

THE BRUT;  
OR  
CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN.

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<sup>1</sup> This Book is called <sup>2</sup> THE BRUT; that is to say, The History of the  
<sup>3</sup> Kings of Britain, from the first to the last.

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*Præfatory Epistle from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Robert,  
Earl of Gloucester.*

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HAVING, in the course of various reading and meditations, taken up the subject of the History of the Kings of Britain, I was much surprised to find that neither <sup>4</sup> Gildas, nor Bede, though they have written copiously concerning them, have taken any notice of those kings, who lived before the incarnation of Our Lord, or even of Arthur; or many more, who succeeded since that event; although their actions certainly merit eternal celebrity, and are by many

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<sup>1</sup> This title is taken from the book of Basingwerke Abbey.

<sup>2</sup> *Brut*, originally the same as the French word, *Bruit*, is used here as synonymous to the English word *Chronicles*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kings*, this word is used throughout this Chronicle to signify, not simply *Kings*, but *Kings paramount* of Britain, to whom all the other Kings of Britain were in certain respects subject. The *King* in this sense was the only one who wore a crown of gold; the seat of his sovereignty was in London, and he had the power of calling out the whole force of the kingdom in case of necessity, commanding it in chief, and punishing in-

fractions of the peace by any of the lesser kings. This power, or more properly the claim to it, ceased with Cadwaladr, and he is therefore considered as the last of the *Kings*, in the paramount sense of the word. An inferior King is, in the Welsh, stiled not *Brenin*, that is, *King*, but *Twysóg*, that is, *Prince*; and hence the successors of Cadwaladr are called *Princes*.

<sup>4</sup> This was a very natural cause of surprise to the good Bishop, and the unaffected simplicity with which he mentions it might well have deserved a more exalted opinion of his integrity, than it has found. The cause of his surprise is considered fully in the Dissertation on Gildas.

which God is worshipped, according to the Christian tradition, by companies of men and women. To conclude, it is inhabited by five different nations, Britons, Saxons, <sup>1</sup> Romans, Picts, and Scots. Of these the Britons formerly, and prior to the rest, possessed the country from sea to sea, until by the divine vengeance, because of their pride, they gave place to the Pictish and Saxon invaders. In what manner and whence they came will more fully appear in what follows.

as appears even at present from the church of Llandaff, and the Monastery of Eweny. So great was the hatred of the Welsh to the Church of Rome, that its monks were obliged to take these precautions.

<sup>1</sup> Other copies read Normans instead of Romans, but the latter is probably the original reading, and if so, the original copy must have been written in, or nearly in, the sixth century, when there were Romans existing as a distinct people in Britain.



THE CHRONICLE  
OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN.

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*Book the First. History of Brutus.*

**E**NEAS<sup>1</sup> Whiteshield. After that the city (*of Troy*) had been taken, Eneas and Ascanius his son, fled by sea to Italy, (the Roman territory,) where Latinus, at that time king of Italy, received them with honour.

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*The former part of the Chronicle of the Kings of Britain, translated from the Welsh copy of Guttyn Owain, formerly the Book of Basingwerke Abbey.*

**Æ**NEAS Whiteshield. After the war of Troy, and the destruction of that city, Æneas came from thence by sea to Italy, bringing with him Ascanius, his son by Creusa, the daughter of Priam, king of the Trojans. His fleet consisted of eight and twenty of the ships, in which Alexander Paris had sailed to Greece to carry off the celebrated Helen. The number of those who accompanied him of either sex, and all ages, was 88,000.

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<sup>1</sup> All the copies I have seen mark this distinction, the intent whereof was probably to signify that his armorial bearings were (as they must have been) unknown. It may however be fairly presumed from hence, that the writer had not read Virgil, if he had, it can scarcely be doubted, but

that the Poet's description of the shield, wrought by Vulcan for Æneas, would have been made an authority for a splendid bearing, and also that the number of ships, which according to Virgil was *twenty only*, would have been adhered to.

And after that Eneas had fought with, and killed Turnus, king of the Rutulians, Ascanius married Lavinia, daughter to Latinus; and upon the death of Eneas acquired great power; and having become a king, built a city on the river Tiber.

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Having coasted along various countries, they at length landed in Italy (the Roman territory) of which Latinus was at that time king. Latinus having descried them, sent to enquire who and what they were; and, an answer being returned, that they requested permission to land and purchase necessities, and that no injury should be done by them to any of his subjects, they were permitted to go on shore; and Æneas and his principal friends were invited by Latinus to his castle, where he entertained them honourably.

Here Æneas saw Lavinia, daughter of Latinus, (whose beauty was allowed by every beholder to be unrivalled) and became deeply enamoured. He therefore in a conference with the king, solicited that she might be given him as a wife in dower; and when the king informed him that he had already promised her to Turnus, Æneas requested that the affair might be left to be settled between Turnus and himself; to which Latinus, who had conceived a great regard for Æneas, agreed.

Turnus informed of what had passed, commenced hostilities against Latinus, and Æneas led forth his own troops to oppose him. When the two armies were in sight of each other, Turnus sent a challenge to Æneas to decide the contest in single combat; and as they alone were immediately concerned, he proposed, that the armies should be merely spectators, and

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\* This distinction was, according to an usage of plurality of wives, which does not seem wholly to have been abolished by Christianity in the time of Howel Dda, as several of his laws refer to it. The wife in dower, in case of separation by divorce, at the will of the husband, before the end of *seven years*, could claim her dowry and paraphernalia; and in case of the death of the husband, half of his move-

ables, including the corn. In the case of the death of the husband, the wife, *not in dowry*, could not claim the half of the corn. The children of both appear to have been considered as legitimate; and hence, in latter times, the children of concubines appear to have been considered not as illegitimate, but as the children of wives not in dowry, and to have inherited accordingly.



Here was born his son Silvius, who afterwards proved to be of a licentious disposition, in consequence whereof the niece<sup>2</sup> “of Lavinia,” became pregnant by him. And when Ascanius heard that she was so, he enquired of the diviners concerning it, who answered, that she should be delivered of a son, who would cause the death of his father

Lavinia espouse the conquerer. Æneas with great joy accepted the challenge. They fought bravely, till their spears were shivered in their hands, and their swords broken at the hilts, (to use the proverbial expression of the Roman history) and it become a contest of body to body. But, as God is the arbiter of events, Æneas prevailed, and slew Turnus, after which, he received the pledges of allegiance from the army of Turnus, seized himself of his estates, and took Lavinia as his wife in dower.

During five years he reigned conjointly with Latinus, and then, Latinus dying, Æneas succeeded to the whole sovereignty, and built a city, which he called Lavinium. By Lavinia he had a son who was named Silvius, and, having reigned four years after the death of Latinus, died.

Upon the demise of Æneas, Lavinia found herself unequal to the sovereignty, her son Silvius was therefore given in ward to Ascanius, and Ascanius became regent till Silvius should be of age. Ascanius conducted himself toward Lavinia with an affection truly filial; he also built a city on the Tiber, which he called Alba Longa, and<sup>3</sup> transferred thither the heathen gods of Lavinium. The gods however returned by night to Lavinium, and were again transferred to Alba Longa.

Ascanius, had by a lawful wife, a son, to whom, out of affection for his brother, he gave the same name, Silvius; and sent him, as soon as he was able to walk, to Lavinia's palace for his education. This Silvius had there a son, by a niece of Lavinia's, concerning whom, the soothsayers

<sup>1</sup> The Welsh copy has *Sylhys*, and Ms. A. *Silius*.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. &c.

<sup>3</sup> Literally *sent for their rod of surrender*. The ancient mode of surrendering land, in Wales, being by delivery of a rod in open court.

and mother, and who after long travels should rise to great honour. Nor were they mistaken.

The mother died in child bed. Thus he slew his mother. The child was a son, was named Brutus, and put to nurse. And when he was fifteen years old, he one day attended his father to the chase; and, a large deer being roused, in shooting at the deer, lodged his arrow in his father's breast. Thus he slew his father also.

When Silvius died, the Italians considering him, who had been so fatal to both his parents, as unworthy to be their king, banished him from their country.

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being consulted, answered, that it would be his fate to destroy his father and mother; but that at length he should attain to a conspicuous sovereignty. Nor were they mistaken.

Ascanius reigned in Italy thirty-three years, and at his death, left the sovereignty to his brother Silvius. Silvius however did not neglect his nephew, who bore his own name; but gave him a considerable share of his possessions.

At the birth of the nephew's son, abovementioned, the mother died suddenly, the child was therefore put to nurse, and called Brutus. And when he was fifteen years of age, he being on a visit to his father, it so happened, as they were engaged in the chase in a forest, the father standing under one tree, and the son under another, that the deer passed between them, and the son, having let fly an arrow at the deer, it rebounded from the deer's back, and pierced the father's breast, so that he died of the wound.

The sages, therefore, of the country of the Romans, considering the unfortunate event to have been so unintentional, merely banished Brutus from their country.

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\* Where any thing of intention appeared, he who slew another must have been put to death. Exile was therefore a favor, so far as it was an exculpation as to intent,

and appears in the early ages to have been the general law in such cases, as the classical reader will easily recollect.



He therefore went to Greece, where he became acquainted with the posterity of Helenus, Priam's son, at that time in a state of slavery under Pandrasus, a King of Greece. For this family had, after the destruction of Troy, been brought thither by Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, who, to revenge the death of his father, reduced them to slavery, in which they long continued to be held. With them, having learned that they were allied by kindred to him, Brutus took up his abode. Thus he became generally known, and as generally acceptable to the chiefs of the country. Excelling in person, in liberality, in warlike deeds, he was the wisest amongst the wise, and the most valiant amongst the valiant. What he obtained he shared with such associates and friends as would accept of it; whether it were gold or silver, or horses or dress. Hence his worth was celebrated throughout Greece; and all of the Trojan race, within its limits, flocked to him, and intreated that he would be their Prince, and rescue them from slavery. This, they affirmed, he might do with ease, their whole number amounting to seven thousand fit for war, exclusive of others. They also urged <sup>1</sup> "that Assaracus would assist them," whose father was

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Hereupon Brutus went to Greece, where he devoted himself to a military life, and deeds of arms, so that his fame was spread over these countries. For he was liberal and wise; of a fair complexion, comely in person, and of a strong make. In manner he was spirited, lively, and courteous, ready to share his advantages with others, and consequently much beloved.

Here, having visited the descendants of Helenus, whom Pyrrhus the son of Achilles had long before brought from Troy in vengeance for his father's death, they, noting the prosperous conduct of Brutus, complained to him of their painful captivity under the Greek king <sup>2</sup> Pandrasus, and

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<sup>1</sup> Omitted in this copy, and supplied from the others.

<sup>2</sup> Helenus was placed by Pyrrhus in Epirus, this Pandrasus (*Qu. an Παρθασος*)

should therefore according to this history, have been a king of Epirus, which will appear hereafter to be a material circumstance to it.

a Greek, and his mother a Trojan, and himself the most noble youth in Greece. 'He relies upon us,' said they, 'at present, and expects our best aid, as the people of this country, in conjunction with a brother of his by the father's side (for his mother was a Greek,) are carrying on a great war against him, because of three castles bequeathed to him by his father. These the Greeks wish to deprive him of, because his mother was a Trojan, and therefore assist his brother against him.'

Brutus, thus addressed, and having learned how numerous their force was, and that the castles were strong and ready to receive them, thought he could do no less than accept the proposal, and be their prince. Having therefore assumed the command, he garrisoned the castle strongly, and stored them with arms and provisions. And when this was accomplished, he, with Assaracus and their followers, taking

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solicited his assistance to deliver them from it. Brutus affected by their attachment to himself, felt deeply for their calamities, and their state of slavery, to which death itself had been preferable; and having deliberated with them on the subject, they communicated their design to Assaracus.

The mother of this Assaracus was a Trojan; but his father was of Greek descent; and at his father's death, Assaracus, who was an illegitimate son, became possessed of three castles, bequeathed to him by his father, which his brother, who was a legitimate son by a Greek wife, endeavoured to deprive him of.

Brutus and Assaracus therefore in consultation, examined what forces they should be able to reckon upon, and found that, exclusive of women and children, they had seven hundred fit for war. These they assembled, and it was determined by the whole assembly, to appoint Brutus to the chief command; and to fortify and garrison the three castles, and store them with arms and provisions.



whatever they had of value with them, retired to the wild and woody part of the country; from whence Brutus sent a message to Pandrasus to this effect.

‘ Brutus, Prince of the remnant of the Trojans, to Pandrasus, King of Greece. This is to represent that it would be no honour to you to retain persons, known to be royal race, in a slavery, from which their noble descent alone should protect them; and that they, rather than endure it, prefer living in deserts, and on the sustenance these may afford, to captivity, were it a luxurious one. Let not this offend you, or excite you to compulsion; but pardon it, as the natural and just effort of every captive to regain his liberty and his former character. Their petition is, that they may be permitted to abide free

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When this was done, Brutus and Assaracus, at the head of their forces, took refuge in the wastes and forests, and sent a letter to Pandrasus to the following purport.

‘ Brutus and the residue of the Trojans, to Pandrasus, king of Greece, greeting. As it would be disgraceful to the Dardanians, to submit to be governed in a manner unworthy of their noble descent, they have elected a chief, and retired to the forests, preferring even a savage life, with liberty, were it upon the simple produce of the earth, to even a luxuriously dieted slavery. This being so, it may add to the dignity of your government, and therefore deserve not your displeasure or chastisement, but your pardon; since it is the common wish of every captive to regain his former estimation. Let your compassion therefore excite you graciously and liberally to grant them the freedom they have lost, and to permit them either to remain in the

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‘ As the *purport* of the letter, or more probably *message*, is given, this letter is to be attributed to the historian himself, excepting as to the purport. The Welsh word may signify either a written or a verbal message.

in the wilds, to which they have retired; or to depart to other countries, where they may abide in freedom.'

Pandrasus, in astonishment at the reception of such a message, convoked his council, by whose advice he collected a great force, and went to the wilds in pursuit of them. And as he passed a Spartan castle, Brutus, with three thousand men, fell suddenly upon, and routed him; for his troops being unprepared, soon fled. Pandrasus with his army now retreated beyond river <sup>1</sup> Acheron, in which many

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forests, they have occupied, as a resource from slavery; or, if this does not meet with your approbation, suffer them in amity to depart, and seek their freedom in other countries.'

Pandrasus, when he understood the purport of the letter, expressed his astonishment that they had the presumption so to address him; and instantly collected his forces in the hope of destroying them by an unexpected attack. Arriving at the river Acheron, irritated as he was, he passed the river. Brutus perceiving it, and that the opportunity was so favourable, at the head of his

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<sup>1</sup> In this copy, *Ystalon*, in Ms. A. *Ascalon*, Ms. GO. Geoffrey of Monmouth; and others read it *Akalon*. The *Acheron* is a name of a river of Thesprotia in Epirus, and I confess that, had I not known, otherwise than from this history, that Helenus had settled in Epirus, I should have been as much at a loss for the proper name as Geoffrey himself. All the other copies that I have seen, add, that this battle was near the castle, called *the Spartan Castle*. Now it is to be observed, that the time this battle, according to this history, was fought about eighty years after the taking of Troy. For Æneas is said to have reigned nine years in Italy, Ascanius forty-three, and his grandson Brutus to have

been fifteen years old when he was banished. This alone makes a sum of sixty-seven years: allowing therefore for the time necessary for Æneas to have arrived in Italy, and for that necessary to the acquisition of same by Brutus, the time of this battle will coincide nearly with that of the expulsion of the Achæans from the Peloponessus by the Heraclidæ, which is said to have happened about eighty years after the destruction of Troy. It is therefore not impossible, that near, or on the site of, Pandosia, some of the exiles from Sparta might have settled and fortified themselves, by the usual mode of building a castle, on the Acheron.



of his men were drowned, by reason of their haste, so that not more than a third of them escaped. Thus Brutus was victorious.

But Antigonus, grieved for the event, assembled his followers, set them in order of battle, and preferring a glorious death, to a life of shame, attacked the Trojans, animating his troops both by his words and example, though not with success; for his troops were hastily and ill armed; whereas those of Brutus were completely equipped. Brutus was therefore again victorious, and took Antigonus, the king's brother, prisoner. He then strengthened the garrison of the castle of Assaracus with six hundred men, and retired with the rest of his army to his abode in the wilds.

In the mean time, Pandrasus, distressed by the late flight of his army, and the captivity of his brother, having re-assembled the remnant of his army, presented himself early the next morning before the castle, imagining that Brutus was there; and that his brother, and the rest of the prisoners, were there also. He therefore divided his army into three parts; one whereof, and that the greatest, was stationed before the gates to prevent all egress. The second was directed to cut off the supply of water to the castle; and the third to prepare weapons and engines for its destruction. In these respects the king's

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troops, fell upon the main body as a lion in his fury on a flock of sheep, and made great slaughter. Of those who were not slain, a great part were driven into the river and drowned.

Antigonus, the brother of Pandrasus, seeing the discomfiture of his brother, endeavoured by retreat to save those who were under his command. He was however taken, and with him, his friend Anacletus; the rest were slain.

When it was late in the evening, Pandrasus made enquiry as to his scattered forces, and pitched his tents for the night, more grieved for the

orders were zealously obeyed; and at night, a body of picked men was chosen for the attack, and those who were weary were suffered to take repose, lest Brutus and his army should come upon them by surprise a second time.

The attack was well sustained by the garrison, who by their arrows and wildfire, and other means of war, drove the assailants from the walls. And when the engines were brought to the walls, they forced the engineers to desist by throwing wildfire and boiling water on them. The garrison, when it was almost worn out with this toil, and still more by hunger and thirst, and want of rest, sent to desire Brutus to come immediately to their aid, lest they should be obliged to surrender, which troubled him much, as his power was not sufficiently strong to give battle to the enemy in the field.

In this difficult situation he formed a plan to surprise them by night, kill the centinels, and fall on them when they were asleep. But, neither could he expect to succeed in this, without the assistance of some Greeks. He therefore took <sup>1</sup> Anacletus, one of the friends

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loss of Antigonus, than that of his army. The following day it was resolved to attack the castle of Assaracus, upon the supposition that the prisoners were there. When the attack of the castle had been carried on for three days, and the garrison had with great bravery and toil sustained it, they sent to intreat Brutus to come to their aid, as they were no longer able to oppose the force without.

