he could. The Strathclyde Britons thereupon accepted the conditions, and in 890 (according to the *Gwentian Brut*) succeeded in dispossessing the Saxons and settling down in their new home. Eadred of Mercia, however, disliking this curtailing of his kingdom, gathered together an army and attacked the British, who, calling upon King Anarawd for help, and sending their goods and valuables beyond the river Conwy, met the invader at Cymryd, near Conway, where a battle was fought, resulting in the defeat of the Saxons.

<sup>1</sup> See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 161. And see note (l), *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 103-4, 107, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> See note (v).

In this battle Prince Tudwal received the wound in his knee which rendered him lame, and procured for him the surname of *Gloff*; but, in commemoration of the bravery he had displayed, his brothers gave him the territory of Uchelgoed (*sic*) Gwynedd.<sup>4</sup> Thus Prince Tudwal became connected with Gwynedd as well as Dyved. In the year 895 the Danes laid waste Brycheiniog, Gwent, and Gwynllywg.<sup>5</sup> Prince Mervyn was slain in Anglesey, contending with these barbarians, in 903, and his son Llewelyn left a daughter and heiress, Angharad, wife of Owain, son of Howel Dda; and so these two lines of Rhodri Mawr coalesced. Cadell, Prince of Ceredigion and Ystrad Tywi, died in 909, leaving issue: Howel surnamed Dda, Meurig, and Clydawg, the latter of whom was slain by his brother Meurig in 919,<sup>6</sup> leaving, however, a son Hyvaidd,<sup>7</sup> who died in 939. Anarawd, King of Wales, died in 915, leaving issue: Edwal or Idwal Voel, Elisise, and Meurig. We have a remarkable entry in the *Annales Cambriæ* under the year 917,<sup>8</sup> but in the *Brut y Tywysogion* under 914, namely, that Queen Aelfled or Edelfled died. This lady left her mark upon North Wales; for she rebuilt Chester, which had been destroyed by the Danes, and furthermore built a line of castles, one of which was at Brieg (Bridgnorth), by the forest of Morfe,<sup>9</sup> to restrain the Danes, who at this time were invading the territory which had been taken by the Saxons, but met with a great overthrow by the latter at Teotanhealh,<sup>1</sup> probably Tettenhall near Wolverhampton, in Staffordshire. The Welsh History tells us that this Edelfleda (the sister of Edward the Elder of England) ruled over Mercia for eight

<sup>4</sup> See note 7, p. 112, *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 167.

<sup>6</sup> *B. y Tyw.*, ad ann. 917.

<sup>7</sup> See note (w).

<sup>8</sup> See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 167-8, for all these events, except Merfyn's death in battle, the authority for which is MS. *C of Ann. Camb.*—[Eds.]

<sup>9</sup> *A.-S. Chron.*, ad ann. 912.—[Eds.]      <sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, ad ann. 910.—[Eds.]



years, and was buried at Gloucester.<sup>2</sup> She had a great contest with Huganus, lord of Brycheiniog, who was aided by the Danes.<sup>3</sup> But though she had been so serviceable to him, King Edward disinherited her daughter Ælfwyn, because she had privately married Regnald, son of Guthfrith, the Danish king. Wherefore Leofred, a Dane, and Gruffudd ab Madog, brother-in-law of the Prince of West Wales, came from Ireland with a great army to Snowdon, and overran North Wales up to Chester before King Edward heard of their arrival. King Edward died in 924-5, and was succeeded by his illegitimate son, Athelstan, who overcame Guthfrith, father of Regnald, King of the Danes, at York. According to the English accounts, King Edward not only curbed the Danes of East Anglia and Northumbria, but the kings of Wales, of the Scots, and of the Strathclyde Britons, also chose him for their Father and Lord.<sup>4</sup> It is evident from these passages that a considerable portion of North Wales, including Tegeingl, was at this time in the hands of the Saxons, and associated with the Earldom of Mercia.

The death of King Edwal Voel is variously narrated, the Welsh History saying that, Cadell ab Arthrael having been imprisoned by the English, Edwal Voel and his brother Elisse, endeavouring to revenge the insult, were slain. The *Brut y Tywysogion*<sup>5</sup> says that Cadell ab Arthrael was poisoned, and Idwal ab Rhodri and his brother Elisedd were killed by the Saxons. The *Annales Cambriæ*, however, state that Cadell ab Artmail died by poison in 943,

<sup>2</sup> Died at Tamworth, June 12th, 918; buried in St. Peter's, Gloucester. *A.-S. Chron., ad ann. 918.*—[Eds.]

<sup>3</sup> The authority for Huganus and his adventures is an author called "Joannes Castoreus" (i.e., John[Le]Bever, alias John of London, who *f.* 1310; see end of note (v)), cited in Powel (ed. 1584), pp. 47-8.—[Eds.]

<sup>4</sup> MS. Dom. A. VIII. of *A.-S. Chron., ad ann. 924*, and MS. Tiber. B. IV. of the same, *ad ann. 926.*—[Eds.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ad ann. 941.*

and Idwal (son of Rhodri) and his son Elizedd were slain by the Saxons. In 946,<sup>6</sup> according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, Cyngen ab Elisedd was poisoned, and Strath Clyde was laid waste by the Saxons.<sup>7</sup> Edwal Voel, King of Wales, had six sons, the Welsh History<sup>8</sup> tells us, namely, Meurig, Ieuav, Iago, Conan, Edwal Vychan, and Roderic; and his brother Elisse or Elized had a son, Conan, and a daughter, Trawst<sup>9</sup>, the mother of Conan (or Cynan) ab Seissyllt and Gruffudd ab Seissyllt, and it is added of Bleddyn ab Cynvyn; which last is probably an error, since there is here evidently a confusion with Angharad, the heiress of Powys, who came later.<sup>10</sup> It is curious that the Welsh History does not mention Llewelyn as a son of Seissyllt and the Princess Trawst;<sup>9</sup> and yet later, when speaking of his taking the throne, it says, "His pretence to North Wales was as being descended from Trawst, daughter to Elis, second son of Anarawd."<sup>11</sup> We have no information as to any further descendants of Cynan (or Conan) ab Elisse. Of the sons of King Edwal Voel we learn that Rhodri was slain in 966 or 968 by the Irish; Edwal Vychan was slain by his nephew Howel; Cynan left a son, Gruffudd of Anglesey; Iago was father of Cystennin Ddu, slain at Gwaith Hirbarth in 979; Ieuav died in 987, leaving issue: Howel, slain 984, Meurig, Ieuav, and Cadwallon; and some say that Cynan y Cŵn was son of that Howel, but others make him son of Howel Dda.<sup>2</sup> Meurig,

<sup>6</sup> See note (x).

<sup>7</sup> *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 169.

<sup>8</sup> Powel (ed. 1584), p. 51. *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 66, omits Rhodri.—[Eps.]

<sup>9</sup> This corrupt form is found in Powel, pp. 51, 83, but her name should be *Prawst*. She is called so in the *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 67.—[Eps.]

<sup>10</sup> For her and her marriages see pp. 125-8, *infra*.

<sup>11</sup> See Powel (ed. 1584), p. 83; and note 9 on this page.

<sup>2</sup> *Hanesyn Hên*, pp. 66-7, calls him (and cf. p. 124, *infra*) the son of Ieuaf ab Ieuaf ab Idwal Foel; and makes Cystennin Ddu and Iago

the eldest son, was set aside by his brothers Ieuav and Iago, who took the kingdom conjointly after the death of Howel Dda, Prince of South Wales, who was their guardian while under age, but who seems to have held the kingdom up to his death in 950.

Howel Dda had married Elen, who died in 928, and is stated to have been daughter of "Loumarc ab Himeyt ab Tancoyslt, daughter of Ouein ab Margetiut ab Tendos ab Regin ab Catgocaun ab Cathen ab Cloten ab Nougoy ab Arthur ab Petr ab Cincar ab Guortepir ab Aircol ab Triphun ab Clotri ab Gloitguin ab Nimet ab Dimet ab Maxim Guletic ab Protec ab Protector ab Ebiud ab Eliud ab Stater ab Pincrmisser ab Constans ab Constantine the Great,"<sup>3</sup> &c. It will be noticed that this pedigree agrees to a great extent with that previously given as applying to Gwengar or Ceingar,<sup>4</sup> the wife of Howel ab Rhys of Glamorgan. We may here remark that an appearance of extravagance has been given to certain Welsh pedigrees, probably by some devout mediæval writer who mistook the initials of Beli Mawr for *Beata Maria*.<sup>5</sup>

The issue of Howel Dda consisted of Owain, *ob.* 988; Rhûn, Lord of Ceredigion, *ob. viv. pat.*; Roderic, *ob.*

(whom it also states to have been slain at Gwaith *Hiraddug* [1032], not *Hirbarth*) brothers, and sons to the elder Ieuaf.—[Eds.]

<sup>3</sup> Harl. 3859, No. II. See the original in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 171; and *ib.*, viii. 86, for the corresponding pedigree in J. C. MS. 20, Nos. XII., XIII.—[Eds.]

<sup>4</sup> See p. 111, *supra*; and, for her name, see J. C. MS., No. XII., in *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 86; and *Lib. Land.*, p. 198.—[Eds.]

<sup>5</sup> See Harl. 3859, Nos. I., X. (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 170, 174) for the oldest form of the pedigrees which went up to Beli Mawr and his wife (or mother) "Anna, said to be cousin (*consobrina*) to the Virgin Mary." Cf. J. C. MS., Nos. IV., VI., in the first of which Anna is called "daughter of a Roman Emperor, and said by *the men of Egypt* to have been first cousin to the Virgin Mary" (*Y C.*, viii. 84).—[Eds.]

954<sup>6</sup>; and Guin, as MS. *B* of the *Ann. Camb.* calls him, but whom MS. *C* and *Brut y T.* call *Edywyn* and *Etwin*, probably through Saxon influence. Between the sons of Howel Dda and those of Edwal Voel great and bloody wars ensued, to the destruction of their country. But there is evidently some doubt as to the issue of Howel, since the Welsh History tells us that other writers say that his issue consisted of Owain, who did not long survive his father; Einion, Meredydd, Dyvnwal, Rhodri, and Edwin, the three last of whom were slain in the battle of Llanrwst by the sons of King Edwal Voel in 952<sup>7</sup>; Rhûn, Lord of Ceredigion, slain before his father; and Cynan y Cŵn, who possessed Anglesey. With respect to the last-mentioned person, we have before shown that he was, according to others, the son of Howel ab Ieuav ab King Edwal Voel<sup>8</sup>; but there was also a Cynan, son of King Edwal, Lord of Anglesey, who fell in conflict with Howel Dda, who likewise overcame his son Gruffudd, and quietly possessed himself of not only Anglesey, but also the rest of Gwynedd. There is, therefore, probably a confusion between these several Cynans. We hear nothing of the daughters of Howel Dda, but are inclined to accept the statement of Harl. MS. 4181, that his daughter Angharad<sup>9</sup> married Tudor, whose mother, Rhieingar, is stated to have been sole daughter and heiress of Llyddocca ab Hevaith ab Cradoc Vreichvras of Maeshevaith.<sup>10</sup> Either this was a different Caradog Vreichvras from the early and celebrated one, or—which is very probable—for the last *ab* we ought to read *to* Caradog Vreichvras. Who this Tudor was seems very doubtful.

<sup>6</sup> His *Welsh* name was Rhodri. See *Y Cymm.*, ix. 169, col. 1.—[Eds.]

<sup>7</sup> 955, *Ann. Camb.* (*Y C.*, *loc. cit.*).—[Eds.]

<sup>8</sup> See p. 117, *supra*; and cf. note 2 thereon with p. 124, *infra*.—[Eds.]

<sup>9</sup> See note (3). <sup>10</sup> = *Maes Hyfaidd*, now *Maesryfed*.—[Eds.]

Harl. MS. 4181 gives his pedigree as: son of Membyr (others say Ynyr) ab Cadvarth ab Gwrgeneu ab Gwaethiawc ab Benwyn ab Biordherch ab Gwnnan ab Gwnfiwrych ab Cadell Dehwrnlluc ab Pasgen ab Rhydwl<sup>1</sup> ab Ruth Fedelfrych ab Kendeirne Bendigaid ab Gwrtheirn Gwrtheni, &c., to Maximus. This pedigree suffers from the usual fault of defect; but he seems to have been the representative, through his mother, of the Princes of Fferlis, and probably belonged to a princely house in the neighbourhood of Brycheiniog or S. Wales. It has previously been shown what absurdities have been attributed to his line in the genealogical order; and the dates are nearly as irrational. Thus we are told that he married Angharad in 907 and died in 948, but his great-grandson Elystan Glodrydd was born in 927 or 933; that is, this extraordinary family produced three generations in twenty or twenty-six years. We cannot receive such statements. This Tudor was the co-temporary of the children of Howel Dda in the latter half of the ninth century, and his issue is given as Goronwy, Lluddocav, and Dingad. Goronwy married Tangwystl, daughter of Dyvnwal ab Alan ab Alser ab Tudwal Gloff, and, dying during his father's lifetime, left issue a sole daughter and heiress, Rhieingar, wife of Cuhelyn, and by him mother of Elystan Glodrydd. This Cuhelyn is stated to be the son of Ivor ab Severus ab Cadivor ab Gwenwynwyn ab Idnerth ab Iorwerth Hirvlawdd ab Tegonwy ab Teon.<sup>2</sup> Dingad, the third son of

<sup>1</sup> In *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 78, he is called *Bridw*; in Harl. 3859, No. XXIII. (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 180), he is called *Brittu*, and made the son of Catteyrn (for which *Cyndeyrn* is a mistake) son of Cadell Deyrnllwg; in J. C. MS. 20, No. XVI. (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 87) he is called *Bredoe*, and made son of Cadell D., who in turn is made Catteyrn ab Gwrtheyrn's son; for the latter see *Nennius*, §§ 44, 48.—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 85, *supra*. This is the form of the pedigree in *Hanesyn*

Tudor, is stated to have married Cecilia, daughter of Severus ab Cadivor, &c. Lluddocav, the second son, married Angharad, daughter of Iago ab Edwal ab Meurig, King of Wales, and had issue (with a daughter, Gwervul, wife of Ednowain Bendew) a son, Llywarch Gam, who married Letitia, daughter of Gwyrstan ab Gwaithvoed ab Gwrydyr ab Caradawg ab Lles Llawddeawg ab Ednyved ab Gwineu<sup>3</sup> ab Gwinawg Varvsyeh ab Ceidioab Corf ab Caenawg Mawr ab Tegonwy ab Teon. In other places the lines are given thus: "Gwrstan ab Gwaithvoed ab Cloddién ab Gwrydyr Hir ab Caradog ab Llew Llawddeawg ab Edneved ab Gwineu ab Gwaenog Goch ab Crydion ab Corf ab Cynawg ab Iorwerth Hirvlawdd;" that is to say, Gwrstan or Gwerystan is twelfth in descent from Iorwerth Hirvlawdd: and, on the other hand, Elystan Glodrydd, whose generation coincides, if taken from Tudor, with the grandchild of Gwrstan, is son of Cuhelyn ab Ivor ab Severus ab Cadivor Wenwyn (or ab Gwenwynwyn) ab Cadvan ab Owain ab Idnerth ab Iorwerth Hirvlawdd;<sup>4</sup> that is, Elystan is the eighth or ninth in descent from Iorwerth Hirvlawdd. There is also a third descent from the same source as stated, which we may mention here, namely: Trahaiarn ab Caradog ab Gwyn ab Collwyn ab Ednowain ab Bleddyn ab Bledrws ab Crydion ab Corf ab Cynawg ab Iorwerth Hirvlawdd;<sup>5</sup> that is, Trahaiarn is the tenth from Iorwerth Hirvlawdd, and yet we know that Trahaiarn ab Caradog was slain in 1079. We

*Hén*, p. 70, except that "Cadifor ab Gwenwynwyn" is replaced by "Kadwr wenwenn." See note 4, below.—[Eds.]

<sup>3</sup> *Gwinnan, Gwynnan*, in *Hanesyn Hén*, pp. 3, 71.—[Eds.]

<sup>4</sup> See an old form of this pedigree in J. C. MS. 20, No. XXX. (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 88): "Eltan M. Ouelyn. M. Cadwr. M. Gwenuenen. *Merch* Idnerth. M. Iorwoerth hirulawd."—[Eds.]

<sup>5</sup> This pedigree is found in *Hanesyn Hén*, p. 72, where Hywel ab Ywain is said to be "ab Ieuf ab Bleddyn ab Trahaiarn ab Caradog ab Gwyn," &c., but Crydion and Corf(f) are omitted.—[Eds.]

also know that Caradog ab Gwyn ab Collwyn was slain at Rhuddlan in 796-8; and we meet again with the same sequence of names as a junior line of Owain of Tegeingl, commonly called Ednowain Bendew. This line, therefore, of Trahaiarn ab Caradog must be rejected, even if we do not brand it as the composition of a later age. But we have seen from the above that Elystan Glodrydd, Prince of Ferllys, was the grandson of Tudor; and we have also seen that Tudor's place, as shown by the alliances, was in the same generation as the children of Howel Dda. How impossible is it, then, for Elystan Glodrydd and Alser ab Tudwal Gloff to have married the same person! Yet they are both said to have married Gwladus, daughter of Rhûn ab Ednowain, Prince of Tegeingl, though in other places this Rhûn is called son of Cynan Veiniad, lord of Tregaron, ab Gwaithvoed, lord of Ceredigion. There was, indeed, a Rhûn, lord of Ceredigion; but he is called brother of Owain ab Howel Dda, and died, as before shown, during his father's life. Is it possible that here is a confusion, and that Gwladus, the wife of Elystan Glodrydd, was the daughter and heiress of this Rhûn? Others, indeed, say that he married Gwenllian, daughter of Einion ab Howel Dda.

The Princes Ieuav and Iago, who had displaced their brother Meurig, were not left in quiet possession of even North Wales; for the Irish invaded Lleyn and burnt Holyhead, while the sons of Edwin ab Collwyn ravaged the country up to Towyn, where they were slain in 961. The Irish again invaded Anglesey in 966, and destroyed Aberffraw; so that evidently that nation was much more connected with the history of our forefathers than is generally supposed. Howel, the son of Ieuav, imprisoned and blinded his uncle Meurig in 972-4, who soon after died, leaving, however, issue Edwal and Ionaual, the rightful

heirs of the throne. Edgar, King of England, at the instigation of Iago entered Wales, we are told, and was met at Bangor by Howel ab Ieuav, who agreed to allow his uncle a share in the government. Edgar, Howel, and Iago then went to Chester, where they were met by Kenneth, King of the Scots, Malcolm,<sup>6</sup> King of Cumberland, Macon, King of the Isle of Man, and Dyrnwal, Sifrethws, and Ithel, three minor British kings, the first of whom is probably the same as Dunwallon, King of the Strathclyde Britons. These eight having owned him as lord, it is said, rowed him from his palace to St. John's Church and back again. Prince Ionaval was put to death by his cousin Cadwallon ab Ieuav. However, his brother Edwal, rightful King of Wales, escaped, and had his claims supported by the people of North Wales in 990, when he opposed the Danes, who were ravaging Anglesey. In South Wales, Owain ab Howel Dda had died, leaving issue: Einion, slain by the rebels in Gwentland, Llywarch, whose eyes had been put out by Godfrey, son of Harold the Dane, and Meredydd, who usurped both North and South Wales, paying no attention to the claims of his nephews, Edwin and Tewdwr, sons of his eldest brother Einion. About the year 991 Cadwallon, the only son of Meredydd, dying, his father made peace with Edwin, the rightful Prince of South Wales. It is worthy of note that in the *Annales Cambriæ* Howel, Meurig, and Cadwallon are called sons of Idwal, and the above-named Edwin ab Einion is called in MS. *B* Guyn, and in MS. *C* Owein ab Einion. The same authority also states that Tewdwr ab Einion was slain, apparently at the Battle of Llangwm, between the sons of Meurig, King of Wales, and Meredydd

<sup>6</sup> Malcolm ab Dyfnwal [= "Dunwallon"] ab Owen, one of the Gaelic dynasty of Cumbria (died 997). See note (v); and for a contemporary notice of him and Kenneth, see the Irish *Saltair na Rann* (ed. Stokes, Clarendon Press, 1883), ll. 2349-52, 2373-6.—[Eds.]



of South Wales. The *Brut y Tywysogion* informs us that Cadwallon ab Ieuav was lord of the isle of Anglesey and Meirionydd, and that in 988 Meredydd of South Wales was obliged to pay a tax of a penny a man to the Danes. The same authority agrees with the *Annales* in saying that Tewdwr ab Einion was slain at the Battle of Llangwm in 993. Both state that Cynan ab Howel reigned in Gwynedd, and that Cynan ab Howel was killed, which events the *Brut* places respectively in the years 999 and 1003; and this Cynan must have been the person called Cynan y Cŵn, whom, curiously enough, Harl. MS. 1977 makes son of Ieuav ab Ieuav ab King Edwal Voel.<sup>7</sup> The same MS. also gives Cystennin Ddu ab Iago ab King Edwal a brother Owen, "of whom," it says, "is William, Baron of Malpas;" and it also mentions Angharad, a daughter of Prince Meurig ab King Edwal Voel. Of King Edwal it says that he was slain by Sweyne, son of Harold, King of England, in 998. King Idwal ab Meurig left at his death an only son, still very young, named Iago; whereupon there arose rival claimants for the government in the persons of Aeddan ab Blegeurit, or Bledkeurid,<sup>8</sup> and Cynan ab Howel; but, the latter dying soon after, Llewelyn ab Seissyllt made a claim upon the throne. In order to understand this claim, we must return to Prince Meredydd of South Wales, who had taken upon himself by usurpation the government of the whole kingdom. It will be remembered<sup>9</sup> that Prawst, the daughter of Prince Elisise ab Anarawd, had married Seissyllt, by whom she had apparently three sons, Cynan, Gruffudd, and Llewelyn,<sup>9</sup> who were thus second cousins to

<sup>7</sup> So does *Hanesyn Hên*; see note 2 on p. 117-8, *supra*, and cf. p. 119. He is mentioned in *Cyfoesi Myrddin* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 223)—"Kynan y Kwn Kymry bieinyd."—[Eds.]

<sup>8</sup> See p. 117, *supra*, and note 9 thereon; also p. 128, *infra*.

<sup>9</sup> *H Hên*, p. 67, ignores Gruffudd.—[Eds.] <sup>10</sup> See p. 219, *inf.*, n. 1.

King Edwal ab Meurig. Of these, Llewelyn married Angharad, who became the sole daughter and heir of Prince Meredydd of South Wales upon the death of her sole surviving brother, Cadwallon, in 991. We have seen that this Prince Meredydd, who had usurped the kingdom of South Wales, despite the right of his nephews, and that of North Wales, despite the right of the infant King Iago, died of grief about the year 998, being so unfortunate in his contests with the invading Danes that he was compelled, like the Saxons of England, to pay them a hateful tax. The death of his only remaining son, Cadwallon, must have been a great blow to him, since his male line thus became extinct. Angharad, his only daughter and heiress, married, firstly, Llewelyn ab Seissyllt, and, secondly, Cynvyn Hirdref,<sup>1</sup> or, as others think, Cynvyn ab Gwyrystan, and had issue by both husbands. In Hengwrt MS. 113-4, which is ascribed to Ienan Brechva,<sup>2</sup> occurs a passage to the following effect (folio 54):—"Let us now turn to the *talaiith* of Mathravel, in Powys, which descended to Bleddyn ab Cynvyn through Angharad, his mother, the daughter of Meredydd ab Owain ab Hywel Dda ab Cadell; and she indeed had been the wife of Llewelyn ab Seissyllt, the mother of Gruffudd ab Llewelyn; and, because of the death of her brother Rhys, the *talaiith* descended to Gruffudd ab Llewelyn through his mother; and, because of the failure of heirs of Gruffudd ab Llewelyn ab Seissyllt, the *talaiith* descended to Bleddyn ab Cynvyn, whose descendants had it." The usually received account is that by Llewelyn ab Seissyllt, who was slain in 1023, Angharad had a son, Gruffudd, slain in 1063, who strengthened his position by marrying Editha the Fair,

<sup>1</sup> In *Hanesyn Hén*, p. 90, Hyar, daughter of the Blaidd Rhudd, and also mother of Maredudd ab Bleddyn (*ib.*, p. 4), is said to have had a daughter Sannant by Cynfyn Hirdref (cf. note 5, p. 127, *infra*). For the name *Sannan* see p. 92, *supra* (note 5).—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> See note 1, p. 85, *supra*.

daughter of Algar, Earl of Mercia, and by her had issue Ithel and Meredydd, both slain in 1068, and an only daughter, Nest, violated by Fleance, son of Banquo, whom her father had kindly received when a fugitive and afterwards married to Trahaiarn ab Caradog, Prince of North Wales. So much interest attaches to these incidents, that it may be excusable to quote from a paper sent by C. W. Buckler, Esq., Surrey Herald Extraordinary, which says that Nesta, daughter and heir of Gruffudd ab Llewelyn, married, firstly, Trahaiarn ab Caradog, and, secondly, Fleance, by whom she had issue Walter, High Steward of Scotland. The Rev. R. W. Eyton says that Fleance, son of Banquo, Thane of Lochaber, slain 1048-53, married Guenta, daughter of Gruffudd ab Llewelyn, and had issue by her Alan Fitz Flaald, who died in 1114, and, having married Avelina, Adalina, or Adeliza ab Hesding, had issue by her three sons: (1) William Fitzalan, who married Isabel, daughter and heir of Helias de Say, lord of Clun; (2) Walter Fitzalan, Steward of Scotland, who married Escheria, daughter of Thomas de Londoniis, Hostiarius to King William I. of Scotland; (3) Jordan Fitzalan. So that from the eldest of these sons descended the Earls of Arundel, from the second the Stewarts, Kings of Scotland and England. There is a remarkable passage in Jesus College MS. 20, which says that Kynwin (Cynvyn), Gruffudd ab Llewelyn, and Trahayarn ab Cradawc were three brothers, sons of Angharad, daughter of Maredudd ab Ewein ab Howel Dda.<sup>3</sup> Both *Annales* and *Brut* (*ad a.* 1139-40) speak of Bleddyn ab Cynvyn [ab] Gwyn, or Bleddyn ab Gwyn;

<sup>3</sup> No. XXVII.; *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 88. As the MS. stands it states this Cynfyn to be Bleddyn [ab] Cynfyn's great-grandfather; but if the "M." (= *mab*) between "Gwedylstan" and "Kynvin" (see pp. 127-8, *infra*) is wrongly inserted (as it very frequently is in this MS.), then the Cynfyn referred to would be Bleddyn's *father*.—[Eps.]

and the grandfather of Trahaiarn ab Caradog is also said to be Gwyn. So that the above passage probably means that Angharad married twice; namely, Seissyllt and Gwyn. Who this Gwyn was is perhaps difficult to determine. Later writers have, as previously observed, confused him with Gwyn, the father of Caradog ab Gwyn ab Collwyn; which Caradog was slain at Rhuddlan in 796-8, and could not therefore possibly have been the father of a man slain in 1079. He may perhaps be the same person as Gwyn ab Alan ab Alser ab Tudwal Gloff. But, again, if Angharad married Cynvyn Hirdrev, that was an entirely different person whose ancestry is deduced from Cunedda, and who, according to a passage in the *Golden Grove Book*, married Haer, daughter and heir of Cillyn ab y Blaidd Rhudd, of the Gêst,<sup>4</sup> who had for her second husband Bleddyn ab Cynvyn, but by Cynvyn Hirdrev had issue a daughter, Gwervul or Generus, wife of Gwrgeneu ab Moreiddig, the father of Rhirid Vlaidd of Penllyn—who, however, is called in Hengwrt MS. 113-4 the son of Kelynen ab Gwrgeneu ab Gollwyn ab Ednowain ab Bleddyn ab Pladrwst (Bledrws) ab Ceidio Gôch ab Cynawg Mawr, whom we had previously as the son of Iorwerth Hirvlawdd.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the later writers call Cynvyn, the husband of Angharad, the son of Gwerystan ab Gwaithvoed of Powys, whose pedigree up to Iorwerth Hirvlawdd we have previously given<sup>6</sup>; and, indeed, the Cynvyn referred to in the passage of the Jesus Coll. MS.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Near Tremadoc in Eifionydd, Carnarvonshire.—[Eds.]

<sup>5</sup> In *Hanesyn Hên*, pp. 90-1, Cynfyn Hirdref's three daughters are said to have been Sannant (see note 1 on p. 125, *supra*), Perwyr, and Hyar. And Hyar is there said to have married Gwrgeneu ab Collwyn, and to have had by him Rhirid *Flaidd*, so called from his descent from the *Blaidd* Rhudd, whose daughter Hyar was the mother of Sannant and Hyar the younger by Cynfyn Hirdref.—[Eds.]

<sup>6</sup> P. 121; and cf. pp. 85, 120, *supra* and *infra*.

<sup>7</sup> No. XXVII. *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 88.

would seem to be an earlier one, for the pedigree is there given as "Bledynt [ab] Kynwyn ab Gwedylstan ab Kynvin," which last-named Kynvin is the one to whom reference is made.<sup>8</sup> Is it possible that this Kynvin or Cynvyn is the one who married Prawst,<sup>9</sup> and that his grandson or great-grandson married Angharad? There is a curious passage in the *Golden Grove Book*, which, though in itself a late MS., is valuable as giving the several authorities from which it is compiled. This gives the issue of Collwyn ab Ednowain ab Bleddyn, King of North Wales, as (1) Gwyn, King of North Wales, who lived in 900; and (2) Eynon ab Collwyn. Gwyn had issue Caradog, who for his first wife married Angharad, daughter and heir of Meredydd, King of North Wales, and relict of Llewelyn ab Seissyllt ab Gwerystan ab Gwaithvoed; the name of his second wife is not given, but by her he had a son, Trahaiarn ab Caradog, who began his reign in 1073, and was slain in 1079. He married Nest, daughter to Gruffudd ab Llewelyn ab Seissyllt ("potius fil' Llŷn ab Seissyllt"), King of North Wales. It seems most probable that Angharad married, firstly, Llewelyn ab Seissyllt, and, afterwards, Cynvyn, ancestor of the later Royal House of Powys. It was in this way that Gruffudd ab Llewelyn claimed any right in the Throne of Wales; but another interest attaches to him as the first of his family who married an Englishwoman, his wife being Editha the Fair, afterwards wife of Harold II. of England. She was the sister of Earl Morcar and of Edwin, who, as Lord or King of the northern parts of Wales, including Tegeingl, led an army of Welshmen and others to Northampton to compel Edward the Confessor to restore Mercia to Morcar, from whom it had been taken and bestowed upon the hated Tostig, brother of Harold. This is the "*Edwin Brenhin*

<sup>8</sup> See note on p. 126, *supra*.

<sup>9</sup> See note 9, p. 117, *supra*; and cf. p. 124.

*Tegeingl*” who set himself up as a fictitious Welsh Prince, and, borrowing an imaginary Welsh pedigree, was claimed as a descendant from Howel Dda by later writers. But he and his brother seem to have endeared themselves to their subjects; and they were no doubt assisted by the popularity of their brother-in-law, Gruffudd ab Llewelyn, and the hatred the Welsh bore to Harold the son of Godwyn. This Editha was the daughter of Algar or Alfgar, Earl of Mercia (to whom Harold’s Earldom was granted in 1048-55) by Ælveva his wife; he was son of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, by Godiva (the celebrated beauty of Coventry), daughter of Thorold, Sheriff of Lincoln, son of Leofwine, who was descended from Leofric, Earl of Mercia under Ethelbald. Prince Llewelyn ab Seissyllt had been slain in 1023 by Howel and Meredydd, the sons of Edwin, to whom the Princedom of South Wales rightfully belonged; but his death was avenged by his nephews, the sons of Cynan ab Seissyllt, who slew Meredydd. Upon the death of Earl Godwin, Edward the Confessor had bestowed his Earldom on Harold, and, as previously noticed, Harold’s on Alfgar, who thus became Earl of Mercia, which included part of North Wales. But in 1055 Alfgar, being convicted of treason, fled to his son-in-law, Prince Gruffudd ab Llewelyn, and craved his assistance; they marched together to Hereford, defeated Ralph the Earl, and burnt the city. Peace having been restored for a time, Alfgar returned to his Earldom; but two years later he was again at war with Edward, and Harold was sent to punish him and his son-in-law, Prince Gruffudd. Despite King Edward, Alfgar was by Prince Gruffudd’s help restored to his Earldom of Chester; but the English army under Harold burnt the palace of the Prince at Rhuddlan and his fleet in the harbour. Though it carries us somewhat beyond our point, we must continue this portion of the history. Harold, having returned from Normandy in

1063, invaded South Wales in conjunction with his brother Tostig, on the invitation of Caradog ab Gruffudd ab Rhyderch, and Prince Gruffudd ab Llewelyn hastened to oppose him, but was treacherously slain, and his head sent to Harold. His death is said to have been brought about by Madoc Mîn, Bishop of Bangor, of the tribe of Ednowain, the reason of whose enmity to Prince Gruffudd ab Llewelyn will better appear by returning to Iago ab Idwal, rightful King of Wales. The Welsh History observes that it was seldom known but that one of the princes was an usurper, and particularly in North Wales, where from the time of Edwal Voel none had legally ascended to the Crown excepting Edwal, the son of Meurig, eldest son to Edwal Voel, in whose line the undoubted title of North Wales lawfully descended. The kingdom of Wales, and the principedom of Gwynedd, which went with it, had been long usurped by the descendants of Ieuav ab Edwal Voel; but the last of them had been slain by Prince Meredydd of South Wales, who usurped, as we have seen, the government of the whole country. Then came Llewelyn ab Seissyllt, and at his death in 1023 Iago, rightful King of Wales, thought it a good opportunity for regaining his principedom of Gwynedd, which he did. But Prince Llewelyn ab Seissyllt had been a very popular sovereign, and so far gained the good will of his people that they preferred his son even to their rightful king; consequently, in 1037-9 Prince Gruffudd ab Llewelyn was able to gather together a great army and attack King Iago ab Idwal, who was slain, leaving, however, by his wife Avandred an only son, Cynan ab Iago, sometimes called Cynan ab Avandred from his mother, a person of high position. She was the daughter of Gweir ab Pill ab Cynan ab Cynddelw Gam ab Elgudi ab Gwrysnad ab Diwgludd ' ab Tegawc ab Cyvnerth ' ab Madog Madogion

<sup>1</sup> *Al.*: "Dwywg Llyth ab Tegawg ab D(w)yfnerth [*al.* Dwyferch]

ab Sandde Bryd Angel ab Llywarch Hên. This name of *Cynan* has caused much confusion, for it has been used for *Cyncyn*, and so associated with the later Royal House of Powys; for instance, in the Hengwrt MS. by Ieuan Brechva,<sup>2</sup> previously quoted, it is stated that the daughter of Rhiwallon ab *Cynan* was wife of Rhys ab Têwdwr; but it is known that the wife of this Rhys was Gwladus, daughter of Rhiwallon ab *Cyncyn*. In this way, aided by an imperfect knowledge of the contractions, *Cynan ab Avandred*, or *Cynan ab Vandred* as sometimes written, became *Cynan Veiniad* or *Vieniard*, and subsequently by a further corruption *Neniad* and *Neniaf*.<sup>3</sup> In this altered form, but still associated with *Cynvyn* of the Powys line, this name has been placed as an uncle of the latter, and as a brother of his father Gwyn or Gwedylstan or Gwerystan or Gwrstan, or whatever other form the name or person may have. However, when his descendants are spoken of, the greatest variations exist; thus he is stated to have had, as we have shown above, a son Rhûn, father of a daughter and heiress Gwladus, the wife of both Elystan Glodrydd and Aler, son of Tudwal Gloff ab Rhodri Mawr; but in another place this Gwladus is stated to be the daughter and heir of Rhûn ab Rhûn ab Owain Bendew, Prince of Tegeingl, ab *Cynan*; so that evidently great liberties have been taken with his name. *Cynan*, who was rightful King of all Wales and Prince of Gwynedd, had a sister previously mentioned, the Princess Angharad, consort of Lluddocav ab Tudor, whom

(ab) D(w)yfnerthion." See *Hanesyn Hên*, pp. 4, 92-3, for two forms of this pedigree. And cf. pp. 142-3, 150, *infra*.—[EDS.]

