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Chapter VI

WALES AND THE NORTH

WHEN Welshmen in the old days spoke of the North without qualification or definition of any sort, they always meant the northern borders of England together with south Scotland, in particular the district between the two Roman Walls. The Men of the North (*Gwŷr y Gogledd*) were the British tribes inhabiting the region between Glasgow and Edinburgh, and down to mid-Lancashire on the west and south Yorkshire on the east.

You will not expect me to tell you in this short talk everything about Wales, and it would be arrant folly on my part if I should try to teach this assembly of Northern experts anything about the North.¹ That would be really and truly carrying coals to Newcastle. My safety lies in confining myself to the middle term of my subject, namely the word *and*, which, I am told, is a conjunction. My task is to touch lightly on the connexion or connexions between the people of Wales and the Men of the North in the early centuries.

The Saxon invaders, from the second quarter of the fifth century to the second quarter of the seventh, by hard fighting took possession of the eastern coasts of Britain and the Midlands from the Firth of Forth down to the English Channel. Their advance divided the British territory (like Gaul) into three parts. The North-Western district, Strathclyde, got its name from the *strath* (our *ystrad*) or plain of the Clyde, but the term came to be used for the whole district extending from the mouth of the Clyde down to Lancashire. Further south came our Wales, with its eastern border running from the Dee near Chester to the mouth of the Severn. Further still to the south lay the third district, which embraced Devon and Cornwall: this was the weakest of the British territories for it was early enfeebled by the mass migration overseas of a good part of its population, to form a Little Britain, a Brittany, in North-West France. Naturally enough the links between Cornwall and Brittany were much closer than those with Wales and the North. Cornishman and Breton were not only members of the same nation but

[1] Read at the Annual General Meeting of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Carlisle, 30 August 1950.

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of the same tribes.² They were in frequent contact with one another. Their dialects differed but slightly, and intercourse was easy.

The Men of Wales on the other hand turned elsewhere for alliance and help. Their deliverers were expected to come from the North, the breeding ground of British heroes in legend and saga.

The dwellers in the three British districts called themselves Britons (*Brython*); so did the men of Little Britain in France, who are still known as Bretons.³ The Britons of Wales and Strathclyde, however, for some reason or other, began to call themselves also *Cymry*,⁴ the plural of *Cymro*, a compound of *com-* a prefix meaning 'together', and *bro* 'border, coast, district'. The earlier form of *bro* was *mrog*, a cognate of the Latin *margo*, English *march* 'border'; so *Cymro* means one who dwells within the same border as you do, a fellow countryman. Cornishmen were never known as *Cymry*, but the people of *Cumberland* were; as you all know, *Cumberland* means 'the land of the *Cymry*'. We Welshmen also call ourselves *Cymry*, though the Saxon preferred to describe us as *Welsh* 'foreigners', and our country as *Wales* 'the foreign land', just as the Germans use *Wälsch* and *Wälsch-*

[2] The tribes of the *Dumnonii* and *Cornovii* gave their names to two of the three early tribal divisions of Brittany—Dumnonée and Cornouailles—as they did to our Devon and Cornwall. See LHEB pp. 12 ff.

[3] The name *Brittones* continued to be employed throughout the Middle Ages by all the Brittonic peoples in reference to themselves, just as they used *Britannia* both of Great and of Lesser Britain, making no distinction in the use of these names (cf. LHEB p. 13 n. 4): a fact which sometimes gives rise to ambiguity. *Brython* is the Welsh equivalent of *Brittones*, and was used frequently by the Welsh of themselves, throughout the literary tradition down to the seventeenth century; see GPC, and cf. the following note.

[4] The earliest occurrence of *Cymry* in reference to the Welsh is probably that in the *Moliant Cadwallon* (see pp. 85–6 below, and n. 71). It occurs also in the *Llywarch Hen* poetry, and in *Armes Prydein*, though it is not found in the poetry of Aneirin and Taliesin, who invariably employ *Brython*. In reference to the inhabitants of Cumbria the earliest occurrence is in Ethelwerd's *Chronicle* (circa 1000), which speaks of the ravaging of *Pihlis Cumbrique* by the Danes in 875, where both Asser and the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* refer to 'the Picts and the Strathclyde Welsh'. See E. Phillimore, *Cy*, xi (1892), 95–101, who cites further references in the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* to *Cumbra(land)* in the tenth and eleventh centuries. *Cumbria* is the equivalent of 'the Old North' (*yr hen Ogledd*) of Welsh tradition, and it originally encompassed a large area of north-west England (Cumberland, Westmorland, and north Lancashire), and Strathclyde as far as the Forth–Clyde line in Scotland. Since the name of 'fellow countrymen' united the Britons of the North with those of Wales, it must have originated before Cumbria and Wales became separated in the seventh century. In older Welsh usage *Cymry* denoted both the country and the people; later *Cymru* came to be the name for Wales, and *Cymro*, pl. *Cymry* the name for the people of the country. On the original extent of 'Cumbria' see P. A. Wilson, *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* LXVI (1966), 57–92.

land for *Italian*, and *Italy*. In the name of all the gods of philology, I maintain that we have the right in retaliation to label the whole of England as *Wales*! It seems absurd to use it of our own little corner.

Anyhow, the name *Cymry* is the common heritage of the Britons of Cumberland and of the Britons of the country now known as Wales. We are fellow countrymen in a very special sense. At one time we spoke the same language, *Cymraeg*; many of your place-names are identical in origin and meaning with ours.⁵ They have survived in spite of successive invasions by Angles, Saxons, Scots, and Norsemen, and their centuries-long settlement in your midst. Purity of race we cannot claim, either in Wales or in Cumberland, but *Cymry* is still a title we rightfully share. We belong to the country, and we belong to one another.

The next point of contact is historical. A Welshman called Nemnius, whose name is usually given as *Nennius*,⁶ compiled a short Latin history of the Britons, about the year 796. His *Historia Brittonum* in spite of its form, or lack of form, in spite of its crude Latin and numerous blunders, linguistic and historical, is of considerable value, if one uses it fairly. Nennius did not pretend to be an author—he realised acutely his own limitations—but only a mere compiler: *Aliqua excerpta scribere curavi*, 'I have taken the trouble of writing certain excerpts'.⁷ He made selections, extracts. His little *Historia*, in spite of its title, is not an original work, but a collection of excerpts from earlier works. He wished to rebut the charge of slothful ignorance brought against his people, and that they had no knowledge of their past; and so, he says in his preface, 'I have collected together everything I found in the annals of the Romans, the chronicles of the Holy Fathers, the annals of the Irish and Saxons, and also in the tradition of our own elders.' The sources he used were thus partly literary, partly oral. To the best of his ability he made selections from documents and also from saga material or tradition. He admits frankly that he is a poor critic, and describes

[5] Examples: *Lanercoast* 'the glade of Augustus' (as was shown by IW, *Trans-Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Arch. Soc.* (1952), pp. 67–8), *Tallentire* 'the end of the land', *Triermain* 'the village of the Rock', *Penrith* 'the head of the ford'. On the Brittonic elements in Cumberland place-names, see K. Jackson, 'Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria', *O'Donnell Lectures* (Cardiff, 1963), pp. 60 ff.