Brutus thus informed, took Anacletus apart, and asked him which he would prefer; whether his own life with liberty, or that of the troops of

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<sup>1</sup> This name (*Anacletus*) I suspect to have been one of Geoffrey's many errors, in reading the abridgements of names in his manuscript; and that the original name

was *Antiochus*, and written *Ants.* in his copy. About Geoffrey's time, the name of *Anacletus*, the Anti-pope, was familiar, and therefore readily substituted.



of Antigonus, apart; then drawing his sword, and laying hold of him firmly, said; 'Young man, you have now to chuse life, or death. For instant death awaits you, unless you will faithfully perform what I require. My intent is to attack the Greeks by night, and you are to misinform them so, that my access may be free. Go then to the centinels, and tell them, that you and Antigonus have made your escape, and that you left him in a woody glen, he not being able, because of the weight of his chains, to come further; and desire them to go with you to bear him forward. By this means my wish will be fulfilled.'

Anacletus, terrified by the threats of Brutus, swore to perform this faithfully, provided Antigonus was suffered to accompany him. They accordingly departed to go to the Greeks; and when Anacletus approached the centinels, they surrounded him, and demanded, whether

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Antigonus, at the expence of his own? To which he replied, his own. Then said Brutus, you are to act as I shall enjoin you. When Anacletus having sworn and pledged himself to perform exactly, Brutus said, 'You are then, at night to go to the camp of Pandrasus, and when seized by the centinels, inform them that having with Antigonus escaped from confinement, you had carried him to a woody glen, where unable because of the weight of his fetters, to bear him farther, you had left him. Then request their aid; and if they be inclined to awaken and call in others to assist them, say it is needless, as they alone will be sufficient.' Thus they will be completely in my power.'

Accordingly Anacletus went as Brutus had directed, and having led the centinels into the glen, called out as if to Antigonus, and Brutus and his party, then rushing out upon them, left not one alive. From thence

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<sup>a</sup> B. G.

he had not some treacherous intent: to which he replied, ' I have none such. I come to require your aid to bring hither Antigonus, whom I have enabled to escape from prison, and having borne him on my back to the glen below, have left him in the thicket there.' But, as some of the centinels still apprehended treachery, one of them said that he knew Anacletus, and that his word might be relied on. The centinels therefore united together, and went to the appointed place, where Brutus fell upon them, and left not one alive. The troops of Brutus then went in regular order into the midst of the enemy's camp, observing a strict silence till Brutus and his party had reached the king's tent, where he sounded a horn, and the slaughter of the sleeping enemy began. The groans of the dying now awoke the rest, who fled in all directions. The garrison also, apprised of what was doing, came out to join in the battle. Brutus himself having entered the royal tent, thought it best to take the king alive. Thus the night passed, and when it was day Brutus called his army together, gave them the plunder to divide as they pleased, and then entered the castle, where he confined the king, and added to the number of the garrison, and the store of arms.

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he marched immediately for the castle of Assaracus, where Pandrasus and his army lay, and gave orders, that none should begin the attack, till his horn was heard to sound; and that then they should storm the camp. Brutus, therefore, having made his way to the king's tents, sounded his horn, then broke into the tent, and seized Pandrasus. The others fell upon the camp, and carried slaughter through it till the break of day, at which time the garrison sallied out, slaying all before them without mercy, whilst they, who attempted to escape by flight, were dashed to pieces down the precipices. Thus Brutus was victorious, and his enemies met with their fated death. The following day the number of the slain appeared astonishing; Brutus therefore returned public thanks to his troops on the occasion.



Having thus obtained the victory, Brutus called a council to deliberate concerning the king, who being a prisoner, might be willing to grant any terms to regain his liberty. The opinion of the council was, that it would be better to accept a ransom, than that they should continue to dwell amongst their foes. At length, after a long debate, <sup>1</sup> Membyr, a man of great prudence, stood up, and silence being proclaimed, spoke thus. ‘ My noble brethren, how long will you hesitate as to that which is the surest object for your future welfare, that is, security to yourselves and your posterity, by leaving this country? For should Pandrasus, as his ransom, grant you a portion of Greece for a settlement, never will you be at peace. Never will they forget the transaction of the night past, or to seek an occasion of avenging it on you, or your posterity. My advice therefore is, that you (*Brutus*) marry the king’s eldest daughter <sup>2</sup> Inogen; and that providing ships, money, wine and wheat, and all other necessaries,

After this a consultation was held, as to the mode of proceeding with respect to Pandrasus. By some it was proposed to settle in the wastes and forests, which they had taken possession of; by others, to take possession of a third of the kingdom. At length one, who was eminent for his wisdom, observed, that it would be hopeless to think, that the two parties could ever dwell peaceably together in the same territories; that the recollection of the slaughter of their ancestors would long excite a spirit of revenge, and of diligence in seeking opportunities for it, and induce frequent wars; that it

<sup>1</sup> As in the sequel *Imbert* is also in some copies written *Mymbert*, I suspect this name, which is variously written *Mempricius*, *Mempricius*, and *Membyr*, to be a Greek name, and originally Εμπριος; and am the more inclined to think so as some copies omit the name entirely, and give only the characteristic notice of his being a man of sagacity, or experience, which corresponds with the Greek word, and also because the other names are Greek.

<sup>2</sup> This name variously written as it is, whether *Enogen*, *Ygnogen*, or *Ignoge*, is certainly intended for a Greek name. Hence I conjecture that it may be either *εγγονη* (*Ecgone*) a daughter, or --- *igone*, the termination of some such name as *Erigone*, or *Antigone*; and that, the former part having been illegible in Geoffrey’s Ms. he formed a name, as well as he could out of the remainder.

we should go whither the Deity may send us, to seek in some other country a refuge from slavery.' This opinion was approved unanimously, and Pandrasus was sent for to the council, Brutus in the mean time declaring, that the king's life should depend on his compliance with the proposal.

When the king arrived, a seat higher than the rest was given him, and he answered thus to their proposal.

' The infernal gods have placed me, and my brother Antigonus in your power; and therefore, to save mine and my brother's life, I agree. Nor can I incur blame, if I give my beloved daughter to yonder youth, for I know he is descended from Æneas and Anchises, and his fame, and his late conduct prove it. Who, but himself, could have liberated the Trojans from the power of so many princes? Who else, with so inferior a force, could have opposed the king of Greece in battle, and defeated and taken him prisoner? I will therefore give him my daughter Inogen; and moreover gold, silver, and precious jewels, and wine, and wheat, and ships, and whatever else may be

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would be no way extraordinary, if two parts out of three should subdue the proposed third, and thus their state be worse than ever. He therefore advised, that, as they had been victorious, Brutus their chief, should take Inogen, the daughter of Pandrasus in marriage, that they should furnish themselves with gold and silver, corn, horses, arms, and shipping; and go as Providence should direct them, to settle in another country, where they might hope for permanent tranquillity.

This advice prevailed, Pandrasus was therefore brought into the council, where Brutus and his principal associates having seated him honorably, demanded, whether he would give Inogen, as wife in dower to Brutus. Pandrasus replied, that there was no one whom he would prefer to Brutus, as son-in-law, and that if this had been the object of their hostilities, it might have been obtained without them, and a dowry with her, had Brutus asked



necessary; nay, if you desire it, a third of my kingdom, and will remain your prisoner till my promise is fulfilled.

Messengers were then sent to every part of Greece, to collect all the ships to one harbour. The number collected was three hundred and twenty-four, and these having been stored, as above mentioned, with all necessaries, the king was set at liberty.

When Inogen was on board, she stood on the lowest deck, enfolded in the arms of Brutus, weeping and lamenting her departure; whilst Brutus soothed her, till at length weary with grief, she fell asleep.

For two days and a night they sailed with a fair wind, and came to <sup>1</sup> Legetta, then a desert isle, having been laid waste by pirates. Here Brutus sent three hundred armed men on shore to reconnoitre; who, meeting with no inhabitant, passed the day in the chase of various game, and at night took shelter in the ruins of an

it. When the council farther required shipping and stores, to go and settle where Providence should guide them, Pandrasus offered to endow Inogen with half of his kingdom, if they would remain there, but to this they would not agree.

When all was in readiness for their departure, Brutus and his friends went on board their ships. Inogen, who went with them, was inconsolable, nor could her tears be restrained whilst in sight of the land; and when she could no longer perceive it, overcome with sorrow and fatigue, she fell into a profound sleep.

The number of the ships, that sailed with them from Greece was three hundred and twenty-four, having on board men of tried valour, and being amply provided with gold and silver, horses, wine, and wheat. Thus they

<sup>1</sup> *Legesty*, B. G. *Leogecia*, G.M. The place intended here is probably Leucadia.

old temple of Diana, in which those who desired to consult her, received (*oracular*) answers.

The next morning, they returned, loaded with game to the ships, and having told Brutus what they had seen, they advised him to go and sacrifice to the goddess in that temple, and to enquire where he should find a settlement.

This advice Brutus acquiesced in, and taking Geryon, a diviner, with him, and every thing necessary for the purpose, went towards the temple. When he approached near to it, he put a chaplet of vine-leaves on his head, and so advanced to the door of the temple: for it was the custom of the times of old to sacrifice to three gods, viz. Jupiter, Mercury, and Diana. He then drew near to the altar,

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sailed, and made the land of a desolate country called Lygesti, which had in former times been inhabited. Here many went on shore to explore the country, and finding it well wooded, and abounding with game, they exercised themselves in the chase. In the course of their pursuit they discovered an old temple of Diana, wherein sacrifices had formerly been made to that goddess,<sup>2</sup> "and in which there was a statue that answered all enquiries."

And as they were returning to the ships, they slew a white hind, which they brought with them, and presented to Brutus: also, when they had informed him as to the nature of the country, they requested that he would not proceed farther until he should have sacrificed to the goddess.

Brutus therefore selected Gerio the soothsayer, and twelve men of advanced age to attend him with whatever was requisite for this purpose. As soon as he arrived near the temple, standing before the door, he put a chaplet of laurel on his head, according to the ceremonial, and lighted three fires to the three gods, viz. Jupiter, Mercury and Diana, and offered a distinct sacrifice

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<sup>2</sup> The original word *Ynys* signifies properly *an island*, and is always so translated by G.M. It is however frequently used in

a more general sense, for *a country or a province*.

<sup>2</sup> B. G.



bearing in his right hand a vessel full of wine, and in his left a horn filled with the blood of a white hind; and raising his eyes to the image addressed it thus:

‘ Mighty goddess of the chace and guardian of the boar of the forest, thou who art privileged to range over the celestial and infernal mansions, say in what land shall I seek a permanent abode, and I will ever reverence thee, and build a temple there to thine honour?’

This he repeated nine times, and went four times around the altar: he then poured the wine into the mouth of (*the image of*) the goddess, and laid himself down on the skin of the white hind.

This being performed, Brutus took in his right hand a vessel of sacrifice, filled with a mixture of wine with the blood of the white hind, and raising it on high in the presence of the goddess, thus addressed her.

‘ O mighty goddess of the stupendous forests, who art also privileged to range the ethereal mansions of those of earth and hell! say, what land it is thy pleasure that we should inhabit; name thou the sure abode where we shall honour thee eternally, and I will there consecrate temples, and attendant choirs of virgins to thy service?’

This invocation he repeated nine times, went four times around the altar, and poured out the wine that was in his hand on the fires. He then extended

\* The reader would scarcely excuse the omission of the beautiful Latin verses, in which this prayer and the answer are expressed in G. M's. version; which he, I suspect, took from Gildas's Poems; and Ponticus Virunnius says, were translated by one of the name of Gildas from the Greek. Neither would the English reader excuse the omission of the translation into English.

Diva potens nemorum, terror sylvestribus apris;  
Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos,

Infernasque domos; terrestria jura resolve,  
Et dic, quas terras nos habitare velis?  
Dic certam sedem, quâ te venerabor in ævum,  
Quâ tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris?

Goddess of woods! tremendous in the chace  
To mountain boars, and all the savage race!  
Wide o'er the ethereal walks extends thy sway,  
And o'er th' infernal mansions void of day.  
On thy third realm look down, unfold our fate,  
And say, what region is our destined seat;  
Where shall we next thy lasting temples raise,  
And choirs of virgins celebrate thy praise?

And about the third hour of the night, the sweetest hour of sleep, he thought he saw the goddess, and heard her say thus to him.

<sup>1</sup> ' Brutus, there lies in the west, beyond the realms of Gaul, an island surrounded by the waters of the ocean, once inhabited by giants, but now a desert; thither go thou, for it is fated to be a second Troy to thee and thy posterity; and from thee shall kings descend, who shall subdue the whole world to their power.'

the skin of the white hind before the altar, and lay down upon it; where, he having fallen into a deep sleep for a third of the night, Diana appeared to him in a vision, and thus addressed him.

' Brutus, there lies in the west, and beyond Gaul, an island once inhabited by a warlike race, but now a waste, with a population of no more than eight hundred. This island shall be the proper settlement for thee and thine associates. Its name is Albion, that is, the White Island.'

<sup>1</sup> Brute sub occasum solis, trans Gallica regna,  
Insula in oceano est undique clausa mari:  
Insula in oceano est habitata gigantibus olim,  
Nunc deserta quidem; gentibus apta tuis,  
Hanc pete: namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis  
Sic fiet natio altera Troja tuis.  
Sic de prole tuâ reges nascentur: et ipsis  
Totius terræ subditus orbis erit.

Brutus! there lies beyond the Gallic bounds,  
An island, which the western sea surrounds;  
By giants one possessed; now few remain  
To bar thy entrance, or obstruct thy reign.  
To reach that happy coast thy sails employ,  
There fate decrees to raise a second Troy;  
And found an empire in thy royal line,  
Which time shall ne'er destroy, nor bounds  
confine.

It would be very idle to imagine, that these verses, or their translation as above, were intended to express more than the purport of the oracle, viz. *that the adventurers were to seek an island beyond the most western part of the continent.* The latter, the Poet, from his own conception of it, calls Gallica Regna, and the translator, Gaul. Thus considered, the oracle is such as would naturally have been given to so numerous a body of adventurers, in order to be completely freed from them, by sending them to western islands, of which there was some knowledge at a very early period.

The ceremonial rites of the sacrifice are worthy of particular notice, for a propriety which G. M. could, I believe, scarcely have had information enough to give them.



Brutus awaking after the vision, was at a loss how to consider it, 'whether as a dream, or as the direction of the goddess as to the place where he should find an abode; he therefore told it to his friends, who were delighted to hear it, and urged him to hasten on board.' With great joy they returned to their ships, and set sail; and on the <sup>2</sup> ninth day made the coast of Africa near the <sup>3</sup> altars of the Philistines.<sup>4</sup> 'From hence they sailed by the <sup>5</sup> salt-lake, and the coast between <sup>6</sup> Ruscadan and <sup>7</sup> Azara,' where they had a desperate engagement with pirates. These however they conquered, and Brutus enriched his friends with the spoils.

From hence, 'passing the river Malva,' they sailed to the Mauritania, where want of provisions obliged them to land, which they did, and plundered the whole country.

Brutus, when he awoke, communicated this answer to his friends. Whereupon, with grateful thanks to the goddess, they all embarked and set sail, and after they had been at sea for thirty days, they arrived on the coast of Africa, and passed near the altars of the Philistines. And when they were sailing between Ruscadan, and the mountain of Azara, they encountered pirates, whom Brutus beat off. They then came to the river Malva, and from thence to Mauritania, which they despoiled from sea to sea.

<sup>1</sup> Ms. B.

<sup>2</sup> Thirty days B. G. Ms. B. and G. M.

<sup>3</sup> The *Aræ Philenorum*, were nearly under the same meridian as Leucadia; and the course to them almost directly south. Though some copies of Geoffrey read *Philistæorum*, there can be little doubt as to the signification, as the *Lacus Salinamum* follows them in the line of course. Sallust says that they were erected when Carthage ruled over the greatest part of Africa, and

therefore probably before the first Punic war. As to the time when this voyage was undertaken, if a real one, see the appendix.

<sup>4</sup> B. G. Ms. B. and G. M.

<sup>5</sup> The *Lacus Salinarum*, where there were large quantities of salt made.

<sup>6</sup> Ruscadan, B. G. *Ruscicada*, G. M. The Ruscicade of D'Anville.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly the *Promontorium Metagonium*, which is near the river *Asarath*.

From hence they went to the <sup>1</sup> Pillars of Hercules, where the sea monsters, called mermaids, attacked them, and were near sinking their ships. They came next into the Tyrrhene sea; on the shore whereof they found clans of Trojan exiles, who with Antenor had fled thither. At this time Corineus was their Prince, a man of unmatched strength and courage, for in battle a giant was as a mere infant in his hands. The two parties soon became acquainted; Corineus attached himself as vassal to Brutus, and in every contest with an enemy proved to be his surest aid. From hence they sailed to <sup>2</sup> Aquitain, and having cast anchor in the part of Lingyrys, (*the Loire*) passed seven days in reconnoitring the country.

From hence they came to the Pillars of Hercules, where they were exceedingly terrified by mermaids, who by their songs lulled those who listened to them to sleep, and, when they slept, seized on their vessels and endeavoured to sink them. The adventurers therefore stopped their ears with wax, and after a hard contest escaped from them. From hence they sailed into the bay of the Tyrrhene sea, on the coast whereof they found four clans of Trojans, who long before had fled with Antenor, after the destruction of Troy; and whom, after mutual enquiries, they recognised, having known them before. Corineus their chief, who was a man of the utmost valour, attached himself to Brutus, and from thenceforth they were inseparable friends. Here they united their forces, set sail together, and came to Angyw, and from thence to the mouth of the Loire, where for a whole week they remained.

<sup>1</sup> The original has GOGOF AU, *caves*, by an evident mistake for GOLOF NAU, *pillars*.

<sup>2</sup> Aquitain, B. T. and G. M. *Gwasgwyn*, or Gascony, Ms. B. *Angyw*, B. G. All these names seem intended to signify one and the same country, the inhabitants whereof are in the sequel called Gascons. This copy asserts, that the voyagers passed

by it before they entered the Loire. In this copy it is directly asserted, that they did so, and most of the others admit of the same construction. If this then be allowed the word Angyw, in which the g is pronounced hard, must be referred to the portion *Angou*, of the names *Angouleme* and *Angou-mois*. In the Gaelic, *An go*, sig-



The king of this country was called Goffar Ffichdi, (*Goffar the Pict*); and he, as soon as he was informed of their arrival, sent to know whether their intent was war or peace. As the messengers were on their way to the ships, they perceived Corineus busy in the chase; and demanding by whose permission he hunted in the royal forest, were answered, that he desired no one's permission, but would hunt wherever he thought proper. One of the messengers therefore, whose name was Mymbert, drew his bow, and shot at Corineus; but he having avoided the arrow, immediately seized on Mymbert, plucked the bow out of his hand, and beat out his brains with it. The other messenger, though defended by a guard, escaped with difficulty, and informed Goffar of the manner in which Mymbert was slain.