<sup>2</sup> See thereon note 1 on p. 85, *supra*; and cf. pp. 75, 108, 125, 127, 132, 147, 151, and note (e).

<sup>3</sup> In *Hanesyn Hên* "Feinniat" (p. 6) and "Neiniat" (p. 85) are given as the name of the son of Gwaithfoed, and father of Ednowain Bendew, and on p. 96 he is called "Neinuat," father of Medlan (p Meddian) Benllydan, for whom see p. 150, *infra*.—[EDS.]



some have considered a member of the Royal House of South Wales. King Cynan, upon the slaughter of his father, sought refuge in Ireland, and married Rhanillt, daughter of Anlaf or Auloedd, King of Dublin. Of this lady the Hengwrt MS. of Ieuan Brechva says:—"Ranild, the mother of Gruffudd ab Cynan, was the daughter of Anloid ab Sidric ab Silircian ab Ssidric ab Harold Harfagyr ab Swyrder Sur ab Beorn ab Swyrderw ab Harald Harfagar (which Harald Harfagar conquered all Llychlyn and expelled all its kings from it, and he himself was conqueror of the King of Black Llychlyn) ab Haddan Ddu ab Gwrchryd the King, ab Helgwr ab Halden Milde ab Esden ab Halden Chireibren, the first king who came to Llychlyn from Suesia. The mother of Ranallt was Maelgros, daughter of Dwwlin ab Dwlhyl, King of the fifth part of Ireland,"<sup>4</sup> &c. The Heralds commissioned in the reign of Henry VII. to inquire into the old writings and evidences in Wales have preserved to us the true name of Edwal ab Owain Bendew ab Cynan ab Avandred, which was first shortened into Eden Owain Bendew, and then into Ednowain Bendew,<sup>5</sup> which form has become the one generally known in later times; and the great genealogist Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, and others, having probably before them evidences now lost or destroyed, speak of him as Chiefest of the Peers of North Wales, though he is not considered the first of the Noble Tribes—a position given to Hwva ab Cynddelw ab Cwnnws ab Cyllin ab Maelog Dda ab Greddyff ab Cwnnws Ddu ab Cyllin Ynad ab Peredur Tyrnedd ab Meilir ab Eryr Gwyr

<sup>4</sup> This corrupt pedigree, with many variations, will be found in *H. Hén*, pp. 61-2. "Black *Llychlyn*" means Norway or the Scandinavian peninsula, and "the 5th part of Ireland" alluded to is Leinster.—[Eds.]

<sup>5</sup> He is called "*Ednowain Bendew*" more than once in *Hanesyn Hén*; e.g., on p. 85, and on p. 6, where Morwyl his daughter (see p. 136, note 3, *infra*) is mentioned as the mother of Goronwy ab Ywain, and the archaic form "*Etnywein pentew*" is given.—[Eds.]

Gorsedd ab Tyde ab Tevodedd ab Gwylvyw ab Marchwyn ab Machwyn ab Bran ab Pyll ab Cynyr ab Meilir Meiliriawn ab Gwron ab Cunedda.<sup>6</sup> This Hwva flourished 1137-71, and his mother was Ceinvryd, sister of Madog ab Edwal ab Owain Bendew.<sup>6</sup> It was the prerogative of Hwva to place the Crown upon the head of the Prince after he had been anointed by the Bishop of Bangor. His ancestor, Maelog Dda, was also father of Caradog Hardd and Gwrydyr, the latter of whom was father of Caradog, father of Nevydd Hardd of Nant Conwy. Caradog Hardd<sup>7</sup> was father of Sanddev Hardd, father of Moreiddig, from whom many in North Wales descend, and who has previously been mentioned as an ancestor, by an heiress, of the House of Gwydir. King Cynan had also a younger son, Meredydd, Lord of Coed Talog and Menodd. Owain Bendew married Gwervul, daughter of Lluddocav ab Tudor, and, as he was himself brother to the King of Wales, it is evident that both he and his descendants would oppose in every way the usurpers of the throne. However popular a Prince Gruffudd ab Llewelyn may have been, and however worthy in the eyes of others, yet in the estimation of the descendants of King Cynan he must be viewed as an enemy who had deprived them of their just rights, and in the eyes of a Bishop he would be one who was persistently acting against right and justice; so that the Bishop might well deem that in removing him he was doing what was right, though our historians choose to present his action as a most treacherous one. We are told that Bishop Madog afterwards sailed for Dublin, where his relatives then were, but the ship

<sup>6</sup> *H. Hén*, pp. 84-5, 87, where Hwfa's pedigree heads the Pedigrees of the Tribes, and the variant "Kelling (or Kelling) enfyf [*ynfyd* 'foolish'] ap Peredur (or Paredur) teir noe [*al. teyrnoc*] ap Meilir eryr gwyr gorsedd" occurs. And cf. p. 87, *sup.*, note 5.—[Eds.]

<sup>7</sup> Also called "Cadrod Hardd." For him, Moreiddig, and Sanddef, see pp. 75, *supra*, 137-8, 148, *infra*.

foundered, and he perished, though all the remainder of the crew were saved. Madog the Bishop was probably the only one of the family who dared to remain in North Wales at that time; there may indeed have been several other brothers of King Gruffudd ab Cynan, but comparatively little is told us of the senior line of the Kings of Wales, no doubt for the reason given above, that they were seldom on the throne. About the year 1040 Cynan the King led over large forces from Ireland, and, taking Prince Gruffudd ab Llewelyn by stratagem, carried him off to his ships; but the men of North Wales rose against their true king, and released Prince Gruffudd from his custody. Shortly afterwards, Cynan made another attempt to regain his territory, but his ships were scattered by a storm.

Upon the death of Prince Gruffudd ab Llewelyn, North Wales had been given, we are told, by Harold, under Edward the Confessor's orders, to Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, sons of Cynvyn. In 1068, at the battle of Mechain, Rhiwallon was slain contending with Ithel and Meredydd, sons of Prince Gruffudd ab Llewelyn; but of these the former fell in the same engagement, and the latter was pursued to the mountains, where he perished of cold and hunger. Thus Bleddyn ab Cynvyn ruled alone until 1073, when he was slain by Rhys ab Owain ab Edwin, the rightful Prince of South Wales, and the men of Ystrad Tywi. After his death no attention was paid to the claims of his children, or indeed the far higher claims of King Cynan or his sons; but Trahaiarn ab Caradog obtained the throne, possibly as having married Nest, the daughter, and, by the death of her brothers, sole heiress of Prince Gruffudd ab Llewelyn. Prince Gruffudd ab Cynan now came over from Ireland, and reduced Anglesey to his subjection. He was subsequently met by Trahaiarn ab Caradog and defeated at Bron

yr Erw;<sup>8</sup> but in the year 1079, he having levied an army of Scots and Irish, and being joined by Prince Rhys ab Tewdwr of South Wales, who had recently acquired the throne to which he was undoubtedly the right heir, these two met Trahaiarn ab Caradog, together with his cousins Caradog, Gruffudd, and Meilir, the sons of Rhiwallon ab Cynvyn, on the Mountain of Carn,<sup>9</sup> and defeated them, both Trahaiarn and his cousins being slain in the conflict. Thus King Gruffudd ab Cynan ascended the throne of Wales in 1079; and, as the dates show, his brother Owain became Prince or Lord of Tegeingl, whose descendants afterwards held their estates there *per baroniam*. This is how the somewhat curious circumstance arises that among the noble Tribes or Peers of Gwynedd are counted both the descendants of Owain Bendew, called by the British title of Prince of Tegeingl, and those of Edwin, called by the Saxon title of King of Tegeingl, and bearing arms similar to those of Edward the Confessor. King Gruffudd had a long reign, having apparently regained the kingdom when young, and his adversary being rather the contemporary of his father than of himself. He endeavoured to establish peace and concord by an alliance with the inimical house of Edwin, and took as his consort Angharad, the daughter of Owain ab Edwin; but such alliances do not always result in the good intended, for, as the Welsh History says, Owen ab Edwin, the King's Chief Counsellor, whose daughter Gruffudd had married (having himself also married Ewrydda<sup>1</sup> the daughter of Cynvyn, aunt to Cadwgan), upon some private grudge or other called the English

<sup>8</sup> This place is near Clynnog Fawr (Carnarvonshire), and still retains its name.—[Eds.]

<sup>9</sup> This place is unidentified. Perhaps in S. Cardiganshire.—[Eds.]

<sup>1</sup> In older Welsh *Ewerydd*, *Iwerydd*, *Ywerydd*, later *Ewrydd*; *Ewrydda* is a Latinized form. For her see *B. y Tyw.*, p. 140.—[Eds.]

into Wales, and at this time openly joined his forces with theirs, and led the whole army over into Anglesey. Gruffudd and Cadwgan, finding how they were betrayed by their dearest friend, as they thought him, judged it prudent to sail privately for Ireland. The English forces evacuated Anglesey about the year 1098, leaving Owen ab Edwin, who had invited them over, as Prince of the country! However, King Gruffudd, having made peace with the Normans, soon returned to Anglesey, while Cadwgan had Cardigan and part of Powys. Some MSS. have made a considerable confusion here by saying that Edwin, instead of his son Owain, married Ewrydda,<sup>2</sup> daughter of Cynvyn, and giving to Owen as wife Morvudd,<sup>3</sup> daughter of Ednowain Bendew,—which is absurd. The above-mentioned Cadwgan ab Bleddyn ab Cynvyn married Gwenllian, daughter of King Gruffudd ab Cynan: and his brother, Meredydd ab Bleddyn, Prince of Powys, who died in 1132, married twice, firstly, Hunydd, daughter of Eunydd ab Morien ab Morgeneu ab Gwaithgar ab Elystan, natural son of Gwaithvoed, called by some Elystan Glodrydd; and, secondly, Eva, daughter of Bledrws ab Edwal ab Owain Bendew. Since Owain Bendew is accredited with eleven sons, probably some of them were grandsons. King Gruffudd died in 1137, and was buried in Bangor Cathedral after a reign of fifty-seven years. He was the last who used the title of King of Wales, the later Sovereigns using only that of Prince. About the same time died also Gruffudd ab Rhys ab Tewdwr, Prince of South Wales, who had married Gwenllian, daughter of King Gruffudd ab Cynan, and by her left a son often called the Lord Rhys, she afterwards marrying Cadwgan ab Bleddyn ab Cynvyn. The Welsh History says that King Gruffudd had three sons,

<sup>2</sup> See note 1 on last page.

<sup>3</sup> Called *Morwyl* on p. 6 of *Hanesyn Héu*. See pp. 131-2, *supra*, notes 3, 5.—[Eds.]

Prince Owain Gwynedd, Cadwaladr and Cadwallon, and five daughters, Marret, Susannah, Ranullt, Agnes and Gwenllian; <sup>4</sup> others, e.g., Harl. MS. 1977, give more. Of these, Marret or Marred was wife of Howel ab Ieuan (or Ieuav) ab Trahaiarn ab Caradog, Susannah is stated to have been wife of Madog ab Meredydd, Prince of Powys, <sup>5</sup> Ranullt of Idnerth ab Cadwgan ab Elystan Glodrydd, and Gwenllian, firstly of Gruffudd ab Rhys ab Tewdwr, and secondly of Cadwgan ab Bleddyn ab Cynvyn. Prince Cadwaladr married thrice, firstly, Dyddgu, daughter of Meredydd ab Bleddyn ab Cynan (i.e., Cynvyn); secondly, Gwervul, daughter of Gwrgeneu ab Howel ab Ieuav ab Cadwgan ab Elystan Glodrydd; and thirdly, Alice, daughter of the Earl of Clare. By his second wife he had issue Cadwgan, who by Gwenllian, daughter of Prince Owain Cyveiliog, had issue Thomas and Tangwystl, wife of Moreiddig ab Sanddev Hardd. The eldest son, Prince Owain Gwynedd, who died in 1171, by his two alliances did much to reconnect the several divided interests; for he married, firstly, Gwladus, daughter of Llywarch ab Trahaiarn ab Caradog the usurper, and, secondly, Gwrstan, or Christian, <sup>6</sup> daughter of Grono ab Owain ab Edwin of Tegeingl, his first cousin, for which he was excommunicated by St. Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury—indeed, one of the complaints made by the clergy of that day against the Welsh Princes is that they would marry their cousins within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity without dispensations. Among other good actions of King Gruffudd, he is said to have revived the order of

<sup>4</sup> *H. H.*, p. 61, says the same, but calls Marret "Marfredra," and on p. 72 (where she is made "mother to Howel ab Ieuaf;" but the pedigree to which this statement is immediately appended is one of "Howel ab Ewein ab Ieuaf ab Bleddyn ab Trahayarn," &c.) "Marideda." See p. 140, *infra*, and note 8 thereon.—[Eds.]

<sup>5</sup> And mother by him of Gruffudd Maelor, Ywain Fychan, and Elisise, says *Hanesyn Hén*, p. 71.—[Eds.]

<sup>6</sup> Called *Cristin* in *Hanesyn Hén*, p. 6.—[Eds.]

Bards, who were the heralds and genealogists of their day, and who are said even then to have got into a state of great confusion. To this revision may very probably be attributed the fact that, in so many of the pedigrees which come before us, it is evident than an elision of several generations has been made; though undoubtedly many attempts to engraft English families on to Welsh stocks because they owned land in Wales, and other irregularities, crept in at a later date. King Gruffudd, who was born in Ireland, and whose mother was Irish, also introduced better musical instruments into Wales than they had previously had.

We have seen that Owain Gwynedd, Prince of Wales, by his double marriage united most of the contending elements. Gwenllian, his daughter by his first wife, married Gruffudd Maelor, Prince of Powys, and her half-sister Angharad married Owain Cyveiliog, Prince of Powys, both grandchildren of Meredydd ab Bleddyn. Prince Davydd, his son, married Emma, sister of Henry II. of England, and had a daughter and heir, Angharad, wife of Gruffudd ab Cadwgan ab Bleddyn ab Cynvyn, by whom she was mother of Lleucu (or, as some say, Angharad), wife of Sanddev Hardd of Burton and Llai, whose son Moreiddig married, as before mentioned, Tangwystl, daughter of Cadwgan ab Prince Cadwaladr, younger son of King Gruffudd ab Cynan. So that the granddaughter of the younger son married the great-great-grandson of the elder son of King Cynan. But we are told that Sanddev's father, Caradog Hardd, married Angharad, the daughter of Gruffudd ab Carwed of Môn, and her cousin Morvudd, daughter of Marchudd ab Carwed of Môn, married Ivor (living 1094), son of Idnerth ab Cadwgan ab Elystan Glodrydd. If we compare this with the Royal Pedigree, we find as contemporary generations Caradog Hardd, Gruffudd ab Cadwgan of Nannau, and Ivor ab Idnerth ab Cadwgan ab Elystan Glodrydd. Thus the

father-in-law of Gruffudd ab Cadwgan, i.e., Prince Davydd, is contemporary with Idnerth; but Prince Davydd died in 1204, whereas Idnerth's son defeated some Normans in 1094, as is said,—which is absurd. But again, we have shown above that Tudor was of the contemporary generation with the sons of Howel Dda. Now Prince Davydd is the sixth generation from Meredydd ab Howel Dda, and equally so Ivor, Lord of Radnor, is the sixth generation from Tudor; from which it would appear most probable that the Ivor who defeated the Normans at Aber Llech was some three or four generations earlier than the son of Idnerth. We have already noticed that the wife attributed to Elystan Glodrydd is also attributed to the son of Tudwal Gloff ab Rhodri Mawr, even though the wife of Elystan's grandfather, Ivor, is called the daughter of Tryffin ab Mervyn ab Rhodri Mawr; that is, a man marries the great-granddaughter of Rhodri Mawr, and yet his grandson marries the widow (or subsequent wife) of Rhodri Mawr's grandson. But again, in the next generation Cadwgan ab Elystan Glodrydd is said to marry Eva, sister of Iestyn ab Gwrgan, of Glamorgan; but this very Eva in other manuscripts is called the wife of Cynan "*Veiniad*," a corrupt word without a meaning;<sup>7</sup> and we are told that Gwladus, daughter and sole heir of Rhûn ab Cynan "*Veiniad*," was wife of Elystan Glodrydd, whose son thus marries his own great-grandmother. It would be only confusing to refer again to the absurdity of the dates. There is a suspicious resemblance between this pedigree and that attributed to "Ednowain Bendew," as he is called. When contracted, the passage "Edn. vab Cn. vab En. Gd." is very like "Edn. vab Cn. Vd. vab Gd.," and, as we have seen, the alliances are taken from that pedigree. Among the sons of Cadwgan we find Seissyllt of Buallt and Llewelyn of Buallt, but according

<sup>7</sup> See p. 131, *supra*, and note 3 thereon; and cf. note 5 on p. 132.



to Harl. MS. 2288, Seissyllt is son of Llewelyn ; and again, Ieuav or Ieva, Lord of Arwystli, is the son of Ednowain ab Trahaiarn ab Caradog, not of Idnerth, and his son Howel ab Ieuav died in 1185. We have also Howel ab Ieuav in the Pedigree of Owain Bendew, and we have Ednowain ab Bleddyn ab Bledrws ab Ednowain (Bendew), just as we have Ednowain ab Bleddyn ab Bledrws in the ancestry of Trahaiarn ab Caradog, whose son Ednowain is called father of Ieuav, Lord of Arwystli, father of Howel of Arwystli ; and yet we are told that this Howel ab Ieuav gained possession of Arwystli with his wife, Merinedd,<sup>8</sup> the daughter of King Gruffudd ab Cynan. It is evident that the three pedigrees of Elystan Glodrydd, Owain Bendew, and Trahaiarn ab Caradog have been confused together ; and indeed they are all three made to ascend to one common line of ancestry. This probably arose from confusions between the names Owain or Ednowain and Idnerth or Ednerth ; then, again, the father of Owain Bendew, Cynan, was associated with the Cynvyn, or Cynan, of the Powys Pedigree, and so a line was taken up to Gwaithvoed of Powys, as he is called. There seems more evidence of confusion here than of any attempt to write up a false pedigree, as in the case of the Saxon Edwin, though it is quite possible that even he had a British wife. But there is an entirely distinct genealogy attributed to Owain Bendew, wherein he is made son of Cynan Veiniad, Lord of Tregaron, son of Gwaithvoed, Prince of Cardigan, ab Eunydd ab Cadivor ab Peredur Peiswyrdd ab Einion ab Eunydd ab Ednyved ab Brochwael ab Iswalter (or Ussa) ab Idris Arw ab Clydno ab Ynyr Varvdrwch ab Gwyddno Garanhir ab Gorvyniawn ab Dyvnwal Hên, King of Gwent, ab Ednyved ab Maxen Wledig.<sup>9</sup> This has the usual want

<sup>8</sup> Evidently the person otherwise called *Marred*, *Marret*, and *Marfredra*. See p. 137, *supra*, and note 4 thereon.—[Eds.]

<sup>9</sup> See for the earlier parts of this pedigree Harl. MS. 3859, No. XVIII., in *Y Cymrodor*, ix. 178 (and cf. Nos. II., IV., pp. 171-2,

of generations, and probably arose through the alliance of Iorwerth ab Rhirid ab Iorwerth ab Madog ab Edwal ab Owain Bendew with an heiress of that line; but it must be mentioned as in some respects more reasonable than the other. We may at the same time notice the fact that Hwva ab Cynddelw, whose mother was of the line of Owain Bendew, is supposed to have been the contemporary of Nevydd Hardd of Nant Conwy, and to have lived in 1150. But the date 1100 is assigned to Gweirydd ab Rhys Gôch, another of the noble tribes of Gwynedd, ab Sanddwr ab Iarddur ab Mor ab Tegarion ab Aelaw ab Greddyff ab Cwnnws Ddu, as above,<sup>1</sup> under Hwva ab Cynddelw and Nevydd Hardd; and in Harl. MS. 2289 Marchweithian, Lord of Isaled in Rhuvoniog (*circ.* 720), is said to be the son of Hydh<sup>2</sup> ab Maelog Dda ab Greddyff, of the same line—so that he would be first cousin to Caradog and Cwnnws, fathers respectively to Nevydd Hardd and to Cynddelw. It is therefore evident that many generations must be left out if the grandson of Maelog Dda was living in 720, and Nevydd Hardd and Hwva ab Cynddelw in 1137-71; for of the latter date we may be pretty certain, since Prince Owain Gwynedd's son, Prince Idwal, was entrusted to Nevydd's care. In Harl. MS. 2289, however, Nevydd Hardd is said to be the son of Ieuan ab Ysbwys Garthen ab Sir Iestyn ab Cadwgan ab Elystan Glodrydd. We have another reference to the pedigree of Elystan Glodrydd in Harl. MS. 4181, where it is stated that Iestyn ab Gwrgan, Prince of Glamorgan, married Angharad, daughter of Elystan Glodrydd. But

and note 4, p. 171); J. C. MS. 20, No. XLI. (cf. XIX.), *ib.*, viii. 89 (cf. 87); Hengwrt MS. 536, Nos. IX., X., in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 454-5. But none of these call Dyfnwal Hên "King of Gwent."—[Eds.]

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 132-3, *supra*, and note 6 thereon. In *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 87 (*Llwyth Aelan*), where part of this pedigree occurs, "Aelaw" is called *Aelan*, and "Tegarion" *Tegyr Tege[r]in*.—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> Is "Hydh" a mistake of the MS. for *Iddog* ab Maelog Dda, ancestor to Meilir ab Hwfa (*Hanesyn Hên*, p. 85)?—[Eds.]

we have seen that Elystan Glodrydd was the cotemporary of Tudor and of King Iago ab Idwal, while Iestyn ab Gwrgan was living as late as 1100, and his sister Eva is called wife of Cadwgan ab Elystan Glodrydd, and also of Cynan Veiniad. The credibility, however, of the pedigree of Iestyn ab Gwrgan is somewhat strained by the habit possessed by members of his line of living more than a century. In 1135-6 Madog ab Idnerth joined Prince Cadwaladr and Prince Owain Gwynedd in an expedition; and we are told that his brother Ednyved married Jane, daughter of Ieuav, Lord of Arwystli. There is a curious passage in Jesus Coll. MS. 20,<sup>3</sup> wherein Cadwgan ab Elystan is said to marry Angharad, daughter of Llawr by Lleucu, daughter of Meredydd ab Owain ab Howel Dda, the issue of the said marriage being Gronwy, father of Howel, and Llewelyn of Buellt, who marries Ellelw, daughter of Elidyr ab Llywarch ab Bledri ab Mor ab Llowarch ab Gwgawn [ab?] Keneu Menrudd ab Pasgen ab Urien Rheged ab Cynvarch ab Meirchion ab Gwrwst ab Ceneu ab Coel Hên. Llewelyn of Buellt had issue by Ellelw : Seissyll, father of—1, Howel ; 2, Adam ; 3, Phylib ; 4, Trahaearn ; 5, Iorwerth ; 6, Meilyr ; 7, Gruffudd ; 8, Cadwgon ; and 9, Rhiddyd. From this passage it would appear that "Seissyll ab Llewelyn of Buellt" is the right form. We are told in the *Golden Grove Book*<sup>4</sup> that Prince Meredydd ab Bleddyn of Powys married Hunydd, daughter of Eunydd ab Morien ab Morgeneu ab Elystan Glodrydd. Now we know who this Elystan was, namely, a natural son of Gwaithvoed, whose son Gwaithgeneu had a son Morgeneu Gwerngwy, whose son Morien married Gwenllian, daughter

<sup>3</sup> Nos. XXX.-XXXIV. *Y Cymmr.*, viii. 88-9.

<sup>4</sup> And in *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 4; where, however, only the maternal descent of Einudd (i.e. his mother Gwenllian's) is given, and her father is called Rhys ab Marchan ab *Cynwrig* (not "Cydric") Einudd is called "Einudd Gwerngwy" in Harl. MSS. 1961, fo. 18, 6122, fo. 46, both in the autograph of Wm. Kynwal (1580).—[Eds.]

and heir to Rhys Marchen of Ruthinland (as Harl. MS. 1977 tells us)—and in her right was Lord of Dyffryn—ab Kydric ab Cynddelw Gam, &c. (to Sandde Bryd Angel).<sup>5</sup> Their son Ednydd, Eunydd, or Evnydd, married Eleanor, daughter and co-heir of Llewelyn ab Dolphyn of Iâl and of Tangwystl, daughter and heir to Sir Sandmorgin ab Grono ab Hwva ab Ithel Velyn of Iâl. They had issue Hunydd, or Hynydd, wife of Prince Meredydd ab Bleddyn of Powys, and Ithel, who, marrying Gwladus, daughter and co-heir of Gruffudd ab Meilir ab Elidyr (by Angharad, daughter and co-heir of Llewelyn ab Meurig ab Caradog ab Iestyn ab Gwrgan), had issue Ionet, wife of Meredydd ab Uchdrud ab Edwin, the father of Idnerth Benvras. Gruffudd Hiraethog states that Gwaithvoed married the daughter of Elystan Glodrydd. Is not the Gwedylstan of the Jesus College MS.<sup>6</sup> founded upon this Elystan? and have not our late heralds tried to disguise the misfortune of his birth? Ought we not to read “Cynvyn ab Gwyn ab Elystan ab Gwaithvoed”? The marriage with the granddaughter of Tudor must have been later than the time of Elystan’s father, if there be any truth at all in the alliances given, which otherwise come in reasonably enough. Was not this Tudor the one whom the earlier authorities<sup>7</sup> state to have been slain at Llangwm, the son of Einion ab Owain ab Hywel Dda?<sup>8</sup> The upper portion of the Royal Pedigree would then stand thus:—

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 130-1, *supra*, and note 1 there, for this pedigree.—[Eds.]

<sup>6</sup> “Bledynt [m.] Kynwyn. m. *Gwedylstan*,” J. C. MS., No. XXVII. (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 88); and see pp. 125-8, *supra*.—[Eds.]

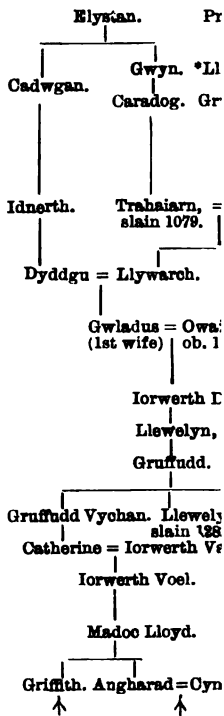
<sup>7</sup> Tewdwr ab Einion was killed near Llangwm in 993, according to *Annales Cambriae*, p. 21, *Brut y T.*, pp. 32-3.—[Eds.]

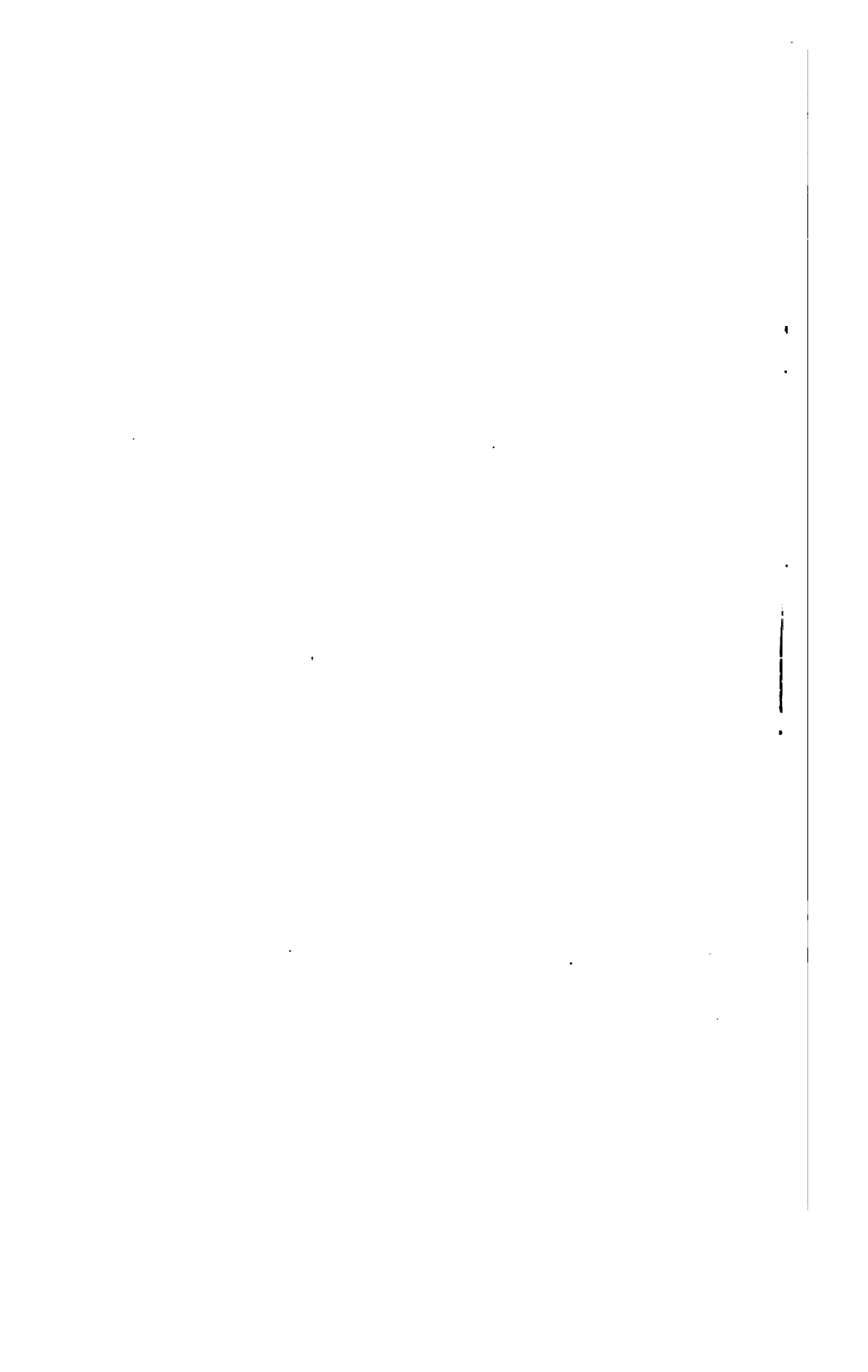
<sup>8</sup> The nephew of this Tudor, i.e., Tewdwr ab Cadell ab Einion ab Owen ab Hywel, was father of Rhys, the celebrated Prince of South Wales, according to Giraldus [*Descr. Camb.*, i. 3]. There is, however, another Tudor of about this date, younger brother of Iestyn and son of Gwrgan by Angharad, sister of Collwyn ab Gwyn, Lord of Dyved.

We have continued the Pedigree, which throws some light on other chief families of Wales. Thus Madog ab Edwal ab Owain Bendew, who was the cotemporary and relative of Prince Rhodri of Anglesey, married Arddun, sister of Ednowain ab Bradwen, Lord of Dolgellen, which Ednowain is stated to have lived in 1194; and this coincides with the date of such an alliance, but his genealogy is somewhat variously given. Harl. MS. 2299 says that he was the son of Bradwen ab Idnerth ab Edred ab Nathan (or Jonathan) ab Japhet ab Carwed ab Marchudd ab Cynan ab Elwyn ab Mor ab Mynan ab Ysbwys Mwyntyrrch ab Cadrod Calchvynydd, Earl of Dunstable<sup>9</sup>; which pedigree, as usual, is deficient in generations. Marchudd is of course the ancestor ascribed to Ednyved Vychan in the fourth degree,<sup>1</sup> and Ednyved was contemporary with Prince Llewelyn ab Iorwerth (*ob.* 1240), whose minister he was. Now if Marchudd were only four generations prior to the date of Prince Iorwerth Drwyndwn, he could not be seven generations prior to Ednowain or his sister Arddun, the wife of Madog, who was somewhat younger than Prince Iorwerth. According to Add. MS. 9865, Harl. MS. 1977, and Vincent's *Wales* (College of Arms MS.), Ednyved Vychan, by Tangwystl, daughter of Llywarch ab Brân ab Dyvwal ab Eunydd ab Alan ab Alser ab Tudwal Gloff, had issue Grono of Trecastell (*ob.* 1268), who married Morvudd, daughter of Meurig ab Caradog of Gwent, and had issue Grono Vychan (*ob.* 1331),

<sup>9</sup> In *Hanesyn Hên*, pp. 9 (*Ach Ednyfet Vychan*), 93 (*Gwyr Pen-traeth*), 94 (*Pedwar Gwely Llwyth Edryt*), 97 (*Llwyth Marchudd*), "Nathan" is called *Inethan m. Iassedd*, and "Elwyn" *Elfyw*; and *m. Mwyntyrrch m. Yspwys* occupies the place of "Mwyntyrrch" here; nor is Cadrod called "Earl of Dunstable," but son of Cynwyd Cynwydion, &c. (to Coel). And cf. p. 150, *infra*.—[Ends.]