[6] In B VII, 380–2, IW endorsed the opinion previously advanced by R. Thurneysen (*ZfPh.* xx, 97–137), that *Nemnius* or *Nennius* was the correct name of the early ninth-century 'editor' of the *Historia Brittonum*, though 'Nennius' has continued to be the form which has obtained general currency. See chapter IV, n. [5] above.

[7] Nennius's preface to HB (ed. Lot, p. 146).

himself as just a *garrula avis*, a chattering bird, singing songs not his own. That may be true. (I am afraid that it *is* true.) Nevertheless, it seems rather ungrateful on our part to stress the poverty of his library, and the contradictions and incoherences of the little volume he produced with such toil and labour. He has preserved for us the earliest traditions of the Britons, in so far as they were available to him in a North Wales monastery at the end of the eighth century.⁸ Let us bless him for that. His extracts, luckily, are from documents dating from a much earlier period than 796, and they have provided the historian with much valuable information. We could have done with a few more garrulous birds of his type.

In chapter 14 he tells us that the sons of *Liethan* (an Irish tribe) had taken possession of Dyfed (Pembrokeshire, South Wales) and other districts as well, in Gower and Cidweli, until they were expelled by Cunedda and his sons from all British territory. Who this Cunedda was we are told in Chapter 62, after a reference to Maelgwn, the great king of Gwynedd in North Wales, during the first half of the sixth century: 'His ancestor (*atavus*) Cunedda (*Cunedag*) with his eight sons had come here from the North, from the region known as Manaw Gododdin (*Guotodin*) 146 years previous to Maelgwn's reign, and they expelled the Irish from those regions with great slaughter.' In a Chronicle usually known as *Annales Cambriae*, which is preserved in Harley MS. 3859,⁹ immediately following the best copy of Nennius's *Historia*, Maelgwn's death is noted under the year 547. We don't know when he began to rule over Gwynedd, and so must subtract 146 from this 547, which gives us 401, and then suggest *circa* 380 as a possible date for the coming of Cunedda.

Such a guess, alas, is not strongly supported by the early pedigrees. In the tenth-century collection in Harley MS. 3859, the royal line of

[8] The 'Elvodugus', of whom Nennius claims in his preface to be the disciple, has been identified with the *Elboddg(u)* or *Elfoddw*, *archiepiscopus Guenedote regionis*, who died in 809 A.C. It is therefore a reasonable guess that he and his 'disciple' were both associated with the cathedral church of Bangor in Arfon; see SEBC p. 44.

[9] *Harleian MS.* 3859, written *circa* 1100, contains the early text of AC, combined with the early Welsh dynastic genealogies and Nennius's recension of HB. The annals and the genealogies were edited by Phillimore, Cy. ix, 141 ff., and again by A. W. Wade-Evans, *Nennius's History of the Britons* (SPCK, 1938), pp. 84–114. Phillimore showed that these documents were brought together in the mid-tenth century, perhaps at St David's. The most convenient edn. of the genealogies is now EWGT. See further LHEB, p. 56; H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* 1 (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 140 ff.

Hywel Dda is traced back to *Maelgwn* son of Cadwallon Lawhir, son of Einion Yrth, son of *Cunedda* and on and on to Anna, the cousin of the Virgin Mary.¹⁰ We will not go quite so far. Our present problem is ample for tonight. Are the three generations of Maelgwn, Cadwallon and Einion sufficient to fill the gap between A.D. 380 and 547, between the coming of Cunedda (with eight warrior sons) to Wales and the death of Maelgwn his great-grandson? The pedigree, being official, may be accepted as correct, and even in the Wales of long ago warrior princes sometimes managed to keep alive for quite a time. But I must confess to having doubts about the Nennian figure of 146 years. Nennius used Roman numerals, and they were easily mis-copied, as is well known. I think that cxlvi (or cxlui with a square *u* not *v*) might well be a scribal error for cxuii (117) or even cxiiii (114). If either of these figures were substituted for 146, there would be no need to overstretch the generations between Cunedda and Maelgwn, and the coming of Cunedda could be roughly dated between A.D. 400 and A.D. 410.¹¹

Without wasting more time on the exact figure, we can say that the latest stage of the Roman occupation seems likely to fit the Irish settlements in Wales. Raiding operations are a different matter, but the settlement of Dyfed¹² in South Wales and of the peninsula of Lleyn in

[10] *Harl. Gen.* no. 1; EWGT p. 9.

[11] The date of Cunedda's migration from Manaw Gododdin to North Wales is extremely uncertain, and cannot be determined on the basis of Nennius's reckoning—which in any case has presumably been incorrectly transmitted, though it is by no means clear how his figure of 'cxlvi years' should be emended. The two intervening names which are all that the genealogy gives between Cunedda and Maelgwn are insufficient to span the gap of 146 years, especially since other indications suggest that Cunedda was advanced in years when the expedition took place. Since IW wrote this paper, opinion has tended to favour a slightly later date for the migration, following the view put forward by H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland* (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 4 n., 148, that it 'can hardly have taken place before 450'. P. Hunter-Blair puts it 'towards the middle of the fifth century', *The Origins of Northumbria* (Newcastle, 1947), p. 36; see also Jackson, 'The Britons in Southern Scotland', *Antiquity* xxix (1955), 79–80; SEBC pp. 34–5. The argument is that the Irish are not likely to have established themselves in North Wales in any strength until some years had elapsed after the Roman garrison had withdrawn in 383, and according to a triad, TYP no. 62, Cunedda's grandson (and Maelgwn's father) Cadwallon Lawhir was still engaged in fighting with them in Anglesey *circa* 500, see TYP p. 168. The evidence points therefore to the first half of the fifth century for the migration, but it is impossible to be more precise.

[12] The dynasty which ruled Dyfed down to the tenth century was of Irish origin, being sprung from the tribe of the *Deisi*, who had emigrated from Co. Waterford in the third or fourth century. They seem to have maintained a connexion with their parent stock at least as late as the eighth century, down to which date the names of the kings of Dyfed

Caernarvonshire¹³ (so named from the *Lagin* of Leinster), alike testify to these Irish migrations in force, and suggest a serious weakening of the Roman power in Britain.