Here Goffar, king of Poictou, having heard of their landing, sent his commands to them to depart instantly; and, in case of a refusal, a threat of compulsion. The messengers, having learned that Corineus was hunting in the forest and killing the game, wished to seize and imprison him; and when he refused to submit, one of them, by name 'Imbert, shot an arrow at him, which Corineus evaded, and before a second could be shot, he struck Imbert to the ground, and dashed out his brains with his own bow. The rest of those who were sent, seeing this, fled, and returned to inform Goffar of what had happened.

nifies the *sea*, and *Tan*, a *country*. Hence *An-go-tan*, may signify the *sea country*, and be the origin of the name *Aquitain*.

Pliny notes that Aquitain had once the name of *Armorica*, '*Aquitania*, *Aremorica ante dicta*,' &c. Lib. iv. C. 17. and *Arc-morica* is a Welsh name, with a Latin termination, viz *Ar-y-mor*, i. e. the sea coast. Of this name *An-go-tan* is, if my conjecture be right, simply a translation into the Gael, and the Cymry must have possessed the country before them. That

the Gael did once inhabit it, may be inferred from the names *Burdegala*, i. e. *Bourg-de-gæl*; *Cadillac* (a town on the Garonne) i. e. *Gaoidhealtachd*; *Dicon*, i. e. *Dia Fionns*, the god of the well. *Belemnus*, i. e. *Bal-Amhuin*, the god of the river; and perhaps *Nehalenna*, is *An Aillean*, in the Genitive *Na h'aillean*, the beautiful (*goddess*.)

' This name is not, even now, uncommon in France.

Goffar therefore collected a great force, in order to punish Corineus for killing his messenger; and Brutus, being told of his intent, arranged his ships in the strongest manner, placed the women and children out of the reach of danger, and landed with all his men at arms to march against Goffar. The engagement was a hard fought one, and Corineus ashamed that the Gascons could stand it, and were not routed by the Trojans, called his own men to him, and embodying them in the right wing, fell upon the enemy, and carried destruction with him wherever he went; nor did he cease till the enemy fled, not leaving one alive behind him; for they were confounded, seeing him with a double axe cleave down every one he attacked: and oft he cried out, 'whither are ye flying, ye cowards? stand and fight with Corineus: are ye not ashamed to fly from one man? though ye may well fly, for giants would do the same.' As he was thus speaking, Earl Siward, with an hundred men at arms, turned back, and Corineus with his axe,

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Goffar, enraged by this intelligence, collected his whole force, came suddenly upon Brutus, and summoned him to surrender himself and followers as prisoners of war; they having hunted in his forest without permission, and killed his subjects. If they refused, he was prepared to compel them. To this, Brutus, after a consultation with his friends, replied, that they would not yield. Goffar therefore prepared for battle, and Brutus to oppose him.

The leader of the vanguard of Goffar's army was <sup>1</sup> Siward, the superintendant of his household, and the most noted of the Gauls for personal strength. Against him advanced Corineus with his forces, and a severe engagement ensued, in which Siward was slain. Corineus in the confusion of close engagement lost his sword; but seizing on a two edged battle-axe, which by chance he found, he dealt his blows around with irresistible force, and put to flight three hundred horsemen, who conceived it to be an attack by the

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<sup>1</sup> *Subardus* G. M. in some copies; *Suhardus* in others.



attacked and cleaved him down, and then exerted his force with it on all sides, every blow inflicting a mortal wound. Brutus seeing him pressed, brought up troops to his aid; the battle was renewed on both sides with great slaughter, and at length Goffar and his army were compelled to fly.

The king now went to his countrymen in Gaul, to solicit aid to avenge himself upon the Trojans. For at this time the country was governed by twelve kings of similar power and privilege, and with a similar form of government, and Carwed was paramount sovereign over them. These kings received Goffar with great kindness, and readily promised to assist him to expel the foreigners.

main body, so great was the slaughter. Seeing this, he called out to them, and reproached them for flying from a single man; whereupon they rallied, and renewed the attack; but it was without success.

Goffar himself withdrawing secretly from his army, hastened to apprise twelve compeers of Gaul that his territory was invaded, and seized by foreigners, and to implore their aid. All these cheerfully and readily promised succours to Goffar, and Brutus being informed of it, built a fort, that he might be secure from a sudden attack, where <sup>1</sup> Cæsar, as he himself testifies, did afterwards build a city,

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript, from which this translation is given, has *Homer*, instead of *Cæsar*, in this place, and also G. M. The other copies, viz. B. T. and B. G. have it not; and here it is a reading so absurd as to apologize, it is to be hoped, fully for the insertion of the latter in the text; at least when it is considered that Tours was called *Cæsarodunum*, or *Cæsar's fort*. In the printed Welsh copies this reference to *Cæsar* or *Omyr*, as the Ms. before me

has it, is omitted. It is most probable, that neither the author of the history, nor even G. M. had ever seen Cæsar's commentaries; and that some copyist, not well able to make out the name in his copy, and recollecting that Homer had written upon the Trojan war, substituted a name familiar to him, for one which was too much obliterated to be ascertained from the resemblance of the initials C and O.

Brutus in the mean time distributed the spoils of the dead amongst his followers; and again arranging his men, marched into the country, and plundered it; slew the people, and burned the cities, and brought all the gold and silver, and whatever else could be brought to the ships. Thus he proceeded through Gascony, and from thence to a city now called Tyrry (*Tours*). Having in this place found a situation proper for encampment, he raised a strong inclosure around the encampment, in order if necessity should require it, to sustain an assault, (as he feared that Goffar and the other kings might come in great force), and waited for him there.

When Goffar heard that they were there, he rested neither day nor night till he came within view of them. Then, seeing how they had fortified themselves, he exclaimed, 'what a disgraceful fate is this, to see a foreign enemy encamped in my kingdom! To arms then, and seize on them as sheep in a fold, and let us distribute them as prisoners and slaves throughout the country, to appease our indignation.'

The enemy then in twelve divisions advanced upon the Trojans, and Brutus when he saw it, having armed himself and his men, went out fearless to meet him, and warned his men to advance

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This circumstance irritated Goffar still more than all he had previously suffered, and therefore all the force of France was collected to expel Brutus from the country.

And when he had led them on to the place where the Trojans were, Brutus advanced to meet them. The two armies engaged with wild shouts, and great fury, and the battle was severe and bloody. At length, as the day was declining, Brutus, overpowered by numbers, was obliged to retreat into the fort.

During the following night Corineus lodged an ambush of three thousand men in a glen, which was thickly wooded; and when, on the next day, Brutus was engaged with the army of the Gallic compeers, and though fighting



according to occasion, and not otherwise. By these means they routed Goffar and his forces in the first attack, and slew two thousand of them. The army of Goffar was at this time ten-fold of that of Brutus, and more were continually coming in. He therefore attacked the Trojans a second time, and with great slaughter drove them into their fortification; and having gained this advantage, invested it, with the intention of subduing them by the severest of all deaths, famine.

That night, Brutus in a consultation with Corineus, advised him to go quietly from the camp, and lodge in a neighbouring wood, and when he himself should attack the enemy, rise, and with a great shout fall upon the rear of the Gauls. Corineus therefore, taking with him three thousand men at arms, did accordingly.

On the next day Brutus drew up his men in good order, and attacked the Gauls, who opposed them in turn with much ardour, so that thousands fell on both sides. In this engagement there was a youth called Tyrri, nephew to Brutus; and, excepting Corineus, the man of greatest prowess in battle. This youth slew <sup>1</sup> six hundred men with his own hand; but was killed by the French, and buried

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valiantly, giving ground to its superior strength; Corineus and his ambush sallied out, attacked the rear of the Gauls, who were routed with great slaughter, and fled in all directions.

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<sup>1</sup> It would be very idle to expect that the precise number killed by a chieftain in battle, should be ascertained. A good round number therefore, sufficiently serves the purposes of vanity or eulogium. The advantage of personal strength was however of very great importance to a chief, both in the early ages, and those of chivalry. The chiefs only appear in general to have worn tolerably complete armour of brass or iron, which the light weapons

of the common soldier could not penetrate; whereas the common soldier's armour would make no resistance to the ponderous weapons of the chief, who wielded them in security, and paused only from fatigue, unless encountering another chief. There is therefore not much of the marvellous in the assertion, that a chief, in such times, slew great numbers. I do not recollect that Homer ever represents a chief as wounded by any but a chief.

there. From his name the place is still called Tyrri, (*Tours*). Corineus, whilst the battle was going on, came unexpectedly upon the rear of the Gauls, which Brutus perceiving, rallied his own men; and so loud was the shout on the part where Corineus was, that the Gauls, supposing the number to be much greater, were dispirited, and gave way and fled; the Trojans, eager to console Brutus for the loss of his nephew, pursued them till they obtained the victory.

But, by these means, the number of the followers of Brutus, were daily lessened, whilst that of the Gauls increased; he therefore thought it best, to return to the ships with the credit of a victory, whilst the greater part were well.

They therefore departed in search of the island indicated by the goddess, taking with them the booty they had collected.

They set sail with a fair wind, and came to land at <sup>1</sup>Talrus. The country they came to was Alban, (*Albion*) that is in Welsh Y WEN YNYS, (*the White Island*), at that time uninhabited, save by a few giants; but pleasant in itself, as having fine rivers, abounding

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In this battle, Turnus, a nephew of Brutus, was slain; a young man whose personal strength exceeded that of any other Trojan there, except Corineus, and who had, before he fell, killed six hundred with his own hand. He was buried there, and the place bears his name to this day.

Brutus now, though victorious, was apprehensive that delay might be attended with a greater loss of his followers, and therefore resolved to proceed in quest of the place designated by the oracular vision.

He therefore embarked them, and sailed westward, and came to land on the coast of Totness. Having sent persons to explore the nature of the country, and received a satisfactory account of it, he brought the ships to

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\* If this word be correctly given, it may be considered as a Phœnician name, derived from תל נשוה *Tel neshua*, i. e. *tumulus elevatus*.



with fish, and being well wooded. Brutus and his followers were therefore well pleased with its appearance; and as the giants fled to the mountains, he and his chiefs apportioned the island amongst themselves, and began to till the ground, and to build houses; and in a short time gave to the island an appearance of having been long inhabited.

Brutus now insisted, that the island should take its name from him, and the people be called Britons, so that his claim might be perpetuated; and from that time also, the language was called British.

shore; and where he disembarked, he built an altar to the goddess Diana, who in his vision had appeared to him. Whilst Brutus was thus engaged in religious duties, Corineus went toward Cornwall, in search of giants, whom he had heard of as living there. The giants, in the mean time, having taken another road to seek Brutus and his party, fell upon, and slew many of them. Brutus, who at this time was sacrificing, did not interrupt the ceremony; but, as soon as it was over, engaged with them, and slew them all except 'Gogmagog, whom he ordered to be spared, that he might

' This name is also most probably from the mint of G. M. Though I have little doubt, but that the original was Cawr-Madog, i. e. *the giant or great warrior Madog*; which is the more probable, as Ponticus Virunnius writes the name Goermagog:

Et mirum fuit de illa ætate, in quâ fuerunt viri maximi (sed plurimi in Britannia) Gigantes nomine et viribus, qui tunc erant staturâ gigantes, ut scribit Homerus, inter quos erat quidam gigas nomine Goermagog. Ponticus Virunnius in Bruto.

The tradition concerning these giants, leads to a knowledge of what they really were. This tradition describes them as the offspring of the daughters of Dioclesianus and evil spirits. In copying which,

the writers, who knew nothing of *Danaus*, supposing it to be a contraction, have substituted a name more familiar. The daughters of Danaus are said to have been banished to the country of the Cimmerians which was fabulously represented as the realm of Pluto, &c. Hence then the import of this very antient tradition is, that these giants were of Cimmerian origin, that is, Cymry; and though their stature is exaggerated, yet it will be remembered, that the stature of the antient Britons was thought gigantic by the Romans.

The above interpretation of the name Gogmagog may also lead to the explanation of it as given to a hill near Cambridge, called Gogmagog Hill. It probably means the hill of *Cawr Madog*, that is of a chieftain of the name of *Madog*.

He also settled Corineus, who had the first choice, in Cornwall, as he desired, because the giants were most numerous in that part, and he was eager to combat with them. There was also with them a kind of monster called Gogmagog, twelve cubits high, whose strength is said to have been such, that he could tear up the largest oak by the roots, as any person of ordinary size would pluck up a twig of hazel. And hence it so happened that, Brutus being engaged in a war, during a festival in commemoration of his landing, Gogmagog, with twelve more of the giants, fell upon the Britons, and made a great slaughter of them. But the Britons, assembling in great force, renewed the battle, and slew all their foes, except Gogmagog, who was spared by the command of Brutus, that Corineus, who had so much wished it, might<sup>1</sup> engage with him.

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wrestle with Corineus, as this giant was twelve cubits high, four broad, and of great strength. When Corineus returned, Brutus informed him what had passed. Corineus readily agreed to the trial of strength, and the giant was therefore brought to the top of a flat and high rock near the sea side.

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<sup>1</sup> This circumstance, as to the custom itself, of making the strongest prisoners fight, is interesting as traditional. A similar custom prevailed among the Mexican Indians; and probably such a custom was the origin of the Gladiatorial exhibitions among the Romans. From this circumstance of the giant's being thrown from a rock, it may perhaps be inferred, that the use of the Cromlech was for such exhibitions, and that he who threw the other down was the victor. I am the more inclined to believe this conjecture right, as even in the fiction of popular tales, there are generally allusions to truth. Here the giant is brought to the summit of a flat and high rock to wrestle. Such is the form of the Cromlech. *They are* (says

Rowland) *generally large rude flattish stones*. To the etymology of the name, from *Crom* or *Crom*, he very justly objects. If I am right in my conjecture of the use of the Cromlech, the true etymology must be *Grym-lech*, *the stone of strength*, i. e. on which the strength was tried, and for such a purpose they formed a kind of stage.

Having mentioned the name of Rowland, (a name highly respectable in itself) I beg leave here to observe, that the medal of our Saviour, which he notices, is of no authority or great antiquity. Such medals were struck at Jerusalem, and presented to the Christians who visited the holy sepulchre. See Wagenseil, *Sota* p. 579, where a similar impression is given.



When Corineus saw the monster, advancing towards him, he rejoiced greatly, and laying aside his armour, challenged him to wrestle. They soon met face to face, seized hold on, and insulted each other, so that the spectators<sup>1</sup> ---- to gain breath. The giant pressed Corineus so as to break three of his ribs on the right side, and one on the left, which so enraged Corineus, that, summoning all his strength, he raised the giant on his shoulder, and running to the summit of a high rock, threw him over it into the sea. In the fall the giant was dashed to pieces, and the sea was so discolored by his blood as to continue tinged with it for a long time. The place is even now called the Giant's Leap, or Gogmagog's Leap.

In the first onset, Corineus having seized on both the giant's wrists, the latter seized him by the middle, and, by the hug, broke one rib on the right side, and two on the left; then raised him up, and threw him on his knees. Corineus now roused, and furious, attacked the giant, and pressed him so, by a hug, that he became livid; then raising him on his shoulder, he carried him to a rock that overhung the sea, and threw him down the precipice, whereby he was dashed to pieces before he fell into the water; and, when he did, the waves were discoloured with his blood. The place, where he was precipitated, is to this day called the Giant's Leap.

Brutus came into this island<sup>2</sup> in the year 1200, after the Deluge.

<sup>1</sup> An omission in this copy, which is not supplied by any of the others.

<sup>2</sup> Though pedigrees have necessarily been preserved, and descents noted with great accuracy in Wales; yet dates, farther then the name of the king or prince living at the time, when any particular circumstance took place, are scarcely to be found. Consequently the Chronology of this History

was evidently formed by summing up in a retrograde order, the years assigned by tradition to the reign of each prince; and even so, it is erroneous throughout, as to the principle on which it goes. It states the second invasion, by Julius Cæsar, to have happened twenty-five years only, instead of fifty-three, before the birth of Christ. This error of the author does not

After this, when the allotted portions of the island were settled, Brutus wished to build a city, and went along the coast in search of a proper situation, till he came to the Thames; and, having found one on this river, he built a city, and called it, Troia Newydd, (*New Troy*) a name it long retained; but which was afterwards corrupted into Troynovant, <sup>1</sup> "and afterwards changed into Caer-Ludd," (*Lud's Town*) by Ludd the son of Beli the Great, and brother of the Casswallon (*Cassibelan*) who fought with Julius Cæsar. For this Ludd, when he became king, fortified it strongly by various contrivances, and annexed lands to it; but the change of the name and the abolishing

Brutus now thought proper to suppress the old name of Albion, and call the country after his own name; as a testimony to future ages, that he had originally caused it to be inhabited. It was therefore called Britain, and the inhabitants Britons from thenceforth.

To Corineus he gave the country he had explored, which Corineus called, in allusion to his own name, <sup>2</sup> Cornwall, and the inhabitants Cornavians.

Brutus also, and his own followers, having chosen a situation on the magnificent river, the Thames, built a city, to which they gave the name of New Troy; a name which it preserved to the time of Ludd ap Beli ap Mynogan. <sup>3</sup> "For Ludd, during his reign, fortified the city strongly with walls and towers, and called it, after his own name, Caer-Ludd; though this was warmly opposed

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affect either the facts, or the order of the facts. It is merely an error of the author's system applied to the facts.

The principle he has adopted appears to be this. He says that Cymbeline began to reign P. D. 2246, and that in his reign Christ was born. But as he reckons the years of Cymbeline's reign, by the years from our Saviour's birth, it is to be inferred, that he places this event in the first year of Cymbeline; and consequently that he

dates the arrival of Brutus according to his own system, B. C. 1046; but allowing for his fundamental error, B. C. 1074.

<sup>1</sup> Another omission, supplied from the other copies.

<sup>2</sup> In the Welsh, Cernyw and Cornaviaid. The name of Corineus, is in the Welsh written Ceryn. See also Gir. Camb. Descrip. Camb. ch. i.

<sup>3</sup> B. G. and G. M. and B. T. the latter omitting what is said of Gildas.



that of Troy, caused a disagreement between him and his brother Niniaw. At last it was called London by the Saxons.