<sup>1</sup> *Hanesyn Hên*, pp. 9, 94, thus gives his pedigree: "Ednyfet Vychan. m. Kenwrik. m. Ierwerth. m. Gwgawn. m. Idnerth. m. Edryt. m. Inethan. m. Iassedd," &c. (see above for remainder).—[Ends.]





married Genseris,<sup>2</sup> daughter of either John ab Iorwerth (Ar. MS. 1977) or Howel ab Ieuan (Vincent's *Wales*) Gwervul, daughter of Madog of Hendwr. They had Ithel Llewelyn, who married Nest, daughter of Ithel ab Ithelwelyn ab Gruffudd, and had a daughter and heir Ithelwelyn, who was twice married, one of her husbands being Madoc Lloyd of Bryn Cunallt, of the tribe of Tudor, by whom she had a daughter, Angharad, wife of Cynric, father of Ithel Vaughan. Her other husband was Robin, or Robert, of Llanidloes, ab Llyw Lwyd, ab Meredydd ab Howel ab Davydd ab Gruffudd ab Caradog ab Thomas ab Prince Rhodri; and by this match she had a daughter and heiress, Angharad, wife of Ithel Vaughan himself. It is evident, therefore, that on the mother's side Angharad, daughter of Madoc Lloyd, and Angharad, daughter of Robin ab Meredydd, were sisters; it is also certain that the one married Cynric ab Robert ab Iorwerth ab Rhirid ab Iorwerth ab Madog ab Edwal ab Owain Bendew, and the other married his son; but this connection sufficiently shows that Ithel Vaughan must have been the son of Cynric ab Robert by his other wife, viz., Angharad, daughter of Gruffudd Vaughan of Nant Conwy, and not by Angharad, daughter of Madoc Lloyd, and half-sister of his own wife. Madoc Lloyd was the grandson of Iorwerth Vychan, who is ninth in descent from Tudor. We should expect that, since Cynric ab Ithel Vaughan was the descendant of a younger son, there would be more generations in the elder line than in his own; and indeed such is the case, for Cynric is the tenth in descent from Cynan in the male line, but through his mother the twelfth, and the same number through his grandmother. These descents are reasonable enough, and the alliances in the line of Iorwerth Vychan seem also possible up to Rhys Sais, that is, those of Iorwerth Hên ab Owain ab Bleddyn ab Tudor;

<sup>2</sup> *Generus?*—[Eds.]



but it is not admissible that Rhys Sais married the great-granddaughter of the Lord Rhys ab Gruffudd, as sometimes stated, and it is perhaps a little strained that Ednyved, the father of Rhys Sais, should marry the great-granddaughter of Gwerystan, while his father married the daughter of that nobleman; and his father again, Lluddocav, marries Angharad, daughter of King Iago, slain in 1039, while his father marries a daughter of Hywel Dda, who died in 950. From time to time considerable liberties seem to have been taken with the Pedigree of this House, which is still one of the most eminent of the noble families of Wales; and we have an instance herein of how the ancestry of a family may be misplaced, for Pennant, in his *History of Whitford*, says that Davydd Pennant ab Tudor, the first of the house to use a surname, was in direct male descent from Tudor Trevor, but the Pennant MSS. in the British Museum call this Davydd Pennant the son of Tudor, a younger son of Ithel Vaughan, mentioned above in the line of Owain Bendew.

Returning again to the Royal Pedigree, we find (Harl. MS. 2288) that Thomas ab Prince Rhodri is stated to have married Joan, daughter of Einion ab Seissyllt of Meirionydd, whose pedigree reflects upon our subject; for this Joan was the daughter of Einion, lord of part of Meirionydd, by his wife Nest, daughter of Cynvelyn of Nannau, and Einion was the son of Seissyllt, lord of Meirionydd, ab Ednowain ab Ednyved ab Eunydd of Nant Conwy, ab Brochwel ab Iswald<sup>3</sup> ab Idris ab Gwyddno Garanhir ab Klydno<sup>4</sup> ab Cynyr<sup>4</sup> ab Cadwaladr ab Meirion ab Tibion ab Cunedda Wledig. Seissyllt lived in Ardudwy, and married Cecil (?), sister of Ednowain ab Bradwen; from which we see that Ednowain of Dolgelleu is about two generations higher than Thomas ab Prince Rhodri, and that Ednowain's two sisters, Cecily and

<sup>3</sup> *Sualda* in Harl. 3859, No. XVIII. (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 178), and J. C. 20, No. XLI. (*ib.*, viii. 89), *q.v.*—[Eds.]

<sup>4</sup> See note 6 on p. 89, *supra*, and note (e).

<sup>5</sup> See note (e).

Arddun, married respectively Seissyllt of Meirionydd and Madoc of Tegeingl. But besides his son Einion, Seissyllt had also another son, Llewelyn ab Seissyllt, whose daughter Nest is said to have married Llewelyn ab Cadwgan ab Elystan Glodrydd. Grono ab Einion, the brother of Joan, wife of Thomas ab Prince Rhodri, married Meddyvus, daughter of Owain Cyveiliog, Prince of Powys; which Owain died in 1197, and had with other children Margaret, wife of Seissyllt ab Llewelyn of Buellt, and a son Iorwerth, whose daughter and heiress Nest was wife of Iorwerth ab Rhirid ab Iorwerth ab Madog ab Edwal ab Owain Bendew. Is it possible that the Rhûn ab Cynan, whose heiress Elystan Glodrydd is said to have married, was Rhûn ab Cynan ab Brochwel, brother of Ednowen, lord of Meirionydd, and son of Ednyved, lord of Meirionydd? Hengwrt MS. 113-4, under *Gwehelyth Kyfaiiic*, gives "Goronwy ap Einion ap Saisyllt ap Ednowain ap Eunydd Bar ap Brochwael ap Uswaldi<sup>6</sup> ap Idris Arw ap Gwyddno Garanir ap Garanaw ap Kludud ap Ynyr Varf Trwch ap Kydwaladr ap Mairion Mairionydd ap Kynedda Wledic ap Edeyrn," &c. It will be observed that this is the same genealogy as that of Gwaithvoed of Cardigan, down to Ednyved ab Eunydd ab Brochwael<sup>7</sup>; and so his ancestor Einion, father of Peredur, must have been the brother of Ednowain of Meirionydd and Brochwael. In the Tudor pedigree previously quoted, Tudor ab Rhys Sais married, according to Harl. MS. 2288, Joan, daughter of Rhys Vychan ab Rhys ab Gruffudd ab Meredydd Gethin, who was imprisoned in 1195, and slain treacherously in 1201. This Rhys Gethin was also father of Gruffudd, Lord of Tredegar, whose son, Meredydd of Tredegar, married Eva, daughter of Cadwallon ab Madog, Lord of Melineth,<sup>8</sup> ab Idnerth ab Cadwgan ab Elystan

<sup>6</sup> See note 3 on last page, and note (e).      <sup>7</sup> See p. 140, *supra*.

<sup>8</sup> = Maelienydd. See Giraldus, *De Rebus a se gestis*, i. 5.—[Eds.]

Glodrydd. Gruffudd, who was killed in the wars of Prince Gruffudd ab Llewelyn, and was son of Caradog ab Thomas ab Prince Rhodri, married Lleucu, daughter of Llywarch Vychan. This Gruffudd was twelfth in descent from Rhodri Mawr, but his wife only tenth; which shows again how the elder line gained in generations. Their son Davydd married Eva, daughter and heir of Gruffudd Vychan ab Gruffudd ab Moreiddig ab Sanddev Hardd of Burton; and, since the arms of Moreiddig quartered upon the shield of the House of Gwydir are representative of this match, there can be little doubt that an error has taken place—for the arms in the oldest examples are always three boys' heads with snakes round their necks, which are the arms of Moreiddig Warwyn of South Wales, the son of Drym Bennog, lord of Cantrev Selyv, and brother of Bleddyn ab Maenarch, last Prince of Brycheiniog; which Moreiddig was lineal male ancestor of the Vaughans of Bradwardine, Talgarth, and Hergest. There can then be little doubt that, instead of the three boys' heads with snakes round their necks,<sup>8</sup> the arms quartered by the representatives of the House of Gwydir ought to be: *vert, semée* of broomslips, a lion rampant *or*; but the others have nearly gained a prescriptive right, having been borne for so long a time. Somewhat lower down in this line of Prince Rhodri of Anglesey we have some reliable dates; for Morvudd, wife of Meredydd ab Howel ab Davydd, died in 1416, leaving three sons and a daughter, viz.: (1) Robert; (2) Ieuan, who married Lleucu, daughter of Howel Sele; (3) Robin, whose only daughter

<sup>8</sup> Moreiddig *Warwyn* ("White-neck") was said to have been so called because of the mark left by a snake that had fastened round his neck. In the churchyard of Clodock, in Ewias, is a tombstone of one of the Vaughans, anciently of that neighbourhood, into whose crest (or arms<sup>?</sup>), as there represented, a snake enters. We have heard told on the spot that the crest originated from an adventure which one of the Vaughans had with a snake, similar to that related in the Welsh tale known as *Y Plentyn a'r Neidr*. See the foot-note on the words "*Meic men gwrach*" in note (c).—[EDS.]

and heir was wife of Ithel Vaughan; and Marsli, the wife of Jenkin Conway of Bodrhyddan, and mother of John Hên, Aer y Conwy, who died on the next Saturday after the Feast of St. Mary the Virgin, 1487. The repetition of the name of John in several succeeding generations of the house of Conway makes it difficult to be sure to which person certain dates apply. They were connected with the Stanleys by the marriage of John Conway with Janet, daughter of Edmund Stanley, who, according to some authorities, was second son of Sir William Stanley of Hooton, according to others, of Piers, son of Sir William Stanley. Another date is taken from Gruffudd Vaughan of Nant Conwy, who (or his father) was a juror in 1352; but there is some confusion as to his two wives. Harl. MS. 1977 says that he married Gwervul, daughter to Meredydd Gôch ab Meredydd ab Llewelyn, by whom he had a son, Howel Coetmore. His other wife was Gwladus, daughter of Gruffudd ab Howel ab Gruffudd (by Gwenllian, daughter to Iorwerth ab Madog ab Rhirid Vlaidd) ab Iorwerth ab Meredydd ab Mathusalem ab Hwva ab Cynddelw, and by her he had two daughters, Moruff<sup>9</sup> and Angharad, wife of Cynric ab Robert, and mother of Ithel Vaughan. There is, however, one alliance connected with the last true Prince of Wales which requires some observation. The Princess Catharine, sole daughter and heir of Prince Llewelyn, a lady whose existence is ignored by English writers, married Philip ab Ivor, lord of Iscoed, who lived about 1330. This Ivor is called son of Cadivor, by Joan, daughter of Elystan Glodrydd, son of Gwaithvoed of Cardigan,—which is absurd. Another pedigree, however, makes him the son of Ivor ab Meurig ab Cadivor ab Cydrig ab Cadivor ab Gwaithvoed of Cardigan; but the issue of Gwaithvoed of Cardigan is by no means satisfactory. Gruffudd Hiraethog says that he had only three sons. Others give eight; but when more closely

<sup>9</sup> *Rectò Morfudd or Morwyl?*—[Eds.]

examined some of these seem doubtful, and some are later descendants. One of the sons attributed to him is Ednowain, the Lay Abbot of Llanbadarn, who is mentioned as an old man in 1188. Philip may have been younger brother of Gruffudd Voel, the son of Ivor ab Meurig ab Cadivor ab Cydric ab Cadivor or Cydric ab Gwaithvoed, the ancestor of the Pryses of Gogerddan. There is also some little difficulty as to the ancestry of Hywel y Pedolan, who is called by some fourth son of Gruffudd ab Iorwerth Gôch ab Meredydd ab Mathusalah ab Hwva ab Cynddelw; but by others, as in Additional MS. 9864, son of Gruffudd ab Ednyved Vychan ab Kynric ab Iorwerth ab Gwgan ab Idnerth ab Edred ab Noethan ab Japhet ab Karwed ab Marchudd, lord of Abergeleu and Baron Brynffeni<sup>1</sup>.

It will be remembered that Idnerth ab Gwgan of this line is also said to be father of Bradwen, the father of Ednowain, Lord of Dolgelleu, whose sister was wife of Madog ab Edwal ab Owain Bendew, and so we might here institute a comparison between the lines; but according to other authorities Bradwen was son of Idnerth ab Davydd Esgid Aur ab Owain Eurdorchog ab Llewelyn Eurdorchog ab Coel ab Gweirydd ab Cynddelw ab Cynddelw Gam ab Elgyd ab Gwerysnadd, &c. (to Llywarch Hên).<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 1977 says that Perwar, a daughter of Edwal ab Owain Bendew (or Ednowain Bendew), was the wife of Rhys Gôch, and one of his sisters, named Medan Benlydan,<sup>3</sup> was the wife of Collwyn, Lord of Eivionydd.

Rhirid Vlaidd, who is mentioned in the pedigree of the wife of Cynvyn ab Robert, was, according to the *Golden*

<sup>1</sup> Bryn Ffenigl has given its name to three farms between Abergele and Bettws yn Rhôs. For the pedigree, see p. 144, *supra*, and notes thereon; and cf. pp. 151-2, 154, *infra*.—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 130-1, *supra*, and note 1 thereon, for this pedigree; and cf. pp. 142-3, *supra*.—[Eds.]

<sup>3</sup> "*Medlan penllydan*" in the *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 96.—[Eds.]

*Grove Book*, the husband of Gwenll,⁴ daughter of Ednyved ab Cynvrig, which Cynvrig was slain in 1073, in the beginning of the reign of Trahaiarn ab Caradog. Ednyved is said to have married Gwladus, daughter of Alltyd ab Owen ab Edwin. The same authority says that Rhirid Vlaidd was the son of Gwrgeneu ab Moreiddig ab Rhys ab Meurig ab Gweristan ab Llowarch ab Rhyall ab Aradyr; but the *Llyvr Iewan Brechva* calls him son of Kelynn (Cuhelyn) ap Gwrgeneu ap Gollwyn ap Ednowain ap Bleddyn ap Pladrwst (Bledrws) ap Ceidio Gôch ap Cynawg Mawr, &c. (to Teon, Casnar, and Beli Mawr), as given previously.⁵

We have a means of measuring the pedigrees attributed to Ednowain ab Bradwen of Dolgellen, by a reference to that derived from Hedd Molwynog; for therein Rhedvach, who lived in the earlier part of the 13th century, is said to have married the daughter of Y Gwion ab Hwva ab Ithel Velyn ab Llewelyn Eurdorchog; but this Ithel Velyn was brother of Owain Eurdorchog, father of Davydd Esgid Aur, father of Bradwen, father of Ednowen. Again, Asseth, the father of the before-mentioned Rhedvach, is said to have married the daughter of Rhedvach ab Dinwg⁶ ab Rhys ab Edryd ab Inathan, which Rhys ab Edryd was brother of Idnerth, father of Gwgan, father of Iorwerth or Idnerth, father of Kynwin and of Bradwen of Dolgellen, which Kynwin⁷ was father of Ednyved Vychan; and so we find by comparison that, according to all these pedigrees taken together, Ednyved Vychan, Ednowen ab Bradwen, and Rhedvach

⁴ Is this the contraction for *Gwenllian*?—[Eds.]

⁵ See p. 85, *supra*; p. 121, and note 5 thereon; and for Rhirid Flaidd cf. pp. 125, note 1, 127, note 5.—[Eds.]

⁶ Dwywg? A grandson of Elfyw ab Inethan bore this name (*H.H.*, p. 94; and cf. note on p. 130). See p. 144, and note 1.—[Eds.]

⁷ *Kynwrig* according to *Hanesyn Hên*. See p. 144, *supra*, and note 1 thereon. There seems to have been some confusion between two different Ednyfeds. Cf. the top of this p., the last p., and the middle of p. 154, *infra*.—[Eds.]

were of about the same era, that is, the earlier half of the 13th century.

We must now turn to the selection of families called the Fifteen Tribes, or nobles, of North Wales, and probably representing the council of chiefs who assisted the later princes of that country. Originally they existed in their contemporary descendants; but they have, in many cases, come down to us bearing the name of some illustrious ancestor, which gives them the appearance of extending from the year 650, or thereabouts, until about the year 1200. Their order differs, and we know little of their relative position, except that Edwal ab Owain Bendew was the chief of these peers in his days, probably because he was the latest offshoot from the Royal line; for it is very noticeable that they are all, or nearly all, related to the Royal family, and though their pedigrees are for the most part very credible after their connection with that House, yet, in tracing them upwards through the ancestry attributed to them, we find ourselves surrounded with contradictions, anachronisms and other difficulties; indeed, it would appear as though at some later date these several noblemen and their families had been tacked on to earlier historical persons by those who were either themselves ignorant of and careless about the omission of a century or two, or hoped their followers were and would be. The nobles of North Wales are thus enumerated:—1. Edwal ab Owen Bendew. 2. Hwva ab Cynddelw. 3. Maelog Grwm (his brother). 4. Cilmin Droed Ddu (brother's son to Mervyn Vrych). 5. Marchudd (ancestor of Ednyved Vychan). 6. Marchweithian. 7. Colhwyn ab Tangno. 8. Edwin of Tegeingl. 9. Hedd Molwynog. 10. Gweirydd ab Rhys Gôch. 11. Ednowen ab Bradwen of Dolgellen. 12. Nevydd Hardd of Nant Conwy. 13. Eunydd. 14. Llywarch ab Brân (descended from Tudwal Gloff). 15. Braint Hîr (nephew of King Cadwallon).<sup>8</sup> Their

<sup>8</sup> For this relationship, see *Brut Tysilio* and *B. Gruffudd ab*

arms have been ascribed to them later, possibly at the same time as their supposititious pedigrees. By a comparison of the relationships subsisting between them and known historical characters, we can gain an approximate knowledge of the dates when they lived. Thus Gruffudd, King of Wales, regained his throne of Gwynedd upon the death of Trahaiarn ab Caradog in 1079, and his younger brother Owain became Prince of Tegeingl about that time, as indeed certain of our historians correctly state; and this coincides very well with what we know of the fate of Edwin the Saxon, King of Tegeingl, a fictitious Noble Tribe of Wales, who, with his brother Morcar, was defeated on September 20th, 1066, at Fulford, near York, by Harold Hardrada and Tostig. The battle of Hastings took place on October 14th in the same year, and shortly afterwards the Norman marched northward to Berkhamstead, where we are told that Aldred, Archbishop of York, Edgar Atheling, who had been chosen king of the Saxons, Edwin and Morcar, and all the chief men of London, met him and submitted to him. In 1067, during Lent, William went over to Normandy, and took with him Edwin, Morcar, and Waltheof, and many other good men of England. In 1070 Edwin's relative, Hereward, headed a band, which plundered and burnt the Abbey of Peterborough, which William had bestowed on the stern man Thorold; this took place on June 2nd, and next year, in 1071, Edwin and Morcar became outlaws, and we are told that Edwin is treacherously killed, while Morcar joins Hereward in the Isle of Ely. The lands of Edwin and Morcar in Norfolk and Lincoln were given to Ivo Tailbois, who married their sister Lucy. Meanwhile Owain, the younger brother of King Gruffudd, who was pro-*Arthur* in *Myv. Arch.*, ii. 369; and the original passage in Geoffrey, xii. 2, where Braint is called "Brianus." Geoffrey does not mention his father (or was it rather his mother?) who is called *Nefym* in *B. Tysilio*, and *Nefyt* in *H. H.*, p. 100. The former name looks identical with that of the place called *Nevin* in Lleyn, Carnarvonshire.—[Eds.]



bably his commander-in-chief, received Tegeingl for his possession; and his descendants subsequently held their lands there *per baroniam*, whence in an old pedigree they are called Barons Englefield. Hwva ab Cynddelw was the grandson or great grandson of Owain Bendew, through his mother Ceinvryd, and may very reasonably have lived, as is stated, from 1137-71. He is called by some steward to Owain Gwynedd. It was his prerogative to place the crown upon the head of the prince, after he had been anointed by the Bishop of Bangor. Maelog Grwm, being his brother, was about the cotemporary of Hwva ab Cynddelw; his date is given as 1175. Cilmin Droed Ddu, as nephew to Mervyn Vrych, would of course stand much earlier—870 to 900. Marchudd is better known in his descendant Ednyved Vychan, who was a minister of Prince Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, who reigned from 1194 to 1240. Marchweithian is said to have lived in the reign of Henry II. of England; which, if the pedigree attributed to him were true, is impossible. Very probably these more ancient members of the noble tribes are simply attributed ancestors to men like Ednyved Vychan, who were themselves of considerable position. As to Collwyn ab Tangno, we know that the sons of his son Merwydd were grown-up men at the beginning of King Gruffudd's reign, i.e., in 1080; so he was probably not so early as 877, his assigned date. Of Edwin, King of Tegeingl, we have before spoken<sup>9</sup>; his date was somewhat anterior to and slightly subsequent to the Conquest. Hedd Molwynog (or perhaps Hydd ab Olwynog<sup>10</sup>) was steward to Prince Davydd ab Owain Gwynedd, i.e., between 1171 and 1195. Gweirydd ab Rhys Gôch lived about 1100, and Ednowen of Dolgellen about the same time. Nevydd Hardd of Nant Conwy was the contemporary of Prince Owain Gwynedd, 1137-71. According to the pedigree he was second cousin

<sup>9</sup> Pp. 128-9, *supra*.

<sup>10</sup> "Hedd ab Alunawg" in *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 99.—[Eds.]

of Moreiddig ab Sanddev Hardd. Eunydd lived *circ.* 1050—1100, his daughter, Hunydd, being the first wife of Meredydd, Prince of Powys, who ruled from 1073 to 1132. Llywarch ab Brân is said to have been a steward to Prince Owain Gwynedd, with whom he was connected.<sup>1</sup> Briant Hîr or Braint Hîr is said to have been nephew of King Cadwallon ab Cadvan; so his date, like that of Marchudd, would be exceedingly early. It is curious that Marchudd, Marchweithian, and Braint Hîr<sup>2</sup> were all connected with Is Dulas or Uwch Dulas, in Denbighshire, and are probably put for some descendant living between 1070 and 1200, which seems to be the era of the Noble Tribes; in other words, the Noble Tribes of Gwynedd are probably the chief persons who were flourishing between those dates, and formed the Prince's Court or Council. Indeed, previously to that date, our country was in so great and constant a state of fluctuation, contention, and confusion, that it is not to be expected that the pedigrees of even its chief people were accurately kept; and any one having considerable experience of them must feel that, though in some cases the more remote ancestors may be correct, the pedigrees are simply attributive, and will not bear critical examination. May we, in conclusion, offer a suggestion with regard to the so-called Tudor Trevor, whose nominal descendants now form so august an assemblage? Pennant places him with the Noble

<sup>1</sup> Llywarch (*H. Hén*, p. 91) married Rhael, daughter of Goronwy ab Owen ab Edwin, and by her had Cadwgon and Iorwerth, to whom is there ascribed the pedigree referred to on p. 152, *supra*.—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> Braint Hîr's pedigree (see *Hanesyn Hén*, p. 100) was carried up to "Rhychwyn Farfog of Bodrhychwyn in Rhôs." *Is* and *Uwch Dulas* were two of the three divisions of Rhôs, the third (Creuddyn) being in Carnarvonshire. Hedd ab Alunog was connected with the same neighbourhood, for his sons, Meudyr, Gwrgi, and Gwilofon, were the ancestors of the men of Llanfair Dalhaiarn, Nant Aled, and Dyffryn Elwy respectively (*H. H.*, p. 99). Hedd himself deduced his descent (*ib.*) from Llawfrodedd Farfog, said in the old *Bonedd y Saint* (*Myv. Arch.*, ii. 25) to have been grandfather to St. Idloes.—[Eds.]

Tribes of Gwynedd, though not of them, and subsequent writers have been content to accept his dictum. Can it be shown that *Trevor* was so called before the time of *Awr*, or is it not for *Trev Awr*? Again, taking it for granted that he descended from some one named *Tewdwr*, and that there are indications of his connection with South Wales, and looking also at the dates and connections, is it not possible that this *Tewdwr* was none other than *Tewdwr*, the uncle of *Tewdwr Mawr* of South Wales, who is sometimes confused with *Tewdwr Mawr* (see *Bridgeman's Princes of South Wales*, p. 9)? Or is *Trevor* from *Cantrev Mawr*, in *Ystrad Tywi*? These observations are rather given as suggestions, after a study of the subject and diligent personal searching into Welsh Pedigrees for more than a quarter of a century; if to some they appear iconoclastic, they were at least penned by an iconoclast who believes that, amidst the numerous errors, changes, and even falsifications of our genealogists, the pedigrees of his nation are not entire fictions, but are founded upon truth, though overlaid with much which is false. Is it not, therefore, wiser with a reverent hand to try and endeavour to bring light out of darkness, to extract order from confusion, than to be contented with a mass of high-sounding matter, which a little critical power will scatter to the winds, and, as is too often the case, leave behind only a profound disbelief in the whole subject? If, however, any of my fellow-Britons of the Royal and Noble Tribes prefer to vaunt the magnificence of an impossible pedigree, I cry him mercy.

“O major tandem parcas, insane, minori.”<sup>1</sup>

April 14, 1888.

H. F. J. VAUGHAN.

<sup>1</sup> We regret very much that unforeseen circumstances should have compelled us to omit from this volume the “Additional Notes” (a), (b), (c), &c., on the above article which were to have followed here. They will duly appear in the first number of vol. xi.—[EDS.]

## THE PUBLIC RECORDS RELATING TO WALES.<sup>1</sup>

By RICHARD ARTHUR ROBERTS,

Of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, and of her Majesty's Public  
Record Office.

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MERELY premising by way of introduction that my subject in its proportions is colossal, I proceed at once to say that the Public Records relating to Wales may, in general, be said to fall under two heads, viz. :—

I. Those which, being entirely of a local nature, were, under circumstances which I shall presently relate, transferred to the custody of the Master of the Rolls about the middle of this century ; and

II. Those which, though not entirely or even mainly of a local nature—being indeed in their subject-matter as wide as the British dominions themselves—contain on that very account multitudinous references to the Principality ; and which for a period of time “whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary” have been deposited at the great centres of administrative government.

Such as fall into my second division have been drawn from many sources and from different places of deposit. They include records of the Chancery, the Exchequer, and the Courts of Justice. They have come from the eminently historic Tower of London, from the Treasury of the Exchequer or Chapter House at Westminster, from the Rolls

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Society on April 3rd, 1889.

Chapel Office in Chancery Lane, from the Office of the Queen's Remembrancer in the Temple, from the Augmentation Office, and from a variety of other quarters, including Wales itself. I am referring now to such series of records as Patent Rolls and Close Rolls, Charter Rolls, Inquisitions *post mortem*, Royal Letters, &c. (all from the Chancery); the records of the Court of Exchequer, Queen's Bench, and Common Pleas; and the State Papers. The accumulation of many centuries, they have at length, in this nineteenth century, by virtue of the Act 1 and 2 Vict., c. 94, been brought together into the safe custody of the Master of the Rolls, within the walls of the Record Repository in Fetter Lane. There they have been united with those which, under my first head, I have described as local and peculiar to Wales, and with many others not coming under our present purview; and there, thus united, they form a body of national archives which no other country in the world can parallel either in bulk or importance, and of which any country might be proud. Many of them are amongst the oldest existing things within the limits of the British Islands, yet show few signs of their great age. And there is every reason to conclude, under the arrangements which at present obtain for their safe keeping, that when the oldest oak now feebly rearing its decrepit head shall have decayed to the very last fibre, when the ancient monuments shall have crumbled into dust, or survive only because, like the Irishman's boot, they have been restored in every part with new materials, these records will remain, still bearing upon their faces the bloom of youth; still testifying in a marvellous manner to the history of the country, its laws, and its customs; telling of the men who held its broad acres, of the men who occupied every degree of official station, of the men who fought its battles, who struggled for its liberties, who paid its taxes; telling of those who were turbulent, of those

who were law-abiding; telling (incidentally) of births, marriages, and deaths; of the succession of son to sire, landholder to landholder; of things ecclesiastical and things secular; of matters both legal and lay, civil and criminal; of persons and events, both great and small; telling, in fine, of almost every kind of varied circumstance pertaining to the history of the people of these Islands.

It is to this vast treasury of information, in so far as it relates to Wales, that I attempt in some sort to be a guide.

In 1838 was passed the Record Act, which, as I have said, vested the control of all the records of the Kingdom in the Master of the Rolls. When, two years afterwards, in 1840, in pursuance of this Act, the first Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records was published, foremost among the operations of the staff of the Record Office selected for notice was a "Survey of the Records of the abolished Courts of the Principality of Wales and Palatine of Chester," then lately made by Mr. William Henry Black, one of the Assistant Record Keepers. The 27,638 documents, rolls, bundles, files, and books—the 7351 cubic feet of written parchment and paper, which in consequence of that survey were then for the first time brought to light in their entirety, constitute the former of the two classes into which I have arbitrarily, and for convenience of treatment only, divided the Public Records relating to Wales. Now it is probably a matter of common knowledge that until quite recent times the commissions of assize, *nisi prius*, gaol delivery, *oyer and terminer*, &c., were not (as at present) entrusted for execution in Chester and Wales to Judges hailing from the Courts at Westminster, but that for three centuries, from A.D. 1542 onwards, these high functions had been discharged in Chester, Denbigh, Flint, and Montgomery, by the Justice

of Chester; and in the grouped counties of Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Anglesey: Radnor, Brecknock, and Glamorgan: and Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, by three different justices, all of whom held the "King's great Sessions" in each of their respective counties twice a year. This arrangement for legally deciding disputes, punishing offenders, and administering justice—in force in its complete form from the time of King Henry VIII., and in certain districts of Wales in a modified form from a much earlier period—endured until the year 1830, when the old Courts of Great Sessions were abolished, and the assize system assimilated to that of the English Counties by the establishment of the North and South Wales Circuits.

There was doubtless much punctilious ceremonial attending the actual proceedings in the various localities of the now abolished courts. Moreover, it is clear that great care and labour were expended upon the drawing up of the record of these proceedings immediately afterwards by the Clerk of the Crown or his subordinates—who, providing themselves with enduring parchment proper for the occasion, engrossed upon it in a fair and legible hand (often exercising their skill in the composition of initial letters which are marvels of penmanship) what was meant to be a statement for all time of the actions at law brought to an issue, and how this was done; of the preliminary steps taken in actions that proceeded no further; of the prisoners tried, their offences, and the result in each case; of the judges, King's attorneys and other like officers appointed; of the changes in the ownership of land, and so on. But it is also clear that the records themselves, so carefully prepared, of matters so pompously determined, did not always, after lapse of years, receive corresponding consideration or secure very tender regard.

Mr. Black's report is a piece of careful work of which any man might be proud, and for which Welshmen with

any respect for the antiquities of their country must be everlastingly grateful. In order to obtain the exhaustive information to be found in it, he visited, in the autumn of 1839, Chester, Welshpool, Ruthin, Carnarvon, Dolgelly, Brecon, Presteign, Cardiff, Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Haverfordwest. I think the result of his investigations in most of these places must have grievously vexed the righteous soul of a professional record-keeper. In Chester, where, if anywhere, one might expect better things, he found that the records had "suffered very much from damp, disorder, dirt, and perhaps vermin," though Mr. Lloyd, Prothonotary from 1822 to 1830, had exerted himself to retrieve them from the neglected state into which they had fallen. Going to Welshpool and Ruthin, he learnt that the records of the counties of Montgomery and Denbigh respectively had, after division, been housed in new repositories in those two towns towards the end of the last century. At the time of removal, nevertheless, many were forgotten and left behind in the vault of Wrexham Church. Afterwards this vault was converted into a vestry, and the records had to shift—their destination then being a dark, damp closet. In this situation, in 1827, they were discovered by the Deputy Prothonotary of Merionethshire, partly in the dark, damp closet mentioned above, and partly in a recess or closet near the pulpit, accessible to any one. They were broken and disordered, very dirty and dusty—some perishing with damp. The Prothonotary was told that some had been burned and destroyed by workmen. He eventually brought the whole mass to Ruthin. This despised lumber, be it observed, included *placita* or plea rolls, and fines and recoveries.

At Carnarvon a remarkable course had been adopted with regard to the records. Very ancient indeed was the jurisdiction of the old circuit of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and



Merioneth. It goes back to the very earliest years of Edward I. at the least, for at that time there was a "Justicier of Snowdon." But the records of the circuit remaining at Carnarvon to attest its proceedings would scarcely have told you so much. When Mr. Black made his inquiries in 1839, he learnt that in 1800 they had been reported as commencing with the year 1760. But he himself found something of earlier date than this—to wit, a solitary plea roll containing the judicial proceedings of three years of Richard II.'s reign for the county of Carnarvon, two similar plea rolls of the reign of Henry VIII., and a few others. But what had become of the vast mass of records which must have accumulated at Carnarvon during all the years from 1280 (say) down to 1700, of which these few rolls were but fragments of the wreckage? The account which Mr. Black obtained was this: that a great quantity of ancient records had been deposited in a kind of cellar in the basement of the Prothonotary's office near the quay of the Menai, where they were suffered to go to decay, and whence they were cleared out by order of the magistrates about the years 1810-20, being partly sold by the hundred-weight, together with old acts of parliament and other waste paper, and partly thrown upon dung-heaps and wheeled into the Menai as rotten and worthless. Some of them were bought or otherwise obtained by a person to whom must be allowed the merit of the discovery that they had *some* value, though not that value which a lawyer or historian or antiquarian usually attaches to them. This wide-awake collector of antiquities, whose name deserves to live, was Mr. David Williams, of Turkey Shore, Carnarvon. He for many years supplied tailors and others with parchment for various purposes out of the materials. But when, at Mr. Black's request, the Clerk of the Peace applied to him for what might remain, then, sad to relate, only two plea rolls could

be rescued from his hands—both of the time of James I.—, one in a tolerably sound state, but the other much mutilated.

Mr. Black, in a passionless report intended for official eyes, is careful to state facts, and avoids the expression of any private sentiments. But it is not difficult to imagine what his emotions must have been when facts such as I have culled from his report were presented to his mind. And the instances which I have chosen were not peculiar, though sufficiently striking. Everywhere he came upon chaos and confusion; everywhere upon evidence of damage and irreparable loss. With respect to the defective condition of the records of fines and recoveries, he states at the close of his report that he had collected a quantity of important information with a view of showing the necessity of providing indemnity to those whose titles depended on them. It was of the Carmarthen circuit that this complaint had chiefly to be made, where (he says) “there is scarcely any proof of the proclaiming of a fine for half a century past; and irregularities have been practised, to the endangering of all estates of which the titles were intended to be secured by fines that have been levied or recoveries suffered.” It was in consequence of this note of warning sounded by Mr. Black that in the year 1842 an act founded on a bill drafted by him was passed (5 Vict., c. 32).

His visit was not without some result in connexion with the immediate arrangement and better keeping of the records in the various local repositories—repositories which, with some exceptions, were more or less unfit for the purpose to which they were put—that at Carnarvon, for example, where the offices were exposed to all the dangers of a common dwelling-house, the Chancery records in the room below not being properly locked up, and the room so damp, from the sea, that the floor was perishing, and some of the

papers in danger of destruction. He himself did what he could; and, within the short time at his disposal, he did much. I may give one or two instances of his handiwork. At Chester he found two large chests of ancient plea rolls and other records, which had been for years laid aside as containing evidence on the shrievalty question, and a large box of damaged rolls marked "Illegible, Illingworth." The contents of these he ascertained and put in their proper places. Here, likewise, notwithstanding that something had been done by the Prothonotary, he found about eighty cubic feet of old records, books, and fragments upon the floor. From these he selected and put away all that were entire, and placed the remainder in presses. At Carnarvon it was necessary to arrange the whole contents of the office, "which, from their dirty and confused state, was a work of great labour." His visit to Carmarthen disclosed the fact that the records there, though they exceeded in number and bulk those of any other county, were in "extreme confusion—" in such confusion, that although he bestowed a good deal of labour upon them, he had to leave a considerable quantity of the less important records unarranged. If, however, the records of Carmarthen were in confusion, and his arranging hand was necessary there, he was a veritable *Deus ex machinâ* at Presteign. At this place the records were in a little vault, built of a kind of stone remarkable for its dampness—16 ft. long, 6 ft. 4 in. wide, 7 ft. 10 in. high—good racks along one side—no space for racks on the other—the racks closely filled with records in double rows—the remainder, consisting of ancient plea rolls, ancient *brevia*, ancient fines, &c., thrown in a heap on the floor. The damp and closeness of the place had caused putrefaction, and after two or three years the stench became so offensive as to prevent the hall-keeper's family from using the adjacent room, which was occupied as a parlour. Two

apertures had thereupon been made to promote ventilation, and a stove set up outside, the smoke from which passed by a copper pipe through the vault, and in some degree warmed it. The workmen, in making the aperture, it appears, let the lime and mortar fall among the damp records on the floor; and Mr. Black discovered, when he inspected the place, that thus a new cause of corruption existed. This he remedied as well as he could; he selected and arranged the soundest rolls among the mass, caused the remainder to be removed to the dry end of the vault, and the dirt and rubbish to be cleaned out at his own expense. But for this precaution, he says, the wetness of the winter might have fermented the whole mass.