On the other hand, the transfer of a part of the Gododdin tribe from Manaw Gododdin near Edinburgh (where the Gaelic or Irish form corresponding to British *Manaw* survives as *Manann*, Mannan, in *Clackmannan* and *Slamannan*), a border district, where they formed the advanced defence on the East against the Picts and Scots, and moving them in a body down to Wales—such a transfer obviously calls for a central power to direct and order it. Chadwick's theory that this central power may have been Vortigern or Coel Hen does not appeal to me at all.¹⁴ Nothing is known of Coel, and too much is known of Vortigern's genius for doing the wrong thing.¹⁵ Cunedda has a Welsh name, meaning 'good chief',¹⁶ but his father, grandfather and great-grandfather bore Latin names (*Eternus*, *Paternus*, *Tacitus*), as did three of his sons.¹⁷ His father was a Romanised Briton, but he gave his son a British name,¹⁸ a sign that the Roman element was weakening, and the British element growing more and more conscious of itself. Cunedda marched south to Wales leading troops armed and trained to

listed in *Harl. Gen.* 1 can be matched by the names given in the Irish tract *The Expulsion of the Deisi* (EWGT pp. 4–8 and n. p. 124; *Cy.* xiv (1901), 104–35; *Ériu* III (1907), 135–42). For the Irish in Dyfed, cf. chapter 1 n. [26] above, and HW pp. 97–8.

[13] *Llëyn* (di-syllabic) developed from **Legyn* < **Legin* < **Lageni*, which in Irish gave *Laignean* 'Leinster'. J. Lloyd-Jones remarks 'It is impossible to doubt that Irishmen from Leinster occupied Lleyn over a long period', *Enwau Lleoedd Sir Gaernarfon* (Cardiff, 1928), p. 6. Cf. T. F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin, 1946), pp. 113–14, n.

[14] H. M. Chadwick, *Early Scotland*, pp. 148–9, followed by P. Hunter-Blair, *The Origins of Northumbria*, pp. 46–8, suggest that Coel may have been based on York, and may have been directly responsible for bringing the Saxons to North Britain. The derivation of *Coel* from *Caelius* advocated by these writers has been rejected by Jackson, on the grounds that Latin *-ae-* did not give Welsh *-oe-* (LHEB pp. 335–6; 'The Britons in Southern Scotland', p. 80). On Coel's epithet *Godebauc*, see chapter 1 above, n. 25.

[15] For an important recent discussion of the role of Vortigern (W. *Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau*) see D. W. Kirby, 'Vortigern', B xxiii, 37–59. On the Welsh traditions of Gwrtheyrn see IW 'Hen Chwedlau', *Cymm. Trans.* (1946), 44–55; TYP pp. 392–6.

[16] Cunedda < **Couno-dagos* (*Tal.* 92 n.; TYP p. 312). The form *Cunedag* of HB chapter 62 is archaic and 'not likely to be later than the middle of the eighth century at latest, very probably earlier' according to Jackson, CS p. 30.

[17] *Harl. Gen.* 1 (EWGT p. 9) gives *Eniaun girt map Cunedda map Aetern map Patern pesrut* ('red tunic') *map Tacit*. The names of Cunedda's nine sons are listed in *Harl. Gen.* no. 32 (EWGT p. 13); of these Rumaun (< *Romanus*), Dunaut (< *Donatus*) and Etern (< *Aeternus*) are the ones here referred to.

[18] O.W. *En(n)iaun Girt* > Ml.W. *Einiawn Yrth*. The epithet *Gyrth* means 'harsh, fierce, strong' (G).

fight in the Roman manner. Their language however was not Latin but British. They drove out the Irish,¹⁹ settled down, and in due course their language, Late British or Early Welsh, spread over the whole of the country. Cunedda gave us a Welsh royal family, a Cymric dynasty;²⁰ and for 900 years his descendants ruled in various parts of Wales.

Leaving history for literature, here too I find that we are much indebted to the Men of the North. One of Nennius's sources was a tract giving the genealogies of the early Saxon kings. Amongst them is that of Ida who ruled for twelve years in Northumbria (547–59).²¹ Then follows the most important Nennian comment of all, at any rate for the student of early Welsh literature: 'At that time Talhaearn Tad Awen was famous in poetry. Also Neirin, Taliesin, Bluchbardd, and Cian called Gweinth Gwawd, were famous together at the same time in British poetry.'²² *Neirin* is the poet whose name later on developed an *A* before the initial *N* and became *Aneirin*. Much later still a pedantic misspelling *Aneurin* became current. In a manuscript dated 1250 known as the *Book of Aneirin*, a long Welsh epic poem has been preserved, called the *Gododdin*, and is said to be by Aneirin. In my arrangement of it, there are 1,275 lines, divided into 103 stanzas.²³ Of these there are variants, usually in a much earlier orthography, of 22 stanzas.²⁴ For

[19] With the allusion to Cunedda's expulsion of the Irish from North Wales (quoted above, p. 73) cf. the triad TYP no. 62 *Tri hualhogion deulu* which refers to the fighting between Cunedda's grandson Cadwallon Lawhir and the Irish in Anglesey; and HB chapter 14 which similarly records the 'expulsion' of the Irish from Dyfed by Cunedda's sons. Cf. also n. [12] above.

[20] I.e. the royal line of Gwynedd; the dynasty of Maelgwn, Cadwallon, and Cadwaladr, of Rhodri Mawr (by the distaff), and of the two Llywelyns. The territories ruled over by Llywelyn's 'sons' (or perhaps his military commanders?) and by the dynasties founded by them, are claimed to have extended from the Dee to the Teifi. See HW pp. 117–18; TYP p. 313; Chadwick, *Early Scotland*, pp. 147 ff.

[21] These are the traditional dates, as based upon the *Moore Memoranda*. But see chapter v above, n. 10: according to the revised dating proposed by Dr Kirby, Ida would have reigned 558–70.

[22] Cf. chapter IV, p. 43 above, and n. [7]; chapter v, p. 52, chapter VIII, p. 122.

[23] This is the arrangement as given in CA. At an earlier date before the edition was completed, IW gave a larger estimate of the number of lines (chapter v, p. 51 above). In the interval he evidently decided on a longer line-length in a number of the *awdlau*; and this, as he explained, is entirely a matter of choice. The metrical unit may frequently be taken as composed of a half-line of four to five syllables, or alternatively as a combination of two such halves. In the arrangement of the poems in PT, IW preferred the longer line-length of nine to ten syllables to the shorter one which is exemplified in the first stanza of the *Gododdin*, and the reason for his choice is explained in the introduction, PT p. lxiii. The metrical unit is the same in both instances.

[24] See chapter IV, p. 46 and n. [16].

various reasons I have been compelled to reject outright four of these;²⁵ probably several others ought to be excluded. Close on 1,000 lines remain, after rejects and repetitions have been omitted. Their theme is a valiant but vain attempt by the bodyguard of Mynyddawg, lord of Dineiddyn (Edinburgh)²⁶ to recapture Catraeth (Catterick, or Richmond)²⁷ in Yorkshire from the men of Northumbria (Deira and Bernicia), just before A.D. 600, or soon after. This royal war-band or *retinue* numbered 300 men.²⁸ All perished except one.²⁹ The poet sings to the individual warriors in turn, though occasionally a full stanza is devoted to the host, the noble three hundred, the pattern for every *retinue*, serving their lord faithfully, loyally, to the bitter end. He gave them mead: they paid him for it with their lives. Aneirin, however, preferred to praise one warrior at a time. They were his kinsmen, his comrades, and he knew each one intimately.³⁰ Evidently this sixth-century poet, Aneirin, was himself one of the *Gododdin* tribe, a native of the Edinburgh district, the *Manaw Gododdin*,³¹ from which Cunedda had set forth two centuries earlier to deliver the Cymry of Wales from their enemies.