When Brutus had finished the building of the city, and had fortified it with walls and towers, and dedicated it, he made laws to be observed by its inhabitants, for the preservation of peace, and gave it prerogative and privilege.

About this time, Eli was priest in Judea, and the ark of the covenant was in the possession of the Philistines. In Troy, a son of Hector's who had expelled Antenor and his family, was king; and, in Italy, Silvius, the son of Ascanius, and grandson of Æneas; and the uncle of Brutus reigned the third king after Latinus.

Brutus had, by his wife Inogen, three sons, viz. Locrinus, Camber, and Albanactus; and died in the twenty-fourth year after his arrival in the island.

by his brother Niniaw, who wished the ancient name to be retained. But as Gildas has been copious on the subject of this dissention, conscious of my own inferiority to that 'learned and eloquent man, I pursue it no farther."

Here Brutus solemnized his marriage with Inogen, and had by her three sons; Locrinus, Camber, and Albanactus; and after a peaceable reign of twenty-four years, he died, and was buried honorably in the city he had founded.

<sup>1</sup> This reference to so early a part of Welsh History, to be found in the writings of the real Gildas, is directly in opposition to that, which is asserted by the spurious Gildas, of the total loss of Welsh historic records.

last of Troy, caused a disagreement between him and his brother  
 Hector. The latter, who was called London by the Britons,  
 when he was had reached the building of the city, had had for-  
 tified it with walls and towers, and dedicated it to the gods to be  
 observed by his subjects, for the preservation of peace, and gave  
 it the name of London.  
 About this time, he was prince in London, and the ark of the  
 covenant was in the possession of the Philistines. In Troy, a son  
 of Hector, who had married Antenor and his family, was king; and  
 in London, the son of Aeneas, and grandson of Anchises, and  
 the uncle of Hector, reigned the third king after London.  
 About this time, he was prince in London, and the ark of the  
 covenant was in the possession of the Philistines. In Troy, a son  
 of Hector, who had married Antenor and his family, was king; and  
 in London, the son of Aeneas, and grandson of Anchises, and  
 the uncle of Hector, reigned the third king after London.  
 About this time, he was prince in London, and the ark of the  
 covenant was in the possession of the Philistines. In Troy, a son  
 of Hector, who had married Antenor and his family, was king; and  
 in London, the son of Aeneas, and grandson of Anchises, and  
 the uncle of Hector, reigned the third king after London.

by his brother London, who reigned in London, and the ark of the  
 covenant was in the possession of the Philistines. In Troy, a son  
 of Hector, who had married Antenor and his family, was king; and  
 in London, the son of Aeneas, and grandson of Anchises, and  
 the uncle of Hector, reigned the third king after London.  
 About this time, he was prince in London, and the ark of the  
 covenant was in the possession of the Philistines. In Troy, a son  
 of Hector, who had married Antenor and his family, was king; and  
 in London, the son of Aeneas, and grandson of Anchises, and  
 the uncle of Hector, reigned the third king after London.

This reference is to the fact that the ark of the covenant was  
 in the possession of the Philistines. In Troy, a son of Hector,  
 who had married Antenor and his family, was king; and in London,  
 the son of Aeneas, and grandson of Anchises, and the uncle of Hector,  
 reigned the third king after London.



## BOOK THE SECOND.

*History of the Kings of Britain, from the Death of Brutus  
to the Invasion by the Romans.*

**W**HEN Brutus was dead, his sons <sup>1</sup> partitioned the island amongst themselves; Locrinus as eldest son, took, as his share, the middle portion, and therefore this part was called Loegr, in reference to his name. The portion beyond the Severn fell to the lot of Camber, and from his name received that of Cambria. The third portion, which extends northwards from the Humber to <sup>2</sup> Penrhyn Bladon, and is now called Scotland, was taken by Albanactus, and from his name called Albany. Thus they all reigned at one and the same time.

Some time after this partition had taken place <sup>3</sup> Hymyr (*Humber*) king of the Huns, with a large fleet invaded Albany, defeated Albanactus, and compelled his subjects to fly to Locrinus for protection.

<sup>1</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, who certainly was not partial to Geoffrey of Monmouth, mentions this tradition almost in the same words, which sufficiently proves, that Geoffrey was not the inventor of it. The tradition is certainly very ancient, though it is erroneous as to the etymology; its proper intent will be considered in the appendix.

<sup>2</sup> This name I have not found in any other copy, and it is some proof of the antiquity of this. It signifies the *promon-*

*tory of Bladon*, perhaps *Blatum Bulgium*, or *Bulness*.

<sup>3</sup> There is a district in the province of Groningen called Hunsingo, on the river Hunse. I therefore presume that this was the country of the Huns mentioned in the text, and that they were in reality Cimbri, as the names Umber, Humber, Cumber and Cimber are originally the same, as also Hymr and Kymr. The name of the chief may be more properly that of the clan.

Locrinus therefore called in Camber to his aid; and, at the head of all the forces they could raise in the dominions of both, they attacked and defeated the enemy. Humber himself was drowned in the river, which from that time has borne his name. After the victory, Locrinus distributed the spoils of the dead, and the booty found in the ships, amongst his army.

In one of these ships he found three young women of singular beauty, one of whom, by name <sup>1</sup> Epyllt, was daughter to a king of Germany, and had been carried off by Hymyr when he had plundered that country. Her complexion was fairer than the purest snow, the plumage of the swan, or the bone of the sea-horse; and Locrinus instantly enamoured of her charms took her as his wife, <sup>2</sup> 'but not as wife in dower,' a conduct which, as soon as it reached the ears of Corineus, put him into a rage, as Locrinus had promised to marry his daughter. Thus provoked, Corineus hasted to Locrinus, and shaking his axe over his head exclaimed, 'Is it thus the wounds which I received in wars against foreigners, the enemies of your father, are to be recompensed; by your desertion of my daughter, and your illegal marriage with another? This shall never be whilst my arm can wield this axe, beneath which, many a giant has fallen.' So saying, he brandished the axe, as if with the intention of striking him, but their friends prevented it, and prevailed on them to agree, Locrinus marrying the daughter of Corineus.

Notwithstanding this marriage, the attachment of Locrinus to Epyllt continued undiminished, and having formed a secret residence, <sup>3</sup> 'under ground,' for her in London; he there entrusted her to the care of

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<sup>1</sup> The Estrildis of G. M. but in all the Welsh copies written as above Epyllt. This name may be merely an abbreviation of *Epyllydd*, i. e. a woman of Epyll, or the country on the Yssel; which, from the

very indefinite use of the name Germany by our author, I am inclined to believe is its true meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>3</sup> B. G. Ms. B. &c.



persons in his confidence. As he feared Corineus, he did not dare to visit her openly, and therefore excused his absence, when he did visit her, under the pretext of private sacrifice. But at the end of seven years, which had passed in this manner, Corineus died, and Locrinus immediately forsook Gwendoleu, and produced Eysyllt in public, and made her the partner of his bed and throne. Gwendoleu deeply affected by the insult, retired to Cornwall, where she raised an army against Locrinus. Their forces met near the river Vyrram, and a severe engagement ensued, in which Locrinus was slain by an arrow, which pierced his forehead.

Gwendoleu now took the sovereignty of the island into her own hands, and ordered Eysyllt, and her daughter <sup>1</sup> Hafren, to be drowned in a river, from thenceforth called Hafren (Severn) as it will be called to the last day, in memory of this daughter of Locrinus. Gwendoleu reigned twelve years after the death of Locrinus, (who had himself reigned for <sup>2</sup> so many when he died), and then, as her son Madoc was of age to reign, gave up the government to him, and withdrew to her government in Cornwall,<sup>3</sup> “which was her dowry,” for the remainder of her life.

Madoc married and had two sons, Membyr and Mael, and died after a quiet reign of <sup>4</sup> twelve years.

<sup>1</sup> The Severn is in Welsh called Hafren, which by the prefix *s*, not uncommon in proper names, in various languages, has been converted into Sabrina by the Romans. This prefix seems to be the article, but it is difficult to ascertain its origin. As to the name *Hafren* itself, I conceive it to have been originally *Hafran*, from *HAF* the south, and *RHAN* a division. Somersetshire and Wilts in general are by the

Welsh called *Gwlad yr Haf*, or the country of the summer, i. e. the southern country. Hence *Afon* or *Avon yr Hafran* will signify the river of the southern division as being one limit of it.

<sup>2</sup> Gwendoleu reigned fifteen, and Locrinus ten, B. G. G. M. and Ms. B.

<sup>3</sup> B. G. &c.

<sup>4</sup> Forty B. G. G. M. and Ms. B.

His sons, each being eager for the sole sovereignty, entered into a contest for it, and Membyr having invited his brother Mael to a conference, as for the purpose of a peaceable termination of it, assassinated him. Thus possessed of the sovereignty, Membyr became so tyrannical, that he cut off the men of rank, lest they should aspire to the government; and forsaking his wife, the mother of <sup>1</sup> Efroc the Great, by a perversion of the law of nature addicted himself to the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah. At length, in the twentieth year of his reign, as he was one day engaged in the chase, in a woody glen, and at a distance from his company, he was devoured by wolves.

Upon the death of Membyr, Efroc his son succeeded him, and reigned <sup>2</sup> thirty years. This was the first of the kings, who with a fleet attacked Gaul, since Brutus had done so. There he ravaged the country with fire and sword, and returned victorious, and rich in booty; having burned the cities there, and levelled the castles to the ground. He also founded the city called after his name, Efroc, (York) during the time when David reigned at Jerusalem; and built the <sup>3</sup> Caer Efroc (*Alcluyd*) opposite to Albany, and the castle of the mountain <sup>4</sup> Angned, now called Morynion Castle on the hill of Dolur, (*Pain*.)

<sup>1</sup> This name is written Efroc or Eyrawe, and is the same as the Ebraucus of G. M. and the Ebrancus of others.

<sup>2</sup> The other copies say thirty-nine.

<sup>3</sup> Here again the most antient name is preserved. In the other copies the more modern one of *Alcluyd* only is found. The proper signification of *Alcluyd* is the *Clan*, or perhaps *the district of the Clyde*. It cannot, as Camden thought it could, signify the same as *ar Cluyd*, that is, *on the Clyde*.

<sup>4</sup> Of this name I can make nothing. Morynion Castle has been translated Maiden Castle, and as far as the sound of the name Morynion, which might easily be confounded with Morwynion rightly. But I think the name of Maiden Castle, has,

in respect to the several castles bearing the name, been given only in consequence of such a translation from approximation of sound where the original meaning was forgotten; and that the word Morynion originally signified *Morini*, or *people on the coast*; and therefore, if this conjecture be right, these were castles belonging to such *Morini*. I. G. L. says, that Edinburgh was called Maiden Castle; there was another on Stanemoor in Westmorland, but he supposes the one referred to in the text to be Warwick.

I suspect a similar mistake as to the original reading of the word *Dolur*, and that it was *Dol-hir*, that is, *the long glen*, but can say no more.



Efroc had by his twenty wives, twenty sons and thirty daughters, and reigned <sup>1</sup> forty years.

These were the names of his sons, Brutus Greenshield (the eldest.) § Gilius, Rhun Moryd Bleiddyn, Iago, § Calan, Cynar, Ysbladden, Gwryl, Dardan, Eidiol, Ivor, § Gwychyr, § Goronwy, Hector, § Cyhelin, § Rhad, Assaracus, Howel. <sup>2</sup> "The names of the daughters were Gloywgain, Inogen, Eudaws, Gwenlliant, Gwawrddydd, Angharad, Gwendoley, Tangwystyl, Gorgon, Meddlan, Methhael, Efrar, Maelfre, Camreda, Ragan, Gwael, Ertus, Nest, Cein, Stadud, Efren, Blaengein, Afallach, Angaes, Galaes, (the most beautiful women of that age in Britain or Gaul) Gweyrfil, Perweur, Eurdrech, Edra, Anor, Stadyalt, Egron."

These sons and daughters were sent by their father to Italy, where Silvius Albanus, who had succeeded to Silvius Latinus, reigned at this time. There the daughters were given in marriage to persons of rank, and of Trojan extraction; and the sons, under the command

<sup>1</sup> The number of years Efroc reigned, were a little before stated in this copy to be *thirty*, and here they are said to be *forty*. The error seems to be an omission as to the former number, as the other copies read thirty-nine in both places. Such variations in numerals frequently occur in old Mss. and are probably to be attributed to the mode of copying, which seems to have been that one person read, and as he read another wrote; so that the correctness of a copy depended on both.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the six names to which this mark § is prefixed, the following are given in B. G. viz. Mareddydd, Seisyllt, Geraint, Bodlan, Rhys, Cynga. It also reads Asser, probably for Assaracus. Some of the variations may have arisen from the confounding epithets with names. But here it is of very little consequence. It may to those, who are unacquainted with the old British customs, seem strange, that so many names

should be thus recorded; but it is perfectly conformable to those customs of the Britons and of other nations, in which the pedigree was of importance. In Britain great care was necessarily taken of them, as property, and the aid and protection of clanship depended on them. It was, by the statute of Gruffyth ap Cynan, and by the old laws, the province of the Bard to record them, and even not long ago a copy of verses presented to the patron, seldom, if ever, failed to display the poet's knowledge and celebration of the patron's pedigree. And here it may be right to observe, that the family books of pedigrees are by no means bare lists of names, but have frequently, indeed generally, family and other anecdotes of the times recorded, with the names to which they are related.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in the copy B. T. and supplied from B. G.

of Assaracus, went from thence with their fleet to <sup>1</sup> Germany, where by the aid of Silvius Albanus they gained possession of the country, and settled there.

But Brutus Greenshield remained with his father, and having reigned after his father's death, ten years, was succeeded by his own son <sup>2</sup> Leon the Great, a just and upright king, who gave freedom to the constitution of the kingdom. He built Chester in the North, about the time when Solomon was building the Temple of Jerusalem; and the queen of the South went thither to hear his wisdom. Leon reigned fifteen years, and in his latter days was very infirm, and as he was unable to attend to business, a civil war arose in consequence "between the clans."

<sup>3</sup> Rhun Paladr-fras (*Rhun of the thick shaft*) the son of Leon, succeeding his father, reigned forty-one years. By him the troubles of the kingdom were suppressed, and tranquility restored. He also built Canterbury and Winchester, and <sup>4</sup> the city on the mount of

<sup>1</sup> Here, as unhappily in most other places, the translator has used the name familiar to himself, and it will hereafter appear that he has done it erroneously.

<sup>2</sup> "Other chronicles say, that Leon had a brother called Leil," I. G. L. Also, instead of the name of Leon, which is given in all the Welsh copies of Brut I have seen, G. M. has Leil; and he also calls the city in the north Carlisle. There seems then to be an omission in the text, which ought to be thus supplied, "He built Chester, and his brother Leil built a city in the north called *Caer-leil*;" for Chester is to this day known by the name of *Caer-Leon-gawr* (*the city of Leon the Great*) and so far confirms the history.

<sup>3</sup> No proper name in the whole course of this history, has been so mangled as this, by the copyists. It here exists in a regular and intelligible form, and does so in all

the Welsh copies; whilst in all the Latin copies it is corrupted into the unmeaning and ridiculous name immortalised by Butler in his *Hudibras*. The name is in some pedigrees read contractedly *Rhudd-p-bras*, and probably hence the error arose. But this error, as well as the preceding, shews that there were different copies of the Brut extant, and that Geoffrey was not well read in Welsh pedigrees, or history; or he could not have committed it. I believe he knew but little of either.

<sup>4</sup> In a note upon Camden, and in a Ms. copy of an essay, by Mr. Vaughan, on the Triads, it is said, that "the inhabitants of Shaftsbury had a tradition that there stood an old city upon the place called the Castle Green, and by some *Polebury*, whereby, in the west side of the old chapel of St. John, standeth a Roman inscription; which plainly proveth the



the Shaft,<sup>1</sup> “in English called Shaftsbury,” where the<sup>2</sup> eagle prophesied the fate of Britain,<sup>3</sup> “whilst the city was building.” About this time Solomon finished the building of the Temple of Jerusalem.

Blaidydd, the son of Rhun, came next to the throne, and reigned twenty years. He built Caervaddon, (*Bath*) and formed there a<sup>4</sup> warm unguent to be a perpetual remedy for the diseased. Moreover,

“name and antiquity of the place to be “far more ancient than Alfred.” Together with this tradition, which is of weight; the Welsh name, which is applied as an epithet to Rhun, confirms it. But what this *Shaft* was, the christian author either did not know, or did not chuse to explain: I believe it was a round tower of the same kind as those in Ireland, as it is a sense of which, the Welsh word *Paladr* with propriety admits, and moreover that it was a receptacle of the sacred fire, and that the word *Eryr* (translated eagle) is a corruption of *Airur* (the irradiator) and that hence the prophetic strains of the priests of the tower have been said to be delivered by an eagle; which rested on a tower. This last circumstance is noted in some verses attributed to Gildas, and which are quoted by Fordun as his. They were certainly written by one acquainted with the Welsh Brut, as they refer to a tradition not to be found in the Latin copies. As they appear in Fordun they are incorrect; as they were also in a very antient Ms. at Wynnstay, not of a later date, as far as I can judge, than the fourteenth century, in which I found them; but from a collation of both I have endeavoured to restore them to their original form; they are these:

Bruti posteritas Albanis associata  
Anglica regna premet peste, labore, nece,  
Regnabunt Britones Albanæ gentis amici

Cum scotis Britones propria regna regent  
Antiquum nomen insula tota feret,  
Ut profert Aquila veteri de turre locuta.

In Camden's edition of Fordun, page 634, the last of the above lines has *terrâ*, and the Wynnstay Ms. has *thure* instead of *turre*. The correction was suggested by the reference to a tower already stated.

<sup>1</sup> Now called *Septon*, B. G. and Ms. B.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth has given a very sufficient reason for not translating from his Welsh Ms. the prophecy of the eagle, viz. that he did not believe it genuine. The same reason will excuse me for a similar omission. As this prophecy appears in the Welsh Mss. it seems to be a former part of that attributed to Merlin; and it may be worthy of notice, that many of the popular English prophecies, such as Nixon's, &c. are translations or imitations of Merlin's.

<sup>3</sup> G. M.