This matter of the condition of the records in Wales, as Mr. Black first observed and then left them, is, however, ancient history, though (as it appears to me) very necessary to be told in connexion with the subject. If at the present moment any one wishes to investigate their contents—if he is dealing with Radnor records, for example, he need not beg the hall-keeper's wife to take her parlour carpet up and remove some of her furniture in order to get sight of them, and then put his head into a vault which has not been opened for a twelvemonth, as Mr. Black had to do. They are to be seen any day, except Sunday, upon proper application, at the London Record Office—to be seen in comfort, and, for the most part, without fee of any kind. Briefly told, their removal from Wales to London came about in this wise:—

As has been already stated, in the year 1838 the Record Act became law, and virtually established the Public Record Office as it now exists. This Act is, indeed, the charter of the Public Record Office. Among the records placed under the control of the Master of the Rolls those of the Courts of Great Sessions in Wales, abolished seven years previously, are

particularly mentioned; these are the records which Mr. Black, as I have been explaining at length, reported upon in 1840. At that time he suggested that they should be removed to London, if a "fit place could be found for them to be arranged, repaired, and made duly accessible." But in 1840 such fit place did not exist—did not exist either for the Welsh records or for the bulk of the other records of the Kingdom already deposited in different unsuitable places in the Metropolis. In 1840, also, it appears there was a strong public feeling against their removal at all. At the same time the question of removal or non-removal lay entirely in the discretion of the Master of the Rolls. As time proceeded, however, local opinion underwent a change. Meanwhile, in 1845, the records of certain equity proceedings, which were undecided at the time of the abolition of the Courts of Great Sessions, were, by virtue of a power to this effect contained in the Act, transferred from the Glamorgan circuit to the custody of the Master of the Rolls at the request of the parties to these proceedings themselves. In the same year certain other records "turned up" among some old papers in the London house of the last Chief Justice of Chester, being found by the executor of the Chief Justice's executrix. These were the droppings before a more copious shower. It will not be a matter of surprise that Mr. Black's visit and report in 1839 roused the County Magistrates and others upon the subject of records. In several places they took steps to put things in a more satisfactory condition. In 1845 Mr. Black himself made another journey into Wales to give evidence at the Assizes in Beaumaris on the subject of his report. On the same occasion he surveyed the new Record-house at Welshpool, and superintended the removal of the Prothonotary's records into it, Lord Powis, with great public spirit, bearing the expenses of the better housing of this portion of the Welsh

records. Certain duplicates, however, and others, were at this time brought by Mr. Black to London. In 1852 and 1853 there arose a question as to the appointment of a special record keeper at Chester, a committee of the Magistrates having reported against removal. But, by the next year, the completion in part of the great Record Repository in Fetter Lane finally settled the matter. The Master of the Rolls signed nine comprehensive warrants directing the removal of the whole body of records, and the officer who executed these warrants—not a police officer from Scotland Yard, but a Record officer from Rolls Yard—now found that there was no disinclination to give the records up, as, of course, there was no power to deny them. Mr. Charles Roberts, who superintended the removal of them to London, still survives, a hale and hearty veteran. In 1854 he was in the vigour of his manhood, and doubtless enjoyed the experiences of his journey on this service. I will not enter into details, but confine myself to an incident or two. It was a somewhat difficult matter to convey the quota furnished by Dolgelly thence to Carnarvon, where the nearest railway-station then was—a distance of forty-five miles—but he overcame the difficulty by the hire of an old stage-coach for the first two stages. At Ruthin “something happened.” Mr. Roberts shall tell the story in his own words :—

While at Ruthin, the Town Clerk, hearing I was collecting records, came and asked me if I would take away a quantity of rolls which were in a loft above the old Town Hall. He knew nothing about them—to what or to whom they belonged. I went to see these documents. They were in a loft without a door, to which we ascended by a ladder from the Town Hall, and in which the street lamps in summer, and various kinds of lumber were kept. The documents were in two old boxes without covers, and in a most filthy state. I pulled out, however, a good many, and enough to be satisfied that they did not belong to the records of the Courts of Great Session. But among them I observed many large and fine

Court rolls, as early as the reign of Edward III., several of the Commonwealth, and some, I think, as late as William III. . . . No one knew how or when they came there, or whence.

“It seems a great pity,” he continues, “that such valuable records should not be taken care of.” And this sentiment will probably be very generally echoed. It is satisfactory to know that eventually they *were* taken care of. In the year 1859 they were transmitted to the Public Record Office in London. When received, they were in a state of excessive dirt, confusion, and decay. They were at once carefully cleaned, arranged, and repaired, and proved to be a most valuable and interesting class of records known as *Court Rolls*. Even at this stage, though incomplete, they were said to be among the most perfect and continuous series of the class in the Public Record Office. But when, early in the next year, a second large box came up from Ruthin, containing rolls and paper proceedings far exceeding in number those first transmitted, though extending over the same period only, and when these also had been cleaned, examined, and assigned to their proper places—“bone brought to his bone”—then, indeed, as they remain to-day, their value was greatly enhanced, and their condition of perfection became still more remarkable.

The mention I have just made of the necessary operations of cleaning, mending, and arranging, is an indication of the immense amount of labour bestowed upon all the records of Wales from the moment they were surrendered to the care of the London Record Officers. Take the tale of operations of a single year :

200 books sorted and ticketed.

135 rolls of Chamberlain's accounts sorted and ticketed ; some repaired.

21 sacks of Chancery records emptied, and their contents placed in boxes.

Docket rolls of eight counties thoroughly repaired, covered, and ticketed.

The Fines of seven counties sorted into years, flattened, arranged between millboards in 174 packages, and ticketed.

1341 inquisitions flattened and mended.

Gaol files of eight counties sorted into years, packed into 224 bags, and ticketed.

5954 plea rolls covered, ticketed, and arranged chronologically.

I need not go further with the list, but I have not exhausted the operations on the Welsh Records of one year even, as any one may discover who will take the trouble to consult the appendix to the Eighteenth Report of the Deputy-Keeper, from which I have been quoting. But the operations upon these records were not confined to the mechanical sort of mending and arranging, though these must by no means be considered as the least important. There have already been mentioned in connection with the Welsh Records the names of two officers—Mr. Black and Mr. Roberts. A third should be added to the list, that of Mr. Peter Turner, who is still in active service, giving the country the benefit of his rare knowledge. In the various reports of the Deputy-Keeper, from the twentieth onwards, will be found examples of his handiwork in press lists and calendars that bear on the face of them the plainest evidences of skill, learning, and assiduity. No better record work has ever been done than that which has come from Mr. Turner's hands.

Passing from the story of the adventures of the first class of records relating to Wales, it is necessary now to examine their contents, a task which—obviously to any one who has any knowledge of their number and variety—can only be executed in a manner more or less incomplete. However, though incompletely, the end in view may nevertheless in this manner be sufficiently attained.

In the endeavour to carry out this part of my purpose, the method I have chosen to pursue is the purely experimental method of personally referring to such examples of them



as appeared to me most likely to interest, and telling briefly what, on reference, is found to be inscribed upon them—producing, so to speak, single specimens in succession from various parts of the quarry. It may nevertheless be useful to preface the selections with an account of the origin of the various classes of records as a whole, so as to lay the foundation for an *a priori* opinion as to what they might be expected to contain. For all the counties, then, including Chester, ever since the Act of Henry VIII. establishing the Courts of Great Sessions, we ought to find records of the proceedings before these tribunals. And in point of fact we do, though they are not perfect. From among these records come the *Plea Rolls* already mentioned more than once, and again to be referred to more particularly presently. But of course justice was administered in Wales by judicial tribunals long before the time of Henry VIII., though not everywhere by means of the same machinery. For example, the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the palatinate of Chester extended over the county of Flint. For Flint, therefore, it is possible to point to a plea roll of much earlier date than the time of Henry VIII.—a plea roll, namely, of the reign of Edward I. And for the like reason, there is for this part of the country such a record as a *Roll of the Justices Itinerant*, a *Forest Roll*, and an *Indictment Roll*. Long before the time of Henry VIII., again, there existed an officer known as the “Justicier of Snowdon.” He is mentioned in the “Statute of Wales,” 12 Edward I.; and, moreover, it is evident that Great Sessions had been held in this part of the country in the same form as was established for the whole of Wales by King Henry VIII.’s Parliament,—the machinery in the “three shires of North Wales” being, indeed, the pattern on which the uniform judicature then established was founded. So we ought to find plea rolls and such

like here as early as in Chester. Unhappily, we do not. We partly know the reason why. It would seem that they have been long ago at the bottom of the Menai Straits, the playthings of the mermaids, or scattered by the winds of heaven from off the dung-heaps, or in some occult fashion—whether as padding or what not—worked into the coats and waistcoats and knee-breeches of our grandfathers by the customers of Mr. David Williams, of Turkey Shore. The wreckage of them only remains, the earliest roll extant being of the reign of Richard II. Similarly, one might suppose that like records must have existed for South Wales—Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire—and for West Wales—Glamorganshire. But, if we except the notices of judicial proceedings to be found among the series of records called *Ministers' Accounts*, I believe that for these districts there is nothing in the nature of a plea roll earlier than Henry VIII.; and for Cardigan, for instance, by reason of loss, none earlier than the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Furthermore, at Chester there was a Court of Exchequer; and so from thence we have *Remembrance* or *Recognizance Rolls* (of which Mr. Turner has made a calendar), *Chamberlain's Accounts*, *Ministers' Accounts*, *Court Rolls*, and so on. There were also Exchequers and Chanceries in the other ancient counties of Wales,<sup>1</sup> into which the yearly accounts

<sup>1</sup> From 27 Henry VIII., c. 5, it appears that there were Exchequers respectively: at Chester, presided over by the King's Chamberlain there, for the counties of Chester and Flint; at Carnarvon, under the King's Chamberlain of North Wales, for the counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth; at Carmarthen, under the King's Chamberlain of South Wales, for the counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan; at Pembroke, for the county of Pembroke; and at Cardiff, for the county of Glamorgan.

By 27 Henry VIII., c. 26, two new Chanceries and Exchequers were established at Brecon and Denbigh for the new counties of Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery and Denbigh.

of the various officials were returned ; the records themselves being those, doubtless, which were found among the records of the Exchequer at Westminster in the Chapter House, and among the miscellaneous records of the Queen's Remembrancer, some examples of which I shall hope to furnish when dealing with my second division of records relating to Wales. Now I proceed to refer individually to my specimens, and begin with a WELSH PLEA ROLL, choosing one of the earliest that exists. It belongs to the county of Flint, and is more than 600 years old, dating from the year 1284.

Turned into English, its Latin title runs—

“Pleas at Rhuddlan before Sir Reginald de Grey, Justicier of Chester, on Sunday next after the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, in the twelfth year of the reign of King Edward.” (The exact day indicated is Sunday, the 20th of August, 1284.)

The first entries on the roll afford the following information :

Reginald de Ludlow summons Blethyn ap Meuric on a plea of trespass, complaining that Blethyn came to his house at Rhuddlan on Palm Sunday, and stole certain hides to the value of 10*l.*; cloth also, both russet and striped, to the value of 10*l.* more.

Blethyn denies the charge, and “puts himself upon the country.” The case is adjourned till the octaves of Michaelmas, at which time a jury of “twelve good and lawful men” are to be summoned to decide the matter. A note subsequently added to the record informs us that the jury come accordingly, and [having come] say that Blethyn is innocent; whereupon Reginald is adjudged to pay a fine.

Reginald charges two other persons with complicity in the same robbery—Jenkyn ap Robyn, and David ap Kendalon<sup>2</sup>; but in their cases also the juries pronounce them innocent, and Reginald is *in misericordiâ*—is fined, as before.

Again :

Adam de Tawleton accuses Nicholas Bonastre and Robert Abiron

<sup>2</sup> P = Cynddelw.—[Eds.]

of stealing his mercery and other goods at Cayrus.<sup>3</sup> They deny the accusation, and the jury summoned support them in their contention.

But when Richard de Norampton follows with a similar charge against the same two persons, the jury find that, innocent in the last case, in this they are "thieves and robbers, and culpable of this robbery, and of many others;" and thereupon *susp.* (I imagine *per coll.*) is the next adventure to which the enterprise of these individuals commits them.

Then Reginald de Ludlow tries to fix the stealing of his hides and cloth on Palm Sunday, on William ap Weyr<sup>4</sup>, David ap Philip, Madoc his brother, and Simon ap Eynon, but unbappily for himself, still without success. Then Richard de Wico gives bail for the fine in the plea of trespass of Hugh de Hauville, and the end of that Sunday's proceedings is arrived at.

I might go on from the same skin of parchment to tell of the proceedings at the same place on Friday after the Feast of St. Martin in the same year, but I must forbear, though the entries are interesting, relating to assault, a defence of injured reputation, &c.

The entries on the later plea rolls are not so simple as in the days of Edward I. They soon begin to be highly technical, and grow by degrees more and more technical until, to the lay mind, they have become perfectly unintelligible, and in a few years, when the memory of the old practice has died away, will be unintelligible to the average legal mind also. On these rolls the name of a fictitious personage, "Hugh Hunt," akin to John Doe and Richard Roe, occurs frequently; and many abbreviated phrases, all set out in mediæval Latin until comparatively recent times, not only convey little meaning to the uninstructed, but are also sometimes very puzzling. I take another example of a plea roll of the time of Henry VIII.—a plea roll of Brecon—the first drawn up after the passing of the Act of Henry VIII. In honour of that Act, doubtless, the initial letter "P" of its title is beautifully illuminated with a painting of the king in his

<sup>3</sup> I.e., Caerwys.—[Eds.]

<sup>4</sup> = Gweyr, now Gwair.—[Eds.]

robes of purple and ermine, wearing his crown and having the sceptre and orb in either hand—a very creditable piece of work.

Its title, again translated, is to the effect following :—

“Pleas at Brecon held before John Pakyngton, Esq., the King’s Justicier of the County of Brecon, at the King’s Great Sessions of the aforesaid County, held at Brecon on Monday, 10th July, in the year of the reign of King Henry the VIII. after the Conquest, 34. *Lennard.*”

Its contents are of the following nature :—First, there is the record of a dispute about the rent of two mills, a grain mill and a fulling mill, between William ap Rhys ap Watkyn, of “Tretoure,” husbandman, and Matthew ap Rhys Vaughan, gent. This is ultimately decided in favour of William, the defendant.

I find furthermore that one William Games brings numerous actions on bonds which are produced in court and cannot be denied, and that judgment is at once given for him without the interposition of a jury, with costs to the amount of 11s. 1d. But to his debtors he remits part of his debt in court, and they are “quit” to that amount.

I find again an assise of *mort d’ancestor*, and in it the names of the three sisters of one Thomas ap Meredith and the names of their husbands, who claim certain land in Llanelly, in the County of Brecknock.

Then follows the record of gaol delivery, the names of the accused, their crimes, and the result of the trials. Afterwards appear the names of bail for the appearance of persons to be charged at the next sessions. Lastly, there is a record of fines and ameracements and chattels forfeit to the king.

From this brief summary it will be seen what kind of

information will reward the student searching this class of records. It is to be noticed, in passing, that they tell something of some men's (a good many men's) descent; of their domicile; of their marriages; of their friends; and of their characters. And in the earlier rolls, supposing the searcher has the advantage of an ancestor whom "twelve good and lawful" neighbours of his deemed worthy of the elevation of the gibbet, then on the membranes of these rolls will he be able to identify him with certainty. But searching them is not pastime for a sleepy summer's afternoon. It is terribly hard work.

Let me now call your attention to a FOREST ROLL.

I take one belonging to Chester, containing entries of date as early as the year 1271 (55 Henry III.). I read there an account of the "views" or "perambulations" of the forests in the neighbourhood; the names of the residents thereabouts who were sworn as jurors; the names of persons who wished to bring portions of the forest into cultivation, or had done so without asking leave; and whether or not their action could be *ex post facto* permitted without injury to the forest.

I find from the View of the Forest of Wirral, "presented" by the jurors, whose names are set forth, and who met on Tuesday after All Saints, 16 Edward I. (November 2nd, 1288), that the Abbot of Chester, since the last View, had cut down six oaks in the wood of "Parva Saleghal," and "*cariavit*" them for building purposes beyond that fief—to his manor of Sutton to wit; and that William de Hunkelawe, tenant of part of the wood, at the king's wish gave Fulco de Moela four oaks from the same wood. Also that this same William had four dogs at his house, *non expeditatos*,<sup>1</sup> and that the jurors were doubtful whether

<sup>1</sup> *Non expeditatos*.—*Expeditare*, in the Laws of the Forest, signified to cut out the ball of the dog's fore-foot, for the preservation of the

he ought to keep them in this state or not. In addition, they give the names and "addresses" of others who also kept dogs *non expeditatos*, about whose right to do so they were equally doubtful.

Taking another example, and passing on to a **MINISTERS' ACCOUNT** for Merioneth, of 35 and 36 Henry VI., it appears that from this source we shall learn who held in the several commotes the office of Ringild or Woodward, the Ambreship, and the Raglorship, and what rent the farmers of these offices paid; also that the profits from these offices were sometimes granted to the king's valet or his cooks. Here do we discover what was the rent of the fishery of Abermoure;<sup>6</sup> what the rent of the mill of Llanvaghreth; what was the price of cattle; and numerous particulars of farming operations.

The specimen I shall next offer for your inspection, so to speak, is a roll of the accounts of an official of larger responsibility—the **CHAMBERLAIN** of **CHESTER**. It renders account of the year 23 and 24 Edward III. (1349-50). This roll begins with particulars of the fees paid for passing under the Seal at Chester various grants which were operative within the limits of the Chamberlain's jurisdiction. For example, it is stated that from the Prior and Convent of Carmelite Friars at Chester came the sum of 16*s.* 4*d.* for passing a gift of some property near their house in Chester, given for the benefit of the donor's soul.

The scene then shifts to the county of Flint, and discloses what the issues from the towns and manors were. There were received:—

king's game. The ball of the fore-foot of a mastiff was not taken out, but the three claws of the fore-foot on the right side cut off by the skin.

<sup>6</sup> ? = Abermaw or Barmouth.—[Ebs.]

From Ric. de Eston, Receiver of Hopedal, for issues there, 32*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.*

From Blethyn ap Ithel Cemmel<sup>7</sup> and Ken<sup>8</sup>, his son, bailiffs of Eulowe, 8*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

From Will. de Birchovere and Ric. le Barkere, bailiffs of the town of Flint, 20*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

From Ithel ap Ken<sup>8</sup> Seys, bailiff of Cayrus,<sup>9</sup> 103*s.* 5*d.*

From John de Stoke and Ralph de Lacheford, bailiffs, for Rhuddlan, 47*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*

Total from all of this nature, 133*l.* 13*s.* 1½*d.*

The issues of the Sheriff of Flint amount to 99*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*

The proceeds of the sale of cattle—121 oxen and 87 calves—to Robert Pollard, Chamberlain of North Wales, are 22*l.* 17*s.*

So far it is an account of money received. Now we come to money paid :—

1. Under the head of "*Elemosine.*" To the Abbot of St. Werburgh, Chester, for finding certain light in the chapel of Hildeburgheye, paid out of the Exchequer of Chester in respect of an eleemosynary right *ab antiquo*, for the whole year: 10*s.*

To the same Abbot, 100*s.*, for tithes from the Fishery of Dee Bridge and other fisheries.

To the same, for Chester tithes, 10*l.*

To the same Abbot, a sum of 4*l.* of the gift of the late King Edward I., in recompense for certain tithes which belonged to the Abbot at Frodsham; which, however, he resigned to the Abbot of Vale Royal at the said King's request.

The prioress and nuns of Chester receive 16*l.* annually; and also 4*l.* in lieu of certain tithes resigned (as before) to the Abbot of Vale Royal.

These are but a few particulars of entries of this nature, which are succeeded by a statement of *Fees and Wages*, of which the following are examples :

Thomas de Ferrariis, Justice of Chester, 100*l.*

John de Brunham, junior, Chamberlain of Chester, 20*l.*

William de Stafford, rider of the Forest of Wirral, 6*d.* a day = 9*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

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<sup>7</sup> = *Kinmel* or *Cenmael*.—[Eds.]

<sup>8</sup> = *Kenwric*, now *Cyn(w)rig*.—[Eds.] <sup>9</sup> See note 3 on p. 173, *supra*.



Philip de Raby, gardener of Chester Castle garden, 3*d.* a day = 4*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*

Nich. de Eccleston, carpenter to the Lord Edward in Chester and Flint, 3*d.* a day = 4*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.*; and, in addition, 10*s.* annually for a "robe."

Then there are some "new" fees and wages :

William de Stretton, tailor of the chamber of his lord, gets for life an annuity of 10*l.* out of the Dee mill, granted him by the Earl of Chester.

John de Byntre, constable of Rhuddlan Castle, gets 30*l.* per annum, but has to find a lieutenant, a door-keeper, and a watchman, at his own expense, to reside in the castle : and so on.

Followed by—

Payments for timber for repairs.

Purchases of parchment for writs and memoranda in relation to the pleas before the Justices of Chester.

Payments to messengers, coroners, sergeants of the peace, and others.

Account of a dealing in wine, part of the prisage of wine from the ship of Will. de Derwoldesshagh; two casks, 40*s.*; conveyance from Pulbrugge to Chester, loading it, unloading it, and stowing it in the cellar, 6*d.*; conveyance of the same two casks from Neston Park to Pulbrugge by boat, 16*d.*

Cost of works in Chester and Flint.

Payment of the auditors.

Ending up with what, after all deductions, the Chamberlain owes to his lord.

AN INDICTMENT ROLL OF CHESTER (1-14 Henry IV.)—a roll chosen from among this set of records at random, except in so far as it was desirable that one's study should not be confined to one period, yields quite a vivid historical narrative in mediæval Latin. It begins :—

"Indictments at Chester before Henry de Percy, Justicier of Chester, on Tuesday in the first week of Lent, in the first year of the reign of King Henry the Fourth"—that is, March 9th, 1400.

The first entry, following, is an enrolment of an inquisition taken at Chester on Friday next after the Feast of St.

Scholastica the Virgin (i.e., Friday, February 13th) by the oath of jurors (who are named), " who say " that the persons whose names and occupations are also set forth, to the number of twenty-eight or thereabouts, on Saturday after the Epiphany (i.e., January 10th) assembled in the market-place of Chester, and raised an insurrection in favour of the deposed king, Richard II. The inquisition condescends to particulars. It is clear there was much speech-making in the market-place, followed by a rising, the rioters placing badges of leather, cloth, or paper, sewed with white thread, on their arms—the badges consisting of liveries of the crown of the late king Richard, and other liveries—; and that thus ornamented and distinguished, they passed from village to village, and, in particular, demanded the surrender of Chester Castle. This being refused, they then swarmed to the east gate, and seized upon the head of Peter de Legh, which had been stuck there after decapitation by order of the new king, and, carrying it before them, made a tumultuous procession through the streets, gathering adherents as they went. They obtained possession also of the keys of the city gates, and made several proclamations in the name of the deposed king, summoning all able-bodied men to take up arms for him; and then they proceeded to besiege the castle, where, however, were gathered John, Bishop of St. Asaph, the King's Chamberlain, John de Massy, of Potinton, Knt., the Sheriff of Chester, William de Venables, the Constable, and others. The insurgents went so far as to shoot some arrows into the castle. The inquisition names the ring-leaders, and what other well-known men were present, and whether of their own free will or not. The castle was besieged for some days, for on Sunday the insurgents received reinforcements, and further reinforcements on Monday also. How the attempt ended the record does not explicitly show; but it was unsuccessful, as we know. The

whole of this interesting story is set out to show the reasons why certain of the insurgents in the custody of the constable have to plead the King's letters of pardon.

This particular roll contains many other references to the agitation caused by the transference of the crown from Richard to Henry, but passing them by we come to entries of a more normal character.

A casual examination brings to light this not unpleasing entry :

“Indictments at Chester before the Justicier on Tuesday after the Feast of the Nativity, in the second year of King Henry.—*None.*”

And this kind is not uncommon, while there is not seldom one entry only for the day.

The case immediately following, of indictments on Tuesday after Michaelmas, 1402, is one in point.

John de Aldersey and John de Cawardyn, bailiffs of the hundred of Broxon, present that Dawkyn le Walsh, junior, of Budwardusley, on Monday before the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, 2 Henry IV., stole corn from John le Plummer, rector of Tattenhall, by night, to the value of 2*s.* The bailiffs say they went to arrest him, but he was not to be found. A day was then given to him on or before which he was to appear, namely, the Friday following. But “*non est*” then also. So the bailiffs proceeded against his goods and chattels, and seized fifteen sheep, value 5*s.*, ‘le byn’ to the value of 2*s.*, grain to the value of 5*s.*, and calves to the value of 2*s.* Whether Dawkyn returned is doubtful, for over his name is an abbreviation which I read to stand for *fugit*. This was all the business that day. And with these two examples I am forced to leave this roll. Before doing so, I may just mention that if any one is anxious to know what persons were venturesome enough to take their bows and arrows into

the forest of Delamere, in this third year of King Henry IV., and to take a shot at a stag without licence; or thought it a fine place from which to bring away wood free of expense—and were caught in the act by the Master Forester,—then the roll from which I have been quoting will give the required information.

The record labelled COUNTY COURT, HUNDRED, and TOUEN ROLL, FLINT, 31 and 32 Edward III., is a batch of parchments redolent of the soil. These parchments do not contain “fair copy” entries, neatly and laboriously made by a scribe subsequently at his leisure, but to all appearances they come to us from the very courts themselves, as they left them 532 years ago, untouched, as far as their contents are concerned, since they were covered in a rough and ready manner by the hurried working of the pen of the officer whose duty it was to make a record of the day’s proceedings. They are noticeable, among other things, for the number of Welsh words descriptive of occupations, &c., with which the normal Latin is interspersed; e.g., “Offeiriāt,” “Saer,” “Gwith,”<sup>6</sup> and the like. They are further noticeable for the number and shortness of the abbreviations employed. I take an example from the chronicle of the Hundred Court of the Commote of Rhuddlan, held on Tuesday after the Feast of St. Dionysius, 31 Edward III., that is, October 10th, 1357:—

“David ap Jev<sup>a</sup> ap Bleth q<sup>r</sup> de David ap David ap Ririt in pto debi<sup>r</sup> p coñ. vi<sup>d</sup> cū Ŵcia pte p<sup>p</sup> sñ essoñ nñ di<sup>c</sup> p<sup>d</sup>cūs David ap Jev<sup>a</sup> q<sup>d</sup> p<sup>d</sup>cūs David ap David eū detinet dī m<sup>r</sup>c̄ Ŵ hoc p duos annos p<sup>p</sup>itos ad damp̄ xld. Et d<sup>c</sup>us David ap David defendit vim Ŵ iuriā Ŵ di<sup>c</sup> q<sup>d</sup> nō detinet ut p<sup>d</sup>c̄m est Ŵ pō se ad pā Ŵ p inquis d<sup>c</sup>us David ap David p<sup>d</sup>cām dī m<sup>r</sup>c̄ detinet iō ī miā et d<sup>c</sup>us David ap Jev<sup>a</sup> recupet p<sup>d</sup>cām dī mar<sup>c</sup> Ŵ de damp̄ taxato xii<sup>d</sup>.”

<sup>6</sup> = *Gwŷydd*, i.e., *Gweydd*, ‘(the) weaver.’—[Eds.]

The meaning of which in short and plain terms is that David ap Jevan ap Blethyn summoned David ap David ap Ririt for a two-year-old debt of half a mark, which the jury decided that it was right he should be paid, and gave him twelvepence more for costs. From the record of the proceedings of the same Court on this day, we further learn that Ririt ap Madoc "Cragh"<sup>7</sup> took the ringild of Cayrus<sup>8</sup> for 6*l.*, and John ap Gruffydd ap Llywelyn the ringild of "Hyradut,"<sup>9</sup> and Madoc Ddu ap Madoc "Offeiriad" the ringild of Skeynok at a similar valuation. In addition to the dispute about the debt of half a mark above mentioned, there was on the same day a "case" between Kenwric ap Ririt and Jorwerth ap Grono "Gwith,"<sup>10</sup> about an alleged unlawful cutting of timber, for troubling the Court with which the complainant, failing to prove his contention, was fined. After this comes the chronicle of the court of the same commote held at Cayrus<sup>8</sup> on Wednesday after the Feast of St. Edmund, i.e., November 22nd, followed by that of the court at Rhuddlan on Wednesday after the Feast of St. Vincentius, i.e., January 24th, 1358; and so on.

I must now set out a little more at length the contents of one or two of the RUTHIN COURT-ROLLS. I take the two earliest. They also are written with a swift pen with numerous abbreviations, and (of course) in Latin. The first Ruthin Court-Roll begins with a record of the Court at Llannerch on Thursday in Whitsun week, 22 [Edward I.] (1294). Summarized, the proceedings of the day are as follows:—

Ithel Vaghan complains of Hovo<sup>10</sup> Madoc that he beat him with a stick. Hovo, not denying the charge, is fined 12*d.*

Cadwgan ap Blethin ap Howel complains that Henry de Riggebi, of the county of Lancaster, stole his horse. A jury, six English

<sup>7</sup> = *Crach*, 'scabby.'—[Eds.]

<sup>8</sup> See note 3 on p. 173, *supra*.

<sup>9</sup> ? = *Hiraddug*, anciently *Hiraduc*, near Rhuddlan.—[Eds.]

<sup>10</sup> See note 6 on last page.

<sup>10</sup> I.e., *Hwfa* or *Hwa*?—[Eds.]

and six Welsh, say that Henry took the horse without licence, but did not steal it. Henry is therefore fined, but Cadwgan is also fined for "false clamour."

William "le Crocher," of Llannerch, affirms that Jorwerth ap Kenwric ap Ririt on Whitsunday demanded his rent from Thomas ap Gilth Crist, his man, and "says" that by precept of the constable was that demand made, and then "he" of his evil will cursed the beard of the constable, and moreover his head, "*si non preciperet iterum ire in Franciam,*" and also swore by the body of Christ that before the middle of the month the constable and other English "*habebunt rumores tales*" that they would no more desire to re-enter Wales. Jorwerth is called, but comes not, either to explain or excuse; and is condemned to a fine.

William ap Howel is "attached" for receiving a black cow belonging to William, the lord's shepherd. Being called and examined, he vouches Wyn, his brother, to warranty. Wyn appears, and vouches a certain woman named Alice to warranty. Alice appears and is examined. She declares the cow to be her own, *de vitulacione et pasturá suá propriá*, and Leuca<sup>1</sup>, the wife of the shepherd William, asks: "Who warrants on this day the aforesaid cow?" Wyn warrants it, and takes the cow by the ear; and, because the shepherd William is not present, therefore he is ordered to come to the next court. Wyn finds pledges for the bringing back of the cow, viz.: William ap Howel and Howel ap Cadwgan.

The after-proceedings connected with this dispute about the black cow appear on the record of the next Court held at the same place on the ensuing Friday before St. Barnabas. It would seem that Wyn reappeared, producing the cow "in the place of the Court," whereupon Leuca<sup>1</sup>, the widow of Shepherd William, again demanded it, claiming the possession on the ground that on "that day" her husband was alive, and that he "died on Saturday after the departure of the lord, beyond Dyffryn Clwyd at Kilkin<sup>2</sup>." Wyn said that "the same" bought the cow from Alice the Englishwoman, and vouched her to warranty, and she warranted it; and immediately he released the cow, *et ponit se in misericordiá Domini*. Leuca<sup>1</sup>, by twelve well and truly sworn men, proved the cow to be her own, and had it after oath made.

<sup>1</sup> P = *Lleucu*.—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> P I.e., *Cilcen*.—[Eds.]

The same day the unfortunate William ap Howel was again attached for receiving a black cow, which Leuca, widow of William the Shepherd, claimed as belonging to her husband on Saturday, the Feast of St. Michael in Monte Tumba, at Kilkin,<sup>3</sup> when he was killed there. The matter was settled by William ap Howel agreeing to make satisfaction to the amount of 5*l.*, to be paid in five instalments of 20*s.* each. His sureties are Carnec' ap Jorwerth, Blethin ap Howell, Grathcornu, Jorwerth ap Meredith, Blethin "Duy,"<sup>4</sup> and five others. He appears not to have paid his instalments at the times appointed; nevertheless, he did pay the respective sums of 20*s.* and 13*s.* 4*d.*, and on two other occasions two half-marks.

Returning to the record of the first-mentioned court, we learn further that then the following were fined 6*d.* for feeding their cattle on the lord's land without licence, viz.: Jorwerth ap Iago, Map Gone, David ap Howell, Jokin the tailor, and Kenwric Vaghan; and furthermore that Madoc ap Keheylin was attached for losing his lord's hay going to Merioneth, [and was fined] 6*d.*

If we come now to the proceedings of the Court at Llannerch on Friday before St. Barnabas, 23 Edward I. (June 10th, 1295), which has already in part been referred to, we discover that Madoc ap Edenevet was made bailiff in the office of Forester of Llannerch with John the Forester; and that his sureties were Grono ap Madoc "Duy,"<sup>5</sup> William ap Grono, Llewelyn Vaghan, Carnec' ap Jorwerth, and Rolethin ap Howel.

A rudely drawn index-finger points to this entry.

Then William ap Howel is attached for concealing a cow of a dun colour and black head, which belonged to a certain woman whose husband was with Madoc ap Llywelyn, "felon

<sup>3</sup> See note 2 on last page.

<sup>4</sup> ? = *Guernec* (see *Myv. Arch.*, i. 392).—[Eds.] <sup>5</sup> For *Ddu*.—[Eds.]

of the lord the King", *et stetit contra pacem*. He appears and acknowledges the truth of the charge. He is therefore *ad voluntatem Domini*, and the cow forfeit to the lord; its price being 5s.

Jorwerth Vaghan ap Jorwerth ap Ithel gives 40*d.* to obtain the King's peace.

Kenwric ap Jorwerth ap Adeff gives to the lord 16*s.* 8*d.* "for his peace" about two oxen taken from the lord's chattels, pays in two instalments, and is "quit."

Matthew de Ludlow complains of "Sir" Ririth, chaplain, that on Friday, the Feast of St. Luke, he came to his house and there took feloniously and secretly a red cow. Ririth appears leading the cow into Court, and says that if Matthew will swear the cow is his, he will restore it, which Matthew promptly does, and gets the cow. Ririth is adjudged to be fined for the theft 5*l.* His sureties are named. The payment of various instalments is noted—from 3*s.* 4*d.* to one mark—; but his total gets no further than 4*l.*, and the satisfactory note "quit" is not found.

Although this is not a complete account of what this little roll contains, we turn now to the second of these Court-Rolls.

At the Court held at Ruthin, 23-24 Edward I. (1295-6), among others:—

Eva, of Chester, complains of David Voyl that he stole her cloak, &c. The parties appear; and the jury say that David bought the mantle for 13*d.*, and that because David bought the mantle from one not the owner, it is considered that he must pay Eva; and this because he has not his "warrant" from whom he bought the mantle. He must either return the mantle or pay the price, 2*s.* 6*d.*; and is fined.