The *Gododdin* poem (or series of poems) was preserved at first by oral tradition in the halls of British chieftains; our 1250 text, however, shows clear traces of a written version, which can be dated in the

[25] On the 'interpolations' in the text of the *Gododdin*, see chapter v, p. 63 above; OSPG pp. 46–51.

[26] See chapter v, p. 64 above, and n. 58; and cf. TYP pp. 467–9 on *Mynyddawg (Eidyn)*.

[27] On the site of the battle of Catraeth see chapter v above, n. [30].

[28] For the ambiguity in the text with regard to the number of Mynyddawg's war-band, see chapter v, pp. 66–7 above, and n. [75].

[29] According to the poem, Cynon fab Clydno was the sole survivor of the war-band; cf. chapter v, n. [76].

[30] Cf. IW's remarks in LEWP p. 69, 'Each stanza (stresses) some characteristic quality or outstanding achievement. One fought a wolf with bare hands. Another always rode bay horses. One was generous to churches and to minstrels. As for another, though his father was not a king, yet his words were always listened to at every council. One was the poet's staunch friend. Another was courteous and kind, loved by everybody. But all had one virtue in common, loyalty to their lord: they deserved their mead.'

[31] In CS p. 31, OSPG pp. 71–5, Jackson has argued that this name is to be interpreted as 'Manaw of the *Gododdin*', to distinguish it from the other Manaw (the Isle of Man), and that the name refers specifically to the northern part of the *Gododdin* kingdom, round Stirling and the north shore of the Forth, clearly marked as *Manau* on IW's map, CA p. xvii. He makes the point that Aneirin always calls the kingdom by its full name, *Gododdin*. The combination *Manaw Gododdin* (in O.W. *Manau Guotodin*) occurs nowhere else but in the one instance in HB chapter 63.

eighth or ninth centuries by a comparison with the forms and orthography of Old Welsh glosses found in Latin manuscripts of those centuries.³² In early Welsh manuscripts too, references occur to bardic contests where the prize went to the one who could recite more than his fellows of what was even then called the Old Poetry (*Hengerdd*). Marks (!) were given for every stanza of the *Gododdin*,³³ as one would expect. A significant rubric in the *Book of Aneirin* must be quoted here: 'No bard should go to a contest without this song any more than a warrior should go to battle without weapons.'³⁴ But where did the competitor learn to say his piece? Did he learn it from his own bardic teacher? Or by poring over an ancient vellum manuscript, dim with age, and much handling by generations of pupils? Or by frequent listening to bards competing in earlier contests? Or by all three methods? One can well believe that in the course of more than six centuries of such oral transmission, the text may have changed considerably. Old Welsh forms would be gradually modernised, and obsolete words replaced by later terms, sometimes to the detriment of metre and consonance. A study of the variant versions of *Gododdin* stanzas provides plenty of instances of such changes. The written text too would suffer at the hands of blundering copyists. Scribes sometimes misread the original: sometimes they incorporated in the text comments from the margin, or poems by other authors added on blank pages in the old manuscripts they were copying. The prolific family of scribal errors in all its branches has many representatives in the pages of the *Book of Aneirin*.³⁵

This brings me to stanza lxxix, on page 20 of the manuscript with a variant on page 23 in another hand.³⁶ The first version (*A*) runs as follows:

Gweleis y dull o benn tir adoyrn.
Aberth am goelkerth a disgynnyn.
gweleis oed kenevin ar dref redegein.
a gwyr nwythyon ry gollessyn.
gweleis gwyr dullyawr gan awr adevyn
aphenn dyvynwal a breych brein ae cnoyn.

[32] See chapter iv, p. 46 and n. [15].

[33] See chapter v, p. 60 and cf. notes [40], [41].

[34] Cf. chapter v, p. 60 and n. [39] on this passage in the *Book of Aneirin*

[35] See chapter v, pp. 60, 62 above, and n. [51].

[36] On the two hands in the *Book of Aneirin* who wrote the *A* and *B* texts, see chapter iv, p. 46 above; *CA* p. xiii; *OSPG* pp. 41 ff.

And this is the *B* version:

Gueleys y dull o bentir a doyn
a berthach coel kerth a emdygyn.
Gueleys y deu oc eu tre re ry gwydyn.
o eir nwython ry godessyn.
Gueleys y wyr tylluavr gan wavr a doyn
a phên dyuynwal vrych brein ae knoyn.³⁷

I wish we had many more to help us to discover what the original text was like, for though this six-line stanza is an obvious intruder in the *Gododdin*, it has a special interest of its own for us tonight: in my opinion it is a fragment of a poem by a Strathclyde or Cumberland poet in A.D. 642. In metre and diction it resembles the *Gododdin* songs; that is why a scribe incorporated it in the *Gododdin*, rejoicing much, we may be sure, that he had discovered a stray sheep from that fold. He failed to see that the subject matter had no connexion at all with the theme of the *Gododdin*, the battle for Catraeth, but with another battle, a generation later. In the year 642 (641, in the *Annals of Ulster*) Domnall Brecc, king of Dalriada in the Argyll region of Scotland, was killed in the battle of Srath Caruin (probably the valley of the Carron in Stirlingshire) by Hoan, king of the Britons of Strathclyde.³⁸ Domnall equates with *Dyfnwal* in Welsh: and *brecc* is the cognate of our *brych* 'freckled'. The stanza can be read as three couplets, each beginning with *Gweleis* 'I saw'. The first line is easy, 'I saw a host coming from *penn tir*' or 'from Pentir'. *Penn* 'head' is *cenn* in Old Irish; *tir* 'land', is common to both Welsh and Irish. As a compound, *pentir* means 'headland, promontory'; here it may well be the promontory known as *Kintyre*, *Cantyre*, in Domnall Brecc's territory. Omitting the second couplet for a moment, and combining the readings of *A* and

[37] *CA* stanzas lxxix *A* and *B*. This interpolated fragment from a poem which refers to the death of Dyfnwal Vrych, king of Scottish Dal Riada, is discussed by Jackson, *OSPG* pp. 47-8, 98. It evidently belongs to a bardic panegyric on Owain fab Beli, king of Strathclyde (listed in *Harl. Gen.* x as *Eugein map Beli*). The undoubted interest and significance of this stanza is that it provides evidence for the continuation of poetry composed in the style of the *Gododdin* poem in still-independent Strathclyde not long after the fall of the *Gododdin* kingdom itself.