<sup>4</sup> From this expression it should seem, that the mud of the Bath waters was used as an unguent, in the time of the writer, unless it be a mistake of his. There is a tradition that Bladud discovered the virtues of the waters, by their effect on his pigs. This is no way improbable: the virtues of the waters of Bareges are said by the peasantry of the neighbourhood, to have been discovered by observing, that some of their sheep, when wounded by the wolves, went and stood in the waters; and were healed much sooner than by any other means. And as *Bacddfan* or *Baeddán* signifies the place of the boar, there may be an allusion to the circumstance of the discovery of Bladud in *Baddon*, the Welsh name of Bath; and I think there is.

by sacrificing to the <sup>1</sup>enchantress called Minerva, he kindled an inextinguishable fire there; which, when it appeared to burn out, <sup>2</sup>rekindled in balls of fire. This was done about the time, when, <sup>3</sup>in consequence of the prophet's (*Elijah's*) prayer, there was no rain for three years and <sup>4</sup>six months. Blaiddyd was also active in scientific pursuits; he was the first who introduced the <sup>5</sup>magic art into Britain, nor did he cease in such studies untill essaying to fly with a pair of wings, which he had invented, he fell down on a temple of Apollo in London, and was dashed to pieces.

<sup>1</sup> *Dewines*. The other copies read *Duwies* (a goddess). The name Minerva seems to be of Cimbric origin, for *y fun arcau*, pronounced *y vin arcau*, signifies the maiden of arms, and it would be difficult to find so appropriate a derivation otherwise.

<sup>2</sup> This is evidently the discovery of the use of coals, which abound in the neighbourhood of Bath; and the narrative appears to indicate that the sacrifice was the means of the discovery, which it might very well be, if by any chance coals had been used in the construction of the altar.

<sup>3</sup> James, ch. 5.

<sup>4</sup> The original reads *seven*, but erroneously and singly in the error.

<sup>5</sup> The original has *Nigromans*, i. e. *Necromancy*. But it is evidently used as a general name for Magic, to which the populace have always been ready to attribute whatever effect of art or science exceeded their comprehension. It is remarkable with what tenacity tales of wonder of this kind, and the names connected with them, are traditionally retained. Friar Bacon's brazen head has been celebrated by thousands, and is yet the subject of popular admiration in the cottage and the nursery. If then this, which is now con-

sidered as so simple an invention, should in an age of some degree of learning, have given birth to so permanent and general a tradition; the more valuable and extraordinary discoveries of Bladud may well have produced a similar effect. But there is also another authority for the truth of the history, which has been noticed by Mr. Vaughan, of Heugwrt, in his essay on the Welsh Triads. This is a coin, from which an engraving is given by Camden, Tab. I. fig. 12. On the obverse is a head, the figure is continued to the shoulders, and on these are wings. The legend on this side is VLATOS. On the reverse is the figure of somewhat like an Unicorn, and the legend ATEVLA. That the head and the legend around it relate to Bladud, I agree with Mr. Vaughan. The inscription on the reverse he considers as intended for *Addola*, or as it would in old writings appear *Adola*. But in this, he is I think mistaken; I am persuaded it is meant for *Addef-lla*, literally a gift of promise, which would have been written formerly *Adefla* or *Atevla*, and that it is an *ex voto*, a coin or medal, stamped so in grateful commemoration of some signal benefit received by the use of the waters, and probably by a Roman.



The next, who reigned, was Lear, the son of Blaiddyd, and during forty years he maintained the public tranquility by his spirited exertions. He built a city on the river Soar, called in Welsh, *Caer-Lyr*, and in English, *Leicester*. He had three daughters, <sup>2</sup> *Goronilla*, *Ragaw*, and *Cordalia*, whom he fondly loved, and more especially *Cordalia*, the youngest: and finding his spirits fail, as he grew old, he conceived the design of dividing his kingdom into three parts, and giving one of them to each of his daughters; and also of putting their affection to proof, and thence deciding on which of them to bestow the largest share.

With this intent he asked his eldest daughter how great was the love she bore him? To which she replied, with the most solemn asseveration, that she loved him more than her own soul. Then, said he, 'Since thou lovest me more than thou lovest any other, I will bestow thee on the man of thy choice, and with thee a third of my realm.'

The second daughter, in reply to the same question, answered, in like manner, that he was more dear to her than all this earth could give; and delighted by her answer, he gave her also a third of his dominions.

But *Cordalia*, indignant at the deceit and falsehood of her sisters, determined to answer with moderation. When therefore the same question was addressed to her, she replied, My lord and father, there may be some who affect an attachment they do not feel. My love however shall be such as a daughter owes in duty to a father. It shall be proportionate to its motive,<sup>2</sup> "and love is in general proportioned to the wealth, the health, and the power of the person beloved."

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<sup>1</sup> Thus these three names are found in the Welsh copies, and they are therefore left so. The first is a derivative from *coron* (a crown) the second perhaps from *rhag* (a gift) and, if the proper form be *Rhegan*, a diminutive. Of the origin of the third, I am ignorant.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. G. O. in which the sense of this passage is presented in a much more intelligible and consistent form than in the other copies.

When Lear heard this reply, conceiving it strictly to express her sentiments, he suddenly flew into passion and exclaimed, 'Such then be henceforth my love for thee, since such is thine for my old age. No share of Britain shall be thine, thy sisters shall have all: and though I say not, that I will not give thee in marriage, should the occasion occur, because thou art a daughter of mine, yet neither wealth nor honour shall attend thee; for though I have preferred thee to thy sisters, thou lovest me not.'

Thus determined, he, by the advice of his nobles, gave his two other daughters in marriage; the eldest to <sup>1</sup>the Prince of Cornwall, and the second to <sup>2</sup>the Prince of the North, and divided his kingdom between them.

Sometime after this had taken place, it so happened, that <sup>3</sup>Aganippus, king of Gaul, heard of the great merits and beauty of Cordalia highly extolled, and sent a proposal of marriage. To which her father's answer was, that it had his consent, but that, having given up his whole dominions to his two other daughters, he had no dowry to give with her. But this reply no way affected the mind of Aganippus. For now, assured of her beauty, he was the more attached to her, and answered that, sufficiently provided as he was with wealth, his only remaining wish was, a noble alliance, by which he might hope for heirs to inherit it. The marriage was therefore speedily solemnised. The other Princes also took possession of their territories, which Lear had so long governed firmly; and Maglawn, the Prince of Albany, took Lear, attended by forty knights, that he might feel no mortification, home with him.

But in three months Goronilla became weary of the number of knights, as throwing her house and servants into confusion, and told

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<sup>1</sup> *Einion*. See the sequel. This is the Henunius of G. M.

<sup>2</sup> *Maglawn*. See the sequel.

<sup>3</sup> See the appendix.



her father that, as ten might suffice, he should dismiss the rest. Whereupon Lear in a rage left Maglawn, and went to the Prince of Cornwall, by whom he was honourably received.

But towards the end of the year, a dissention arose between the attendants of both parties, and they fought; and on this account Ragaw, displeased with her father, insisted that he should dismiss all his knights but five. Greatly distressed as Lear now was, he departed, and went once more to his eldest daughter, in the hope that she had forgotten her resentment. But she angrily told him, that he should not reside with her, unless he dismissed all his knights in his service but one; adding that an old man had no need of such parade; wherefore, unable to prevail farther with her, he remained there attended by one knight only.

And now meditating on his former greatness, he fell into a great depression of spirits. At one time he would think of going over to his daughter who was in Gaul; but again this thought was checked by the recollection of his unkindness to her. At length, unable to bear with the insolence of his two other daughters, he put to sea for Gaul. And when he was on board, and saw but three knights with him, he burst into tears, and thus bewailed his misfortunes.

‘ To what will my fate reduce me! alas, how much more severe is the remembrance of greatness lost, than a life of poverty that has never looked to honours. The time has been, when an army followed my steps to besiege towns and fortresses, and was enriched by the spoils of the enemy; now, they who were once at my feet, have in my poverty forsaken me. Oh! that the hour of revenge would come. Too true, my Cordalia, were thy words, that affection is in proportion to the power of the person beloved. Whilst I had wherewithall to give, all loved me; but with my power to give, they are all fled. How then for shame shall I be able to see thee, with whom, though

far superior to thy sisters, I have taken offence. I have given them my dominions, and they have driven me as a fugitive from them.'

In this manner he continued to lament his misfortunes from time to time, until he arrived at the city <sup>1</sup>"Carytia," where his daughter resided. When he sent to greet his daughter, and inform her of his being there, Cordalia thus informed, immediately sent her father a large sum of money, and requested that he would go to a neighbouring city; and when there, represent himself as indisposed, and taking medicines for his recovery, and in the mean time provide habiliments proper for a king: she also desired that he should procure <sup>2</sup> forty knights as a retinue, and furnish them with horses, arms, and suitable apparel; and when all was ready, to send a message to announce his arrival to his son-in-law and his daughter. These instructions were accordingly observed, and Aganippus, as soon as he heard of Lear's arrival, went, attended by his court to meet him, and entertained him with all the respect due to a king.

Aganippus soon afterwards levied a large force throughout Gaul, and more especially of cavalry, and Lear and Cordalia came at the head of it to Britain, engaged with and defeated Lear's sons-in-law, and thus he recovered his kingdom. Lear survived the event not more than three years, and nearly at the same time Aganippus died also.

Cordalia now took the sovereignty of Britain into her own hands. Lear was buried in a cavern formed <sup>3</sup>below the River Soar at Leicester,

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<sup>1</sup> B. G. and G. M. All the other copies I have seen, that from which the text is taken included, read *Paris* instead of this ancient name, which is at once a proof of its own correctness, and of the injury done to the history by the translators, who have substituted names familiar to them, according to their own ideas of their propriety. Carytia is evidently an abridge-

ment of *Caer-Ylia* or *Caer-Itia*, the *Portus Itius* of Caesar, that is *Witsan*; which, the translators, as it is stated to be a royal residence, concluded must be *Paris*. The introduction of the ancient name into the text, needs I hope, no further apology.

<sup>2</sup> Sixty, B. G. and Ms. B.

<sup>3</sup> See the appendix.



and which had been magnificently constructed in honour of the God Bifrons. <sup>1</sup> Here likewise all the artificers of the kingdom were assembled annually, to work at what trade soever they were to pursue, to the end of the year from that time.

The tranquility of the kingdom under Cordalia's government was at the end of five years disturbed by her two nephews, Morgan the son of Maglawn, Prince of Albany; and Cynedda, the son of Einion, Prince of Cornwall, who objected to the government under a woman, as disgraceful, and raised an insurrection against her. This was followed by a battle in which Cordalia was taken, and being imprisoned, she in despair put an end to her own life.

The nephews now divided the dominion of the island between themselves, Morgan taking the territory to the north of the Humber, and Cynedda the southern part. But at the end of the second year, Morgan, naturally turbulent, and now impatient that Cynedda had the sovereignty, and a double portion of territory, complained loudly of it as an injury to himself, who as son of the eldest of Lear's daughters, he said, had a better right. He then began to ravage Cynedda's territories, but Cynedda soon advanced against him with a strong force, routed him and pursued him from place to place, till they came to Maesmawr, in Glanmorgan, where Morgan was slain in a battle, nearly on the spot on which the monastery of Morgan now stands, and there he was buried.

Cynedda thus possessed of the sovereignty, died after a happy and tranquil reign of thirteen years; and on the eleventh of the calends of May following, Romulus and Remus began to build Rome.

Rhiwallon the son of Cynedda reigned next, and being young and of a mild disposition, had a peaceable reign. In his time it

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<sup>1</sup> See the appendix.

rained blood for three days, which was followed by a great mortality,<sup>1</sup> “caused by the numerous insects, which fell in the form of<sup>2</sup> grubs with the rain, and by some other kind of pestilence.”

After Rhiwallon there reigned successively,

Gorwst the son of Rhiwallon,

Saisyllt,

Iago, nephew of Gorwst,

Cynfarch, son of Saisyllt,

<sup>3</sup> Gwrifyw dygn (*or the persevering.*)

This Gwrifyw had two sons, <sup>4</sup> Fervex and Porrex; who, when their father declined in years and health, became contentious for the sovereignty, and Porrex in his resentment laid a plot to assassinate his brother. Fervex, as soon as he discovered this design, went to Siward, king of Gaul, and having obtained forces from him, returned and defeated his brother in battle, and slew him, and the greatest part of his army. But their mother <sup>5</sup> “Widon,” enraged at the death of her son, entering Porrex’s chamber by night, by the assistance of her women, murdered him in his sleep, and cut the body in pieces.

The kingdom was, after this transaction, for a considerable time exposed to troubles and civil wars, in which many endeavoured to gain

<sup>1</sup> B. G. Mss. B. and G. O. and G. M.

<sup>2</sup> This is conformable to experience, for Linnaeus discovered that red animalcula were the cause of such a colour of rain.

<sup>3</sup> G. M. combining the name, and the epithet has made out the strange name *Gorbodugo*.

<sup>4</sup> These names are also read Ferrex and Porrex, and from the termination *rex* in both, I should think it merely the Latin word annexed, and continued by a blunder of the copyists.

<sup>5</sup> Widon, B. G. Widen, G. M. Gwen or Bidena, I. G. L. “When the partizans of her son, who were near at hand, had heard and seen that this horrible deed was done, they took her and put her in a sack, and threw her alive into the Tain, (Thames) where she was drowned. The two sons thus having died without issue (after five years spent in ambitious broils) with them, according to most authors, ended the direct line of Brutus.” I. G. L.



the sovereignty; and the result of which was, that the island was divided into five kingdoms, under so many kings, who again were by turns at variance.

At length, but very long afterwards, a young man arose called Dyfnwall Moelmyd, the son of <sup>1</sup> Clydno, Earl of Cornwall, and superior to any of the kings of Britain of his time in person and courage; and he having succeeded by his father's death to his possessions, engaged with and slew <sup>2</sup> Pymed the king of Loegria. And when this was made known to <sup>3</sup> Nydaws, king of Cambria, and <sup>4</sup> Theodore king of Scotland, they joined their forces, and began to ravage the territories of Dyfnwal; who therefore at the head of thirty thousand men came up with them, and gave them battle. For a great part of the day the event was doubtful, and then Dyfnwal perceiving it rather to turn against him, selected sixty of his bravest men, and disguising them and himself in the dress and armour of the slain of the enemy, with no more than these sixty penetrated first to the station of Nydaws and slew him, and then to that of Pymed whom he also slew. When this was effected, he resumed his own dress, lest his own soldiers should kill him; and renewing the engagement, gained a complete victory; after which, he seized on their territories, destroyed their castles, and reduced all Britain under his own power from sea to sea.

<sup>5</sup> "Tranquility being thus established" he caused a crown of gold to be made and wore it on his head. He also restored the old form

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<sup>1</sup> In some old books he is called Dyfnfarth, the son of Prydain, *Triad* 38, page 67, of the *Archiology*. In the Pedigree of the Penrhyn family, Dyfnwal is said to be the son of Cyrdon, son of Dyfnfarth ap Prydain. See *sketch of the early History of the Britons*.

<sup>2</sup> Pymmer, B. G. Mss. A. and G. O. Ymmer, G. M. There is no knowing which

it ought to be, when such a name occurs only in one passage.

<sup>3</sup> *Nydawc*, B. G. and Ms. G. O. *Nidyawc*, Ms. B. *Rudancus* G. M.

<sup>4</sup> *Stater*, B. G. and Ms. B. *Staterius*, G. M. and *Yscadyr*, Ms. G. O.

<sup>5</sup> B. G.

of government, and established the laws, known by the name of the <sup>1</sup>laws of Dyfnwal Moelmyd (which the Saxons still observe;) and gave privileges of refuge to the temples and cities, and to the <sup>2</sup>roads leading to the courts of justice, so that every one who fled to them, should find sanctuary there, in whatsoever he had offended; and go whither he would without the permission of his adversaries. He also made many other regulations, which <sup>3</sup>Gildas has written of, but too numerous to treat of here; such as the guardianship of the security of the roads leading to the principal towns, and the <sup>4</sup>granting great roads to the

<sup>1</sup> See the appendix.

<sup>2</sup> "If a man who killed another by mischance, or did any other evil unintentionally, could make his escape to a temple, a city of refuge, or even to a plough at work, he was safe from personal injury, and free from that time to go where he would." I. G. L.

Hic primus sibi fecit diadema ex auro. Hic fecit leges Mulmicias quæ adhuc servantur in Angliâ. Hic statuit, ut templa & strætæ, ipsæ quoque civitates, & aratra colonorum, ad se fugientes tuerentur. Huic successit Belinus. Hic vias publicas quatuor struxit, & leges, quas postea rex Aluredus scripsit, quas Gildas refert. Hic postea cum Brenno fratre Romam incendunt, sicut Orosius refert.

Gervas, Tilb. p. 35. Ed. Helmstadt, A.D. 1667.

*He first made himself a crown of gold; it was he who made the Molmutian laws, which are still observed in England: he enjoined, that temples, public roads, and cities themselves, and the farmer's ploughs should protect those who fled to them. He was succeeded by Belinus, who made four public roads, and made the laws which king Alfred afterwards wrote out; viz. those which Gildas mentions. He and his brother Brennus burned Rome, according to Orosius.*

Whether I. G. L. took his account of Dyfnwal's laws from Gervase, or not, I am unable to say. In the following extract another anecdote is given respecting an emendation of these laws by Edward the Confessor.

"Leges etiam quos Aluredus primo de Britannicâ in Anglicam transtulerat linguam emendavit (Edwardus). Similitèr quas Canutus statuerat ad stimulum correxit." *Godefridus Westmonasteriensis*. Ms. B. Museum Vesp. D. 4.

*He revised the laws which Alfred had first translated from the Welsh into English, and carefully corrected those of Canute.*

<sup>3</sup> Gildas the son of Caw, Ms. G. O. The very simple manner in which Gildas is noticed in the text, is a strong ground of presumption that he was the author of this history.

<sup>4</sup> Were these great roads military roads originally, and their use confined to military expeditions? or did Dyfnwall originally make great roads, and grant a public use of them? The words of the Welsh text, which are literally translated above, may admit of either sense. "Dyfnwall began the great roads which were completed by his son Beli." I. G. L.



temples and cities to the commonalty, so that in his time theft and violence were suppressed. He died after a reign of <sup>1</sup> forty years, from the time when he made and wore the crown of gold; and was buried in London in a <sup>2</sup> temple "of Concord," which he himself had built there.