Between Jordan le Daye and Chrispian del Schopp there is a dispute about 12*d.* Ultimately Chrispian is quit and Jordan fined.

Robert, "Piscator de Wyco," complains of Thomas, the cobbler, that he slandered him *in conspectu populi*, calling him a thief and a robber. They come to an agreement, and Thomas is fined 6*d.*



At the Court held on Tuesday before St. Martin, 24 Edward I. (Nov. 6th, 1296)—

Richard Meysey complains of Leuca,<sup>1</sup> daughter of Ithel de Keymer, that she detains his cloak *de burello*. Leuca appears and produces the mantle, and says she bought it in Ruthin town, in the fair, for 20*d.*, and paid the bailiff his toll. The bailiff appears and confirms her story. But the Court decides that Richard Meysey has proved to their satisfaction that the cloak belongs to him; and it is returned to him. Leuca is to get the money back from the seller (if she can, I presume!) and is fined, but now put in respite.

Then there is a Court on the Eve of St. Andrew, 24 Edward I. (Nov. 29th), and also on the Eve of St. Thomas the Apostle (Dec. 20th).

It is difficult, after a mere recital such as I have given of the items of information to be found on these and other records, to see at once what inferences are to be drawn from them and the abundant matter like them, but I may perhaps be excused if I venture to add my idea of the interpretation which should follow. It appears to me that there are two extremes to be avoided. The information is not to be regarded as too trivial to found any theory upon (as indeed there is little danger that it will be); nor on the other hand is it so complete and all-sufficient as to justify theories which at first sight might seem obvious. We make acquaintance with the life of the "rude forefathers of the hamlet" from age to age; but it is in many respects only a partial and surface acquaintance after all. In plea rolls and indictment rolls, in forest rolls and court rolls, we see the uneasy waves caused by the breezes of contention; but underneath there is a body of water which is greater, and which may abide in profound peace. I take it that the proceedings of the Divorce Court are not a true index to the state of general society; that a hospital experience does not reflect the condition of the general health.

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 183, *supra*.

Because so many faithless wives and husbands are dragged into the one, it does not follow that most wives and husbands are faithless ; because so much disease, suffering, and weakness are crowded into the other, it is not necessarily or even probably true that the majority of people are diseased and suffering and weak. So here, because Reginald the Englishman (as I take him to be), resident in Rhuddlan, had his hides and cloth, russet and striped, stolen on Palm Sunday, or because Adam de Tawleton, the travelling pedlar (as we may fairly suppose him to be), was robbed on the highway of his mercery, it does not follow that all Welshmen were thieves and robbers. And again, because William ap Rhys ap Watkin of Tre-tower and Matthew ap Rhys Vaughan fall out over the rent of those two mills, it is not just to infer that there was in general a difficulty in collecting the rents of mills ; or that because the Abbot of Chester "*cariavit*" the six oaks from Saleghal (as it might seem, without leave or license), this was the method taken by abbots in general to avoid the necessity of dealing with the local timber-merchants. But if inferences of this kind do not necessarily follow, there are underlying inferences which may be drawn with a degree of certainty. For instance, the ancient community in Wales, in the early days of King Edward I., rough and rude though it certainly was, was yet more or less subject to the reign of law ; there seem also to be signs of a certain fairness in the administration of justice, as when a jury composed of both nationalities try the charge of the Welsh Cadwgan ap Blethin ap Howel against the English Henry de Riggebi and come to an agreement about it. Then, I fancy, we may see what degree of credit was given to statements made under oath in these local courts. Further, how great an inter-dependence there was between the members of the community ; the bringing up of sureties being a matter of very general

and daily occurrence. If a man sued out a writ against a neighbour, he produced his two *plegi prosecutionis*; if a man was condemned to a fine, forthwith appear the sureties, three or four, or even a greater number, who become bail for the payment of the instalments. Of course, to justify an inference, it is not sufficient to take for the foundation thereof a few casual instances such as I have here presented to notice. One needs to go over as much ground as possible, and to allow the acquaintance to deepen into knowledge by means of prolonged study. I may say in passing that I think investigations that are intended to lead to historical construction gain greatly in value if they are carried on through first-hand materials (as they may be by any one who will take the trouble), and not through any calendars or abstract or print. There is something which is instructive and suggestive in the very parchments themselves; in the way in which the clerk has formed his letters and sentences. And investigations so carried on, though more laborious perhaps, are yet vastly more interesting to the investigator. But investigation after this manner means a vast expenditure of time and trouble with comparatively little pecuniary return; and, it may be, a result which will not occupy a large number of pages. But the picture of former life so educed, if partial, will yet be true, and though not extensive, will be vivid and instinct with actuality.

I have left myself all too little time to speak of my second division of Records—the general body of national archives, that is, which remains after putting aside in thought for the moment the portion which I have been hitherto examining. This second division is, of course, of vastly greater bulk and range than the first, the purely Welsh. Throughout its whole extent, however, turn almost where you will, you find abundant information bearing upon the Principality

and its affairs. In treating of this part of my subject, I am not required to make an attempt to present even the baldest outline of the whole ground; it would be beside our main purpose, even if I were equal to such a stupendous task. I proceed, therefore, to such examples as present themselves without any extensive search, or to such as in the course of official work have come to my notice. And I must also further limit the scope of my endeavour and guard against the idea that the examples I bring forward are complete in the sense of being an index to the whole. No one knows better than I do how far they will fall short of this. They are isolated examples and nothing more.

If any one were to go steadily through such a grand series of records as the PATENT or CLOSE ROLLS, and extract all matter, year by year, bearing upon the history of Wales and Welshmen, the termination of his task would find him dowered with a voluminous series of well-filled note-books. It is certainly interesting, and perhaps useful, to know that a task of this kind has been accomplished for a limited period, a period of thirty-four years of one reign. The result is not a note-book, but a roll, and is itself a record; an ancient record, too, for the extracts were probably made not many years after the original date of the last, that is, during the later years of the reign of Henry III., or the earlier years of the reign of his son, Edward I. It contains copies or short summaries of matters relating to Welsh business to be found on the Patent and Close Rolls during the years 1-34 Henry III. (1216 to 1250), and is, as you will at once perceive, a very valuable compendium of Welsh historical information. I purposely abstain from quoting a single extract from it, for I should scarcely know, having once begun, when to leave off, unless it were when I had quoted the whole. I therefore merely mention this interesting and valuable record and pass on. From the Patent and Close Rolls many

of the most important documents have been either printed in full or calendared. Students of history, Welsh included, well know, for example, *Rymer's Fœdera*, the *Syllabus* to it, and so on. As to the contents of a *Close Roll*, I may instance one example, not as being typical of what is to be found there, but rather as a curiosity. It caught my eye by the merest chance when the roll was brought to me in order that I might answer a question. I read, as I say, by the merest accident that in the year 1244, in the month of June, and on the 13th day of the month, among the weighty commands issued by the King on that day, was this to John le Strange, Justicier of Chester, that he was to buy a horse for himself, another for J. de Merioneth; one also for Griffith, son of Madoc of Bromfield, and a fourth for Gruffydd, son of Wenunwen.<sup>2</sup> This, although set forth in the best Latin at the clerk's command, is not, at first sight, a very important piece of information. Yet, possibly, the imaginative historian may build some fine theory upon it; or possibly the historical student may find it to be a necessary piece to complete the puzzle-picture which he is laboriously putting together. At any rate, there it is.

As to the contents of a *Patent Roll*, it was a short and easy task for me, taking advantage of the labours of the learned Editor of the *Calendar of the Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, to note down some of the principal entries having reference to Wales to be met with on the Patent Roll of the 27th year of that much-married King. As this almost unbroken series of records starts nearly 700 years ago, in the reign of King John, and comes down almost to the very latest minute of the present day, you will be able to judge from this quota how much remains to be added to complete it.

From this one series, I note the following :

Thomas Lloyd, clerk: Licence to him to found a free school at

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<sup>2</sup> = Gwenwynwyn.—[Eds.]

- Carmarthen, of one master and one sub-master, and to endow it to the annual value of 20*l*.
- Grant to the Abbot and Convent of St. Peter, Chertsey, Surrey, of the site of the monastery of St. Mary, Beddgelert, Anglesea (*sic*), with property attached, and patronage of livings.
- William Latimer, Chaplain to the Queen, presented to the parish Church of Stacpole.
- Various leases of parcels of the Earldom of March.
- Commission of the peace and of *oyer* and *terminer* for the county of "Glamorgan and Morgannok."
- Pardons for murders and stealing sheep.
- Congé d'élire* for the Bishopric of St. David's; Royal Assent and Restitution of Temporalities.
- Wm. Abbot, an officer of the King's cellar, has an annuity out of the issues of the lordship of Denbith.<sup>3</sup>
- Commission for an inquisition *post mortem* on the lands and heir of John Harrys of Haverfordwest.
- Hugh David, yeoman of the guard, made keeper of Mersley Park, in the lordship of Bromefyld.
- Grant in survivorship of the office of Chancellor and Chamberlain of North Wales.
- John Salisbury, Esquire of the Royal Body, to be Chancellor and Chamberlain of the county of Denbigh, with fees as enjoyed by the said John in the office of steward there, and the right of appointing to the office of Baron of the Exchequer of Denbigh in the same way as the Chamberlain of North Wales used to do. This grant is in accordance with the statute 27 Henry VIII., establishing English laws in Wales.
- John Lennard to be prothonotary and Clerk of the Crown in the counties of Wales, under the statute 27 Henry VIII.

Passing away from the Patent and Close Rolls, after this brief notice of them, I come next to a short series of records which have a peculiar value in connection with my subject of to-night. You will understand readily how nearly related to it they are when I mention the name given to them. They are called **WELSH ROLLS**. They are the result of the orderly turn of mind and business capacity of that English sovereign who proved too powerful for Llywelyn son of Gruffudd. The ample evidence that remains shows that King Edward I. was conspicuously endowed with the

<sup>3</sup> = *Denbigh*, in Welsh *Dinbych*.—[Ends.]

qualities I have referred to, or, to say the least of it, had the wit or the good fortune to choose ministers whose ability would reflect credit upon him in this respect. The *Welsh Rolls*, devoted (according to a plan of division of subject in current business) to matters relating to Wales, are one example of this desire for orderliness, as the *Scotch Rolls* are another. They extend from the 6th to the 23rd year of Edward's reign, from 1278, that is, to 1295. I propose to trouble you with some extracts. Before doing so, however, I must remark in passing that some of the important documents here entered have been printed in full in *Rymer's Fœdera*, and that there is an imperfect calendar of them, familiar to antiquarians under the name of Ayloffe. I should also enter a *caveat* against the supposition that the Patent and Close Rolls for the period covered by the Welsh Rolls are void of matter relating to the Principality. The contents of the two are not unlike in nature. The Welsh Rolls, then, contain a contribution to Welsh history for about the last quarter of the 13th century—from 1276 to 1299. On them I find, for example,—

- Nov., 1277.—Grant of Dyffryn Clwyd, &c., to David.  
 Sept., 1278.—Letter to Llywelyn, restoring hostages (*in cedulâ*).  
 Nov., 1278.—Gregory of Rhuddlan presented to the church of Dynorben.  
 Dec., 1278.—Nicholas Bonel made Receiver of the issues of the King's two Cantreds and overseer of the works at Rhuddlan and at "le Chaylon."  
 Dec., 1278.—Roger l'Estrange, keeper of the lands and tenements of the late Griffin ap Madoc of Bromfield, to pay the issues of the same to the Bishop of St. Asaph, guardian of Griffin's sons, for their benefit.  
 Jan., 1278-9.—Pain de Chaworth to do no injury to Howel, son of Rhys "Crek" (*Gryg*).  
 Jan., 1278-9.—Grant of the township of Maenan to Griffin ap Gervase, to the value of 10*l.* per annum, for services to the King in the Welsh Expedition.  
 Jan., 1278-9.—Grant to Howel "Amewerik" of the castle and land of Builth (*Buallt*) for a year, on payment of 100*l.*

- Jan., 1278-9.—Commission to Roger de Mortimer and Walter de Hopton to hear and determine the claim of Emma, the widow of Griffin de Brumfield, to the lands of "Maillor Seysenek"; the King wishing to do justice to her.
- Feb., 1278-9. } —Direction to Guncelin de Badlesmere, Justicier of  
(Tower) } Chester, and Howel ap Griffin, bailiff of the King's Cantreds, to proclaim a weekly market at Flint on Thursdays, and a yearly fair, to last nine days, at Whitsuntide.
- Feb., 1278-9.—Power to the same, joined with Nicholas Bonel, to assess a burgage at Rhuddlan.
- Feb., 1278-9.—Commission to Roger de Mortimer and Roger de Clifford to inquire by the oath of twelve men of Whitchurch into the truth of Llywelyn's complaint, that two of his household, journeying to the King, and having a safe conduct from the King, were hanged at Whitchurch.
- Feb., 1278-9. } —Commission to Nicholas fil. Martin, Friar Roger  
(Dover) } Waldeshof, and Master William de la Shebeth, to hear and determine, *according to the laws of those parts*, all pleas and disputes touching the Bishop of St. David's and the men of his Bishopric.
- Feb., 1278-9.—Ralph de Broghton appointed superintendent, &c., of the King's works at "Lampadarnvaur."
- Feb., 1278-9.—Men of "Lampadervaur" have letters of protection and conduct, going and coming through the whole kingdom with their merchandise, without paying any toll.
- Nov. 25, 1280.—The King's "faithful and beloved" Owen son of Gruffydd is reminded that he has already been commanded to make new or enlarge existing paths through his woods to afford safe passage to travellers, and has not obeyed the command, to the King's astonishment; and the command is now renewed.
- Jan. 14th, 1280-1.—Roger de Clifford has his attention called to the dangerous nature of the roads through the wood of Swertwood in his custody, and is ordered to remedy the matter.
- Dec., 1280.—The Bishop of St. David's, Reginald de Grey, and Walter de Hopton are appointed commissioners to inquire by the oaths of men, both English and Welsh, knights and freemen, throughout the various Cantreds of Wales, by what laws and customs the Welsh had been governed by the King's predecessors.
- (The points they were to inquire into are set out seriatim.)
- Jan. 22, 1280-1.—They sat first at Chester, and there they examined nineteen persons, whose names and answers are all given at length. This was on Wednesday (St. Vincent's day).



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Jan. 24, 1280-1.—Two days afterwards, on Friday, the 24th, they sat at Rhuddlan, where they had an additional point submitted to them by Llywelyn, and where they took the answers of fifty-three persons. Names and answers again given in full.

Jan. 28, 1280-1.—On Tuesday following they were at *Album Monasterium*, where thirty-six persons were examined.

Jan. 30, 1280-1.—Two days afterwards, on Thursday, they had journeyed to Montgomery. Twenty-two examinees.

Feb. 3, 1280-1.—By Monday they had travelled on to "Lampader-vaur;" and here, apparently, they examined forty-three people from various parts of the country. Names and answers all in full.

The answers are extremely interesting, of course, many of them being statements as to suits which the persons answering had themselves heard tried. Many of the examinees can say nothing, because they declare they know nothing. Many merely confirm statements made by others.

From the *Welsh Roll*, 10 Edward I., comes the matter that follows:—

January 1, 1281-2.—The King is at "Perssovere" (Pershore). The bailiffs of Carmarthen are commanded to render accounts of murage granted to the men of the town for the construction and repair of the town-walls, for audit by Robert Tibetot.

The next entry is peculiarly important:

March 25, 1282.—The King is at Stanley. From that place he issues a mandate to Roger de Mortimer. This recites that certain Welsh evil-doers, unmindful of their own safety, coming by night to Hawarden Castle with horses and arms, had made an assault upon the King's beloved and faithful Roger de Clifford and his household, then in occupation of the castle, some of whom they killed, while they burned the houses of the castle, and carried away in their company the aforesaid Roger, and held him captive. And in addition, certain of their partisans, aware of this their wicked conduct, feloniously went to the King's castle of Flint, burnt as many houses as they could

get at, killed some of the King's men, and in that neighbourhood perpetrated other depredations, homicides, arsons, and other enormities against the King's peace. Under these circumstances the King, having full confidence in Roger de Mortimer's fidelity, circumspection, and energy, appoints him his captain in those parts, with direction to follow and capture these evil-doers, as he may find will be most expedient for the maintenance of the King's peace; and injunction is laid upon him to undertake the duty and carry it out with all the diligence of which he is capable. He is informed that the King has sent Bogo de Knovill to his aid with full instructions. Also that the King has commanded the knights, the sheriffs, and the whole community of the counties of Salop, Worcester, Stafford, Hereford, and Gloucester, and Reginald fitz Peter, Ralph de Tony, Roger l'Estrange, Gruffydd son of Wenunwen,<sup>2</sup> Peter Corbet, John l'Estrange, William de Aldithele, Robert de Mortimer, William le Boteler, and Roger de Sumery, all to assist with horses and arms and the whole *posse*, and to bend all their energies in his aid in every way—advice included. And Roger de Mortimer is to present a report of his proceedings to the King at Devizes on the octave of the approaching Easter.

This roll goes on to inform us that instructions similar to those sent to Roger de Mortimer were also sent to Reginald de Grey, Justicier of Chester, whom the King appointed his captain in Chester, Flint, and parts adjacent; to whose aid again the counties of Chester, Lancaster, West Derby and the district of the Peak, and the county of Flint were summoned.

And, once more, for West Wales Robert Tibetot was made captain, and to his assistance the counties of

<sup>2</sup> See Note 2 on p. 190, *supra*.

Gloucester and Hereford, and Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, the knights, and all others of the district of West Wales were summoned, so as to hem in the captors of Roger de Clifford. Here was a commotion; here was a general donning of armour, mounting of horse, and grasping of lance or sword and shield. And no wonder. For the evil-doers in question were no other than Llywelyn and David and their followers; and this was the commencement of the struggle which ended in no long time with the death of Llywelyn in fight, the treacherous capture and judicial execution of his brother, and the unmistakable union of the Principality to the dominions of the King of England.

After all this it is somewhat tame to mention the information obtained from the *Welsh Roll*, 12 Edward I. :—

1283-4. March 22nd. Rhuddlan. Grant to the Prior and Friars preachers of Rhuddlan that they may fish in the King's water of "Cloude," with one net, for their own benefit, from the town of Rhuddlan to the sea; on the condition, however, that when a weir, then in contemplation, had been made, they were not to fish below the weir-pool, and that the net used should be such as not to take the little fish with which the river might be stocked (*infusos*). To this grant is added the further privilege that these same fortunate Friars might have their corn ground at the King's mill free of charge.

I have already mentioned to you a class of records called MINISTERS' ACCOUNTS; but those to which I have hitherto referred were among the records brought up from Chester in 1854. Long before this time there reposed in the Chapter House at Westminster similar records relating to other parts of Wales. I made it my business to extract the substance of an account of the issues of the King's demesne in South Wales—relating, that is, to the counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan, and the Liberty of the Bishopric of St. David's. It is an account for one year, the

year when the world was 604 years less aged than it is to-day. Details of what these (to me) interesting parchments reveal, time will not permit me to communicate; but shortly I may say I discovered that in Carmarthen in the year of grace 1285 there were three kinds of burgesses or inhabitants; that the rent of certain meadows which belonged to John Lourcing, Thomas Bulepenne, and Andrew Spileman consisted of half a pound of cinnamon and two pounds and a half of pepper, which the grocers of that time valued to their customers at 3s. 0½d. I learnt who were then the tenants of Llanllwch Mill and of other mills, and what the rents were. I learnt that hay from Rhyd y Gors Meadows sold at 3s. the acre; that to put a horse out to grass on the moor beyond the town, called "Horsenemore," put the owner to the extravagant expense of 1d. I learnt that before Roger de Mortimer, Justicier of Wales, at Lampadarn-vawr, Gwenlleuan Gethin was fined 5s. for a false appeal against a neighbour; that Rotherch ap Gruffydd appropriated John Skidmore's cow, and that the result of this transaction made him poorer by 20s. Other matters also came to my knowledge, including the names of a number of people who took to brewing beer and mead where the authorities (whether on temperance principles or not I cannot tell) did not permit it to be done, and who, each and all, were called upon to produce 20d. in consequence; and including this fact also, that David ap Jevan ap Rosser killed Jevan Voyl ap Jevan Adef—whether feloniously of malice aforethought again the record saith not, but only that he was fined 40s. for the homicide.

I looked furthermore (taking a *Ministers' Account* for North Wales) at the return made by the Bailiffs of Carnarvon in the same reign, but some twenty years later. As to the contents of this roll also, I fear you must be now satisfied with a hint or two only; as, for example, that a burgage at

Carnarvon was 80 ft. by 60 ft., and was rented at 12*d.*; and that land there which had gone out of cultivation since the time of the "War of Madoc" let at 1*d.*, 1½*d.*, and 2*d.* an acre; that at Beaumaris a burgage was 80 ft. by 40 ft., but paid the same rent of 12*d.* as at Carnarvon, and (incidentally) that the prince's ferry-boat there had some years before gone down in a storm.

Antiquarians will be aware that among the mass of records originally in the Chapter House at Westminster, anciently known as "County Bags," there were a small number specifically known as WALLIA BAGS. You will not be surprised that I did not fail to look in this quarter for some material for this paper. I obtained more than I can at this period of the evening set out at length. There was the return made by the Commissioners, the Bishop of St. David's and others, who were constituted a commission by Edward I. to investigate Welsh laws and customs, the original or a draft of that which I have already called your attention to as entered on one of the Welsh Rolls. There was an account of the Chamberlain of West Wales, for work and other expenditure, at a very early date. There is not much now left of Drysllwyn Castle; but the record of the cost of some repairs on the inside of the gate—3*s.* 1*d.*—was in my hands a day or two ago, and will in all probability remain to inform any number of future generations. Where is the dust of John Basset, the bricklayer, who made stone gutters for Dynevor Castle? I know not; but I know where his little bill is, and that the amount of it was 5*s.* Somebody got 6*d.* for carrying sand for the repair of Cardigan Castle, and there was used on the same occasion a quantity of good lime, for which the contractors disbursed 3*s.* 8*d.* Sir John Wogan and some others had a merry time at Carmarthen taking an inquisition relative to William de Braose. The bill for their bread and beer and mead and

wine remains. They drank at least a cask of the last ; and it was of the best, for it cost 53*s.* 4*d.*, with which, I imagine, champagne at 80*s.* a dozen compares almost favourably. I suppose a guinea a day is not an unusual sum for travelling expenses at present. One Gerard de Spynee was allowed 9*d.* a day at the time I speak of, going from Carmarthen to Scotland and back, and was sixty-one days on the journey ; but Eynon, a "boy" from Carmarthen, starting in December, accomplished the same distance in forty-four days. He, however, was only given 2*d.* a day, and perhaps, as that did not allow of as much "ease at his inn" or on the road, he did not linger. Had I time I might discover to you, from the contents of the *Wallia Bags*, what it cost to provision the various castles, both with respect to the articles themselves and the expense of carriage. Furthermore, it would be possible to inform you of the names of the jurors who reported on the condition of the castles, the area of the lands attached, and their rental value ; and of the days of the week on which they met. There exist even some of the identical little seals appended to their report. Or, if your interest lies in the north, then I might disclose to you the expense incurred in the later years of King Edward I., about the hall and chapel of Llywelyn at Conway, set out in orderly detail week by week, with the very names of the workmen and the nature of their employment ; but, tempting as this all is, and matter which I have myself laboriously yet with great interest investigated, I must pass it by with allusion merely. For I should much like, if your patience will permit, to call your attention to one or two things more. Would you know, for instance, the number, and for many places and districts the very names, of the male population between the ages of sixteen and sixty and upwards in the time of King Henry VIII. ? If you would, go to certain muster-books

among the miscellaneous books of the Exchequer, and you will find—

“A brief containing as well the names of the lordships, towns, and commotes in Carmarthen-, Cardigan-, and Pembroke-shires, as also the numbers of the whole multitude of the King’s Majesty’s subjects inhabiting the same from the age of sixteen years to sixty and upwards, with a true note limiting the certainty of horsemen and footmen harnessed, the names and kind of the same, their armour and weapons, after the fashion of the countries, according to the best of every of their substances and abilities.”

It commences with

“*Kermerdyn Shyre*” :

The town of Kermer- thyne and the fraunches of that same.	}	372 persons, whereof are thirty men harnessed upon nags, forty men with jacks, coats of fence, salletts, splints, swords, daggers with staves, the rest naked, and every of them appointed to a staff.
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Lordship of Llandilo Vawr.	}	Eighty-four, whereof sixteen are with jacks, coats of fence, salletts, and splints, and among them sixteen nags, the rest naked <i>ut supra</i> .
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*Newport* :

Here the names of the persons are set out under—

1. Horsemen.
2. “Coats of fence and other pieces of armour.”
3. Gieves and halberts.

*Llanelly* :

1. “Bows.” (Names set out.)
2. “Able men lacking harness and weapons.”

Similar information is to be had for—

*St. Ishmael’s*,

*Pembrey,*  
*Llangendeirne,*  
*Kidwelly,*  
*Llandewy-Velfrey,*  
 and other places.

Another of these volumes, "The Book of the Musters of John Salisbury, Esq., Steward of Denbighland,"

Begins with—

*Commote of "Kynmerghe."*

Contains—

1. Names of footmen with spears.
2. „ „ bowmen (of whom the first, John Trevor the younger, has "Thicke cote, sword, bucler, bowe and arrows").
3. „ „ billmen, some of whom have a "thick coat" also, in addition to their "bill."

Similar information is given with regard to other commotes.

"A 2" is the book for Monmouthshire.

I veritably tear myself away from all but a mere mention of the *Registrum Munimentorum*, known as *Liber A.*, in which are entered numerous instruments relating to Wales, and in which there are also contemporary drawings embodying the scribe's idea of the natives of the Principality. I will not say that the sketches are true to life; I will not say the artist was very skilful with his pencil. He was but varying the tedium of the summer's afternoon, perhaps, as many an idle fellow has done since then, with the unlawful occupation of making pen-and-ink sketches on the margin of his book; but I will say that the results of his idle humour possess an interest to-day which neither he nor his superior, who, it may be, thumped him on the pate for his pains, ever dreamed of. Very interesting, too, are the fly-leaves of a volume called the "Breviate of Domesday," these fly-leaves containing:—



1. Prophecies—" *Par le dit Merlyn.*" The first foretells the coming of a goat with horns of silver and other abnormal appendages, whose presence will be accompanied by loss and famine, mortality of persons, and loss of territory.
2. Copy of the *Annales Cambriae*.<sup>4</sup>
3. Forecasts of weather, not founded on meteorological observations, but on the day of the week when January commences; e.g., if the 1st of January should fall on Sunday, then there will result a good winter, windy spring, dry summer, good vintage, growing sheep, and abundance of honey.<sup>5</sup>
4. A chronological table of events from 1066, jumping to 1081, when "Kerdivia" was built under King William, and continued to 1290.

At the end of the volume have been added :—

1. Genealogical and biographical information relative to the Braose family (*French and Latin*).
2. Charter (*Latin*) of the land of Gower and its limits (*French*).
3. Documents (*Latin*) relating to the monks of Neath.
4. Charter to the burgesses of Swansea from William, Earl of Warwick.
5. A copy of the plea of William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, against William de Braose, claiming the castle of Swansea.
6. Another chronological list of events in Wales and elsewhere, beginning with 1116, when Griffin Rhys, son of Owen, son of Cadugan, was killed in Carmarthen, the town being burnt.
7. Some French verses beginning :

" [C]i sunt les mervailles dites  
Come par ordre sunt escrites,"

—telling that Alban was the first martyr, and so on.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Styled "MS. B" in the so-called editions given in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (1848) and the Rolls Series (1860).—[Eds.]

<sup>5</sup> A Welsh translation or counterpart of this will be found printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. vii., pp. 134—136. Compare *ib.*, p. 108, for a notice of other copies or versions of the tract.—[Eds.]

<sup>6</sup> These two verses and the six that follow in the MS. form the preface to one of the versions of the tract sometimes called " *Libellus de locis quibus Sancti in Anglia requiescunt.*" It is printed in the Preface to Gaimar's *Lestorie des Engles* (Rolls Edition, 1883), at the end of a fuller description of the *Miscellanea* appended to the *Breviate of Domesday*, given in pp. xxxvii.—xlii. of the said preface.

## 8. More instruments relating to the Braose family.

I pass on to notice shortly, in the last place, a series of documents which, for reasons I need not enter into, possess a peculiar interest for me. This is a series belonging to the department of the Chancellor, known as *Royal Letters, Writs, &c.*, which in the future will be known as *Ancient Correspondence*. A brief calendar of some thousands of these documents has already been printed, and a selection has been published in full in "Shirley's Royal Letters of the reign of Henry III.;" but there are thousands more which hitherto have not been made accessible to students, though they soon will be. Among these are communications from Welshmen of many degrees, from Prince Llywelyn downwards.

In the *Annales Cambriæ* it is related, under the date 1283, that with David, Llywelyn's brother, was taken and held prisoner in London (among others) Llywelyn, son of Rhys Vychan.

Among *Royal Letters* I lighted lately upon a petition from this Llywelyn ap Rhys to King Edward I. (*in French*).

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Other versions of the *Libellus de Locis, &c.*, are found :

(a) In Latin :—

(1) In Lambeth MS. 99, fo. 187, &c. (15th cent.; written at Burton-on-Trent?).

(2) In MS. Cott., Vitellius, A ii., fos. 4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup> (12th cent.; probably written at Canterbury). The same text is found (imperfect) in Harl. MS. 3680, fo. 177<sup>v</sup> (late 12th cent.; a Rochester MS.); and a form of it is printed (apparently from a MS. then at Merton College, Oxford) in Leland's *Collectanea* (ed. 1770), vol. iii. (bound as iv.), pp. 80-2; and extracts from other versions will be found *ib.*, i. 10, 11, and ii. (bound as iii.), 408-9.

(b) In Anglo-Saxon :—

In MS. C.C.C.Cant. (i.e., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), S. 18 (201), fo. 149 (printed in Hickeys' *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, p. 117), and in other MSS. specified in Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS., &c.*, i. 666 (Nos. 1262-3); and cf. *ib.*, 100 (No. 296), for the Lambeth MS. mentioned above.—[Eds.]

He is in the Tower of London. He prays the King for God's sake, and for the sake of the souls of the King's father and mother, to think of his captive who has so long remained in prison, and especially of his captive's great need of clothing, linen, and a bed, none of which necessaries he has had for three years, but his food only, and he begs piteously for relief. On the dorse of this little document I was glad to read :—

“ A robe of seven ells of striped cloth.

“ A bed suitable to his condition like that had up to this time.

“ Twenty-four ells of linen sufficiently stout for a linen robe.”

His prayer therefore was not unanswered.

Among this ancient correspondence is a series of documents, not far short of 1000 in number, which consist of mandates sent by King Edward the First's great Chancellor, Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to his clerks in the Chancery. These were despatched from Wales during the years 1282—1284, when the King was there engaged in the task, first of finally subduing the country, and then of making the arrangements for its government which are embodied in the well-known “ Statute of Wales.” Brought together as they now are, and arranged chronologically day by day, they are a kind of index to the business of the country; and by means of these little documents—as indeed by others also—we can track the King's movements from place to place,—Rhuddlan, Conway, Carnarvon, and so on. On one particular occasion, a summer's evening in July, 1283, we can fix his position in a truly remarkable manner. From Conway, on that July day, went forth a messenger to the clerks of the Chancery, William de Odiham and Alan de Berton, bearing a missive such as was commonly despatched to them, one of a bundle, probably,

which the messenger also carried. This directed them to command the King's Escheator to take into the King's hands the goods and chattels, including the growing crops, on the lands of the late Patrick de Chaworth, who had died in the King's debt, to make a valuation of them, and to await further orders. Further orders came sooner than was to be expected—how long after I cannot exactly tell, but certainly before nightfall—; for on the same 6th of July went forth another messenger with another missive to the same officers. This missive was, I imagine, penned, not on any desk, or even table, but haply on a rock of the smoothest surface that could be found near by, haply on some saddle vacated for the purpose, for it is dated thus: "*In vespere in maris littore subtus Coyt Tewy et Penmayn Baghan in eundo versus Aber.*" It may not be possible to tell the reason of this haste—why the business could not wait until the cavalcade dismounted at Conway, not very far off—unless it be that there was, as I know there was, a lady in the case. But be the reason what it may, here to-day is the unimpeachable evidence of the fact that in the evening, on the seashore, underneath Coyt Tewy and Penmaen Bach, as the Chancellor certainly, and probably the King also, were on their way to Conway, this little document was written. A traveller by the line to Holyhead, knowing the facts, may fix almost the very spot, for he must pass close by it. Shortly after leaving Conway, just after having rounded the spur of the coast, such a traveller, looking straight across Beaumaris Bay towards Trwyn y Gogarth and the Great Orme's Head, may imagine on the sea-shore below him a cavalcade of horsemen, knights, squires and men-at-arms, the King probably the central figure, and with him the Bishop-Chancellor and attendant clerks. The cavalcade has halted, the sun is slowly sinking, a great red ball of fire in the western horizon throwing level rays across

the restless surface of the water, and a scribe with inkhorn at his girdle is rapidly, and with no want of neatness, covering at the dictation of the Chancellor an oblong little strip of parchment with commands that are to make matters easier for the widowed Isabella de Chaworth. Our traveller may call up in fancy all this with many other details, and though the shore when he whirls rapidly by it is given up to solitude, he may be assured that he is conjuring up a true historical picture.

And now I must of necessity make an end, both of facts and fancies—yet not for want of other material. My difficulty throughout has been a superabundance of material. In gathering up a few specimens of the vast deposit of records relating to Wales, I have felt as a little toddling child might feel who has filled his tiny hands with shells and pebbles from a multitude of such things on the beach, and is proudly bearing them along, grieved to be obliged to let many drop by the way, yet eager and pleased to pour them into his parent's lap. Grieved indeed am I to omit so much, yet pleased at the same time to lay my little heap in the lap of this Society as representing the dear Fatherland.

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## THE LEGEND OF KING BLADUD.<sup>1</sup>

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR SAYCE, M.A., LL.D.

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PROFESSOR EARLE has remarked that Bath is one of the few cities which can boast of possessing a local myth. It claims as its founder the British prince Bladud. An exile from the court of his father on account of leprosy, he found his way to the west, and there hired himself as a swineherd to a farmer of Keynsham. After awhile he found, to his dismay, that he had communicated to the swine the disease from which he suffered himself. But the swine were healed by wallowing in the warm mud and water of the valley in which Bath now stands; Bladud followed their example, and was himself cured. He returned to his father's court, and after his accession to the throne founded the city of Bath on the spot where the healing waters rose to the surface of the ground.

That Bladud was the founder of Bath was known to Geoffrey of Monmouth in the twelfth century. Geoffrey tells us (Thompson's translation, ii. 10) that Hudibras, or Hurdibras, King of Britain, was succeeded by Bladud his son, who "reigned twenty years. He built Kairbadus, now Bath, and made hot baths in it for the benefit of the public, which he dedicated to the goddess Minerva; in whose

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Society on May 22nd, 1889.

temple he kept fires that never went out nor consumed to ashes, but as soon as they began to decay were turned into balls of stone. About this time the prophet Elias prayed that it might not rain upon earth; and it did not rain for three years and six months. This prince was a very ingenious man, and taught necromancy in his kingdom, nor left off pursuing his magical operations, till he attempted to fly to the upper region of the air with wings he had prepared, and fell down upon the temple of Apollo, in the city of Trinovantum, where he was dashed to pieces.”<sup>2</sup> His

<sup>2</sup> The original passage in the St. Alban's MS. is as follows (Royal MS. 13 D. v., fo. 5<sup>b</sup>):—

“De industria BLADUTH qui BADA~~m~~ et calida balnea in ea fecit . qui et uolando periit.