[38] Domnall Brecc was killed by Owain fab Beli (= *Hoan*) king of the Britons of Strathclyde at the Battle of Strathcarron, near Falkirk in Stirlingshire, in the year 642 or 643. 'Domnall Brecc was apparently attempting to hold southern Manaw (which his grandfather may have subjugated) not against the Northumbrians, but against the Britons', A. O. and M. O. Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (Edinburgh, 1961), p. 49.

B, I read: 'I saw mighty warriors (B; arrayed for battle, A) coming with the dawn (B; with a battle cry, A) and the head of Dyfnwal Vrych, the ravens devoured (B; the head and arm of Dyfnwal, A).' The A scribe had never heard of Dyfnwal the Freckled, *brych*; so he changed the adjective to the noun *breich* 'arm': B preserves the original reading without a doubt. The reference to the victory over Domnall Brecc in 642 is clear, and the *Gweleis* 'I saw' thrice repeated, suggests a Strathclyde warrior-bard as the author, one who saw³⁹ with his own eyes the victory of the Britons of the North. This is just a scrap of his song of triumph, a poor copy, alas, even of that. But what we have shows that the poets of Strathclyde in the West and those of the Gododdin in the East made use of the same poetic forms and conventions.

I have already had cause to mention the tenth-century collection of early pedigrees tacked on to the *Annales Cambriae* in Harley MS 3859. Professor Loth has shown that Pedigree v⁴⁰ is a Strathclyde royal pedigree, and that the *Eugein* (Old Welsh for later *Ewein*, *Owain*, now *Owen*) son of *Beli* son of *Neithon* in it must be the *Hoan* of the Irish annals. This *Owen* was the grandson of *Neithon*: version A, line 4, has a *gywr nwythyon* 'and the men of Nwythion'; B, *o eir nwython* 'by the word of Nwythion'. If we amend to *ac ŵyr Neithon* 'and the grandson of N.' *ry godessyn* will give a good sense as the past tense third plural of *coddi* 'to offend, to anger',⁴¹ and the whole line will run 'with the

[39] The formula *gweleis* 'I saw' occurs with significant frequency in early Welsh poetry; see Idris Foster 'Rhai Sylwadau ar yr Hengerdd', *Ysgrifau Beirniadol* V, ed. J. E. Caerwyn Williams (Denbigh, 1970), pp. 21-3. Professor Foster cites a number of instances from the oldest poetry, and also from the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Court poets. He compares the recurrent formulas *atchiu* and *atcondarc* 'I see' and 'I have seen' in early Irish sources, where these frequently introduce prophetic statements attributed to characters in the tales. He compares Proinsias mac Cana's remark (*Celtica* VII, 81) that 'the verbal form *atchiu* in particular is redolent of prophecy and may well have been the first word spoken by the seer in his divinatory trance'. Whatever the original mantic function of these and other comparable formulas (*co cloth ni* is here compared with Welsh *kigleu*, as in PT I, 24), they developed similarly in both languages as recurrent devices in the poetic diction of the bards.

[40] For *Harl. Gen.* v see EWGT p. 10, and n. p. 126. This pedigree does not occur in any other source. It lists the kings of Strathclyde down to the ninth century. 'The pedigree of the royal family of Strathclyde, which is much longer than all the others, is almost certainly a genuine family tradition from the start, handed on by the royal bards; it can be checked at various points from reliable historical sources', K. Jackson, *Antiquity* XXIX, 79; *ibid.* 'Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria', *O'Donnell Lectures* (Cardiff, 1963), p. 62.

[41] IW emphasises that this interpretation is purely conjectural. Owing to the normal ambiguity of the value of medial *-d-* in ML Welsh manuscripts, *ry godessyn* can

grandson of N. they were wroth'. I suggest this rendering, as a possibility only. When one has to deal with a text where an adjective is twisted into an arm⁴² there is always a temptation to emend and amend very freely indeed! Pedigree XVI begins with the name *Run map neithon*.⁴³ Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions a *Rhun* son of *Nwythion*.⁴⁴ There is however a son of *Nwythion* in another stanza of the *Gododdin*,⁴⁵ so it is somewhat risky to assume the identity of *Nwythion* and *Neithon* everywhere. Let us flee from temptation.

Why was this Cumbrian pedigree included in the Harley MS. collection? Probably to amplify and explain certain entries in the preceding *Annales*,⁴⁶ where we find under the year 722, *Beli filius elfin moritur*: and under 760, *Dumnagual filii teudubr moritur*. No further details are given under these years to show who these notables were when they were alive. Pedigree v gives both in their proper setting, and sequence: it starts with *Run map Arthgal* (killed in 872),⁴⁷ and then follow these names, *Dumnagual m. Riderch m. Eugein m. Dumnagual m. Teudebur m. Beli m. Elfin m. Eugein m. Beli m. Neithon* and so on to *Ceritic guletic* and beyond.

To return to Nennius. Besides *Aneirin*, he also mentioned *Taliesin*, as one of the sixth-century Welsh bards. In Chapter 63,⁴⁸ he states that four kings fought against *Hussa* son of *Ida*, namely *Urbgen*, *Riderch Hen*, *Guallauc* and *Morcant*. *Urbgen* and his sons also

equally well represent the 3rd pl. pluperfect of either of two verbs—*coddi* 'to offend, anger, rebuke' or *codi* 'to arise'. Jackson prefers the second (OSPG pp. 98-9), and suggests that the line should read a *gywr wyr Nwyth(y)on ry godessyn* 'and the men of the grandson of Nwythion had arisen'—giving a line of the normal length of nine syllables.

[42] I.e. following the evident corruption of the B text (above), *dyvynwal a breych* (*braich* 'arm').

[43] EWGT p. 11.

[44] *Historia Regum Britanniae* IX, 12 (trans. Lewis Thorpe, *Penguin Classics* 227, *Run map Neton*), BD p. 158 *Run uab Noython*, RBB p. 200, *Run uab Nwythion*. It may be pointed out that Geoffrey of Monmouth's source for this and many of the other names in this passage was a document giving a text closely resembling the genealogies in *Harl. MS.* 3859—if it was not this very manuscript. See article by Stuart Piggott, *Antiquity* xv (1941),

[45] CA line 1207.

[269.

[46] I.e. the oldest text of AC, contained in the same manuscript, *Harl.* 3859. See n. 9 above.

47 J. Loth, 'Une Généalogie des Rois de Strathclut' (RC XLVII, 177) refers to the assassination of *Arthgal* in 872, according to the *Annals of Ulster*. [*Rhun* married the daughter of *Kenneth mac Alpine* of the Scots, and their son *Eochaidh* (who ruled 878-89) is the last member of this dynasty whose descent can be traced (see K. Jackson, 'The Britons in Southern Scotland', *Antiquity* XXIX, 85).]