After the death of Dyfnwal, his sons Beli and Bran began a violent contest for the sovereignty, which was appeased "after much disturbance" by the sage counsels of the nobles; and it was agreed, that the kingdom should be divided between the brothers, so that Beli, as eldest son, should have Loegria, and the whole of Wales, and the sovereignty; because that, <sup>3</sup> according to the old law of Troy, the eldest son inherited the whole estate of his father; and that Bran should have all to the north of the Humber, subject however to the sovereignty of his brother.

This arrangement was confirmed, and peace thus made between Beli and Bran; and for five years the tranquility was uninterrupted. But at the end of that time, Bran was excited to a rupture with his brother by the suggestions of those who wished to create disturbances. They represented it to him as a weakness, to yield a superiority to his brother, whose equal he was by birth, as being of the same father

<sup>1</sup> *Twenty-seven years*, Ms. G. O.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. G. O. G. M. and B. *Of peace*, B. G. "It stood where Blackwall now stands. He also built Malmsbury and "Caer-Odor (Bristol) so called because "it stands on a small river called Odor," I. G. L. The name Malmesbury or Moel-mud's Burg countenances the tradition. Camden on the authority of the *Eulogium Historiarum* adds, that Dyfnwal built also Lacock and Tetbury, and that the ancient name of Malmesbury was *Caer Bladon*, but I believe this to be a mistake.

<sup>3</sup> This remarkable observation, and the reasoning upon it, indicate two interesting circumstances. 1st. That gavel-kind was the original custom of Britain; and 2d. That it was not the custom of the nation, from which the colony, said to have been conducted by Brutus, came to Britain. And hence it may be inferred, that this colony had now nearly emerged in the original race of the Britons.

and mother, and therefore equal in rights. <sup>1</sup>“Moreover,” said they, “you have been more engaged in feuds and wars than he; and, when <sup>1</sup>Edwetro, prince of <sup>2</sup>Marien, invaded your country, you expelled him from it. Break off, then, this disgraceful convention with your brother. Go to the king of <sup>3</sup>Llychlyn, and marry his daughter, and so you will obtain a power to recover your rights.”

Bran thus impelled, took his departure for Llychlyn, to marry <sup>4</sup>“Elsing,” the king’s daughter. This conduct gave great offence and sorrow to Beli, who considered it as unworthy of his brother, that without any intimation of the purpose, he should seek aid by such means against him. Beli therefore crossed the Humber with a large army, seized the towns and castles, and garrisoned them with his own men. And when Bran heard of it, he set sail with a great force, which he had collected in Llychlyn. But, as he was proceeding towards Britain with a fair wind, he was encountered by <sup>5</sup>Gwychlan, king of Denmark, who had pursued him for the sake of the princess, which being perceived by Bran, he prepared his ships for an engagement, and a severe battle ensued, during which the king of Denmark having grappled with the ships, in which Bran’s wife was, drew it into the midst of his own fleet. Presently afterwards a storm arose, and dispersed both fleets. <sup>6</sup>“At length after five days, during which, the king of Denmark and the lady had been severely driven about by the tempest; they were thrown on the northern coast of Britain,” where

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<sup>1</sup> Thelf, B. G. Chelf, Prince of Morgan. A. Ehenlphus, G. M.

<sup>2</sup> Moryan, B. G. *Morgan*, A. probably the Morini.

<sup>3</sup> The name Llychlyn comprehends Norway and Sweden.

<sup>4</sup> B. G. *Esling*, Ms. G. O. The name in the text has been preferred, because it is a constituent part of the names *Helsingia* and *Helsingburgh*.

<sup>5</sup> This name is truly Cimbric, i.e. Welsh, and signifies *Fair city*. Whence it may be inferred, that the Cimbri or Cymry were at this time in Denmark. The other copies read *Gwythlaeh* or *Guthlach*.

<sup>6</sup> An omission in the original, supplied from G. M.



they were seized by the country people, and brought to Beli, who was there <sup>1</sup>“on a promontary of the coast” awaiting his brother’s arrival. With the king of Denmark’s ships, there were also three of Bran’s fleet, a circumstance which gave Beli great pleasure, as it seemed to be a beginning of retribution to his brother. In a few days more, Bran, having collected his scattered ships, landed on the northern coast; and, having learned that Beli had seized on his territories, sent to require that his wife should be set at liberty, and his territories restored, or that he would ravage the island from sea to sea; and put Beli to death whenever he could lay hold of him. To this message Beli replied in the negative, both as to the lady and the territories, and then, with all the warriors he could collect, went against his brother, and came up with him in a place called the forest of <sup>2</sup>Calatyr, where they engaged furiously; for both were men of acknowledged valour, and the ranks fell as the corn in harvest beneath the hand of the reaper. In the conclusion, the Britons were victorious, and the remnant of the men of Llychlyn fled wounded to their ships; for fifteen thousand of them were slain, and none escaped without a wound. Bran himself with difficulty reached one of his ships, in which he sailed for Gaul. The rest sought for safety wherever they could find it.

Beli, after this victory, assembled a council of all his nobles at York, in order to consider what measures should be pursued with respect to the king of Denmark, who had sent to him a proposal of submission in fealty to him, and an annual tribute, as the ransom of himself and the lady, to whom he was attached. This proposal was accepted by Beli, with the approbation of his council; and the king

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<sup>1</sup> The original word is *Marbenn*, B. G. Which though it signifies a promontary in general seems here rather to denote some particular head land, and perhaps the Mar-ven of Ossian.

<sup>2</sup> Gaultres Forest, in Yorkshire. Camden.

of Denmark and the lady were set at liberty; hostages having been given for the performance of the conditions.

When this was done, Beli without obstruction took possession of the whole island, and then confirmed the laws which had been made, <sup>1</sup> "by his father;" enjoined a general cessation of hostilities, which was proclaimed throughout Britain, and more especially in the temples and cities. And to these he gave the most ample privileges they ever had.

At this time there was a contention as to roads, the limits whereof were not ascertained; and he therefore assembled <sup>2</sup> all the masons of Britain, and commanded them to make the roads of stone and mortar, according to law. One of these passing through the chief cities which lay immediately in the line, went from <sup>3</sup> Penrhyn in Cornwall, to <sup>4</sup> Penrhyn Bladon in the North, which is the extent of the isle of Britain.

The other crossed the island, that is to say, from Mynyw (*St. David's*) proceeding along the coast, and to <sup>5</sup> Port-Hamon, that is Northampton. He also commanded two other roads to be made intersecting these, passing as the others did through several cities, and terminating at each end in the angular extremities of the island.

<sup>1</sup> So the other copies.

<sup>2</sup> This very general expression will appear more rational, if it may be supposed that it indicates that there were companies of artificers under the appellation of *Masons of Britain*, &c. This seems to have been the case.

<sup>3</sup> From the Cornish, see B. G. G. M. and B.

<sup>4</sup> Caithness, B. G. G. M. and B. Totness, but corrected by a later hand into Catness, G. O. The original text from which the translation is given, is the only copy I know of, that retains the name of Penrhyn Bladon. It adds, that it was at the north-

ern extremity of the island, from which the writers of the other copies probably fixed on Caithness. Notwithstanding this, the similarity of the name *Bladon* to *Blatum*, induces me to believe, that the *Blatum* *Bulgium*, or *Bulness*, is the promontory intended by the author, and that the translator may have mistaken some expression, signifying *lengthwise for the whole length* of the island.

<sup>5</sup> Where this Port-Hamon lay is doubtful. There seems to have been two sea ports of this name; one on the eastern coast, perhaps Yarmouth, and the other Southampton.



When <sup>1</sup>these roads were completed, he ordered them to be made sacred, and conferred upon them a privilege of refuge, so that whosoever could escape to any of them was to be free from impediments, whatever wrong he might have done. <sup>2</sup>“ But for a perfect knowledge of these roads, let the inquisitive reader consult the translation (from the Welsh into Latin) of the laws of Dyfnwal Moelmyd, by Gildas, the son of Caw, which king Alfred translated afterwards into the Saxon tongue.”

Whilst Beli now continued to reign in peace, his brother Bran, who had fled to Gaul, was grievously distressed by the utter loss of his territory, his being exiled from his own country, and the uncertainty as to the course which it would be eligible to pursue. In this anxiety he went, attended by twelve knights, and laid his situation before a prince of Gaul, and having met with an absolute refusal of assistance from him, he immediately applied to <sup>3</sup>Seguin, the Prince of <sup>4</sup>Burgundy, who received him kindly; and pleased with his society,

\* I. G. L. but upon what authority I know not, describes the course of these roads thus. “ 1. The Fosse way, from Totness, through Devon and Somerset, to Tutbury, Cotswold, near Coventry, to Leicester, over the wilds to Newark and Lincoln, and then to the sea. 2. Watling Street, from Dover, north-west to the sea of Ewerydd. 3. Ermin, or Ernim Street, from St. David’s to Yarmouth in Norfolk. 4. Ciceneldys, which goes by Wickham, Worcester, Birmingham and Litchfield, near Derby, then to York and Tynemouth.”

Here I beg leave to observe, that though the name of Watling Street has been supposed to signify *Guitheling* Street, or the road to Ireland, and this etymology has been generally acquiesced in; there is another which is more simple, and which I therefore venture to propose. I believe the

origin of the word *Watling* to be *Waithlleng*, literally *the work of the corps of troops*, or perhaps *of the legion*, and therefore a military way. The word *lleng*, signifies properly *a division of an army*, and is also used to signify *a legion*; but it is a word originally Welsh.

<sup>2</sup> This reference in the copies, which are evidently of a later date than the original of the translation, affords a presumption that the tracts referred to were extant in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s time, and possibly they may still exist in some of the libraries of Italy.

<sup>3</sup> G. B. B. and G. O. Seginus, G. M. The name Seguin is, I believe, still known as a French name.

<sup>4</sup> Chief of the Allobroges, G. M. As the name Burgwin is retained in the Welsh Mss. and seems to be a corruption introduced by the familiarity of the copyist,



became so much his friend as to honour him more highly than any one else in his palace.

This distinction he acquired by his superior excellence "in the sports of the field," and on every other occasion he displayed it equally in war or peace, and gained so much honour and applause, that the Prince had a paternal affection for him. In person Bran was handsome, tall but slender, noble in manner, and of a quick and sagacious spirit; and so far did the prince's regard for him prevail, that he gave him his only daughter in marriage, and settled the succession to Burgundy upon him, in case he himself should have no other child; or, in case he should, he promised to assist Bran to recover his British

with the name of Burgundy. I am inclined to think that the Brigantii, who were on the borders of the BRIGANTINUS LACUS (*Lake of Constance*) are intended here; and that they were the original stock of the Brigantes, because this tribe was settled within the territories assigned to Bran; and it would be a probable consequence of the peace with his brother, that he should wish to settle as many as possible of those, who had attended him on such an expedition, in his own dominions.

In calling the borderers on the lake of Constance, Brigantie, I have followed Cluver, who in his map, terms them so. Whether Brigantes or Brigantie, the name is of the same origin, and probably denotes colonies of the same nation. As many attempts have been made to explain the name, the following explanation of it may not be unacceptable to the reader, as being satisfactory and on good authority

"En España este nombre *Briga* es dición Cantabra, que los primeros padres, pobladores de España, nuestros progenitores solian poner a las grandas poblaciones; y assi en su proprio language natural solian, en los tiempos antiguos, llamar a las poblaciones de dos universales nom-

bres; al pueblo erecido llamaron *Briga*, y al meno *Iria*." De Goribay, Comp. Hist. p. 84. Ed. Barcelona, 1628.

In Spain this name *BRIGA* is a Biscayan word, which the first settlers in Spain, our progenitors used to denote populous settlements. Moreover in antient times, they made use of two general terms in their own language in this respect; the increased population they called *BRIGA*, and the lesser *IRIA*.

Hence also the Duke of Bragaza, was *Dux Brigantinus* and Braganza, Bregentz and Brigantes are originally from the same word *Briga*. There is an apparent connection between this word and the Welsh word *BRIG*, an extreme ramification, but the Biscayan language is so very distinct from every other of the hundred given in Chamberlayne's Translations of the Oratio Dominica, that the connection between these two words cannot be insisted upon. It may be of more consequence to observe, that from the name Brigantes it may be inferred, that this nation was once a great one, and one of the first western emigrations.

G. B. G. O. and G. M.



territory, in which promise he was joined by one of the Princes of Gaul. Thus Bran married her, and the princes of the country yielded obedience to him, and he became the governor of a part of the country granted to him on the occasion.

In about a year from this time, the Prince died, and then Bran restored to several princes, who were attached to him, territories, which the Prince had taken from their predecessors, and thus bound them to his interests by his liberality. He also entertained the Burgundians in general with unrestricted hospitality, which was the most grateful compliment they could receive.

Having thus secured their attachment, he began to meditate vengeance against his brother for the injuries he had done to him; and relying on the general promises of support which he had received, he, without delay, began to levy a large force, and went and made a league with the Gauls, that his army might be permitted to go through their country to Britain, <sup>1</sup>“which was agreed to upon condition of their passing through it without doing injury.” Having succeeded in this respect, and provided vessels on the coast of <sup>2</sup>Flanders, to transport his troops, he with them set sail with a fair wind and came to Britain.

Here he was soon met by his brother Beli, who having been informed of the approach of the fleet, had collected a strong force to repel the invaders. But, when the armies of the two brothers were about to engage, <sup>3</sup>Tonwen, their mother, rushed in between the lines, and though trembling with apprehension, yet anxious to see her long absent son, she hasted to the station of Bran, and there embracing him tenderly, she thus with many sighs and tears addressed him.

“Respect these breasts which have nourished you, my son, and the womb that for nine months have borne you, and, for the sake

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<sup>1</sup> The other copies.

<sup>2</sup> Neustria, G. M.

<sup>3</sup> Tanwen. B.

of him in heaven that formed you, be reconciled to your brother; let your resentment cease, for it was not his fault, that caused your loss of territory; neither has it been a loss but an advantage to yourself. If you lost a small portion of this kingdom, subject them to him, you are now his equal, and have even by that circumstance risen to the greater dignity of Prince of Burgundy. Remember, he did not begin the quarrel, it was yourself; when, in marrying the daughter of the king of Llychlyn, you sought the means of dispossessing him.\*

By such words, and by her tears, Bran was so much affected, that he turned his thoughts wholly to peace, in conformity to his mother's wishes; and laying aside his helmet, he went unarmed to seek his brother; and Beli, as soon as he perceived it, laid aside his armour also, and came forward and embraced his brother. A reconciliation immediately followed; their armies threw down their arms, and applauded the reconciliation, and both parties went together to London, where the brothers held a council of the nobles, by whose advice an expedition to France for the purpose of conquest was resolved upon.

And when they had resided in London for one year, they sailed towards Gaul, and began to plunder the country, and soon after, in a pitched battle, overcome a general levy of the Gauls, which had been raised to oppose them, took the king prisoner, and obliged them to become their vassals. They then destroyed all their strong fortresses, and within a year completed the subjection of the whole kingdom. From thence they led on their armies towards Rome, subduing the coun-

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\* The difference of customs and even of moral possibilities in uncivilised and civilised states is so great, that expeditions, such as the abovementioned, have sometimes been considered, as too extravagant to be credited; yet it is no way more so, than that of the Helvetii, mentioned by Cæsar. The motive in both appears to have been the acquisition of wealth and power, and a more fertile country. In the narrative of the Welsh writer, there is a circumstance, which, though not noticed as such, affords an argument of credibility. This is the residence of Bran amongst the Brigantii of the Alps, where it was easy to acquire a knowledge of Italy sufficient to excite the desire of settling in it; and near which the Gauls are known



tries of Italy, and destroying the forts, as they went on, till they arrived at Rome.

At that time there were two princes to whose superintendence the government of Rome was committed; <sup>1</sup> Gabius and Porsenna, and these princes (perceiving that none of the nations had been able to withstand the valour of Beli and Bran) with the concurrence of the Roman Senators, made peace with them by the payment of a large sum of money, and a promise of an annual tribute, and gave <sup>2</sup> "twenty-four persons of the best families as" hostages for the performance of this condition.

From Rome the brothers then turned their arms against <sup>3</sup> Germany, but scarcely had their contest with the Germans begun, ere the Romans

to have several cities, of which Bergamo and Verona indicate that some, at least, of the Gauls passed into Italy through the Tyrolese country. And, if the state of population in France and Italy at the time, be considered such as that of the Indian possessions in America at the present day, and the manners nearly those of the Indians, the expedition under Beli and Bran will appear suitable to the spirit of the times, and its credibility supported by the circumstance referred to, by which alone the conception of the object can be satisfactorily accounted for.

<sup>1</sup> G. M. denominates Gabius and Porsenna, *consuls* using this title, probably in a very indefinite sense for *chiefs*; for such is the import of the word in the Welsh copies. The taking of Rome, according to this history, was in the time of Porsenna. According to the Roman historians in general, Porsenna and the Tarquins gave up their designs against Rome, and retired from it; and yet even Livy finds it difficult to reconcile this with the Roman phrase of *selling king Porsenna's goods*, used at auctions. This phrase certainly implies, that Porsenna did take, and did

govern Rome, and probably conjointly with one of the Tarquins, as the restoration of that family was the object of his taking up arms. Gabii belonged to the Tarquins, and hence any of that family may have had the name of Gabius. If this were so, the writer of the Brut discovers two facts hitherto unknown: 1st. That Porsenna, and one of the Tarquins did reign jointly in Rome; and 2d. That Rome was taken in their time by Brennus, previous to the acknowledged capture of it by the Gauls in the time of Camillus.

<sup>2</sup> G. O.

<sup>3</sup> It is evident from the context, that the army of the people, here called Germans, was not at a greater distance than seven days march from Rome, when Bran set out to go thither, which if even thirty miles were allowed to a day's march, would be only 210 miles. Diodorus Siculus, speaks of the *Germans* as a Celtic nation. Καὶ τοὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι Γερμανοί. It is therefore not improbable that our author may have considered these appellations as synonymous, and adopted that which was the most familiar.

broke the league, and sent assistance to the Germans. This conduct greatly irritated Beli and Bran, as the force which came from Rome was large, and they were so placed by it between two armies, as to require serious deliberation how to act. The brothers therefore, having considered the subject together, agreed, that Beli and the Britons should remain where they were, to oppose the Germans; and Bran with his troops go towards Rome. The Romans having learned this, left the Germans, and endeavoured to gain Rome before Bran. But Beli, having gained intelligence of their plan, led his army by night in the hope of intercepting them, and lay in ambush in a woody glen, on the way through which they were to pass. The Romans arrived there next day, and, to their terror and dismay, perceived the glittering of arms through the trees, which made them imagine that Bran was there with his Burgundians. Beli did not give them time to put on their armour, but fell upon them and put them to flight; nor did he cease the pursuit till night compelled him. After this victory he proceeded to join his brother, which he did on the third day after that Bran had appeared before Rome.