“Successit ei deinde BLADUD filius suus tractauitque regnum . xx . annis . Hic edificauit urbem KAERBADUM . que nunc BADO nuncupatur . Fecitque in illa calida balnea ad usus mortalium apta . Quibus prefecit numen MINERUE . in cuius ede inextinguibiles posuit ignes . qui nunquam deficiebant in fauillas Sed ex quo tabescere incipiebant . in saxeos globos vertebantur . Tunc HELYAS orauit ne plueret super terram . et [col. 2] non pluit annos tres et menses sex . Hic admodam ingeniosus homo fuit . docuitque nigromantiam per regnum BRITANNIE . Nec prestigia facere quieuit . donec paratis sibi alis ire per summitatem aeris temptauit . ceciditque super templum APOLLINIS . infra urbem TRINOUANTUM in multa frustra (sic) contritus.”—(Book ii., ch. 10.)

On the Bath waters, cf. :—

(1) *Vita Merlini*, ll. 868—874, from Cott., Vesp. E. iv., fo. 127, printed in San Mart's (Albert Schulz) *Sagen von Merlin*, p. 298 :—

“Preterea fontes unda feruente salubres  
 Que fouet egrotos et balnea grata ministrat  
 At subito sanos pellit languore repulso  
 Sic ac blandus eos regni dum scepra teneret  
 [127<sup>b</sup>] Constituit . nomenque sue consortis ALARON  
 Vtilis . ad plures laticis medicamine morbos  
 Set mage femineos ut sepius unda probauit.”

Here “Ac blandus” has been thought to stand for “Bladudus.”

(2) Rhygyfarch's *Life of St. David*, Cott., Vesp. A. xiv., fo. 63<sup>c</sup> :  
 “Deinde uenit [Sanctus Dauid] *Bathoniam* ; ibique mortiferam

successor was his son Leir, whose name has been made familiar to us by Shakspeare.

Geoffrey's account of the temple of Minerva, and of the fires of coal that burnt perpetually within it, is taken from Solinus,<sup>3</sup> whose very words in regard to it are repeated. This will explain how it is that Geoffrey was acquainted with the fact that the temple of Sul-Minerva was one of the chief buildings of Roman Bath; it also throws light on the extent of his reading and the nature of his sources of information.

Geoffrey, however, knows nothing of the swine, or of Bladud's leprosy, which form the kernel of the local myth; at all events he gives no sign of being acquainted with them. Dr. Freeman states<sup>4</sup> that he has been unable to trace the story beyond the publication of Peirce's Memoirs in 1697. "Peirce was not an imaginative person, nor was he given to romance, although he was credulous even to superstition; but this does not explain the historical problem of the pigs. He says, it is true, he got the whole story from 'an old manuscript chronicle that I have by me, though it hath much larger stories of other kings before and after him, even from *Brute* himself.'" No reference to the story is found in Alexander Neckam's Latin verses on Bath, (*De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ*, ed. Thos. Wright, p. 401), in Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Illus-*

aquam benedictione salutarem effitiens. lauandis corporibus dignam perpetuo donavit calore." (= *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 123).—[Eds.]

<sup>3</sup> *Polyhistoria*, c. 22 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, x., col. 2), where the writer is speaking of Britain: "In quo spatium magna et multa flumina, fontes calidi opiparo exulti apparatu ad usus mortaliū: quibus fontibus præsul est Minervæ numen, in cuius sede perpetui ignes nunquam canescunt in favillas, sed ubi ignis tabuit, vertit in globos saxeos." Solinus is said to have flourished *circ.* A.D. 80.—[Eds.]

<sup>4</sup> *The Thermal Baths of Bath* (1888), p. 5.



*trium Virorum*, or in the rhyming history of Bladud published by John Higgins in his *Mirour for Magistrates*.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, I am inclined to think that the local legend really goes back to an early date, though it has been neglected or rejected by Geoffrey of Monmouth and his literary followers. It would not be the first time that a legend, of which no trace exists in literature, has been preserved by the oral tradition of the people. Students of folk-lore are well acquainted with the fact, and the Highland Tales of Campbell are a familiar illustration of it. It sometimes happens that a "folk-tale" preserved among the illiterate furnishes us with an older form of a story than does the literary version published, it may be, centuries before the "folk-tale" first becomes known to the educated world. There was a special reason why the myth of Bladud and his swine should survive in the local folk-lore of Bath, while it was rejected by Geoffrey and his successors as derogatory to the dignity of the British king. In Geoffrey Bladud is a magician and a representative of the learned class; as a member of the learned class himself Geoffrey could not admit that the discovery of the hot springs of Bath could be due to anything else than the learning of the prince.

But there is an indication that the local legend in some shape or other was really known to him. No reason is assigned for the discovery of the hot springs by Bladud, and the association of his name with Bath. The preceding British kings, Ebraucus and Leil, who are introduced as the founders of the chief cities of Roman Britain, take their names from those of the cities they were supposed to have built;<sup>6</sup> and though the father of Bladud bears a name which

<sup>5</sup> See the quotations in Dr. Freeman's work above cited, pp. 57-62.

<sup>6</sup> I.e., York and Carlisle—in Welsh *Caer Efrog* (anciently *Cair Ebroauc*, later *Ebrauc*) and *Caer Livelydd*.—[Eds.]

has no resemblance to that of any of the three cities whose origin is ascribed to him, a hint is given that in one case at least there was a local legend to account for his association with it. While the town of Mount Paladr, or Shaftesbury,<sup>7</sup> was being built by Hudibras, says Geoffrey,<sup>8</sup> "an eagle spoke . . . ; and indeed I should not have failed transmitting the speech to posterity, had I thought it true as the rest of the history." Here Geoffrey confesses that he has deliberately passed over the legend which accounted for the association of Shaftesbury with Hudibras; the fact that no reason is given for the association of Bath with Bladud tends to show that he has similarly passed over the story which accounted for it.

Later writers were troubled to supply the omission. Higgins, in the verses referred to above, states that according to the current opinion the hot springs were actually made by Bladud, whose knowledge of alchemy enabled him cunningly to mix their elements underground; Higgins himself inclines to the view that the British king only discovered the springs, led thereto by the "grace" of God.

If we analyze the local legend in the form in which we have it, we shall observe two details in it which tell in favour of its antiquity. Bladud's master is said to have lived at Keynsham, and the spot where the swine wallowed in the mire is asserted to have been called in consequence Swinesford. But there was no such locality as Swinesford, nor

<sup>7</sup> *Paladr*, plural *pegydr*, means in Welsh 'a shaft or beam.'—[Eps.]

<sup>8</sup> "Ibi tunc aquila locuta est dum murus edificaretur. Cuius sermones si ueros esse arbitrarer sicut cetera; memorie dare non diffugerem." (Geoffrey, Book ii., ch. 9, from Royal MS. 13 D. v., fo. 5<sup>v</sup>). The *Eagle's Prophecy* occurs in Latin and Welsh forms, of which the latter is common in Welsh MSS., where it occurs either in the text of some Welsh versions of Geoffrey, or as a separate article (see Cott., Cleopatra B. v., fo. 14<sup>b</sup>). It will be found printed in *Mye. Arch.*, ii. 124-6, *Cambrian Register* for 1796 (vol. ii), pp. 33-7.—[Eps.]

any name like it, in the immediate vicinity of the hot springs of Bath.<sup>9</sup> There is indeed a Swainswick; but Swainswick is far removed from the old hot springs of Bath, as well as from the river over which there could have been a ford. The name, in fact, must have been invented by some one who was but imperfectly acquainted with the locality; who had heard of Swainswick, but did not know its precise situation, and did not remember the precise form of its name. Swinesford and its etymology must belong, not to the transmitters of the local legend, but to a literary writer. The local legend spoke of swine, and the writer, imperfectly acquainted with the locality, imagined that in them he had found the etymology of a local name. The story of the swine, in short, must have already been in existence before it was called upon to account for the imaginary name of Swinesford.

The other detail—that which made Keynsham the home of Bladud's master—is still more significant. Keyna was a British saint, the daughter of Bragan, Prince of Brecknock;<sup>1</sup> a sacred well of healing virtue is still called after her name at St. Kayn, in Cornwall,<sup>2</sup> while at Keynsham itself is a medicinal spring, reputed to be useful in cases of ophthalmia.

<sup>9</sup> The name seems to have come from the neighbourhood of Keynsham, as I learn from Mr. Poynton that a Swinesford existed at the point where the small stream dividing the counties of Somersetshire and Gloucestershire runs into the Avon on the eastern side of Bitton, and where there was probably an ancient ford.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Brychan Brycheiniog. See John of Tinmouth's *Life of St. Cain Wryf*, in MS. Cott. Tiberius E. i. (Part II., fo. 77<sup>b</sup>); Bodl. Tanner MS. 15 (fo. 362); Bodley MS. 240 (p. 583); and John Capgrave's edition of the *Life* in MS. Cott. Otho D. ix. (fo. 164<sup>b</sup>)—printed in *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fo. 204<sup>b</sup>—and York Cathedral MS. XVI. c. I.—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> The husband or wife who first drinks the water of the well after marriage retains the mastery ever after.—Gilbert's *Cornwall* (1817), p. 936.

The fossils found in the neighbouring quarries are held by local tradition to be the serpents changed by St. Keyna into stone. The connection of Bladud, the discoverer of the curative springs of Bath, with the British saint who presided over wells of similar curative power, cannot be an invention of the seventeenth century. It must go back to a period when a British population still remembered the name of Keyna, and her association with healing waters. And this period will necessarily have preceded the age of Geoffrey of Monmouth.<sup>3</sup>

The swine which figure in the legend point in the same direction. Readers of Professor Rhÿs's *Hibbert Lectures* have no need to be reminded of the prominent place occupied in Welsh and Irish story by the "unclean beast." The swine, he concludes (p. 513), was an emblem of darkness and of the lower world, both in Ireland and in Wales. Swine were the gift of the lord of Hades to his son Pryderi; and it was from Pryderi that they were obtained by fraud by Gwydion for the service of man (pp. 241 *et seq.*). According to the Welsh view they were thus animals which had come from the nether earth with its hidden springs of healing, and were at the same time the instruments whereby the Culture-hero conferred his benefits upon the human race. The part played by the pigs in the legend of Bladud is in strict conformity with this view.

The association of a particular animal, moreover, with the foundation of a particular city was an old Keltic idea. The *pseudo*-Plutarch tells us that Lyons was built while ravens were fluttering about its foundations (Rhÿs, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 428); and Geoffrey of Monmouth similarly connects the building of Shaftesbury with the appearance of an eagle.

<sup>3</sup> Keynsham is spelt *Cainnessam* in Domesday. Can Keyna be the Christian successor of the goddess Sul?

The site of the future city was determined by the sacred animal of the deity afterwards worshipped there.

All this induces me to believe that the local legend which ascribed the discovery of the hot springs of Bath to the swine of Keynsham was already in existence in the time of Geoffrey, though it was ignored by him. But even supposing that it is some later addition—the invention of some literary romancer of the seventeenth century—the fact remains that as far back as the age of Geoffrey the foundation of Bath and the discovery of its hot springs were ascribed to Bladud. Since Bladud is not, like Ebranc or Leil, a name formed from the name of the city, its association with Bath could not have been the work of a monkish historian, but must have its origin in a legend current on the spot.<sup>4</sup> Bladud must have been the traditional founder of Bath before Geoffrey of Monmouth made him so. The name, however, is British, and it is therefore difficult to conceive of the growth of the legend in Saxon or early Norman times. Its connection with Bath ought to go back to the period when Bath and the surrounding country were still in British hands.

Who was this Bladud, this famous necromancer, this discoverer of the hot springs, and the mythical founder of Bath? No light is thrown on the question by the name, which in its present form could only signify 'wolf-fighter.' Geoffrey of Monmouth, however, makes Bladud the father of Leir, and Leir is the Welsh *Llŷr* and Irish *Lir*, whom Professor Rhŷs has shown to have been the old Keltic god of the sea. His father, therefore, will have been a god also, and, like his son, connected with the watery element.

<sup>4</sup> It is remarkable, as showing how firmly established the name of Bladud was, that in spite of the ease with which it might have been assimilated to the name of Bath, it is only in Robert of Gloucester that we find it assuming the form *Bathulf*.

On the other hand, Bladud was also the Keltic hero who, like Simon Magus in Christian legend, attempted to fly through the air, and perished miserably in the attempt. Now, as Professor Rhÿs has pointed out,<sup>5</sup> this Keltic hero figures largely in Irish mythology. He is there known as the famous Druid and necromancer, Mog Ruith, 'the slave of the wheel,' who assisted Simon Magus in making a wheel with the help of which he might sail through the air. But both wheel and magician were dashed to pieces, some of the fragments of the wheel being afterwards brought to Ireland by the Druid's daughter. Other legends transformed Simon himself into a Druid, and made him the ancestor of certain Irish families. The cause of the transformation was simple enough. Simon Magus in Christian story, Mog Ruith in Irish, were alike magicians and necromancers, and had alike devised means for flying in the air. The story of Bladud given by Geoffrey shows that a parallel to the Irish legend must have existed in Britain, and that here it was connected with the name of Bladud. Bladud was not only associated with the water; he was also the all-wise magician who could journey through the air,<sup>6</sup> but whose journey ended disastrously at last in his fall and death. The fate that befell the Greek Phaethon befell eventually his Keltic analogue.

The solar character of Phaethon has never been obscured, and Professor Rhÿs has had little difficulty in showing that the wheel of Mog Ruith—"the wheel of light," as it is also termed—is the solar disk. There are many mythologies in which the orb of the sun has been symbolized by a flaming

<sup>5</sup> *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 210 *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> Some of his faculties were also combined by *Morgen la fée* :

*Aræ quoque nota sibi qua scit mutare figuram*

*Et resicare novis quasi Dedalus æera pennis.*

*Vita Merlini* (Vesp. E. iv., fo. 128<sup>v</sup>; San Marte, ll. 922, 923).—[Eps.]

wheel. The sun-god is pictured as driving his fiery disk like a chariot through the heavens until he sinks with it to the earth and disappears in the darkness of temporary death.

In the centre of the façade of the Roman baths of Bath, discovered on the site of the present Pump-room, and preserved in the museum of the Literary Institution, is carved the face of a deity of orb-like shape, and surrounded by flames of fire in place of hair. It bears a close resemblance to the head of the Phœnician sun-god carved in similar fashion on the platform of the Romano-Phœnician temple at Rakleh, on Mount Hermon, by the side of the figure of the eagle, the emblem of Zeus.<sup>7</sup> Close to the Roman baths stood the temple of the British goddess Sul, whom the Romans identified with their Minerva, and who was regarded as the patron goddess of the city. The name of the patron god has not yet been discovered, no inscriptions relating to him being known to exist. But the flaming face of which I have spoken proves that there was such a god by the side of the goddess, and it further shows that while the goddess was worshipped in a separate temple, the hot springs themselves and the baths that stood above them were under the protection of the god. The baths, in fact, were his temple. He must, therefore, have been the god of the hot springs, the heat of which would explain his identification with the solar orb. The burning heat of the springs and of the sun were imagined to proceed from the same source. The god of the springs was a form of the sun-god, but of that sun-god of the nether world, for whom, as Professor Rhÿs has shown, the Kelts had a special predilection.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> In Assyrian mythology the eagle was the emblem of "the midday sun."

<sup>8</sup> An explanation would thus be afforded of the fact that the name

Now this god answers exactly to the description given of Bladud by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Bladud was the father of the sea-god Leir, and the discoverer, if not the creator, of the hot springs of Bath, and he essayed to travel through the sky with the wings which took the place of the magic wheel of the solar disk. Like the sun-god, who sees and therefore knows all things, he was all-wise, the instructor of his kingdom in the sciences and arts. Even the leprosy of the local legend may now be explained without seeing in it an allusion to the patients who afterwards flocked to the healing waters. The sickly sun of winter, or the setting sun of the afternoon, appears not unfrequently in mythology as suffering from a disease of the skin, which is cured by his plunge into the waters of the west. Thus the great Epic of the ancient Babylonians told how their solar hero Gisdhubar was wasted by leprosy as the year tended towards the winter solstice, and was forced to sail beyond the river of death ere he could be healed of his deadly sickness. The leprosy of Bladud may be regarded as one more fragment of evidence that the Bath legend of the British prince is of immemorial antiquity.

The printed copies of Geoffrey make Bladud the son of Hudibras, or Hurdibras. The MSS. of the *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden (+1363), however, give the name as Rudibras, Ruthudibras, Ruthdibras, and Ruthudubras, while Trevisa's translation makes it Ruthudybras; <sup>9</sup> in Hardyng's Chronicle <sup>1</sup> it is Rudhudebras; while Fabyan's Chronicle <sup>2</sup> (15th century) makes it Lud Rudibras. Holinshed calls the prince "Lud Hurdibras, or Rathudibras, or as some wryte

of Roman Bath is given as *Aqua Solis* in the fourteenth *Itor* of Antoninus.

<sup>9</sup> *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, in the Rolls Series, iii., pp. 22-3.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Ellis (1812), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Ellis (1811), p. 14.



Rudibras.”<sup>3</sup> Matthew of Paris, apparently quoting Geoffrey, has Rudhudibras;<sup>4</sup> Waurin<sup>5</sup> Rahudibras, Ruhudibras and Rudibras; and Matthew of Westminster<sup>6</sup> Rudhudibras. It seems evident, therefore, that Geoffrey’s original reading was Rudhudibras or Ruthudibras. Rudhudibras was afterwards corrupted into Lud Hudibras from a reminiscence of Lud, who figures later in Geoffrey’s list of kings; and it would appear that the name was divided into two halves, the first of which was Rud or Ruth. With the latter form it is impossible not to compare the Irish Ruith in the name of Mog Ruith, as well as the *Roth Fáil*, or “wheel of light” (Rhÿs, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 214). The form Rud might be explained by the Welsh *rhôd*.<sup>7</sup>

If further proof were needed that Bladud is an ancient British god, it is found in the fact that the name appears more than once in Geoffrey’s mythical history of the island. Besides Bladud, the son of Rudhudibras, Geoffrey mentions a Bladud among the twenty sons of Ebraucus, one of his brothers being Margadud<sup>8</sup> and another Rud. Eboracum, the Roman name of York, it should be remembered, probably

<sup>3</sup> *Holinshed’s Chronicles* (1807), p. 31; cf. *id.*, *Historie of England*, ed. 1587, pp. 11, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronica Majora*, in the Rolls Series, i., p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Recueil des Chroniques*, in the Rolls Series, i., p. 86.

<sup>6</sup> *Flores Historiarum* (ed. 1570), p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> The eagle which uttered a prophecy while Rudhudibras was building the walls of Shaftesbury bears the same relation to the British king that the ravens bear to the founders of Lyons (*Pseudo-Plut.*, *De Fluvio*, ed. Dübner, v., p. 85). In the Mabinogion Llew is changed into an eagle, and only restored to his proper shape after Gwydion had sung three verses of poetry to him, and in Llew Professor Rhÿs sees the Cymric sun-god (*Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 398 *sqq.*). Rudhudibras ought to answer in some way to Gwydion. I must leave it to the Oxford Professor of Celtic to determine whether Gwyd or Gwydion can be the origin of the *Hudi* or *Udi* of Hudibras.

<sup>8</sup> This name is now *Meredydd* (Meredith). And see Geoffrey, ii. 8. *Rud* is probably for *Bund* or *Rudn*, later *Búnn*, now *Bhún*.—[Eds.]

derives its title from the name of the river now known as the Ure.<sup>9</sup> Another Bladud may lurk in Bleduno, the successor of Merianus; at all events he is called Bledudo by Hardyng. Hardyng also changes the Blegabred<sup>1</sup> of Geoffrey's text into Bledud Gabred. It is of this king that Geoffrey says: "This last prince for songs and skill in all musical instruments excelled all the musicians that had been before him, so as he seemed worthy of the title of *The God of Jesters*" (*History*, iii. 19).<sup>2</sup> Here there is clearly an allusion to a god of poetry and song.

The conclusions, then, at which I have arrived are: (1) that Bladud was originally the British god of the hot springs at Bath, and a local form of the sun-god, symbolized in Roman times by an orb-like human face, bristling with flames; and (2) that the name and attributes of the god, transformed

<sup>9</sup> In the *Mabinogion* Efracw has only seven sons, the youngest being Peredur, whose name does not occur in Geoffrey's list.

<sup>1</sup> This is almost certainly meant for the name anciently spelt *Bledkeurid*, and now *Blegwryd*. See *Annales Cambriae*, ad a. 1018, where the *Bledkenred* of the so-called editions is the incompetent transcriber's mistake in copying the *Bledkenrid* of the original "MS. C." (Cott., Domitian A. i., fo. 141<sup>b</sup>, col. 2); *Bledkenrid* being itself a copyist's error in transcribing *Bledkeurid* from some older MS.,—which form would in our present orthography be *Bledgyfryd* (now softened into *Blegywryd*, *Blegwryd*), and itself stand for an older Welsh \**Bledkobrid* or \**Bledkabred* (= Geoffrey's *Bredgabred*); we find, however, the medial *dd* in the name surviving very late, e.g., in one of the Vron Yw or Madocks pedigree-MSS. (now forming Egerton MS. 2587 at the British Museum), where, at fo. 145<sup>b</sup>, written in a hand that can hardly be older than 1600, the name is spelt *Bledhwryd* Wace. (*Brut*, l. 3760—Le Roux de Lincy's ed., i. 178) calls Geoffrey's king *Blegabres*; Layamon (*Brut*, Madden's ed., i. 298) calls him "Blæðgabreat" and "Blæðgabarar."—And see Hardyng (ed. Ellis), pp. 73-4.—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> In the original (Royal MS. 13 D. v., fo. 9<sup>b</sup>, col. 2): "Cui [successit] Bredgabred. Hic omnes cantores quos retro etas habuerat et in modulis et in omnibus musicis instrumentis exsuperauerat, ita ut deus ioculatorum diceretur."—[Eds.]

into an earthly prince like the other personages of Keltic mythology, formed the subject of a "folk-tale" at Bath before the age of Geoffrey of Monmouth. As such a "folk-tale" could not have originated in the Anglo-Saxon or early Norman period, it must reach back to an era when Bath was still British and the British name of the deity to whom its springs were dedicated was still known. Now the preservation of the legend implies that there could have been no change in the British population which preserved it, just as the preservation of Ossianic legends in the Highlands implies that there has been no change in the Keltic population there. The classes among whom the legend lived must have enjoyed a continuous existence from the Roman age to that of the Normans. Such a conclusion may seem startling in face of the destruction of the Romano-British city of Bath, which the Saxon Chronicle ascribes to the West-Saxon Cuthwine and Ceawlin. But as Professor Earle has lately pointed out,<sup>3</sup> the name of Walcot implies that, after the destruction of the city, "a lingering remnant of population" still lived "not far off, who would be the cultivators of the nearest fields, and who would also supply the guides and attendants for the visitors to the waters." Walcot is the parish that stretches along the Roman Foss Road on the northern side of the Avon, starting immediately outside the line of the Roman walls. It was the suburb that grew up around the tombs which lined the road, and its name would represent the Anglo-Saxon *Walu-cotu*, 'the habitations of the Welsh.' It is true that the name when first met with in writing, in a deed of 1280, is spelt Worlequet,<sup>4</sup> as if claiming connection with Worlebury Camp at Weston-super-Mare; but that this

<sup>3</sup> *Handbook to Bath* (1888), p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Major's *Notabilia of Bath*, s.v. *Walcot*.

spelling is merely fanciful, and that Professor Earle's etymology is correct, is proved by the numerous Walcots existing elsewhere throughout the country. It will have been among the descendants of the old population living in 'Walcot' that the legend of King Bladud will have survived.

In Domesday Walcot is included in the manor of Wica, the modern Bathwick, on the southern side of the river. Communication between the two banks was probably maintained by means of a ferry, which may have been stationed below the Roman house that once occupied the site of St. John's Vicarage, near the present Cleveland Bridge. However this may be, the name of Wica is a standing witness that the old Latin name of the *Vicus*, or 'village' outside the city, was never forgotten, and that no break occurred in its history. Whatever may have been the case with the inhabitants of *Aquæ Solis* itself, the inhabitants of the hamlets that sheltered themselves beneath its walls were never destroyed or carried away.<sup>1</sup>

In the local legend of King Bladud we thus have a story which mounts back beyond Saxon times, and is a testimony to the British origin of the people among whom it was current. The fact is important in its bearings on the question as to the character and extent of the Saxon conquest. Like so much else, it is antagonistic to the theory which maintained the extermination of the older population, and supports the conclusion of anthropology that the modern population of England includes the descendants, not only of the Keltic race, but of pre-Keltic races as well. In the neighbourhood of Bath, at all events, though the lords of the manor may have been Saxon, the villagers who worked for them remained unchanged.

<sup>1</sup> Lincombe, *Lincuma* in Domesday, the purely British name of a parish adjoining Bathwick, is another evidence of the same fact.

## SELECTION OF WELSH POETRY,

BY IAGO AB DEWI.

*(Continued from Vol. IX., p. 38, and concluded.)*


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 [XXVII.] CYWYDD YN ERCHI MARCH GAN ABAD ABER  
 CONWY, I L.<sup>2</sup> AB. M.<sup>1</sup>

Gydag vn a geidw Gwynedd  
 Y Cawn ar lann Conwy wledd  
 Abad dros feithwlad y fydd  
 Aberconwy barc gwinwydd<sup>2</sup>  
 Arglwydd yn rhoi gwledd yn rhad 5  
 Arfer ddwbl ar wledd abad.

[p. 103.] Tri phwys Cegin. tywyfog  
 Troi mae gwaith trwn ar ei gog  
 Conwy mewn dyffryn Cynnes  
 Can ffrawd lle y Cawn win ffres 10

<sup>1</sup> "A request to the Abbot of Aberconwy for a horse, to Lewys ap Madoc." Between this poem and the last there is a blank space (enough for three or four lines), left in the MS. Below the title is written "This is in print: but with considerable variations from this. D. E. I. [or 'D. E. J.,'] 1835." The initials stand for "David Evan Jones," who has given his name in Welsh on p. 122 of the MS. (with the date 1824), and has also written on pp. 5 and 120 of the MS. (see p. 237, *infra*). Lines 1—34 of this poem are written in lighter ink.

<sup>2</sup> The first *i* of this word corrected from a prior *y*, and the *c* of *barc* possibly from a prior *t*.

Tai aml im temleu mel	
Trefsant <sup>3</sup> a bwtri ifel	
Ar ei winoedd ar vnwaith	
Yno bu ben ar bob jaith	
Glynn grwft glan gaer i Awftin	15
Glynn gwyrdd a galwyneu gwin	
Ple Ceifiwn fiefwn y faint	
Gydag ef a i gydgwffaint	
Gwyr yn rhif gwerin Rhufain	
Gwynn a rhudd yw gyneu rhai'n	20
Os gwynn ei fonwes a i gob	
Or vn wifg i r a n efcob	
Fo ai r mab dan fur a main	
Pe profai yn Bab Rhufain	
Gwaith blin ac annoethineb	25
Ymryfson oll am ras neb	
Ynt hwy a mil o renti <sup>4</sup> man	
Yteu <sup>5</sup> fynai rent Faenan	
Mae ar wyneb Meirionydd	
Blaid gwyr fal blodeu <sup>6</sup> r gwydd	30
[p. 104.] Milwyr heirdd Maelor a Rhos	
Tegeingl ei geraint agos	
Hyder Lewys am Mhadawg	
Erchi a rhoi march i rhawg <sup>7</sup>	

<sup>3</sup> *Tre fant q.* is here written by I. ab. D. in the margin as a suggested reading. The *q.* seems to stand for 'query.'

<sup>4</sup> This *-i* is conjectural, as the letter has been blotted out and cannot be read in the MS.

<sup>5</sup> Read *Ynteu*.

<sup>6</sup> A letter was written between the *o* and *d* of this word, and then blotted out.

<sup>7</sup> After this word the ink changes, and I. ab D. has written (and afterwards struck out) *I ddewis* in the margin, to mark where he was to begin when he resumed his transcription.

I ddewis ddechreu mis Mai	35
Merch deg be march a i dugai	
March vchel rhag ei elyn	
Rhag ffon wayw brath a phen bryn	
Dwy gluft feinion aflonydd	
Dail faeds vwch <sup>*</sup> ei dal fydd	40.
LLygeid fel dwy ellygen	
LLymion byw n llamu n ei ben	
Trem hydd am gywydd a gais	
Trwynbant yn tro o i vn bais	
Ail y Carw golwg gorwyllt	45
A i draed yn gweu drwy dan gwyllt	
Trythyll ar bedeir wyth=hoel	
Gwrchionen a r ben pob hoel	
Swrn o fellt o r farn a fydd	
Ar godiad yr egwydydd	50
[p. 105 ] Dylifo heb ddwylo ydd oedd	
Neu weu fidan nes ydoedd	
Wtle lledwyllt tal llydan	
March a fyn gloch archfain glan	
Powdr angerdd pedreingrwn <sup>*</sup>	55
Yn wir mae n gynt na maen gwn	
Bwrw naid i r wybr a wnai	
Ar hyder yr ehedai	
Wynebwy lle fynwy fo	
Pe bai trawft fe praw trofto	60
Yfyrrio Cwrs y Daran	
A thythio pan fyno n fan	
Dyrnfyr yw n dirwyn y fron	
Dal yr Haul daleu r hoelion	

<sup>\*</sup> Corrected from *och* by I. ab D. [*Saeds* must be the English 'sage.'—T. W. H.]

<sup>\*</sup> I. ab D. first wrote *pedein*, and then scratched out the *-ein*, and added *-reingrwn*.

	Draw os gyrryr dros gaerwellt	65
	Ni thyrr ai garn wyth or gwellt	
	Neidiwr tros Afon ydoedd	
	Naid yr Iwrch rhag y neidr oedd	
	ffroen Arth a chyffro n ei en	
	ffrwyn a ddeil ei ffrw n ddolen	70
	Ei arial a ddyfalwn	
	I Elain Coch o flaen Cwn	
[p. 106.]	Ei flew fel fidan newydd	
	A i rawn a r liw gwawn y gwydd	
	Sidan ymhais yr 'hedydd	75
	Siamled yn bais am lwdn hydd	
	Trwsio fel goleuo glain	
	Y bu wydrwr ei bedrain	
	Nid rhaid er peri naidio	
	Roi dur fyth wr ei dorr fo	80
	Dan farchog bywiog di bwl	
	Ef a wyddiad ei feddwl	
	LLammwr drud lle mwya r drain	
	LLawn ergyd yn LLan yrgain <sup>1</sup>	
	Cnyw praff yn Canu prif-ffordd	85
	Cloch y ffair Ciliwch o i ffordd	
	Draw os gyrrir dros gaered	
	Gorwydd yr Arglwydd a red	
	Mae n f' aros yma n forwyn	
	Ferch deg pe bai farch iw dwyn	90

## TUDUR ALED.

<sup>1</sup> The *gr-* is underscored, and probably I. ab D. meant to have corrected it into *eur-*. The place meant is *Llaneurgain* (in Saxon *Northop*) in Tegeingl or Northern Flintshire.



[XXVIII.] MARWNAD TUDUR ALED.<sup>2</sup>

	Bwriwyd vn Bardd brad enbyd	
	Bwriei Dduw ben Beirdd y byd	
[p. 107.]	Brad gwawd buredig ydoedd	
	Bwrw nywl ar bur awen oedd	
	Breuddwyd a'n gwnaeth yn bruddion	5
	Bwrw Cerdd ber brig gwraidd a bon <sup>3</sup>	
	Diwraidd Cerdd dau arwydd Cur	
	Dirym dadl draw am Dudur	
	Gyrrodd rhew o i gwraidd i rhawg	
	Gardd lyfien r gerdd luofawg	10
	Os gwir rhoi nid yfcar rhew	
	Os Aled aeth is Olew	
	Trift yw r Cwyn tros Awdwr Cerdd	
	Trwftan gwymp trawft awengerdd	
	Am na bu ammen na bydd	15
	Ail Dudur Aled wawdydd	
	Ymroi i Dduw a Mair ydd oedd	
	Wedi r fidan drwfiadoedd	
	I Ddofydd yr addefwyd	
	Ei ddewis glog oedd wifg lwyd	20
	Cryfed <sup>4</sup> oedd o ferch Crefydd faint	
	Crefydd frawd Cor vfydd fraint	
	fvydd y faint hoff oedd y fwydd	
	ffranfes a hoffer r vn fwydd	
[p. 108.]	Buafei <sup>5</sup> well yn y bais hon	25
	Bwrw deuddeg o Brydyddion	
	Byd y bryd a r byd heb wres	
	Brud hyd dydd brawd y toddes	

<sup>2</sup> "An Elegy on Tudur Aled."

<sup>3</sup> *Bron* was first written by I. ab D., and then struck out.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Cryf*.

<sup>5</sup> The dialectic form *Buŷei* is written by I. ab D. as the catchword at the bottom of p. 107.

	Braidd o gerdd bereiddiawg <sup>6</sup> air	
	Braidd gwedi bardd y gadair	30
	I gadw rhowch y gadeir hardd	
	Ar feddfaeh yr vfyddfardd	
	A bod i r vn o r byd rodd	
	A fai n well ef ai 'nillodd	
	Ni bu roddion bereiddiach	35
	Nag awen ben gwien <sup>7</sup> bach	
	Perach gwawd parch ac odiaeth	
	Pettai n fyw poet i nef aeth	
	Och drifted merch dros Dad mawl	
	O chuddiwyd ei chywyddawl	40
	Gwae ddyn wych gwaeddwn vchod	
	Gwae ni chlyw a gano ei chlod	
	Mae r gwaeddi am gywyddwr	
	March a gwalch a merch a gwr	
	Och dorri braich draw a bron	45
	Angel anwyl englynion	
[p. 109.]	Bywiog englyn heb gonglau <sup>8</sup>	
	Berw gan fryd brig awen frau	
	O Mair fyw pwy mor fywiog	
	Heb wyrth gras aberth y grog	50
	Eilio r jaith fel Iolo r oedd	
	Eiliad Awdl Aled ydoedd	
	Awen ddofn yr vn ddefnydd	
	Ar gafod fel ar goed fydd	
	Awen frau i r Nef yr Aeth	55
	Wrth freuder wyrthfawr odiaeth	
	Cerdd yfcwir Croyw ddyfc araith	
	Clod y gwr Clywed y gwaith	

<sup>6</sup> The first *e* of this word is corrected from (apparently) a *v* or an *r*, and the *aw* substituted for a prior *o*, by I. ab D.

<sup>7</sup> Read *Gwion*.

<sup>8</sup> Corrected from *gongleu* by I. ab D.