[48] On this passage in HB, and on the chronology of the Northumbrian kings here referred to, see chapter v, p. 52 above, and n. [10].

fought valiantly against Deodric or Theoderic, son of Ida. Lloyd gives these dates for Theoderic, 572–9, and 585–92 for Hussa. In the Welsh manuscript called the *Book of Taliesin* (written circa 1275), amongst later material, a dozen early poems have been preserved, mainly songs in praise of Urien (the later form of *Urbgen* in Welsh) and his son, Owain; also of Gwallawg. The latter is placed by Taliesin in Elfed,⁴⁹ the district near Leeds where the name lives on in its early form *Elmet*.⁵⁰ Urien was lord of Catraeth (Richmond–Catterick) and other regions as well, the most important being Rheged. That is why he is called Urien Rheged in our old sagas.

The location of this Rheged has long been the subject of discussion and debate. Possibly the name survives in *Dún Raggit* in Galloway (cf. the *Dún Reichet* of the Calendar of Oengus).⁵¹ Chadwick⁵² sees it too in the *Roch* of Rochdale, the *Recedham* of Domesday Book. Ekwall,⁵³ however, hesitates between Old English *reced* ‘hall, house’, and a British compound of *rac* ‘in front of’ and *coet* ‘wood’: he gives *Rached* as the original form of the river-name: with *Rached-dale* developing into Rochdale. My criticism of this is that Rochdale is too far from the sea: in the *Book of Taliesin*⁵⁴ occurs the phrase *tra merin reget* ‘beyond the sea of Rheged’ which should be compared with *tra merin Iodeo* in the *Gododdin*.⁵⁵ Iodeo is the British name of Inchkeith in the Firth of Forth,⁵⁶ and hence I am emboldened to offer you that *Merin*

[49] PT XII (BT 63) is an elegy to Gwallawg. Line 21 reads *a eninat* (= *a enwat*?) *yn ygnat ac (ar?) eluet*? ‘who was named a judge over Elmet’. Other interpretations are possible for the first word (see n.), but the reading of *ygnat* and of *eluet* is perfectly clear. *Ygnad* (*ynad*) can have the meaning of ‘elder, magistrate’ as well as of ‘judge’. IW interprets this reference as meaning that Gwallawg held authority in Elmet—an interpretation which would gain some confirmation if the *Ceredig ap Gwallawg* named in Triad 41 (see TYP 308) could be certainly identified with the ruler Certic expelled from Elmet by Edwin—but since *Ceredig* is not an uncommon name, this can only remain conjectural. In accepting the association of Gwallawg with Elmet, I. Ll. Foster (PEW p. 228) compares with the title *ygnat* the *magistratus* of the Penmachno inscription (see chapter 1, p. 13 above). Cf. TYP p. 375, and for a different view, Jackson in OSPG p. 24 n. 3; CS p. 31 n.

[50] I.e. in the Yorkshire place-names Shirburn-in-Elmet and Barwick-in-Elmet; Bede’s *silva Elmete* (HE II, 14). See A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, IV (*English Place-Name Society*, XXXIII; Cambridge, 1961), 1–3.

[51] *Féilire Oengusso Céli Dé*, ed. W. Stokes (*Henry Bradshaw Society*, London, 1905), p. 246, line 14. Cf. PT p. xl; W. J. Watson, *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), p. 156.

[52] ES p. 144.

[53] *Dictionary of English Place-Names* (London, 1947), p. 371; (2nd edn 1960, p. 371).

[54] BT p. 78, line 15.

[55] CA line 1209.

[56] There can be no doubt that *merin Iodeo* refers to the Firth of Forth. In PT p. xli, IW renews his identification of the fortress of Iodeo with the island of Inchkeith in the

can mean ‘arm of the sea, firth’, and that *Merin Rheged* is the British name of the Solway Firth. The district *Rheged* must therefore, if I am correct, be sought for near the Solway Firth.⁵⁷

In the twelfth century a Welsh prince, Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, who was also an accomplished poet, was exiled, and rode northwards: who or what drove him from his native land we are not told, but in the best known of all his songs he complains of the long journey to Carlisle, which he calls *Caer Lliwelydd*. ‘Lord of Heaven and Earth’, he sang, ‘how far from Ceri is *Caer Lliwelydd*? I rode my yellow charger day and night all the way from Maelienydd to the land of *Rheged*’. This shows that to Welshmen of the twelfth century Rheged was a district near Carlisle.⁵⁸

Forth (cf. *urbs iudeu* HB p. 64; *urbs Giudi* HE I, 12). A more recent opinion identifies *Iudeu*, *Iodeo* with Stirling. This view was first put forward by Angus Graham, *Antiquity* XXXIII (1959), 63 ff., and it has since received strong support from K. Jackson, CS pp. 36–8; OSPG pp. 6, 72 n. As Jackson points out in CS, the difficulty about the identification with Inchkeith is that there is no trace there of the remains of any early fortified stronghold; whereas ‘in the Middle Ages Stirling was a fortified hill-top town of the greatest strategic importance’, and it is reasonable to suppose that the medieval castle was built upon the site of an earlier fortification (*urbs*) which was obliterated by it, as is believed to have happened in the comparable instance of Edinburgh Castle. (The editor recalls a broadcast talk in which IW described how he walked down Princes Street, and looked up at the Castle, believing it to be the site of Mynyddawg’s fortress.)

[57] In PT pp. xxxviii ff. IW enlarges further on his belief that the heart of the kingdom of Rheged lay around the Solway estuary, and the valley of the river Eden in Cumberland and Westmorland. (If this were so, it would be reasonable to conjecture that Urien’s capital could have been at Carlisle.) This view gained additional support from his detection of a reference to the river Eden in the textually corrupt line PT II, 21, where he interpreted the words *kywym don* as representing *rywin Idon* ‘the excessive wine of the Idon’ (Ptolemy’s *Itonna* gives the river-name in its archaic form which developed regularly in Welsh as *Idon*); see n. Another clue which points in the same direction was his identification of Taliesin’s *Llwyfenydd* with the river *Lyvennet* which flows into the Eden, PT p. xlv. This view as to the locality of Rheged seems now to be generally accepted—though the actual boundaries of Urien’s kingdom must remain extremely uncertain. See K. Jackson, *Antiquity* XXIX, 82; TYP p. 518, and the Ordnance Survey *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages*. Earlier opinions as to the locality of Rheged are summarised by Morris-Jones, *Tal.* 64–5 (quoted PT pp. xxxviii–xxxix). The internal evidence of the Taliesin poems—where Urien is called ‘ruler of Catraeth’—imply that his authority in some form must have extended as far afield as to include Catterick, though IW doubts (*loc. cit.*) that this outlying area could properly have been included within the bounds of Rheged. To the north-west, however, Rheged could well have reached as far north as to include Dunragit near Stranraer in Galloway, as is indicated here. See also n. [59] below.