They now with their united forces assailed that city, but though in several severe battles, they had worsted the Romans, and had erected a gallows in view of the city, on which they threatened to hang the hostages; the Romans still resisted them by every device in their power. Beli therefore in wrath ordered the four and twenty hostages, who were men of the highest dignity in the city, to be hanged. Soon after this had happened, intelligence reached the other Romans, that the two princes had re-assembled their scattered troops, and as they were coming to the relief of the city, they intreated it might not be surrendered. The Romans in the city thus encouraged, marshalled their troops, and came into the field, and gave battle; and the army under the princes came by surprise on the rear of their enemies nearly at the same time, and made great havoc. And now Beli and Bran grieved



and enraged by the slaughter of their fellow soldiers, rallied their men, and animating them to the fight, beat the Romans back, and after an immense slaughter of them gained the victory. Gabius was killed, <sup>1</sup> Porsenna taken prisoner, and Rome taken; and Beli and Bran distributed the treasure found there to their followers.

<sup>2</sup> Bran after this victory, remained as emperor at Rome, and with excessive rigour forced the Romans to obey him, as the Roman history shews. But I decline saying any thing more of them here, as it would be too laborious to give the whole.

Beli returned from thence to Britain, which he ruled in peace for the remainder of his life. Where the cities were in decay he repaired them; and also built some new ones. Of this number was a city on the river Uske, afterwards, though now long ago, the See of the Archbishop of Demetia. When the Romans were in the island, it was called Caer Llion, the city of the Legions, as it was usually their winter quarters. Beli also built a magnificent gate in London, on the margin of the Thames, and which is yet called Belinsgate. Over this he raised a high tower, and below near it he made a dock for the security of shipping. He also reinforced his father's laws every where, and pursued a course of unvaried justice; neither has there ever been, before or since, more wealth diffused amongst the general body of the nation. In fine, when the day of his departure from this world was come, his body was burned, and the ashes were put in a vessel of gold curiously wrought, which was then deposited on the top of the abovementioned tower.

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<sup>1</sup> *Gabius and Porsenna were both slain, B. G. and B.*

<sup>2</sup> It is worthy of notice, as what must have been the consequence of Bran's remaining in Italy, that the Welsh historians takes no farther notice of his fate, or that

of his adherents, than a reference to Roman writers. The simplicity of the acknowledgement, that British tradition afforded no farther information on the subject, is a good argument, that it afforded the rest of this history in general.

Gwrgant, sirnamed <sup>1</sup> Varv-Trweh (Grim-beard) son to Beli, succeeded to the sovereignty at his father's death. In character he was mild but firm, and like his father inclined to peace, and observant of justice. But, if another began a war against him, he followed it up with skill and vigour, till the enemy was reduced to submission. When the king of <sup>2</sup> Denmark attempted to shake off the tribute, which he had paid to Beli, Gwrgant setting sail with a fleet, came suddenly upon him, and in a fierce engagement with the inhabitants of Denmark, slew the king, and made the people submit to him, as they had done to his father. On his return, as he was passing through the Orkney isles, he came up with thirty ships, which were full of men and women; and finding them there, he seized their chief, whose name was <sup>3</sup> Barthlome. Hereupon this chief prayed his protection, telling him that they <sup>4</sup> "were called <sup>5</sup> Barclenses," had been driven from Spain, and were roving on the seas to find a place of settlement; and that he therefore intreated Gwrgant to grant them permission to abide in some

<sup>1</sup> *Gurguntius Brabtruc*, G. M. See also Gir. Cam. Top. Hib. lib. 2. chap. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The original has Dacia, by which Denmark is always intended. Did the Romans pronounce the *ce* and *ci* as the Italians do? If they did, and I am inclined to think so, though I cannot here enter on the argument, they would pronounce *Daci*, as we do *Datchi* and the names *Daci*, *Datchi*, *Dutch*, *Teutsch* will denote the same nation. The name may therefore be more appropriate, than it has generally been thought.

<sup>3</sup> *Partholan*, G. O. *Partholym*, B. G. *Partholoim*, G. M. *Eirnemal*, J. G. L. who adds. "He had this name from a river of Spain called Eirinnal, on the banks of which they had lived. This chief related to the king the whole of their adventures, from the time they had been driven from Israel (*Palestine*) their original country, and the manner and circumstances in which their ances-

"tors dwelt, in a retired part of Spain, near the river Eirnia, from whence the Spaniards drove them to sea to seek another abode."

The name *Eirnia*, more properly *Yrunna*, in the *Basque* language signifies a city. Barthlome or Bartholym perhaps signifies Bar-Tolemon, for which see the remarks on the history of Brutus, in the Appendix. Nennius says, that all the ships but one were wrecked near a tower of glass, which they attempted to attack. I once thought that, by this tower of glass, an ice-island was meant. But as the Erse word *Guid-huighoir*, which signifies prayer, resembles *Gwydyr*, the Welsh word for glass, it is more probable, that it was a tower of prayer or temple, which, as then usual, served as a light-house for mariners.

<sup>4</sup> G. M.

<sup>5</sup> This should certainly be *Basquelenses*, i. e. *Basques*, or *Biscayners*.



part of the island, as they had then been at sea for a year and a half. Gwrgant having thus learned whence they were, and what was their purpose, directed them with his good will to go to Ireland, which at that time lay waste and uninhabited. Thither therefore they went, and there they settled, and peopled the country; and their descendants are to this day in Ireland.

Some time after this event, Gwrgant died, and was buried at Carleon on Uske, which city he had strengthened greatly, by adding new fortifications after his father's death.

<sup>1</sup> Cyhelin the son of Gwrgant, succeeded to the sovereignty, and was uniformly prudent and mild in his conduct through life. His wife Marsia also, <sup>2</sup> "was a lady of noble rank, good sense, and" well informed in science. For, <sup>3</sup> "exclusive of many other instances of a sagacity and genius, which were till then unknown;" she drew up the laws known to the Britons, by the name of the *Marsian Laws*, and which king Alfred afterwards translated <sup>4</sup> from the Welsh into English, and called *Merchen-lage*, (*Mercian-lage*.)

When Cyhelin died, the sovereignty remained in the hands of his wife, and of Saissyllt his son, at that time under age, being only seven years old; the government was therefore vested in both conjointly, because of his mother's wisdom; and at her death Saissyllt became sole sovereign.

<sup>1</sup> Guithelin, G. M.

<sup>2</sup> B. G.

<sup>3</sup> B. G.

<sup>4</sup> They were probably translated from the Welsh, by Asserius, for the use of Alfred, and Alfred may thus have written them in English. Our historian seems to mark, that he knew of no Latin translation of them, and so attributes the direct translation from the Welsh to Alfred. This G. M. knew could not be, and has omitted the words *from the Welsh*.

Post hunc (Gurguit) Guithelmus regnavit; cujus uxor Marcia leges Marcias instituit; quas vulgus Marchenlage nominat. Gerv. Til. p. 36.

A Welsh poet of the 15th century, thus celebrates her learning:

Marsia gynt, Gymraes gall,  
Or dwy iaith a roe deall.

Lewis o'r Glynn.

*Marsia, the learned Cambrian of old times, understood the two languages well.* What the two languages were, to which the poet refers, I could not discover; but I presume they were those of Loegria and Cambria.

Saisyllt was succeeded by his son Cynvarch; Cynvarch by his brother Daned; and Daned by his son Moryd.

Moryd, who was the son of Daned,<sup>1</sup> "by Tangwystl," a concubine, would have merited a high commendation, had not his passions been so violent, as to be unrestrained even from murder in his rage; for he was comely in person, liberal in conferring favors, and of unequalled valour in battle. In his time<sup>2</sup> "the king of"<sup>3</sup> Morien made a descent with a large force in the north, and began to ravage it. Moryd led an army against him, and having distinguished himself by feats of valour, gained a complete victory; after which he left none of the enemy alive. For he commanded those, that remained after the battle, to be brought to him successively, and put to death first and then<sup>4</sup> flayed. Then, after a short intermission, he ordered the rest to be flayed alive and then burned.

At last a calamity arose to mock and put an end to his violence; for a<sup>5</sup> terrible and insatiable animal came out of the Irish sea, which devoured man and beast wherever it went. A report concerning this monster was brought to Moryd, and he thereupon set out to encounter it, and did so, but unhappily for himself: for when he had expended all his weapons vainly in the attack, the monster seized and swallowed him at a morsel.

Moryd left<sup>6</sup> five sons, one of whom,<sup>7</sup> "the eldest," Gorviniaw, was his successor in the sovereignty, and a truly just and good man.

<sup>1</sup> G. M.

<sup>2</sup> All the other copies.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the Morini.

<sup>4</sup> By the word *flaying*, I imagine that *scalping* should be understood, as it was a custom of the northern nations of old. The burning of the bodies was probably such as has been often described. Both these customs seem to have been unknown to the writer, and his account is consequently indistinct.

<sup>5</sup> If one could suppose that, by any ac-

cident, a crocodile or alligator could have come on a coast so far north, the description given above would induce a belief, that this monster was of the same species.

<sup>6</sup> The original word is *trimaib* (*three sons*) but the sequel shews there were more, and as *Gorviniaw*, (or *Gorboniawn*) *Arthal* (or *Arthur*), *Elidr*, *Owain*, and *Peredur*, are enumerated by the other copies, I have substituted this number, which also agrees with the context.

<sup>7</sup> The other copies.



Gorviniaw repaired the temples in every city, and built new ones; throughout his reign gold and silver were abundant, he encouraged the farmers to cultivate the ground, and protected them from oppression by their lords, or the officers of the lords; and also by his liberality, <sup>1</sup> "in money, steed, and arms" <sup>2</sup> to the young men, "whose strength and spirit made them fit for warfare;" he left them without excuse for rapine or injustice. Gorviniaw died <sup>3</sup> "after a reign of fifteen years," and was buried in London.

His brother <sup>4</sup> Arthal succeeded, a man wholly different from Gorviniaw, for he depressed the lawful nobility, raised the mean to honour, and plundered the wealthy and the just by extortion; so that the men of property rose against and dethroned him, and placed the crown on the head of his brother Elidr, afterwards surnamed *The Compassionate*, because of the compassion he displayed for his brother. For when Elidr had reigned five years, having one day gone out to hunt in the forest of Caladyr, (*Gaultree*) he unexpectedly met his brother Arthal, who had in vain been seeking aid in various countries for the recovery of his crown, and now, impatient of poverty, had returned to Britain attended only by twelve knights, to visit his friends. Elidr, when he saw his brother, hastened to embrace him, and wept in pity for his deposition and his sorrows; and took him to <sup>5</sup> Alcluyd, where he secreted him in a private apart-

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<sup>1</sup> The other copies. This is conformable to the custom of the Cymry in later times, and to that of the ancient Germans:

"Exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam." *Tucitus* de moribus Ger: Cap. 14.

<sup>2</sup> B. G. G. O. *who were in distress*, B.

<sup>3</sup> G. O. He built Cambridge and Grantham, I. G. L.

<sup>4</sup> Arthgallo, G. M.

<sup>5</sup> *Al-Cluyd*, i. e. the city of the *Clyde-tribe*. Camden erroneously supposed, that this name should be written *Ar-Cluyd*, i. e. *on the Cluyd*. Bede's translation of it intimates that it was originally *All-Cluyd*, i. e. *the Hill of Clyde*, which might be admitted, if the name in the text were not always given by the Welsh writers as above, and the pronunciation of it perfectly incompatible with Bede's derivation.

ment. Having so done, Elidr feigned indisposition, and sent messengers to request all the princes to visit him. When they came to Alcluyd, he ordered the porter to admit one only at a time, as if Elidr was unable to bear the society of more, because of a pain in his head. This apology was generally received, and as the princes came into Elidr's presence, he ordered his attendants to behead every one of them, who refused to renew his allegiance to Arthal; and thus, partly by stipulations of agreement, and partly by threats, he reconciled them to his brother, and then went with him to York, where with his own hands he set the crown on Arthal's head, and hence acquired the surname of *The Compassionate*.

Arthal after this transaction reigned ten years, and during this time, having abandoned his former evil habits, he respected the nobility, kept the commonalty in check, left every one in possession of his property, and maintained the course of justice. He was buried at <sup>1</sup> Carlisle.

Elidr was now raised a second time to his sovereignty, wherefore <sup>2</sup> "in the third year of his reign," his two younger brothers <sup>3</sup> Owain and Peredur, at the head of a large army, attacked and defeated him, took him prisoner, and put him in confinement in London <sup>4</sup> "in a tower." They then divided the country between them, so that Owain had all to the west of the Humber, viz. Loegria, Wales, and Cornwall; and Peredur, all from the Humber to the north country, and the whole of <sup>5</sup> the north country also. Owain died at the end of seven

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<sup>1</sup> Caer Lyr, (Leicester). The other copies.

<sup>2</sup> G. O.

<sup>3</sup> *Iugeyn*, B. G. *Ywein*, B. *Vigenius*, G. M. The two first of these names differ only in the orthography, being otherwise the same as Owain.

<sup>4</sup> B. G. G. O. and G. M.

<sup>5</sup> Albany, B. G. "Guido de Columna says, that neither Owain nor Peredur did reign." I. G. L.



years, and then the whole kingdom came into the possession of Peredur, who preserved it in so much tranquility, that his brothers were unthought of. But, Peredur dying<sup>1</sup> “after a reign of eight years,” Elidr was taken out of prison, and a third time made king, and died after a quiet reign “of twenty one years.”

Elidr's son <sup>2</sup>Gorviniaw, succeeded him, and imitated the just and upright conduct of his father.

He was succeeded by Morgan, the son of Arthal, who had a tranquil reign;<sup>3</sup> “and in consequence of a good education, a beneficial one to his kingdom; but he died just as he had completed the first year of it.”

Einion, the brother of Morgan, succeeded; but so little did he resemble his brother in principles or conduct; that, in the sixth year of his reign, his subjects deposed him because of his violence and injustice, and made <sup>4</sup>Eidwal, the son of Owain, king in his stead; who, warned by the fate of Einion, was careful in the observance of justice.

After Eidwal there reigned successively, Rhun, the son of Peredur; Geraint, the son of Elidr; Cadell, the son of Geraint; Coel, Porex and Cheryn. Then Cheryn's three sons, Silgnius, Eidal and Andras, in order; then Urien, the son of Andras; Elvryd, Clydoc, Clydno, Gorwst, Meiriawn, Blaiddyd, Caff, Owain, Saissyllt, Blegoryd, Arthmael, brother to Blegoryd, Eidol, Rhydion, Rhydderch, Sawl Ben-uchel, Pirr, Capeir, then his son Manogan, a just and benevolent

<sup>1</sup> Rhys the son of Gorviniaw (or Gorbodian) succeeded Elidr, and resembled his uncle, &c. The other copies. He reigned two years, G. O. probably the name of Rhys was either omitted, or illegible in the copy, from which B. T. was taken.

<sup>2</sup> The other copies.

<sup>3</sup> Ydwal, B. G. Idwallo, G. M.

<sup>4</sup> Capor, cui Cligut, cui Eli filius ejus. Gerv. Tilb. p. 37.

character; then <sup>1</sup> Beli Mawr (*Beli the Great*) the son of Manogan succeeded and reigned over Britain for forty years.

Beli had four sons, viz. Lludd, Llefelys, Caswallon and Nyniaw; of whom Lludd, who was the eldest, succeeded to the sovereignty on the death of his father. Making London his principal residence, he completely built up the walls, built magnificent houses in the city, and set out extensive grounds around it <sup>2</sup> "for agriculture and pasturage." Having thus made it superior to any other known city, he gave it the name of Caer-Ludd, (*Lud's Town*.) It was at a later period, called <sup>3</sup> Caer-Lundain, and, since the arrival of the foreigners, London.

Llefelys, to whom, because of his prudence and eloquence, Beli was more attached, than to either of the other brothers, having heard that the king of Gaul had died, leaving only a daughter to inherit his kingdom, thought of requesting her in marriage, of the Gallic

<sup>1</sup> *Heli*, G. M. who omits the name of Manogan entirely. This omission, and the error as to the name of Beli, to which Welsh pedigrees were continually traced, proved decisively, that Geoffrey's knowledge of the Welsh traditional history must have been very limited, and also that his copy was but an indifferent one. Mynogan's name occurs in a very ancient Welsh poem.

A mi 'r yth iolaf Buddig Feli Ap. Mynogan, Rhygeidwei deithi ynys fel Feli.

*I will praise the victorious Beli, son of king Mynogan, who will defend the liberties of Beli's honey island.*

Also by Nennius, Beli is represented as having seized on all the islands of the Bay of Biscay. "Belinus-filius Minocani, qui occupavit omnes insulas Tyrhenni maris." *Beli, son of Mynogan, who took pos-*

*session of all the islands of the Tyrrhene sea, viz. the Bay of Biscay.*

<sup>2</sup> G. O. These grounds surrounding the city seem to have been appropriated in the same manner as the Pomœrium of the Romans.

<sup>3</sup> This name is derived, as I presume, from LLIANT, a *strand*, and Dain, the old name of the *Thames*. Caer Lundain therefore signifies *the city on the strand of the Thames*; which, notwithstanding the assertion of our author, I believe to have been the original name. That Lludd wished to call it after his own name, and that it was so called for some time, is however confirmed by its being so not unfrequently by Welsh writers. This history says, that there was a dissention concerning this change of the name, between Lludd and Nyniaw. The other copies add, "*and later still, Londres*," to the names of London.



princes, and consulted his brother on the subject. <sup>1</sup> "By him" Llefelys "was furnished with ships and attendants, and" soon obtained the princess in marriage, and her dominions in dower with her, which during his life, he governed so well, as to be greatly beloved.

A considerable time after this marriage, three<sup>2</sup> calamities, such as had never hitherto been known, fell upon Britain. The first of these was that of the Coranians, who had such intelligence, that not a word could make an impression on the air but they knew it, and therefore it was impossible to effect any thing against them.

The second was a shriek, that was heard over every hearth in Britain on the night of every May-day; and so struck man and beast to the heart, that the men lost their strength, the women miscarried, the youth of either sex became senseless, and the beasts and trees unproductive.

The third was, that whatever store of provisions were brought together, in any of the great houses of Britain, the whole disappeared, so as never after to be found, saving what was used on the first night.