	Ef ai o chai afiach hen	
	Ei chlywed yn iach lawen	60
	Diadwaith gyfaith a gad	
	Dentu geneu datceiniad	
	Fel gwin oll neu fel y gwnai	
	Lais mwnwgl eos Menai	
	Mawrddyfc oedd am vrddas gwawd	65
	Mwy fu <sup>9</sup> irder myfyrdawd	
	Î r ddoe dugai r ddau degwch	
	Ĵ r mal Cwyr a mel o r Cwch.	
[p. 110.]	Mab ydoedd am wybodaeth	
	Merddin wyllt marw ddoe wnaeth	70
	Ymarn y byd marw ni bydd	
	Ail Dudur Aled wawdydd	
	Athrylith aeth ar elawr	
	A <i>threm</i> <sup>1</sup> oes yr Athro mawr	
	Ni wyddwn o iawn addyfc	75
	Nis ei ddwyn eifieu 'i ddyfc	
	Ac yn ei fedd gan ei fod	
	Y mae y Bibl heb wybod	
	Ef a wyddiad ar foddau	
	Eu hun gwell no hun nag jau	80
	Yn jach awen och Jeaingc <sup>2</sup>	
	Yn jach farn iawn vwch y faingc	
	Yn jach brigyn awch breugerdd	
	Yn jach Cael Cyfrinach Cerdd	
	Yn jach vn ni chai einioes	85
	Yn jach i w ail yn eich oes	

<sup>9</sup> *r* (the article) is written after this word, but smudged, and apparently not meant to stand, as it certainly should not.

<sup>1</sup> *Threm* is underscored with dots; and *therm* (similarly underscored) *g.* (i.e. "query"), and (immediately below) *thrym*, suggested emendations of the text, are written by I. ab D. in the margin.

<sup>2</sup> The *J* of this word has a dot above it.

I ail einioes lawenach

I wlad Nef eled yn jach.

GRY'FFYDD<sup>3</sup> AB IEUAN AB LLEN. FYCHAN.

[p. 111.] [XXIX.] MARWNAD RHUDDERCH AB IEUAN LLWYD O  
OGERDDAN.<sup>4</sup>

Doe Clyweis<sup>5</sup> mi geifies<sup>6</sup> gel  
 Dair och ar lethr dir<sup>7</sup> vchel  
 Ni feddyliwn gwn gan-och  
 Y rhoi<sup>8</sup> fyth wr rhy<sup>9</sup> fath och  
 Ni bu i n gwlad rhoddiad rhydd 5  
 Na llif Cwyn na llef Cynydd<sup>1</sup>  
 Na meingorn vwch llethr mangoed  
 Na chloch vwch na r och a roed  
 Pa dwrw<sup>2</sup> yw hwn pryderoch  
 Pefr loes pwy a roes y och 10  
 LLywelyn orfyddyn<sup>3</sup> ferch  
 A roddes hon am Rudderch<sup>4</sup>  
 Fychan ger llaw ei lan lys  
 Ffyddfrawd Rhudderch ddiffodd frys

<sup>3</sup> *Gry'* is the abbreviation for *Gryffydd*. I. ab D. after writing it completed the word by writing the latter in full.

<sup>4</sup> "Elegy on Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd of Gogerddan". *Marwnad Rhydderch ab Ieuan Llwyd o'r Gogerddan*, M. The copy of this poem given in the edition of Dafydd ab Gwilym's Works, edited by Owen Jones and Dr. Owen Pughe (London, 1789), pp. 468-9, has been collated, and its variants are appended and distinguished by the letter "M." <sup>5</sup> *clywais*, M. <sup>6</sup> *geifiais*, M. <sup>7</sup> *lethr-dir*, M. <sup>8</sup> *rhoe*, M. <sup>9</sup> *rhyw*, M. <sup>1</sup> *cynnydd*, M. <sup>2</sup> *dwrof*, M. <sup>3</sup> *Llewelyn, o'syddyn*, M. <sup>4</sup> *Rydderch*, M.; and so, throughout the poem, with *y*, not *u*.

	Och erlyn o <sup>a</sup> dyddyn dig	15
	Alaeth mamaeth am emmig <sup>b</sup>	
	Och gwr a fai n awch garu	
	Ei gar o fawr alar fu	
	Y drydydd och gloch o r glynn <sup>c</sup>	
	Oll yw alar Llywelyn <sup>d</sup>	20
[p. 112.]	Pan guddiwyd fyn freuddwyd ferch	
	Gwin roddiad geneu <sup>e</sup> Rudderch	
	Darfu gwn i m <sup>10</sup> dierfir	
	Ben Deheubarth wen yn wir	
	Darfu r Oes dirfawr ei wedd <sup>1</sup>	25
	Darfu daioni <sup>2</sup> dewredd	
	Gorwyn Alarch yngwarchef <sup>3</sup>	
	Gorwedd mewn maenfedd mae ef <sup>4</sup>	
	Nattur boen nid hwy yw r bedd <sup>5</sup>	
	Syth drudfalch na faith droedfedd	30
	Pregeth ryfedd oedd weddu	
	Dan hyn o dywarchen ddu <sup>6</sup>	
	Gwybodeu fynhwyreu ferch	
	Gwmpas <sup>7</sup> rhodd <sup>8</sup> gampus Rhydderch	
	A i gampeu chwedl donieu dawn	35
	A i loyw ddyfc <sup>9</sup> a i oleuddawn	
	A i ras gyweithas jeithydd	
	A i glod och ddarfod <sup>10</sup> ei ddydd	

<sup>a</sup> *Emlyn, ei, M.*

<sup>b</sup> *Galaeth mammaeth am emig, M.* I. ab D. first wrote *maeth* for *mamaeth* and then struck it out.

<sup>c</sup> *Ar drydydd och, gloch y glynn, M.*

<sup>d</sup> *Llewelyn, M.*

<sup>e</sup> *genau, M.* and so throughout (-*au* for -*eu*).

<sup>10</sup> *i 'n, M.*

<sup>1</sup> *o fedd, M.*

<sup>2</sup> *daearu, M.*

<sup>3</sup> *y' ngwarchae, M.*

<sup>4</sup> *y mae, M.*

<sup>5</sup> *Natur o boen, nid hwy 'r bedd, M.*

<sup>6</sup> *dywarchyn du, M.*

<sup>7</sup> Corrected from a prior *gampeu* by I. ab D.

<sup>8</sup> *Rodd, Rydderch, M.* After *Rydderch, M.* has the following two lines:—

"*A'i giwdawd, digollwawd gall, A'i gryf-gorph gwyn digrif-gall.*"

<sup>9</sup> *lwyddiant, M.*

<sup>10</sup> *ddyfod, M.*

Trwft oer ddoe trift ddaiaru<sup>1</sup>  
 Trugarog o Farchog fu 40  
 Trugaredd am fyml wedd ferch  
 A roddo Duw i Rudderch.

DAFYDD AB GWILIM.

[p. 113.] [XXX.] CYWYDD DUCHAN I E CYFREITHWYR  
 DEYGIONUS.<sup>2</sup>

Anifir wrth iawn ofyn  
 Nos a dydd yw einioes dyn  
 Anafus yna hefyd  
 Ac anhawdd yw byw n y byd  
 Os byw n hael oes bai yn hyn 5  
 Pob gafael pawb a i gofyn  
 Os byw n grin mewn Opiniwn  
 Chwerw yw r hap ni cherir hwn  
 Os ymladd a lladd mewn llid  
 O Duw gyfiawn daw gofid 10  
 Os goddef lladd hoyw radd hy  
 Blaen hanes blin yw hynny  
 Os pryn wr dir myn vrien  
 E dyn y byd yn ei ben  
 Os gwerthu tir haerir hyn 15  
 E nodir yna n adyn  
 Os vn llonydd fydd efo  
 Oernych hwdiwch bawb arno  
 Os dyn blin gerwin gariad  
 Ofer lw fe 'nafa r wlad 20

<sup>1</sup> *Trust oedd, oer trist, ddacaru, M.*

<sup>2</sup> "A satirical *Cywydd* on the unprincipled lawyers."

- [p. 114.] Pawb ar eu ffens pybyr ffydd  
 Pawb a i goel pe bai gelwydd  
 Os mynd i r gyfraith faith fan  
 Garw yw r awr gwario r arian  
 I r Twrneiod hynod hwyr 25  
 Am fynio yma 'i fynwyr  
 Cael twrnei d'wedei yn deg  
 C'wilidd i m Coelio 'i ddameg  
 LLanw dwrn fy Attwrnai  
 LLenwi ei bwrs llyna r bai 30  
 A waettio arno yn wir  
 Drigeinwaith lle d'rogenir  
 Ymado a r gwaith mynd i r gwin  
 Yn wych wrtho dan chwerthin  
 LLanw ei fol gwrol a r gais 35  
 Llyna fol llawn o falais  
 D'wedei wrthyf yn hyf hyn  
 Gwiliwch mae n ffel eich gelyn  
 Gwnewch eich Cyngor o r gorau  
 Yn frwd i fiarad yn frau 40  
 Hwylwiw a i gwnel yn helaeth  
 Yn ffrangc i fiarad yn ffraeth
- [p. 115.] An-ras i r hen gyw gwen-ci  
 A gwen ffals yn erbyn ffi  
 Rhoes i m gyfrif difrifawl 45  
 Yn ei radd ef-ni roi ddiawl  
 Mynd iw frecwaft yn hafti  
 I dylleu Cwg fel dull Ci  
 Gwadu gwn gwedi ei giniaw  
 Ond browes neu bottes baw 50  
 Ac yn ol gwenn a welan  
 E dalei rod diwael ran  
 A chwedi fiot a i bottes  
 Faril oer oer ni wnai fawr les

Ac yno dwndrio yn dyn	55
A dwr dio pawb yn dorrdyn	
Gyrrei fi garwaf fu wr	
Gofrith at ryw gyfreithwr	
Gwnenthur moes i r mab Coefwych	
A gwyro garr i r gwr gwych	60
Cwyno tro i r Ceneu trwm	
Cammu r leg Cymmar <i>ligwm</i> <sup>3</sup>	
Ni wyddei hwn Jddew hen	
Na phlediei n waeth na floden <sup>4</sup>	
[p. 116.] Talu ffys Cwnfel teilwng	65
Ynteu n flaidd a i aelieu n flwng	
Na chai yn well dan gellwair	
Heb bris werth dwy ffis neu dair	
Gorfod yn wir garw fyd noeth	
Fodloni fwdwl an noeth	70
Ac wedi r ai yn gadarn	
I dynu 'i fil dan ei farn	
Ac i rodio n garedig	
Yn ei <u>wn</u> du wenwyn dig	
Abl yw hwn heb law heinar <sup>5</sup>	75
Yn ddewr boeth e ddaw i r barr	
Ac a fieryd gyw firiol	
Dan chwyfu a fychu 'i fiol	
Dioed a hardd dwedei hwn	
Ni ffsia mi wna fofiwn	80
Os drwg y dydd fe mddyddan	
Os da fe rua ei ran	

<sup>3</sup> The letters italicized *in this word* are in the MS. underscored with a dotted line.

<sup>4</sup> This is underlined, and the word "Plowden" written by way of explanation in the margin in a hand which is probably that of the Rev. Samuel Williams, of Llangynllo, Cardiganshire (*f. circ.* 1700).

<sup>5</sup> This line and all the remaining ones to the bottom of this page in the MS. are preceded by full stops.



	Er gwaeled a fo r gelach	
	E gyfarth beth Gyfreith <sup>6</sup> bach	
	Gelyn yw pawb iw gilydd	85
	Ar y barr a r eirieu bydd	
[p. 117.]	A dir yw fyth wedi r farn	
	A difir yn y Dafarn	
	Galwei arnaf glew oerner	
	Cam a wnaed Com you ne'r	90
	Whêr is the bwc hier is the bai	
	Rettturn for your Atturnai	
	Gweini rhyngddynt ddengeinwaith	
	Gwae r Cymro a goelio 'u gwaith	
	Doth the bens gaf fentens fôr	95
	Bi wâr I dâr ffeind error	
	Gwd mei Lord as God mi leic	
	I'l demur ffor old Meireic <sup>7</sup>	
	Dyma i gyd yma gwedi	
	Gwae fi fon a gefeis i	100
	Am f'arian llydan lliwdeg	
	Ym mur eu tai a m haur teg	
	Yn y Gyfraith <sup>8</sup> go afraid	
	Yn gwrado pledio im plaid	
	Happus y Cair heb bwys Ced	105
	A gilio rhag eu gweled	
	Nac <sup>9</sup> er Cam nac er Cymmyfc	
	A wado mwy fynd iw myfc	

<sup>6</sup> The *G* of this word is not the usual capital, but an exaggerated small *g* raised above the line.

<sup>7</sup> This word was first written *Meiric*, and *-ic* subsequently substituted.

<sup>8</sup> The *G* of this word is the same as that in the same word in line 84, *supra*.

<sup>9</sup> In the MS. this word is underlined, and *Ac g.* ('query, *Ac*') written in the margin by I. ab D. as a suggested alternative reading.

- [p. 118.] Nac er gwledd nac er gloddefst  
 I wario ei ran ar y reft 110  
 Nid wyf mae Can vn difai  
 Er hyn yn meddwl ond rhai  
 Ambell vn o honyn hwy  
 Sy n fudredd fein ei fodrwy  
 O Caf fy nhroed Cof yn rhydd 115  
 I m vnwaith yn y mynydd  
 Nid af i gwrt difai gwern  
 Nac Offis mwy nac vffern

THOMAS PRYS

[XXXI.] C<sup>DD</sup> YN ERCHI AB, TROS ANNES ABADES LLANLLUR.

- Y milwr llwyd mal jarll hen  
 Gwedi euro gwaed vrien  
 Dyn i n a gwayw n dan gwyllt  
 Ac a i dyrnei n gadarnwyllt 5  
 Son praff fy am y prophwyd  
 Syr Wiliam yn ail Siarl maen wyd  
 Prins fyr Ryfsiart gwart y gwyr  
 Parc Claerwyn peri Clerwyr  
 Nid aeth enw ond i th wyneb  
 Tomas ail tu yma i Sieb 10  
 [p. 119.] Coed jarll hen yn Cadw r llwyth  
 Vn dalm yw a i hen dylwyth  
 Barwn Ieuange obry<sup>1</sup> n nwy went<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "A *Cywydd* begging for a Monkey, for Annes Abbess of Llanllyr" (in Cardiganshire).

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* Read *n Nwywent*, a dissyllable being here required for the metre.

Yw i fwrw Caith ar frig Gwent Rhyfedd faith ddoethion Rhufain Rhagor i m wyt y rhygarw main Yr wythfed targed teir=Gwent Selyf vn gorph fylfaen Gwent Taliad ydwyd o Wiliam A feddi gwaed Dafydd Gam Mae merch wen Caenen y Cor Yma 'th ofyn math Ifor Abades o Dduwies dda LLan LLur wen llawn lloer yna Dam Annes fy n dymunaw O bai i ch llys Ab o ch llaw Carl yw a bair Cwrlïo byth Coppa henfais Cappanfyth Cythreulwyd Crinllwyd yw r Croen Cleiriach gruddgrach garweiddgroen Gwrach foel ar gyrrach y faingo Gyrrai ofn i r gwyr ifaingo.	15
[p. 120.] Gwarr ymylgrach gwr moelgryg Ac yfpryd llun gwas brawd llyg Manach brau gyfellach breg Iddew heb gael ei oddeg LLeidryn o bryf lledryn brwnt LLedrith Coeffrith atcaffrwnt Gwyddelyn mewn gwe ddulwyd Gwr o grym llefc gwarrgrwm llwyd Hyntu o'i le hwnt a i lid Hunllef yn dial henllid Merthur ddi eglur ddwyglyn Maccwy diawl yn moccio dyn Tiler yn rhoi batteloedd Gwft yw ei lun gwas diawl oedd	20 25 30 35 40 45

Trautur moel yn trotio<sup>3</sup> r man<sup>4</sup>  
 Trem ŵyll<sup>5</sup> yn tramwy allan<sup>4</sup>  
 Bryntach anafach na neb  
 Byrr einices bo i r wyneb.<sup>6</sup>

50

HUW CAE LLWYD O SIR  
 FRECHEINIOG. [AI CANT.<sup>6</sup>]

<sup>3</sup> Corrected by I. ab D. from *Tritio*.

<sup>4</sup> These three lines are preceded by a point.

<sup>5</sup> This word is underscored and glossed by I. ab D. "*Hobgoblin*" (similarly underscored) in the margin.

<sup>6</sup> This is added by David ab Ieuan ab Sion, as at the end of Poem No. I. (see vol. viii. p. 44, and cf. p. 220, *supra*), who has appended at the bottom of the page, evidently in explanation of the words mentioned in the last note, the words "A sort of supernatural beings."

The MS. in the handwriting of Iago ab Dewi ends here. The few poems in other hands appended to his MS., together with full corrections of the errors and omissions in the portions of the MS. which were unavoidably printed without my personal revision, will appear in the next volume of *Y Cymmrodor*.—[E. P.]

## Reviews.

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GERALD THE WELSHMAN, by HENRY OWEN, B.C.L., Corpus Christi College, Oxford. London: Whiting & Co., 30 & 32, Sardinia Street, W.C., 1889.

To the student of Welsh history, few periods can be so interesting as the twelfth century. The song of the poet and the wizard note of the harp had been almost unheard in the land since the death of Cadwaladr, and the fall of "*Unbenaeth Prydain*," in the seventh century. Family dissensions and local jealousies had, in the meantime, rendered impossible the preservation of the national unity, and the light of a once brilliant civilization was well nigh extinguished by the storm of anarchy and barbarism that raged within the country. But the presence of a new danger produced a spark that rekindled the national fire. The Norman baron threatened the property and the liberty of the Welshmen; private adventurers were allowed to carve with their swords whatever estates they could seize for themselves. Thus the borderland in North Wales—what subsequently became the County of Flint—was described as "appertaining to the *sword* of Chester," while in the south Robert Fitzhamon, Bernard de Neufmarché, and others, possessed themselves of the richest districts in the country. The struggle for independence against these new invaders called forth the dormant energies of the Welsh; their patriotism was aroused, and with it once more came a burst of intellectual activity. This renaissance produced in North Wales a long line of illustrious poets,—Meilir, Hywel ab

Owain Gwynedd, Gwalchmai, Owain Cyfeiliog, Cynddelw and Prydydd y Moch. But the development was different in the south: there many of the Norman barons found it their best policy to strengthen their position by alliances of marriage with the daughters of Welsh lords, and by the foundation of monastic houses, which became local seats of learning for the native inhabitants. Welsh life was quickened by this contact with foreign culture, and many were found who freely adopted Anglo-Norman customs. The result of this racial and social assimilation was that the descendants of the first invaders often displayed a keener love for their adopted country than the Welsh themselves did—*Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*; and the most remarkable instance of this type was Gerald de Barri, the subject of Mr. Owen's popular monograph.

As his name suggests, Gerald was of Norman extraction, the son of one William de Barri, and therefore Welsh only on the mother's side, his grandmother Nest being the celebrated daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr. Still it is as "Gerald the Welshman" (*Cambrensis*) that he is known to fame; and the history of his life-struggle "for the honour of Wales" fully justifies the title. But though we have spoken of the figure of Gerald as being remarkable, he did not stand alone in the new literary life of the twelfth century. In that era, as Professor Henry Morley says, "in busy growing England, three men with Cymric blood in their veins are the foremost spirits of a small Augustan age. They are Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gerald de Barri, and Walter Map." And South Wales may claim these three great men as its own; for though Mr. Thomas Wright, in his edition of the *De Nugis Curialium* for the Camden Society, expresses the opinion that Map was born in Herefordshire or Gloucestershire, still there can be little doubt that he was a Glamorganshire man, being the son of Blondel de Mapes, one of the

companions of Robert Fitzhamon, by Fflûr, only daughter of Gweirydd ab Seissyllt, Lord of Llancarvan. Curiously enough, all three were archdeacons: the time of exclusively monkish learning was at an end, and the secular clergyman was superseding the monk as scholar and author. The writings of these three Welshmen mark a new departure in the literature of England. In them the light and fanciful imagination of the Celt invaded every department of letters. History became the wildest romance in the hands of Geoffrey; sermons against the immorality of the religious orders take the form of a biting apocalyptic satire in Map's "*Confessio Goliæ*;" and the Celt's love of nature made Gerald depart from the usual solemn subjects of monkish authors to describe the natural history and the physical conformation of the lands he travelled through, and the still more interesting customs and superstitions of the various peoples he saw. Gerald had what Matthew Arnold calls the Celtic sensibility to the charm of nature—*llygad i weled anian*—as is fully borne out by the many references to his descriptions of natural scenery in Mr. Owen's work. He is at his best in his *Irish Topography*, from which Mr. Owen has felicitously instanced his remark on "the neglect by mankind of the marvellous beauty of the rising and setting of the sun, because of its frequent occurrence" (p. 33). But Mr. Owen has also been careful not to omit reference to the more enthusiastic descriptions, in the *Itinerarium Kambriæ*, of the Llanthony Valley and of Gerald's own birthplace, Manorbier, "the sweetest spot in Wales" (pp. 54, 55). Fortunately for the historical student who wishes to gauge exactly the intellectual condition of Wales and Ireland in the twelfth century, Gerald's credulity has been the means of preserving a curious mass of popular beliefs, miraculous legends, and gossiping stories, which furnish a faithful reflex of the civilization of that day; and in this respect his Irish

works are particularly valuable, as he is our sole authority for the state of Ireland in the middle ages.

Mr. Owen in his book gives us very clear summaries of the contents of those writings of Gerald which have come down to our day. His two Irish treatises are given the premier position, possibly because they are among the earliest, as undoubtedly they are the most important of his works. Our interest never flags in reading his graphic and animated descriptions, except where in the *Expugnatio* he puts turgid Thucydidean orations in the mouths of the military leaders on either side, or where in the *Topography* he interlards his natural history with moralizing reflections. Next after these works, Mr. Owen has placed the Welsh *Itinerary* and the *Descriptio Kambriæ*, which are naturally the most interesting to the readers of *Y Cymmrodor*. The first is an account of Archbishop Baldwin's tour through Wales, made ostensibly for the purpose of preaching the crusade, but undoubtedly, as Mr. Owen suggests, with some ulterior objects of public policy. Such a progress was entirely unprecedented, but there are subsequent parallels which help us to understand its meaning. Ecclesiastically, it reminds us of Archbishop Peckham's metropolitan visitation through the Welsh dioceses in 1284, with the object of finally establishing his right to jurisdiction by celebrating mass in each of the four cathedrals, and thus setting aside the claim of St. David's to independence, then asserted for the last time by its bishop, Thomas Beck. The presence of the celebrated lawyer and minister of state, Ranulf de Glanville, in the company of Archbishop Baldwin, gives also a political significance to the tour. It was the first opportunity which the English kings had ever had of surveying the country at leisure, and without arousing the suspicions of the inhabitants. Its pomp and stately ceremonial, so eloquently described by Professor Brewer, recall the official progress, five centuries later, of the first Duke of Beaufort,



as Lord President of the Welsh Council, through the counties of the Principality, a progress which had also its political objects, being part of the same policy of Charles II. as the general surrender of municipal charters in 1684.

The *Descriptio Kambriæ* furnishes a more detailed account of Wales and of Welshmen. Gerald praises the hospitality of the Welsh, their acuteness of intellect, their love of music, of "rhymed songs and set speeches;" but his portraiture would be incomplete without the second chapter, the *Liber Illaudabilium*, which is in the main undoubtedly true, though perchance unpalatable to our modern taste. Here his lash falls heavily on their faithlessness, their family quarrels resulting in frequent fratricides, and their disregard of the rules of the canon law as to marriage. Unlike Dr. David Powel and some previous editors of the *Descriptio*, Mr. Owen has given ample reference to the *Liber Illaudabilium*, remarking that "the way to cure national or personal failings is not to shut our eyes to them."

Gerald's Autobiography and his *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ* form another group of special interest to Welsh readers. In them we have his own accounts of his unsuccessful fight for St. David's and his futile assertion of its metropolitanship. Their perusal stirs up in us a sad endearment for the gallant champion; it creates the same reverential attachment for him as Matthew Arnold felt for the "home of lost causes, of forsaken beliefs, and unpopular names, and impossible loyalties." Gerald's other works are of a miscellaneous nature. Ethics, divinity, canon law, lives of various saints, epistolary correspondence, and juvenile poetry, form the chief headings of their contents. To each and all has Mr. Owen done equal justice according to the proportions of his book. The *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, which is an archidiaconal charge by the Archdeacon of Brecknock to the Welsh clergy, was, we are told, specially appreciated by Pope Innocent III. Others, besides his Holiness, have

often been regaled with Gerald's account of the shortcomings of the parochial clergy, and still more so with that of the peccadilloes of the monks, more mercilessly scourged in his *Speculum Ecclesiæ*.

Turning from Gerald's literary reputation to a consideration of his moral character, we find that here Mr. Owen has been guarded in the expression of any definite estimate of it. On the whole, he has preferred endorsing the eulogies of some previous editors—a course which does not commit him, as Gerald's character may certainly be regarded as a great ethical puzzle. Oftentimes he appears more as a vain, self-seeking agitator, a Welsh Alcibiades, than a disinterested patriot and a holy man of God. It was on these traits of his character that the authors of the *History of St. David's* dwelt when they said that "had he lived six (*quære* seven) centuries later he would have been a clamorous platform speaker or a smart pamphleteer." Still, it is by the twelfth-century standard that Gerald should be measured, morally as well as intellectually; but we cannot help regretting that Mr. Owen's local patriotism has led him to isolate his subject from his surroundings, and to treat him almost entirely by himself. He has not compared his stature with that of his contemporaries; and, to our liking, he has not sufficiently inquired into the movements and the influence which acted and re-acted on the life of Gerald, making him what he was. In his personal affection for his fellow-countryman (being himself, like Gerald, a Pembrokeshire man) Mr. Owen has partially forgotten the continuity of history, and the necessity of studying his subject, not as an isolated individual, but as inextricably bound up with previous, contemporary, and subsequent events. We do not, however, think that this omission vitiates in the least degree Mr. Owen's conclusions as to the value of Gerald's work. The features of his life are accurately drawn; but the painting seems to lack a background which would furnish us with

some idea of perspective and proportion. We mention this as a suggestion to others who, we hope, may follow Mr. Owen's example in providing popular handbooks dealing, either with special epochs, or with distinguished characters in Welsh history. We owe him a deep debt of gratitude for introducing the handy monograph into Welsh literature, and we trust that his book is only the first of a series worked on the same lines. And may they all be as pleasant to the sight as *Gerald the Welshman* is in type, paper, and binding; for here the casket is truly worthy of the gem inside.

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THE SOURCE OF "THE ANCIENT MARINER." By Ivor James, Registrar of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. Cardiff: Daniel Owen and Company, 1890. Price 1s.

To trace the origin, in its author's mind, of a great work of imagination is always an interesting task, and one singularly tempting in the case of so enigmatical and oddly assorted a work as Coleridge's masterpiece. In the monograph before us Mr. Ivor James has essayed to show that the first conception of the "Ancient Mariner" was the result of the poet's perusal of a little book printed in 1633, now very rare, entitled: *The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captain Thomas James*, of which a copy exists, and probably existed in Coleridge's day, in the Bristol Library, which he was in the habit of ransacking. Captain James was a member of a Breconshire family settled in Bristol, whence his voyage, which was to the Arctic regions, commenced.

Whether Mr. James has or has not proved his point, we will not be so bold as to say; but at least he has brought together a great deal of interesting material, and drawn attention to an almost forgotten Cambro-British worthy, who seems to have been a very remarkable man.

## ERRATA, &c., IN VOL. VIII.

P. 28, l. 16, *after* Rhaglan *add* in Monmouthshire; *and dele the comma after* Colfa.

P. 28, l. 17, *for* Monmouthshire *read* Herefordshire.<sup>1</sup>

P. 28, Note 3, l. 6, *for* York- *read* Derby-.

P. 37, l. 24, *for* fifteenth<sup>2</sup> *read* thirteenth.

Pp. 41—61. The errata in the reproduction of Iago ab Dewi's Tonn MS. of Welsh Poetry, both here and in Vol. viii., Part 2 (pp. 173—199), and Vol. ix., Part 1 (pp. 1—38), are reserved for a special article in the coming Vol. xi. See Vol. x., p. 237, note 6 (*supra*).

P. 86, l. 6, *for* Pedur *read* Peredur.<sup>3</sup>

P. 114, l. 11, *for* *Gramm.*, \*81, *read* *Gramm.*,<sup>3</sup> 81. [This small index-figure appended to the title of a work indicates *the number of the edition of that work* which is cited—in this case, e.g., it is the 3rd edition of Spurrell's *Welsh Grammar*. Similar figures have been frequently misplaced throughout this article of Dr. Nettlau's, and also in his second article, printed in Vol. ix., pp. 56—119.]

P. 114, l. 24, *for* *Litanische* *read* *Litauische*.

P. 115, l. 7 from bottom; and p. 126, 4th paragraph, l. 1, *for* Rhÿs *read* Rhÿs or Rhys.

P. 121, ll. 8, 10; last line of p. 126; p. 127, l. 1; p. 134, l. 1; and p. 146, l. 23, *for* Rowlands *read* Rowland.

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<sup>1</sup> All ancient Erging, except (1) a little district N. of the Monnow (in Welsh *Mynyw*) river around the town of Monmouth (now called in what remains of the Welsh of Gwent Uwch Coed *Trefynwy*, not *Aber Mynyw*), and (2) another much smaller patch, is now in Herefordshire, not Monmouthshire. The Monnow formed the ancient boundary between Erging and Gwent Uwch Coed or Gwent Ganol.—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> The earliest known MS. of the Welsh Life of St. David is in Hengwrt MS. 57, of the late 13th or early 14th century.—[Eds.]

<sup>3</sup> See Gwenogvryn Evans's note on p. 92, ll. 1—2. He omitted, however, to embody the corrigendum in the text, which he kindly collated for press with the original MS. during the illness of the late Editor.—[Eds.]

- P. 121, l. 9, for *s.* read *see*.
- P. 121, Note, l. 1, append a full stop to the word *Traeth*. [The serial *Y Traethodydd* is meant.]
- P. 127, l. 8; and p. 145, l. 7, for *Llythryiaeth* read *Llythgraeth*.
- „ l. 10; and p. 130, l. 8, for *Guillaume* read *Guillome*.
- „ 4th line from bottom, substitute a comma for the full stop after the word *roo*.
- P. 131, l. 9, for *Llew.* read *Lleu*. [The name *Llewelys* is meant.]
- P. 145, l. 1, for *Trysorfa* read *Trysorfa*.
- „ 5th line from bottom, append a full stop to *Cann*. [*Canwyll*, i.e. *Canwyll*, is meant.]
- P. 151, l. 3, for *Prichards* read *Prichard's* [in which case *delete* the comma after the word] or *Prichard*.
- P. 151, l. 4. *The word ofer, ending this line, is out of its place. It should begin the line.*
- P. 155, l. 4 from bottom, append a full stop to *Rhyd*. [The name *Rhydderch* is meant.]
- P. 167, l. 22, for *Marc.* read *Mart*. [The 8th-century Welsh glosses on *Martianus Capella's De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 296 bottom) are meant by the abbreviation "*Mart. Cup.*"]

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ERRATA, &c., IN VOL. IX.

- P. 41, l. 11, for *Cin-gien*<sup>1</sup> read *Cin-gen*.
- P. 41, l. 16, for *Com-mail* read *Con-mægl*.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Professor J. E. Lloyd, of Aberystwyth, the author of the article ("The Personal Name-System in Old Welsh") in which this and the two following errata occur, desires to say here that, "owing to his article having been written at a distance from proper sources of reference, it is feared the reader will find in it a number of inaccuracies;" and, further, that for the correction of these three he is indebted to Mr. Phillimore.—[Eds.]

<sup>2</sup> Of the MSS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the Cottonian MSS. Tiberius, A. vi. (fo. 6<sup>r</sup>), and Tiberius, B. i. (fo. 120<sup>r</sup>), read *Conmægl*. (In Tiberius, B. iv., the part containing the entry is lost.) In Domitian, A. viii., fo. 38<sup>r</sup>, (a) in the *Anglo-Saxon version* *Coinmail* was first written, but corrected *eâdem manu* by a superposed *g* into *Coinmagl* (or possibly *Coinmaigl*): (b) the *Latin version* of the passage (written immediately below in the MS., but wholly omitted

P. 49, 7th line from bottom, *for* Iudguoll *read* Iudguoll[*aun*].<sup>3</sup>

P. 57, l. 7, *for Welsh read Cymric.*

„ l. 12, *for Celtica* (pp. 505—606) *read Celtica*<sup>2</sup> (pp. 505—606) [; and see note on the erratum in Vol. viii., p. 114, l. 11, *supra*.]

P. 58, l. 3; p. 61, ll. 5—6; p. 63, l. 21; p. 64, l. 11; p. 81, l. 13; p. 90, 10th line from the bottom; p. 92, large print, l. 2; p. 97, l. 21, and p. 116, 5th line from the bottom, *for Rowlands read Rowland.*

P. 59, l. 12, *for elid rhygardarn read erlid rhygadarn.* [See *Myo. Arch.* (1st edn.), iii. 153, col. 2; 2nd edn., p. 843.]

P. 61, l. 1, there should be a full stop after *Lex.* It stands for *Lexicon.*

P. 62, small print, l. 4, put a full stop similarly after *Tal*, which stands for *Taliessin.*

P. 63, 4th paragraph, l. 1, *for Zeuss*, p. 512, *read Zeuss*<sup>2</sup>, p. 512 [; and see note on the erratum in Vol. ix., p. 57, l. 12, *supra*]

P. 63, 4th line from bottom, a similar correction is to be made.

*in Thorpe's Rolls Edition*, 1861, i. 33, 35, coll. 2) reads *Coinmagil*. Of the other two MSS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the Laud MS. 636 (in the Bodleian Library) reads according to both Professor Earle's edition (*Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, &c.: Oxford, 1865), p. 19, and the Rolls Edition (i. 33, col. 1, end) *Commagil*, an obvious transcriber's mistake for the *Coinmagil* of the Latin version of Domitian A. viii.—or some MS. of similar family; whilst the Parker MS. (MS. C.C.C.C. clxxiii.) has, according to the same two authorities (Earle, p. 18; Rolls Edn., i. 32, col. 1 end) *Commial*, an equally obvious mis-script for the *Coinmail* of the *Anglo-Saxon version* of Dom. A. viii., as first written by its scribe—or some MS. of similar family.

The forms in *-magl*, *-magil* (= *Maglus*, *-maglus*, on the early inscribed stones and elsewhere), were pronounced *-mail* at least as early as 730—750, as is proved by the form *Brocmailus* (= the *Brohomagli* of the Voelas inscription) occurring in the oldest MSS. of Bede's *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 2.—[Eds.]

<sup>3</sup> The last three letters of the name in question have in the MS. whence it is cited (Harl. 3859, fo. 192<sup>v</sup>) been cut off by the binder; which misled Aneurin Owen or the transcribers he employed into reading here the non-existent name *Iudguoll*. See the reproduction of the original text on p. 164 of the same volume ix. (col. 2 end), and Note 5 thereon (pp. 164-5), where it is pointed out that MS. B of the *Annales Cambriæ* here has *Idwalaum* (leg. *Idwalaun*). Moreover, the *Brut y Tywysogion* also has *Idwalla6n* here; the name is now *Idwallon*.—[Eds.]