[58] For the poem, see H p. 316; and translation by J. Lloyd-Jones, ‘The Court Poets of the Welsh Princes’, PBA (1948), pp. 22–3; A. Conran, *The Penguin Book of Welsh Verse*, pp. 108–9. The lines here referred to are quoted PT p. xxxix. The geographical implications of the passage were first shown by J. Morris-Jones, *Tal.* pp. 66–7; ‘Ceri’ is a commote situated in Maelienydd (Radnorshire), just as ‘Caer

To me, the name recalls tribal names ending in *-et* (later *-ed*) like *Dyfed* in South Wales from *Demetae*: the stem is *rheg*, a word of frequent occurrence in our old poetry as you would expect, for it means 'a gift'. Rheged as a tribal name could be explained as the 'Givers of gifts', the generous ones.⁵⁹ In literary Welsh we use the compound *anrheg* for a gift or present, never the simple noun *rheg*. The reason, I take it, is that *rheg* in Modern Welsh means 'curse', and *rhegi* is the usual term for swearing. How has this come about? My guess is that the intermediate stage was the use of *rhegi* in the sense of consigning the offender to the devil, in St Paul's words in First Corinthians, *delivering him unto Satan! Making a present of him to the Evil One!*

One of Urien's allies was Rhydderch Hen,⁶⁰ or 'the Old', the Rhydderch ap Tudwal who ruled at Alclud, Dumbarton, a friend of the Irish saint Columba. Of him I must beg your leave to quote Sir John Lloyd's exact words: 'He had many enemies of whom he stood in daily fear, and in his anxiety sent a private message to the prophet of Iona to know whether he was destined to fall by their hands. Columba's answer was that he would escape all their wiles, and die in his own house, *reposing on his couch of feathers*, a prophecy which, according to Adamnan, was literally fulfilled.'⁶¹ This Rhydderch is called Rhydderch *Hael* in Welsh legend, or 'the Generous'.⁶² Perhaps he cheered up after hearing the good news from the Saint—and kept away from that feather-bed as long as he could.

I put the Battle of Catraeth about A.D. 600. Sometime round 615 Ethelfrith of Northumbria attacked and defeated the Britons at Chester.⁶³ This fight was preceded by the massacre of the 2,000 British

Lliwelydd* (Carlisle) is in Rheged; and by riding both night and day, the poet made a swift journey from the one to the other.

[59] In a review of B. G. Charles, *Old Norse Relations with Wales* (Cardiff, 1934), published in *Arch. Cam.* LXXXIX, 348–50, IW convincingly disposes of the case for the localization of Rheged in south Wales, a location which was originally proposed by Iolo Morganwg, and was subsequently perpetuated by Peredur Jones, *Cy.* xxxv, 117–56. He showed that *Rheged* in certain place-names (notably *Hewl Reged*, *Llandeilo*, *Carms.*) is a dialectal metathesis of *rhedeg* 'to run'. This ambiguity may well have led to the original confusion.

[60] TYP pp. 504–5.

[61] HW p. 166; A. O. and M. O. Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (Edinburgh, 1961), p. 238.

[62] TYP triads nos. 2, 43, 54.

[63] AC ann. 613 (= 616) *Gueith Cair-legion* (the Battle of Chester). On this battle see HW p. 181, CS pp. 167 ff., and on the Welsh traditions of the battle, TYP pp. 163–5. F. M. Stenton (*Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford, 1947) points out that there is nothing in Bede's account of the battle (HE II, 2) to suggest that he regarded it as a turning-point in history, and P. Hunter-Blair characterises it as 'no more than a passing raid into Welsh

monks of Bangor-on-Dee. To some historians the defeat at Chester marks the separation of the Cymry of Wales from the Cymry of Cumberland. Others maintain that Ethelfrith's losses were so heavy that he had to retire northwards forthwith.

Then comes Edwin, who conquered the now isolated little British kingdom of *Elmet* round Leeds,⁶⁴ advanced south, invaded North Wales, and over-ran Anglesey, where he had once found refuge as an exile.⁶⁵ According to the Welsh Triads he was one of the three oppressors of Anglesey, who were nurtured within the island itself.⁶⁶

It was now the turn of the Welsh to produce a great warrior in Cadwallon, king of Gwynedd (mainly Anglesey and Caernarvonshire). He was a descendant of Cunedda, the deliverer of Wales from the Irish invaders, and in his thirst for vengeance on Edwin he planned and attempted what may be called the march of Cunedda in reverse, nothing less than that the men of North Wales should advance northwards, and repay the kinsmen of Cunedda by driving out their enemies, the Northumbrians, from all the lands between the Humber and Edinburgh. It was a scheme on the grand scale! So in 632 he set out north, secured the help of a Mercian noble, Penda, engaged the army of Edwin and conquered it, killing Edwin and his son in the battle.⁶⁷ He then in Stenton's words 'set himself to a deliberate devastation of all Northumbria'.⁶⁸ A king of Deira and his army were destroyed. The ruler of Bernicia, a son of Ethelfrith, was put to death when he came to beg for peace, and Cadwallon had for a year or more his full revenge on Northumbria.⁶⁹ In the last weeks of 633, according to Stenton, or in 634 according to Lloyd, Oswald, another son of Ethelfrith, after a night march, attacked Cadwallon's camp near Hexham with a small army. Cadwallon was slain, and his host scattered. I now quote Stenton once more, 'Cadwallon was the only British king of historic times who overthrew an English dynasty, and the British peoples never found an equal leader.'⁷⁰

In a fragment of an early Welsh poem, preserved only in a late territory' (*Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge, 1956, p. 36); similarly Idris Foster, PEW p. 222.

[64] See p. 82 and n. 50 above.

[65] On Edwin in early Welsh tradition see HW pp. 182–3; TYP pp. 294, 339.

[66] TYP no. 26. The other two Great Oppressions (*prif ormes*) were an unknown 'Daronwy', and Palug's Cat.

[67] For the Welsh sources relating to Cadwallon see TYP pp. 293–6.

[68] *Op. cit.* p. 80.

[69] HE III, 1.

[70] *Op. cit.* p. 81.

copy,⁷¹ Cadwallon's prowess is praised in more extravagant terms. From what I can understand of this difficult text, the poet is celebrating the expulsion of the Northumbrians from North Wales, which must have preceded the counter-attack on the North. 'The foreigners have fled over the salt sea', he sings, referring probably to the Northumbrians driven out of Anglesey, 'and a multitude of them slain. The honour of the Cymry has been redeemed. Cadwallon's deeds will be remembered so long as heaven remains above the earth. Is there anything higher than thee', he asked his lord, 'except the sky and the stars?' I wonder how he improved on that one when news came later of the resounding victories in the North.

Throughout this poem, the Welsh are called *Cymry*—this is the earliest example known to me.⁷² Aneirin and the Taliesin of the historical poems used *Brython*.