- P. 65, l. 16, for *Talhaearn* read *Trahaearn*.
- P. 66, paragraph 3, l. 4, *dele* near *St. Asaph*.
- P. 70, large print, l. 12, and p. 74, l. 9, append a full stop to *Traeth*. [*Y Traethodydd* is meant.]
- P. 74, Note 1, l. 2, and p. 78, l. 8, append a full stop to *Llythyr*. [Canon Silvan Evans' *Llythyr* is meant.]
- P. 83, Note 1, l. 2, for *G.* read *W.* [*William* (*Lleyn*), not *Gwilym* (*Lleyn*) is meant.]
- P. 85, small type, l. 12, and p. 91, 11th line from bottom, for 1595 read 1592.
- P. 87, l. 9, *dele* the stop after *Llyfr*. [*Llyfr*, not *Llyfryddiaeth*, is meant.]
- P. 117, l. 18, for 148a read 198a.
- P. 127, 3rd line from bottom, for *Eagles* read *the Eagles*.
- P. 129, 3rd line from bottom, for *Llyn-y-gwn* read *Llyn y Cŵn*.  
 „ 4th and 5th lines from bottom, for *Carneddy Filiast* read *Carnedd y Filiast*.
- P. 165, add to the end of Note 5 on p. 164: "and that the *Brut y Tywysogion* has *Idwalla6n* in the corresponding passage."
- P. 171, Note 4, l. 5, for *ix* read *iv*.
- P. 173, Note 3, l. 1, for *Clitnoy* read *Clitno*.
- P. 177, Note 3, *dele* the words "and *map* or *filius* after it."
- P. 178, add to end of Note 4: "; but at p. 79 of the Cardiff copy of the *Hanesyn Hên*, a MS. of the 13th-14th century (now only preserved in copies, but once forming the lost Hengwrt MS. 33), which is followed by many later forms of the pedigree, our 'Gueinoth map Glitnoth' is represented by 'Gwethyno m. Klutno,' which would now be 'Gwyddno ab Clydno.' In support of the supposition that our *Glitnoth* stands for *Clithgno* (or the like), we may compare the mis-scripts: *Gloitguin* for *Oloitguin* (now *Clydwyn*) in No. II. (p. 171, col. 2 top), *supra*; and *Gatgulart* for *Catgulart* (= *Catgualatr*), 3 lines below our 'Glitnoth,' *infra*. Cf. also (for the misplacement of letters) *Clinog* for *Clitgno* in No. VII. (p. 173, col. 2 top) *supra*." [See corrigendum hereon above.]
- P. 183 (margin), for 195 read 195<sup>b</sup>.
- P. 200, *Corrigenda*, "B," l. 2, for *Cyfor* read *Cyfor*.
- P. 281, l. 14, for 1872 read 1762.
- P. 293, l. 27, *dele* (alias 1872).
- P. 321, l. 13, for *Shathnamah* read *Shahnamah*. [Now written *Shah Nameh*.]
- P. 367, l. 20, for W. R. Wynne read W. R. M. Wynne.

REPORT  
OF  
THE COUNCIL OF THE  
**Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,**  
*For the Year ending November 9th, 1888.*

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THE work of the Society during the past year has included some items of unusual importance, and the Council have great pleasure in announcing to the Members the success with which all its undertakings have been attended.

In the first place, however, the Council feel called upon to make a brief allusion to the recent disappearance from the Society's lists of one of the most honoured names of modern Wales. All parties without distinction have united in rendering a tribute of respect to the great abilities, the manly sincerity, and the unaffected patriotism that marked the character of the late Henry Richard.

The Society has also lost a devoted member by the death of the late Professor W. Lloyd Birkbeck, M.A., Master of Downing College, Cambridge.

The Council have elected to the Vice-Presidency of the Society the following Members :—

The Right Hon. LORD MOSTYN.  
Mr. J. C. PARKINSON, J.P., D.L.

and have conferred its Honorary Membership upon

Mr. DONALD MACKINNON, M.A., Professor of Celtic Languages, History, Literature, and Antiquities in the University of Edinburgh.



They have appointed as Corresponding Member for Shrewsbury,

Mr. J. B. HUMPHREYS, F.R.C.S., J.P.,

and for Birmingham,

Mr. D. C. LLOYD-OWEN, F.R.C.S.

During the year, fifty-eight new Members have been added to the Society.

The following Meetings have been held during the year :—

(1) In London—

- On January 30th, 1888, Sir J. H. Puleston, M.P., in the Chair.—  
A Paper on "The Eisteddfod and its Critics" was read by  
Mr. J. C. Parkinson, J.P., D.L.
- „ February 15th, 1888, Mr. Cave Thomas, F.S.S., in the Chair.—  
A Paper on "The Work of the Cymmrodorion" was read by  
Dr. Isambard Owen.
- „ March 7th, 1888, The Right Hon. the Earl of Powis in the  
Chair.—A Paper on "The Welsh Counties" was read by  
Professor Tout, M.A.
- „ March 21st, 1888, Mr. John Owens in the Chair.—A Paper on  
"Talhaiarn" was read by Mr. Isaac Foulkes (*Llyfrbrwyf*).
- „ April 11th, 1888, Prof. John Williams, M.D., in the Chair.—A  
Paper on "Welsh Folk-Medicine in the Middle Ages" was read  
by Mr. E. Sidney Hartland.
- „ April 25th, 1888, Mr. John Thomas (*Pencerdd Gwallia*) in the  
Chair.—A Paper on "The Possibilities of Welsh Music" was  
read by Mr. Joseph Bennett.
- „ May 9th, 1888, Mr. Alfred Nutt in the Chair.—A Paper on  
"Taliessin" was read by Professor Rhys.
- „ May 23rd, 1888, Mr. W. Bowen-Rowlands, Q.C., M.P., in the  
Chair.—A Paper on "A Critical Estimate of Welsh Poetry" was  
read by Mr. T. Marchant Williams, B.A., J.P.
- „ June 6th, 1888, Sir Walter Morgan in the Chair.—A Paper on  
"Excavations and Discoveries at Strata Florida Abbey" was  
read by Mr. Stephen W. Williams, F.R.I.B.A.
- „ June 20th, 1888, The Annual Conversazione was held at the  
Galleries of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours,  
Piccadilly.

(2) At Wrexham, in connection with the National Eisteddfod of 1888 :—

On Monday, September 3rd, His Worship the Mayor of Wrexham in the Chair.—An Inaugural Address, on “The Study of Welsh Literature,” was given by Mr. T. Marchant Williams, B.A., J.P.

On Wednesday, September 5th, Professor Rhys in the Chair.—Papers were read by Mr. Lewis Morris, M.A., J.P., of Penbryn, and the Rev. D. Lewis Lloyd, M.A., of Brecon, on “A Proposed University for Wales.”

On Thursday, September 6th, Mr. D. Emlyn Evans in the Chair.—A Paper on “A National Musical Association for Wales” was read by Mr. Joseph Bennett, and was followed by a discussion, in which Mr. John Thomas (*Pencerdd Gwallia*), Mr. David Jenkins, Mus. Bac., Mr. W. T. Rees (*Alaw Ddu*), Mr. John Roberts, Mr. Rees Jones, *Eos Morlais*, and others took part.

The Council are pleased to announce that for the forthcoming Session Papers have been promised by the following gentlemen :—

His Honour JUDGE BRYNMÔR JONES.

Mr. R. WILLIAMS, F.R.H.S.

Mr. HENRY OWEN, B.C.L.

Mr. ALFRED N. PALMER, F.C.S.

Mr. R. ARTHUR ROBERTS.

Mr. EDWARD OWEN.

The Rev. H. ELVET LEWIS.

Mr. G. LAURENCE GOMME.

The Rev. Professor SAYCE, M.A., LL.D., and

Mr. OWEN M. EDWARDS, B.A.

A detailed Programme of the Sessional Meetings will shortly be issued.

The following Publications have been issued :—

Y CYMMRODOR, Vol. IX., Parts 1 and 2.

The Annual Report.

Report of the Shrewsbury Conference on Welsh Education.

Final Part of THE GODODIN OF ANEURIN GWAWDREYDD, by the late THOMAS STEPHENS.

The Council have continued to exercise the immediate direction of the Society's Publications. The general

management has been carried on, as during the previous year, by Dr. Isambard Owen, with whom Mr. Phillimore has constantly collaborated. The Society is especially indebted to these gentlemen for the amount of time and trouble they have devoted to its Publications.

The following Presents have been received and duly acknowledged by the Council on behalf of the Society:—

*Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum, &c.*, per Nicolaum Lloydium (Londini, 1686). Presented by the Rev. JOHN DAVIES, M.A.

Professor Rice Rees' *Essay on the Welsh Saints*. Presented by the late Editor.

*A Booke of Glamorganshires Antiquities*, by RICE MERRICK, Esq., 1578. Edited by JAMES ANDREW CORBETT. Presented by Mr. DAVID LEWIS.

*Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail, with especial reference to the Hypothesis of its Celtic Origin*, by ALFRED NUTT. Presented by the Author.

*Byegones relating to Wales and the Border Counties*. Presented by Messrs. WOODALL, MINSHALL, & Co.

*The Wrexham Advertiser*. Presented by the Publisher.

*The Welshman* (Carmarthen). Presented by the Publisher.

*The Cambrian* (Utica, N.Y.). Presented by the Publisher.

*Some Account of the Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*. By JOHN COKE FOWLER. Presented by the Author.

The following ten ladies and gentlemen have been nominated by the Council, in accordance with the laws of the Society for Utilizing the Welsh Language, to serve on the Council of the latter Society:—

Mrs. THOMAS, of Bethesda.  
 Mr. D. BOWEN, of Abercarn.  
 Mr. W. E. DAVIES, of London.  
 Mr. T. JOHN, of Llwyn-Pia.  
 Mr. OWEN LEWIS, of London.  
 Mr. W. J. PARRY, of Bethesda.  
 Principal REICHEL, of Bangor.  
 Professor RHYS, of Oxford.  
 Mr. THOMAS, of Bedlinog, and  
 Mr. OWEN WILLIAMS, of Nevin.

In accordance with the instructions of the last General Meeting, the Council carried into effect the request made to the Society in August, 1887, and convened a Conference of representatives of Higher, Intermediate, and Elementary Education in Shrewsbury, on the 5th and 6th of January last. By the courtesy of the magistrates for the County of Salop, the meetings of the Conference were held in one of the Assize Courts of that town.

Invitations to the Conference were issued to the following ladies and gentlemen :—

The Principals, Professors and Permanent Lecturers of the University, Theological, and Normal Colleges of Wales and Monmouthshire.

The Head-Master (or Mistress) of every endowed school, and of the leading unendowed schools in Wales, Monmouthshire and the Oswestry district, and the Head-Mistress of the Welsh School at Ashford.

Two representatives to be named by each of the Associations of Elementary Teachers in Wales, Monmouthshire, and the Oswestry district.

Her Majesty's Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Schools for Wales and Monmouthshire.

Two representatives of each of the following Societies: the North Wales Scholarship Association, the Society for Utilizing the Welsh Language, and the Association for Promoting the Education of Girls.

The surviving members of the Departmental Committee upon Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales: viz. Lord Aberdare, Lord Emlyn, the late Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., Professor Rhys, and Mr. Lewis Morris; and a limited number of other ladies and gentlemen of especial experience in the subject of the Conference.

The subject of the Conference was defined as "The Future Development of the Welsh Educational System, considered from the academical point of view."

Professor Rhys kindly presided over all the meetings.

The general arrangements were entrusted to a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen :—

Mr. W. E. DAVIES.  
 Mr. J. R. HUMPHREYS, F.R.C.S., J.P. (of Shrewsbury).  
 Dr. ISAMBARD OWEN.  
 Professor RHYS.  
 Mr. RICHARD ROBERTS.  
 Mr. T. MARCHANT WILLIAMS.

Dr. Isambard Owen acted as the Secretary of the Conference.

The local arrangements were carried out by Mr. J. R. Humphreys.

Under the presidency of Mr. Humphreys, with the Rev. Dr. Dickens Lewis as Hon. Secretary, the following residents in Shrewsbury formed themselves into a Reception Committee, and materially contributed to render their stay in the town agreeable to the members of the Conference :—

Mr. J. R. HUMPHREYS, F.R.C.S., J.P., Swan Hill Courthouse.  
 The Rev. JOHN DAVIES, 9, Claremont Bank.  
 The Rev. ROBERT DAVIES, 6, Handock Road.  
 The Rev. W. HINTON JONES, 5, Claremont Bank.  
 Mr. SAMUEL EVANS, Berlin House, Wyle Cop.  
 Mr. JOSEPH OWEN, Kingsland School.  
 The Rev. Dr. DICKENS LEWIS (Hon. Sec.).

A detailed Report of the proceedings of the Conference was printed and issued to the Members of the Society in the month of February. The Resolutions passed in it are here recapitulated :—

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE WELSH EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE,  
 HELD AT SHREWSBURY ON JANUARY 5th AND 6th, 1888.

- "1. That in the opinion of this Conference, an important step towards the development of the Welsh Educational System must be the establishment of numerous and efficient Intermediate Schools."
- "2. That this Conference is of opinion that in any provision for

- Intermediate Education in Wales the interests of girls should be considered equally with those of boys."
- "3. That this Conference, while deprecating alike attempts artificially to maintain or to destroy the Welsh Language, approves of the proposals of the 'Society for Utilizing the Welsh Language' to make use of it as a means of elementary, intermediate, and higher education in Wales."
  - "4. That in the opinion of this Conference the University Colleges should be utilized in the training of elementary teachers."
  - "5. (a) That in the opinion of this Conference it is expedient that the provision for intermediate and collegiate education in Wales and Monmouthshire should be completed by an University organization.  
 "(b) And that the inspection of state-aided intermediate schools should be committed to the Welsh University, with due provision for the representation of such schools upon its executive body."
  - "6. That in the opinion of this Conference it is desirable that night schools should be revived on a sound basis in our country districts and towns."
  - "7. That in the opinion of this Conference the provision alluded to in Resolution 1 should be supplemented by some efficient method for the elementary and intermediate education of young working men and women, and others in similar circumstances."
  - "8. That this Conference is of opinion that in any scheme of intermediate education for Wales, regard should be paid to existing intermediate schools educating a certain number (hereafter to be determined) of boys or girls born in Wales, and proved to be efficient."
  - "9. That in the opinion of this Conference a graduated system of Scholarships should be formed to aid poor boys and girls through the whole of their course from elementary schools, through the intermediate schools, to the University Colleges or Universities."
  - "10. That in the opinion of this Conference the system of 'payment by results' should not, without considerable modification of the method of appreciating results at present in use, be applied to intermediate schools."
  - "11. That in the opinion of this Conference a scheme of intermediate education for Wales should embrace technical and commercial education."
  - "12. That the Executive Committee be requested to arrange, if possible, for the members of this Conference to meet the Welsh

Peers and the Members of Parliament for Wales and Monmouthshire at an early date, to lay the Resolutions of the Conference before them."

In accordance with the last Resolution, the Executive Committee, at the direction of the Council, communicated with the Earl of Powis (President of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion), with Lord Aberdare, with the Hon. G. T. Kenyon, M.P., and the late Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., who made arrangements for the desired interview to be held in Committee Room No. 9 of the House of Commons on the 15th of March last. The President of the Society introduced the members of the Conference, whose views were laid before the members of the two Houses by Professor Rhŷs, Principal Viriamu Jones, Principal Reichel, the Rev. W. Hawker Hughes, Professor Ellis Edwards, Mr. Beriah G. Evans, Miss E. P. Hughes, and the Ven. Archdeacon Griffiths. The following resolution, proposed by Lord Aberdare, and seconded by Mr. Osborne Morgan and Mr. Kenyon, was unanimously passed by the peers and members of the House of Commons present:—

"That this meeting of Welsh peers and members of Parliament for Wales and Monmouthshire have listened with great interest to the resolutions and statements submitted to them by the representatives of the Conference on Education in Wales, held at Shrewsbury on the 5th and 6th of January, under the auspices of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion; that we fully recognize the great importance and value of the opinions expressed, and the conclusions adopted, by an assembly which, from its representative character and wide practical experience, was so eminently competent to deal with the question of Welsh Education in its various aspects; that we desire, further, to assure the ladies and gentlemen who have met us to-day, and those whom they represent, that we are prepared to pay the most respectful heed to the views embodied in the resolutions submitted to us by them, and more fully expounded and developed in the remarks addressed to us by the various members of the Deputation."

The Society will be gratified to learn that the inquiries which it instituted in the years 1884 and 1885 as to the use of Welsh in elementary schools in Wales and Monmouthshire, and the discussions on this subject initiated in the Cymmrodorion Section meetings of those years, have not been without results of a tangible character. The Society for Utilizing the Welsh Language, which, as stated in the Council's Report for 1885, was formed in association with us in consequence of the above-mentioned inquiries, has obtained extensive adhesion to its programme in all parts of Wales, the Teachers' Associations of North and of South Wales having expressed their agreement with it, as well as the Shrewsbury Conference, whose Resolution (8) on the subject has been already quoted. Five school boards in Wales have already introduced the teaching of Welsh as a "specific subject," the portion of the programme at present authorized by the Education Department; and the Royal Commission on the Elementary Education Acts, before whom the subject was brought by the associated Society, reported in August last in the following terms:—

"We have dealt with the question of Welsh schools and the bilingual difficulty. Many of these schools labour under this difficulty, which arises from the fact that although the native language of the children is Welsh, they are practically treated by the Code as if they always spoke English. It has been stated in evidence that fully two-thirds of the people in Wales habitually speak Welsh, and although a considerable portion of the adults also speak English with ease, the bulk of the children, we are told, come to school wholly ignorant of that language; and yet English is the vehicle through which they have to learn everything, and in which they will have to be examined. The knowledge also of English which they acquire while at school is said to be so meagre and superficial that, according to the evidence, in Welsh-speaking districts English is lost in a great measure soon after the child leaves school. The only provision in the Code which at all attempts to meet the difficulty is one in which it is laid down that the intelligence of the children in the ordinary reading examination may be tested by her Majesty's Inspector allowing them to explain the meaning of passages read. There has been no desire



expressed before us that the use of the English language in the schools should be at all diminished. But it is felt that to enable these schools to overcome the special difficulties with which they have to contend, they should be allowed, at the discretion of the managers, to teach the reading and writing of the vernacular concurrently with that of English. As the Welsh language is almost purely phonetic in character, and does not present the difficulties which are experienced in mastering English, the permission to use bi-lingual reading books would meet the objection of the teachers, who complain that the amount of reading matter to be got up in Welsh schools is too great. But it is felt that they should be allowed :—

To take up Welsh as a specific subject recognized in the Code ;

To adopt an optional scheme for English, as a class subject suitable to the special needs of Welsh districts, such scheme being founded on the principle of substituting a graduated system of translation from Welsh to English for the present requirements in English grammar ;

To teach Welsh along with English as a class subject ;

And to include Welsh among the languages in which candidates for Queen's Scholarships and for certificates of merit may be examined.

"All these points are advanced in the answers we have received to Circular D from the head teachers in the counties of Glamorgan and Merioneth. Since concessions somewhat similar to those now demanded in Wales have already been granted in the Scotch Code to the Gaelic-speaking population of Scotland, there appears good reason why they should be conceded in the English Code for the relief of our Welsh-speaking population."—*Final Report*, pp. 144-5.

And the Minority of the Commission, who presented a Separate Report, said :—

"We also agree that Welsh schools, owing to the wide prevalence of the Welsh language, need special treatment, and we agree, generally, with our colleagues on the subject of Welsh schools."—*Ib.*, p. 239.

Five members of the Minority adding the following :—

"In the greater part of Wales the language interposes many difficulties in the way of teaching according to a Code which is drawn up for English-speaking children.

"We think, in addition to agreeing with the recommendations of our colleagues as to the use to be made of the Welsh language in teaching, that the peculiarities and difficulties of the Welsh-speaking population should be continually borne in mind in conducting the Government examination, and in any modifications of the regulations

which may be hereafter made by the central educational authority."—*Ib.*, p. 311.

—Thus endorsing, by an unanimous voice, all the points of the Society's programme.

In the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod, held at Wrexham on the 6th of September last, the following resolution, proposed by the Rev. the Principal of Christ College, Brecon, was unanimously passed :

“ That this meeting requests the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion to convene a Conference for the purpose of discussing the desirableness of forming a Welsh National Musical Association, and to take steps to form a Committee ”

In view of the unanimity of the vote and of the influential character of the meeting in which it was passed, the Council has, on behalf of the Society, acceded to the request, and appointed a special Committee to arrange with the leading representatives of the musical profession in Wales, a suitable time and place for the holding of the desired Conference.

The following members of the Council retire under Rule 5, but are eligible for re-election.

Mr. R. H. JENKINS.  
 Mr. C. W. JONES.  
 Mr. HENRY JENNER.  
 Gen. R. OWEN JONES.  
 Mr. LEWIS MORRIS.  
 Prof. RHYS.  
 Dr. FREDERICK ROBERTS.  
 Mr. H. LLOYD-ROBERTS.  
 Mr. W. CAVE THOMAS.  
 Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS.

A Financial Statement is appended to the Report.

ISAMBARD OWEN,

*Chairman.*

*November 27th, 1888.*

# THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

## Statement of Receipts and Payments

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1887, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1888.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, Nov. 9th, 1887			16 19 6
" Subscriptions: Arrears	.	49	17 6
for 1887-88	.	296	11 1
" in advance	.	12	12 0
		859	0 7
" Sale of Publications	.	.	4 6 4
" Rents from Sub-tenants	.	.	17 2 0
<hr/>			
By Printing Transactions, &c.			100 0 0
" Rent, Insurance, Caretaker, &c.			89 13 6
" Library Expenses			3 0 0
" Lectures and Meetings			29 3 0
" Education Conference and Printing Report			11 16 0
" Eisteddfod Section and Printing Report			21 9 10
" Mr. C. W. Jones, Balance of Salary			17 15 0
" Stationery, Receipt Books, &c.			7 14 9
" Postage of Publications and Circulars, &c.			25 11 6
" Editorial Expenses			39 18 0
" Secretary			26 5 0
<hr/>			
Balance			372 6 7
			25 1 10
<hr/>			
			£397 8 5

E. W. DAVIES,  
HOWEL THOMAS, } *Auditors.*

H. LLOYD ROBERTS, *Treasurer.*  
E. VINCENT EVANS, *Secretary.*

R E P O R T  
OF  
THE COUNCIL OF THE  
**Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion,**  
*For the Year ending November 9th, 1889.*

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THE Council have much pleasure in meeting the Members of the Society at the close of a year of solid and satisfactory work. The attendance at the Meetings of the Session of 1888-9, and the high character of the Lectures which the Council have been able to place before the Members, as well as those promised for the ensuing year, afford a gratifying testimony to the continued *prestige* and popularity of the Society.

Fifty-five new Members have been elected since the date of the last Annual Meeting.

We have to regret the loss by death, albeit at a ripe old age, of one of our earliest Vice-Presidents, the late Bishop of St. Asaph; a churchman as venerable in character as in years, and memorable, among other things, as the first Welsh-speaking clergyman appointed to the charge of a see in Wales since the year 1727.

The Council has appointed Dr. Alfred Daniell, Advocate, for whose work in the organization of Welsh Students' Unions in his own and in other universities Wales owes

him a deep debt of gratitude, a Corresponding Member of the Society for Edinburgh.

The following Meetings have been held during the year:—

(1) In London—

- On December 19th, 1888, Mr. Lewis Morris, M.A., J.P., in the chair.—An Address on “Welsh History in the Light of Welsh Law” was given by His Honour Judge Brynmôr Jones.
- On January 23rd, 1889, Mr. Stephen Evans, J.P., in the chair.—A Paper on “Some Minor Welsh Poets of the Georgian Era” was read by Mr. R. H. Williams, F.R.Hist. Soc.
- On February 6th, 1889, Mr. Henry Owen, B.C.L., in the chair.—A Paper on “The Early History of Bangor Is y Coed,” and another on “Welsh Settlements East of Offa’s Dyke in the Eleventh Century,” were read by Mr. Alfred Neobard Palmer.
- On February 28th, 1889, Mr. Howel W. Lloyd, M.A., in the chair.—A Paper on “Giraldus Cambrensis” was read by Mr. Henry Owen, B.C.L.
- On March 13th, 1889, the Rev. D. Burford Hooke in the chair.—A Paper on “The Celt and the Pleasantness of Nature” was read by the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis.
- On April 3rd, 1889, the Hon. Geo. T. Kenyon, M.P., in the chair.—A Paper on “The Public Records relating to Wales” was read by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office.
- On April 24th, 1889, Mr. Howel W. Lloyd in the chair.—A Paper on “Welsh Monasteries and Monasticism” was read by Mr. Edward Owen, Member of the Council of the *Cambrian Archaeological Association*.
- On May 8th, 1889, Mr. F. Seebohm in the chair.—A Paper on “Ancient Terrace-Cultivation in Wales and elsewhere” was read by Mr. G. Laurence Gomme.
- On May 22nd, 1889, Sir Walter Morgan in the chair.—A Paper on “The Legend of King Bladud” was read by the Rev. Professor Sayce, M.A., LL.D.
- On June 5th, 1889, Mr. Thomas Ellis, M.P., in the chair.—A Paper on “The Bards and the Friars” was read by Mr. Owen Edwards, B.A.
- On June 19th, 1889, the Annual Conversazione, held in the Galleries of the Royal Society of Painters in Water-colours. A Welsh Concert was contributed by Miss Eleanor Rees, Miss Julia Lewis, Mr. David Hughes, Mr. L. Evans (*Pennillion* singer), Mr. W. T. Barker (harpist), Miss Nellie Jones

(pianoforte), and a select Glee Party, conducted by Mr. Tom Parry.

(2) At Brecon, in connection with the National Eisteddfod of 1889:—

On August 26th, His Worship the Mayor of Brecon in the chair.—An Inaugural Address was given by the Very Rev. the Dean of St. Asaph.

On August 28th, Professor Powel, M.A., in the chair.—A Public Discussion was held on “Welsh Spelling Reform.” Papers were read by Professor Jones, of Bangor, Professor Lloyd, of Aberystwyth, and Mr. Isaac Foulkes (*Llyfrbryf*), of Liverpool.

On August 29th, the Ven. the Archdeacon of Llandaff in the chair.—A Public Discussion was held on “The Publication of Welsh Historical Records.” Papers were read by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of H.M. Public Record Office, Mr. Edward Owen, Member of the Council of the *Cambrian Archaeological Association*, and Mr. Phillimore.

The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. James Morgan, of Brecon, as Hon. Local Secretary of the Section.

The paper read by Mr. Henry Owen at the Meeting on February 28th has been published by the author, with large additions, in an *édition de luxe*, under the title of “Gerald the Welshman.” Copies of the book were generously placed at the disposal of the Society by the author, to be offered to the Members at a nominal price.

The issue of *Y Cymmrodor* for 1889 was intentionally postponed by the Council early in the year to admit of the completion of arrangements by which it will in future be produced at smaller cost than heretofore. It was decided to issue the two parts for the year, with the Annual Report and List of Members, under one cover. The whole is now almost ready for issue.

The cordial thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Phillimore and to Dr. Isambard Owen for the trouble they have

given to the editing of this volume—at considerable inconvenience to themselves, owing to the postponement of its production.

At the Meeting held by the Society in Brecon on August 29th, suggestions were made that the Society should at once take up a work which it has had in view since its revival in 1873, viz., the Publication of Welsh Historical Records and MSS. ; and substantial offers of assistance in the prosecution of this work were at the same time made. The Council have resolved to avail themselves of these generous offers, and to organize a special "Section," with a special fund, to carry out the project. A full prospectus will shortly be issued.

It will be remembered that at the Meeting held by the Society at the Wrexham Eisteddfod in 1888 the following Resolution was unanimously passed :—

"That this meeting requests the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion to convene a meeting of Welsh musicians for the purpose of discussing the desirableness of forming a Welsh National Musical Association, and to take steps to form a Committee."

In accordance with the request made in the above Resolution, the Council appointed, in October last, a sub-committee to convene such a congress, which met, under the presidency of Mr. John Thomas (*Pencerdd Gwalia*), at Shrewsbury, on December 27th, 1888. At this congress it was unanimously resolved that a Society should be formed under the name of "The National Musical Association for Wales," which should have for its objects "the development of music in general, especially orchestral and instrumental music, the assisting of native musical talent, and organizing musical teaching powers in Wales."

The first Meeting of the Association was held at Brecon on August 29th, 1889.

The following presents have been received and duly acknowledged by the Council on behalf of the Society:—

*Dineley's Account of the Official Progress of His Grace Henry, the first Duke of Beaufort, through Wales, 1684.* Presented by the Right Hon. the EARL OF POWIS.

*Fenton's Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire, Laws' History of Little England beyond Wales, and Gerald the Welshman.* Presented by HENRY OWEN, Esq., B.C.L., the Author of the last-named work.

*Palmer's History of the Town and Parish of Wrexham, and Byegones relating to Wales and the Border Counties.* Presented by Messrs. WOODALL, MINSHALL, and THOMAS.

*Rowland Jones' Circles of Gomer (1771), and The Origin of Languages and Nations (1764).* Presented by the Rev. JOHN DAVIES, M.A.

*The Wrexham Advertiser.* Presented by the Publisher.

*The Welshman (Carmarthen).* Presented by the Publisher.

*The Cambrian (Utica, N.Y.).* Presented by the Publisher.

*The North Wales Observer (Carnarvon).* Presented by the Publisher.

The Council desire again to place on record their high appreciation of the work of Mr. E. Vincent Evans as Secretary of the Society. Mr. Evans' energy, perseverance, and business talents have made themselves conspicuous in every department of the Society's operations.

The Council have much pleasure in announcing that papers have been promised for the ensuing session by—

Mr. FREDERIC SREEBOHM.

Mr. JOSEPH JACOBS, M.A.

Prof. DOBBIE, D.Sc.

The Rev. E. T. DAVIES, M.A.

Prof. J. E. LLOYD, M.A.

Mr. J. BOMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A. (Scot.)

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Mr. DAVID LEWIS, and

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The following Members of the Council retire under Rule 5, but are eligible for re-election :—

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Mr. HENRY JENNER.  
Mr. LEWIS MORRIS.  
Prof. RHYS.  
Prof. RHYS-DAVIDS.  
Prof. FREDERICK ROBERTS.  
Mr. JOHN THOMAS (*Pencerdd Gwalia*).  
Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS.

A Financial Statement is appended to this Report.

A sum of 100*l.* 13*s.* is included in this statement, which was subscribed by Members of the Council and some other friends of the Society during the year, to defray the extra expenses incurred in printing during the preceding year ; and another sum of 60*l.* generously offered for the same object by the Marquess of Bute.

(Signed)

STEPHEN EVANS,  
*Chairman.*

*November 9th, 1889.*

# THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

## Statement of Receipts and Payments

FROM 9TH NOVEMBER, 1888, TO 9TH NOVEMBER, 1889.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, Nov. 9th, 1888	25	1	10
" Subscriptions: Arrears	50	8	0
" for 1888-89	298	1	7
" in advance	12	12	0
Special Donations	361	1	7
" Sale of Books and Publications	160	13	0
" Rents from Sub-tenants	32	5	2
"	16	3	0
By Printer's Account to 31st Dec., 1888	245	10	4
" General Printing (1888)	21	19	0
" Rent, Insurance, and Caretaker	77	5	0
" Library Expenses	1	11	6
" Lectures and Meetings	32	0	6
" Musicians' Conference (Shrewsbury): Expenses.	4	0	0
" Kistaddfod Section	7	10	0
" Stationery	7	19	3
" Postage of Publications, Circulars, and Letters,	33	4	10
" and Petty Expenses	89	12	0
" Secretary	470	13	5
Balance	126	12	2
Total	£597	4	7

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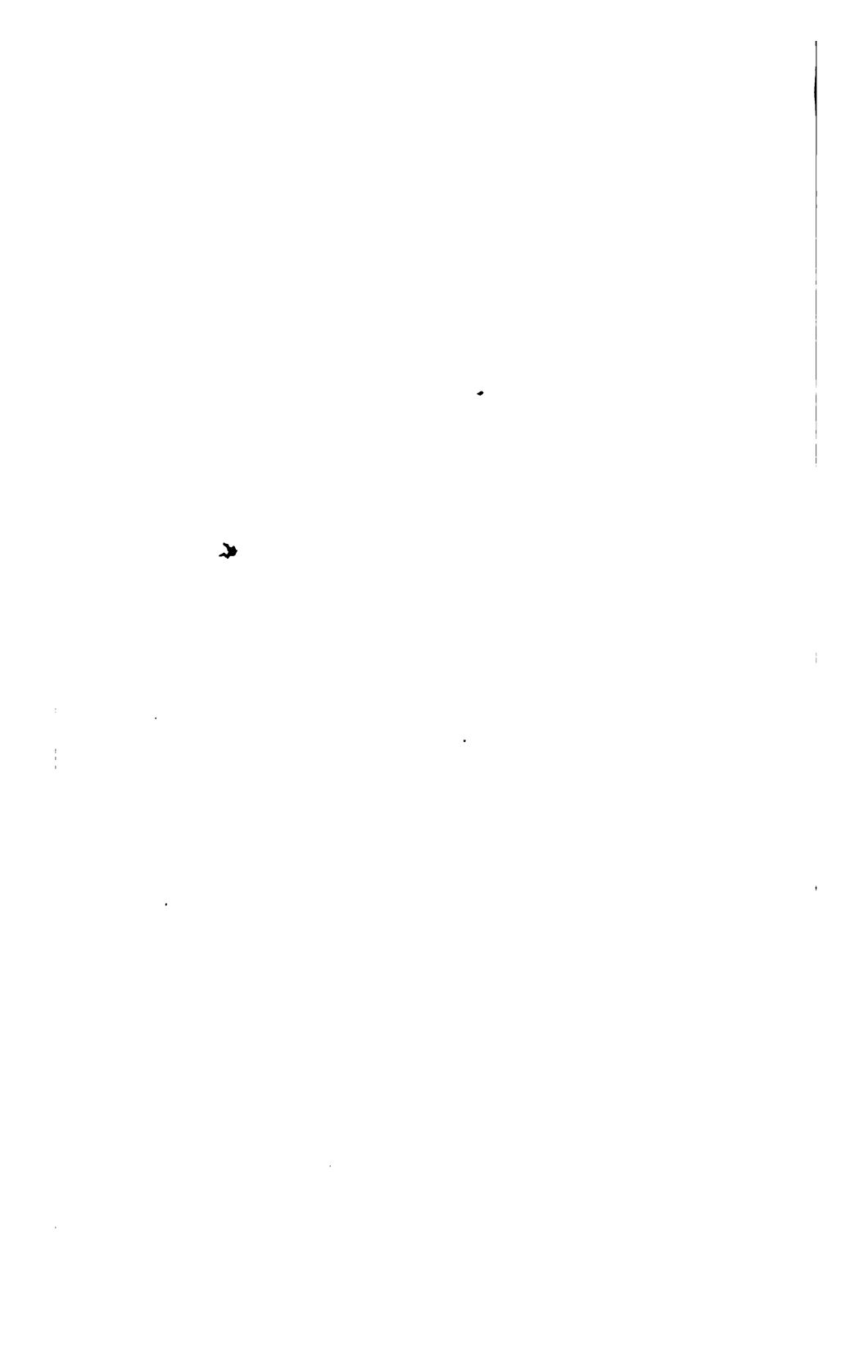
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