Now for a change we will leave the warriors and turn to the saints. A few minutes earlier I mentioned Rhydderch Hen of Dumbarton, Urien's ally against the sons of Ida in the second half of the sixth century. He was the victor in a famous battle at *Arfderydd* (Arthuret, eight miles north of Carlisle) in the year 573.⁷³ His opponent was Gwenddoleu son of Ceidio,⁷⁴ whose name lives on in *Carwinley* (earlier *Karwindelhow*, *Carwanolow*) though Ekwall makes a hybrid of it. In early Welsh it would have been *Cair Gwendolow*.⁷⁵

Rhydderch invited St Kentigern to settle in his Strathclyde kingdom.

[71] *Moliant Cadwallon* was edited by IW in B VII, 23 ff., from two eighteenth-century copies, Panton MS. 55, and BM Add. MS. 14867. He drew attention to this important poem for the first time, and showed that its manuscript tradition can be traced back at least to the twelfth century. The corrupt state in which the text has been transmitted make the poem difficult to interpret and impossible to translate, but according to IW's belief it may be a contemporary eulogy to Cadwallon composed by one of the Cynfeirdd (? his bard Afan Ferddig). 'If it is genuine it was composed before Cadwallon was killed in 634, since it is evident that it is a living king to whom the poet is singing' are his words. On the poem see Idris Foster, PEW pp. 230-1; and TYP p. 294. See further B XXIII, 309 ff.

[72] On the origin of the name *Cymry* and the early instances of its occurrence see n. 4 above.

[73] TYP pp. 208-10, 379, and refs. there cited.

[74] W. F. Skene first identified the site of this battle with Arthuret, a mile south of Longtown in Cumberland, near which the Carwinelow burn falls into the river Esk. See his important article in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquities of Scotland* VI (1864), 91 ff., which records local traditions about the battle which were still in existence at that date.

[75] H. M. Chadwick pointed out (ES p. 143) that the old Roman fortress of *Castra Exploratorium*, situated near by at Netherby, would be a likely site for Gwenddoleu's stronghold.

This saint is our *Cyndeyrn*,⁷⁶ and is said to have been the son of Owain ab Urien. He may have been. I want him tonight, however, as a contact with Wales. He certainly travelled south and founded a monastery on the bank of the River Elwy where his fame attracted 965 disciples—so it is said.⁷⁷ Rhydderch recalled him to the North and Cyndeyrn established another monastery at Glasgow close to Dumbarton, Rhydderch's fortress. He left his favourite disciple, Asaph, in charge of the Llan on the Elwy, hence our *Llanelwy*, in English St Asaph.⁷⁸

His 'pet name' according to Jocelyn was *Munghu* (later *Mungo*) 'carissimus amicus'.⁷⁹ One could compare the Welsh *mwynghu* (*mwyn* 'gentle, kind', *cu* 'beloved, dear'). His mother, Tenyw, daughter of a king of *Lleuddin*, the Lothian district,⁸⁰ became Saint *Tenoc* (cf. Aed(d)an's pet-name, *Maedoc*)⁸¹ and is still remembered in Glasgow at St. *Enoch's*, the initial *t* in her name having merged with the final *t* in *Saint*!

Cyndeyrn was not the only saint with northern connexions who spent some time in Wales, or settled in Wales. Doged, Lleuddad, Eleri, Baglan, Dunawd, Pabo⁸² and others could be mentioned. Our patron saint himself, St David, was a descendant of Cunedda, a grandson or great-grandson⁸³—his pedigree varies in length in different manuscripts.

[76] TYP pp. 319-21. The statement that Owain ab Urien was the father of St Kentigern (Welsh *Cyndeyrn Garthwys*) is recorded in the genealogies of the saints, which date from the thirteenth century in manuscript, but incorporate much older traditions. *Bonedd y Saint* gives the saint's genealogy as follows: *Kyndeyrn garthwys mab Ewein mab Vryen a Denw verch Llewddwn luydawc o Dinas Eidyn yn y Gogledd y vam* 'Cyndeyrn Garthwys son of Owain ab Urien, and his mother (was) Denw daughter of Llewddwn Luyddog from the city of Edinburgh in the North'. Textual variants of this genealogy are listed in full, EWGT p. 56 (no. 14). But the nature of the document is such that, while it may preserve some genuine genealogical material, little credit should on the whole be placed upon the more illustrious descents claimed for the saints.

[77] In the twelfth-century *Life of St. Kentigern* by Jocelyn of Furness (ed. A. P. Forbes, *Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, Edinburgh, 1874).

[78] On the saint's alleged association with St Asaph's see K. Jackson, 'The Sources for the Life of St Kentigern', SEBC pp. 315-18, 339, and S. M. Harris, *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* VI, 5 ff., both of whom argue that the story is a twelfth-century fabrication.

[79] Forbes, *op. cit.* chapter IV, p. 169.

[80] See n. 76 above.

[81] *Maedoc* < *Mo-aid-oc* is listed as an Irish hypocoristic form of the name of St Aidan of Ferns by Baring-Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints* (London, 1907), I, 116.

[82] The 'genealogies' of all these saints are recorded in *Bonedd y Saint*; see index to EWGT.

[83] According to *Bonedd y Saint*: *Dewi mab Sant mab Kedic mab Keredic mab Cunedda Wledic* (EWGT p. 54; for other refs. see index).

THE BEGINNINGS OF WELSH POETRY

The road to Wales, however, was not a one-way street—the saints have always found it difficult to walk in the same direction—and Welsh saints occasionally travelled northwards. The most famous was Cadog⁸⁴ from South Wales: Cambuslang near Glasgow is dedicated to him.

I have no doubt about the worthiness and holiness of these early saints. They spoke the truth and preached the truth. But I find it hard to believe this of their biographers! They give us fairy tales far too often instead of sober fact. They crib from one another shamelessly and wholesale in their eagerness to enhance their own patron's glory above all and sundry. How one would appreciate a simple unadorned unrhetorical account of these men, and their heroic labours and suffering! That would surely be glory enough. The truth and nothing more. As it is we are left in almost complete ignorance about them.

In the past, contacts between Wales and the North were made and maintained by warriors and saints. In our day both classes have been merged into one, the antiquarians of Cumbria and Cambria, men and women eager to discover the truth about the lives of our common ancestors, searching for it in the débris of the wars of long ago, ruins of old forts and castles, walls and ditches, churches and monasteries, inscriptions and tattered vellum manuscripts. It is no wonder then that such a discipline has made it possible for you to listen with saintly patience and heroic endurance to these rough notes of mine.

[84] The life of this sixth-century saint, by Lifris of Llancarfan, was composed in the late eleventh century. Ed. and trans. by A. W. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogie* (Cardiff, 1944). See also SEBC p. 235 and *passim*; H. D. Emmanuel, *National Library of Wales Journal* VII (1951-2), 217-27.