The cause of the first of the calamities was apparent; but the causes of the other two were sought in vain; and Lludd therefore, having ineffectually exerted his utmost care and prudence, and being

<sup>1</sup> An omission in the original is here necessarily supplied from the other copies.

<sup>2</sup> As this account of these three calamities is found in all the Welsh copies, it appears singular, that Geoffrey of Monmouth should have omitted it in his translation. It is however but doing him justice to believe, that he did so for the same reason that he intended in his first edition, to omit the prophecies of Merlin, and pro-

bably would have wholly omitted them, had he not, as he says, been *obliged* to publish them to gratify the then Bishop of Lincoln and other friends; viz. to avoid *censure*. This he evidently apprehended for translating the prophecies, and might in those times probably have had more to fear for translating this strange tradition, given as it is, with all the fanciful and grotesque decoration of popular narrative.

greatly distressed by the existence of such calamities in his kingdom, determined to go and consult his brother concerning them. For this purpose he embarked and sailed to Gaul,<sup>1</sup> where his brother received him in the most affectionate manner; and having learned the occasion of his arrival, ordered a long tube to be made, through which they might so converse, that the air should not convey the sound to the Coranians.

By this means they began to communicate their secret thoughts, but soon found that neither could hear any thing, but confused and indistinct sounds; whereby Llefelys perceived that a Demon had lodged himself in the tube, he therefore ordered it to be washed with wine, and then their words became perfectly distinct and intelligible.

Llefelys then gave Lludd worms of some particular kind, which he desired him, on his return, to bruise and put in cold water, and then to assemble the people indiscriminately, both Britons and Coranians, and sprinkle them all with that water, and that such would be its efficacy, as to kill all the Coranians without doing any injury to the Britons.

The second plague, said he, arises from a contest between the dragon of your island, and the dragon of a foreign nation, which, on the night of May-day endeavours to conquer her, and the shriek you hear, is given by your dragon in her rage and distress; which you may thus be assured of.

Find by admeasurement, in length and breadth, the center of the island, and there let a pit be dug in the earth, and let a large

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<sup>1</sup> According to B. G. Llefelis, apprised of the approach of ships to his coast, put to sea with his own ships to meet him, but when he found that his brother was coming towards him, went forward to meet him in a single ship, and their conversation passed at sea.



vessel of the best mead, that can be procured, be set in the pit, and the mouth of the vessel be covered with a linen cloth. Do you keep watch by it, and you will hear their conflict in the air. And when they are weary with contending, they will, in the form of two pigs, fall on the linen cloth, and drink the mead, and drawing the cloth with them to the bottom of the vessel, fall asleep. When they are in that state, fold the cloth around them, and <sup>1</sup> bury them deep in the earth in the most secure part of the kingdom; and, whilst they remain there, no calamity from abroad shall afflict the island.

A powerful magician is the cause of the third calamity. For he by charms and spells throws every one into a profound sleep, and then carries off the provisions.

To remedy this evil, you must yourself watch your time, and defend your stores; and to avoid sleeping, have a vessel of cold water near you, and when drowsiness comes on, go into the water; <sup>2</sup> “and when he appears, avenge yourself upon him.”

<sup>1</sup> This idea of burying the cause or emblem of the calamity is similar to that of the Indians in burying the War-hatchett, and appears to have been an ancient superstition amongst the Britons, which continued even in times of Christianity. The following Triad commemorates three instances of it, and shews the importance attached to it. “There were three concealments and discoveries of Britain. 1st. That of the head of Saint Bran ap Llyr, which Owen the son of Maximus the Great, buried in the White-hill in London; and whilst it remained there no calamity could befall Britain. 2d. The bones of Saint Vortipor, the son of Vortigern, which were buried at the chief entrances into the city, with the same fatality attached to them. 3d. The Dragons buried by Lludd, the son of Beli,

in the city Pharan (*Dinas Emrys*) in the mountains of Snowdon. These three concealments were laid under the protection of God and his attributes, and with imprecations against the person who should discover them.”

“Vortigern discovered the dragons to avenge himself on the Cymry for their disaffection to him, and then invited the Saxons as allies against the Picts. He also discovered the bones of his son Vortipor, because of his affection for Rowena. And Arthur discovered the head of St. Bran, from pique, because he could not have absolute power over Britain. And after these three discoveries, calamity prevailed over the Britons.”

Archæology, vol. II. p. 66. Triad 53.

<sup>2</sup> G. O.

Lludd, thus instructed, returned home, called all the people together, and having sprinkled the water on them in general, the Coranians died, and the Britons remained uninjured.

He then immediately ordered the island to be measured in length and breadth, and the center was found to be in Oxford, where he then ordered a pit to be dug according to the instructions of Llefelys; and every thing occurred as it had been foretold. When the pigs fell asleep, Lludd wrapped them up in the cloth, and laid them in a stone chest, and buried them deep in the earth at <sup>1</sup>Dinas Emrys; and from that time this terrible calamity ceased.

After this he ordered a well-furnished table to be laid out, and when it was so, a large vessel of water to be set near it, and then took his station to watch it. And as the night advanced far on, sounds the most melodious were heard, which inclined him so much to sleep, that he was obliged frequently to go into the water to prevent it. At last he perceived a <sup>2</sup>man of huge statue, and in armour, enter with a large basket, in which he put all the viands. But, as he was about to depart with them, Lludd came forward and prevented him; and told him it should now be trial of strength between them, whether such depredations should any more be committed by him. A furious combat immediately began, in which Lludd was at last victorious, and the Magician cried for quarter, and promised a compensation

<sup>1</sup> Near Snowdon.

<sup>2</sup> In a Welsh prophetic poem of the 14th century by Robin Ddu, who was the Lilly of his time, this circumstance is alluded to, as a prophetic one unfulfilled. He says

Rhaid yw aros y rhediad,  
A'r lu i ddyfod i'r wlad;  
A'r gwr, o flaen y gerwin,  
O gudd i yfed y gwin.

*We must wait the accomplishment (of the prediction) until an army land to invade us, and the man from his invisible station appears before the large vessel to drink the wine.*



for the losses he had occasioned, and faithful service to the king for the future. These terms were accepted; and thus Lludd put an end to the <sup>1</sup> three calamities.

\* Though it may be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to explain the whole of this legendary tale, yet it is worthy of notice, as a proof that such tales were usual amongst the ancient Britons, and that like those of the Troubadours, which were probably imitations of them, they related to circumstances, which having been obscured by time, were assumed as the subject, and embellished by fanciful ornaments, and more especially such as were afforded by the ideas of magical powers. In this tale some of the circumstances may be explained from other documents.

The Coranians are said to have come from the country of Pwyl, and settled on the eastern coast of Britain, near the Humber, in the time of Lludd, and afterwards to have joined the Romans and the Saxons against the Britons. *Triads* 41st, page 10th; 7th, page 58th, and 15th, p. 60, of the *Welsh Archaeology*.

They seem also to have been the Coritani of the Roman writers, and to have given the name of *Pwyl* or *Pool* to several districts in Britain, viz. Welsh Pool, Pool in Cheshire and in Dorsetshire, and perhaps to Liverpool, which is opposite the Pool in Cheshire. The German word *Liefern* signifies to transport goods, and hence probably *Liefern* or *Lieferung-Pool*, that is the *Pool* for transporting goods. Where the original Pwyl was, will be considered in the Appendix.

It appears from the *Triads* above quoted, that these Coranians were not however destroyed by the water said in this tale to have been sprinkled on them. But there appears, I think, in this legendary circumstance, a reference to a Druidical rite of excommunication; and I suspect that the original Welsh word *pryfed*, which

signifies *worms*, is a corruption of some word in another language, perhaps the Gaelic, signifying a *spell* or *charm*, in consequence whereof the effect was expected to follow.

2d. The battles of the dragons were favorite subjects of the Welsh prophecies, and it would be needless to notice the one introduced here, but that the mention made of May-day is too singular to be passed over. The Welsh names of May-day, and of the 1st of November, are significant of the summer and winter solstices; and it is certain that they were so considered by the custom of lighting the fires called *Coelcerthi*, on the eves of these days. They were therefore the traditional, and not the real solstices at this time (for they were really so about the time of the first dispersion) unless the months were moveable. It was then about the time of the summer solstice, that these appalling shrieks are said to have been heard. When therefore it is recollected, that Cæsar, in his first expedition to Gaul, set out from Rome in April, this account of the shrieks may be resolved into the terror arising from reports annually from Gaul about that time, and communicated to the multitudes assembled to perform religious rites. Moreover, as Oxford is said to have been the *central place* in Britain, it was probably the *Θεμελιος*, or situation of a great oracular temple, and seems at that time to have been the residence of the learned Druids, by this reference to it, for what was evidently a means of quieting the public mind by a superstitious deception.

3d. The third calamity is said, in *Triad* 11th, page 59, to have been in reality a secret conspiracy; but this *Triad* refers its suppression to the time of Beli the father of Lludd.

“ The remainder of his reign was tanquil,” and when he died, he was buried near the gate called in Welsh, *Porth Lludd*, and in English, Ludgate. He left two sons, <sup>1</sup> Avarwy and Teneuvan; but as they were both under age, Caswallon, their uncle, was made king.

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<sup>1</sup> Avarwy would in Latin be written Avarogeus, which in old Mss. might be easily mistaken and read Androgeus, and appears to have been so as early as the time of Bede. I once thought he might

have been the Mandubratius of Caesar, but upon farther consideration, think that Mandubratius was a different person, though probably an adherent to Avarwy.



## BOOK THE THIRD.

*History of Britain, from the Invasion by the Romans  
to that by the Saxons.*

CASWALLON, having with general approbation assumed the sovereignty, determined to pursue a line of just and equitable conduct, and though king, so far was he from doing ought to the prejudice of his nephews, that he gave each a portion of his territories; to Avarwy, London, and the <sup>1</sup> Earldom of Kent; and to Teneuvan, Cornwall: but both to be subject to himself, as paramount sovereign.

At this time <sup>2</sup> Julius Cæsar, the Roman emperor, carried on a victorious war against various countries, and having conquered Gaul, and from thence, <sup>3</sup> “when he was on the coast of the sea of <sup>4</sup> Ruten,”

<sup>1</sup> The word *Earl* is originally Welsh. IARLL, a governor, from IAR, over, and properly signifies the superintendent of a district.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Roman historians, B. G. Ms. B. and G. M. This expression can relate only to their having recorded Cæsar's actions, for, if it were applied to the narration which follows, it would not be true, as to any Roman History now known to exist.

<sup>3</sup> B. G. Ms. G. O. and G. M.

<sup>4</sup> Rwyten, G. O. Ruteni, G. M. If the letter *R*. be merely the article prefixed, as

it certainly may, the name should be written Yr Wyten, or if a vowel precede it, 'R Wyten, and without the article will be Wyten, or the little Wyt, which I presume to be the same as *Itius*, or Wytan. Nennius says, that the Isle of Thanet was called Ruithina, it may therefore have been the greater Wyt. Possibly the straits of Dover may have been called the sea of Rwyten, as the Welsh expression admits of this construction, and therefore in the translation, the two senses of which it is, capable, are preserved.

seen Britain, "towards the west," he made enquiries as to the opposite country and its inhabitants. And when he received the information as to both; this nation, said he, is of the same origin as we Romans; <sup>1</sup> Both are of the Trojan race; for we are derived from Æneas, who settled in Rome, and whose great grandson Brutus, settled in Britain. As Brutus subdued the country, I imagine it will not be a hard task to me to make it subject to the Senate of Rome, since they inhabit an island, and know nothing of war or arms. Accordingly he then sent a message to Caswallon requiring a peaceable submission of Britain to Rome, and the payment of a tribute, to prevent the shedding of the blood of those who were allied by the descents from their common ancestor Priam.

Caswallon, indignant at such a message, <sup>2</sup> "peremptorily refused to comply with it, and wished him to know that, as Brutus and his family had from country to country come and settled in Britain to avoid slavery, and found freedom here; so therefore they would now maintain it against all who should attempt to violate it." Caswallon therefore wrote as follows:

<sup>3</sup> "Caswallon to Cæsar, the Roman general: Be it known to you, that I am astonished in learning that the excessive avarice of the Romans cannot even suffer the inhabitants of an island, remote as this, and surrounded by a perilous sea, to live in peace; but would levy a tribute on us, who have hitherto lived in freedom. Cæsar,

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<sup>1</sup> The claiming of kindred attributed to Cæsar, is by no means out of character, for he himself observes, that *the Ædui had very frequently been denominated by the Senate, fratres & consanguineos, brothers and relations.* De Bello, Gal. Lib. 1, C. 33, which is confirmed by Strabo, Lib. 4; and Tacitus. Annal. Lib. 11. Cæsar says, that Divitiacus, king of Ædui, governed a part of Britain also, Lib. 2, C. 4, so

that there seems to have been some connection between the two countries, sufficient for the same allegation as to their origin.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>3</sup> This letter, as it is called, as here given is in the most simple form in which it occurs. The substance is the same in all the copies, but somewhat varied or amplified according to the ideas of the writers.



it is the more disgraceful to yourself, as we acknowledge in Æneas, a common ancestor. Lay then aside your thoughts of enslaving us. Be assured that, in defence of our freedom and our country, we will maintain the contest till death, rather than suffer you to oppress Britain, if as you announce to us, you should come hither."

Cæsar, as soon as possible after he had read the answer of Caswallon, prepared his ships, set sail, and came to the <sup>1</sup> confluence of the Thames, near which he landed. And Caswallon to oppose him, came attended by Nyniaw, his brother; Avarwy, his nephew, and Earl of London; <sup>2</sup> Teneuvan, Earl of Cornwall; <sup>3</sup> Caradoc, king of Albany; <sup>4</sup> Gwerthhaed, king of Gwynedd, (*N. Wales*;) <sup>5</sup> Rhuddhael, king of Dyfed, (*South Wales*;) and <sup>6</sup> Beli, the master of the palace and all their forces. When they reached the Castle of <sup>7</sup> Dorahel, they found the enemy encamped on the shore. An immediate attack was resolved on, and the carnage was great on both sides. Nyniaw, having encountered Cæsar himself, <sup>8</sup> "rejoiced in the opportunity of engaging with one of whose fame he had heard so much," and

<sup>1</sup> The *Aber* of the Thames. This word signifies the place where a river falls into the sea, or a lesser river into a greater. The place here meant may therefore signify either the mouth of the Medway or of the Thames.

<sup>2</sup> The original has *Trahayant*, but erroneously as *Teneufau*, was said above to be Earl of Cornwall, and is so in all the copies.

<sup>3</sup> Creidu, B. G. and B. Cridius, G. M.

<sup>4</sup> Gwerthaid, B. G. and G. M.

<sup>5</sup> Brithhael, B. T. B. G. B. and G. M. From this and a few more notices, it should seem that North and South Wales were in general distinct principalities, subject however to the lord paramount.

<sup>6</sup> Ms. G. O. See an account of this office in the laws of Howel Dda. Nennius calls him *Proconsul regis*, Chap. 14, but confounds him with Beli the Great.

<sup>7</sup> Dorahel. A vestige of this name appears to subsist in that of Durolenum or Leneham in the isle of Thanet, and not very far from Chilham, where, according to Camden's idea, founded on the tradition of the place, Julius Cæsar encamped, and near which, Laberius was slain. G. M. omits this name, but it is found in B. T. and as *Dorahel* in B. G. Nennius, according to Abp. Usher's copy, says it was *apud Dolobellum*, which the Abp. corrects by reading *Dorobernium*.

<sup>8</sup> Ms. G. O.

“<sup>1</sup> Cæsar enraged by the length of the conflict,” aimed with all his might at the head of Nyniaw a blow, which Nyniaw received on his shield; and the sword stuck so fast in the shield, that in the drift of the combat Cæsar could not disengage it. When Nyniaw was possessed of this sword, none could withstand him; and having met with <sup>2</sup> Labienus, an officer of rank, he slew him. In this battle the greater part of the Romans were slain,<sup>3</sup> “so that one might have walked over the carcasses for thirty<sup>4</sup> land-lengths without touching the ground.” Cæsar himself fled with disgrace, and with much difficulty; and when the people of Gaul heard it reported, that he had suffered a defeat, they rose against him in the hope of shaking off his power, and expelling him; for they had heard that the ships of Caswallon were pursuing him. But Cæsar, by distributing a profusion of money amongst the chiefs, and liberating all the captives, prevailed on the Gauls to remain quiet.

Caswallon after the victory returned to London, and with him his associated chieftains, in order to give thanks to the gods for their success. On the fifteenth day following, Nyniaw died of the wound in his head, and was buried near the northern gate, and with him the sword, which was called the <sup>5</sup> Ruddy Death, because the wound

<sup>1</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>2</sup> Labienus. Cæsar mentions no other of this name than T. Labienus, and he admits the loss of Laberius in the second invasion. But he is so delicate on the subject of his own losses, or misadventures, that his silence alone is no sufficient reason for changing the name in the text above, which may very well have been that of a relative of T. Labienus.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>4</sup> Land-lengths, or Hydes of Land. The word *Hyde* is of Welsh origin, from

HYD, a measure of length. Hence Hyd-tir, a land-length, or the *Hyde of land*. No other copy notices this circumstance that I know of.

<sup>5</sup> The blue or green death, Ms. B. Crocea Mars, G. M. translated by Thomson, the *yellow death*. If, as it should seem, the Britons had no such swords, the celebrity of Cæsar's will appear to be very natural. It must have been such an acquisition to Nyniaw, as a British sword of this day would be to an Indian chief, who had previously seen no such weapon.



made by it was mortal. At this time Cæsar began to build the fort of <sup>1</sup>Odina, lest the Gauls should a second time repel him.

<sup>2</sup> Two years after this event, the fort being now built, Cæsar collected a force with the intention of avenging himself for his repulse

<sup>1</sup> *Odna*, B. G. and G. M. *Odna*, Ms. G. O. *Dodres*; Gerv. *Tilb*. The last reading points immediately to the *Tour d'Ordre*; *Turris Ordans*, or *Ordensis*, of Boulogne, said to have been built for a light-house by Caligula; and probably on the site of the fort, or rampart, constructed by Cæsar, when pressed by the Morini, in the year previous to the first invasion of Britain, according to his account.

*Vide Com. De Bello Gal. lib. 3. c. 29.*

<sup>2</sup> *Before the end of two years*, Ms. B. Nennius says, *after three years*. According to Cæsar, it was in the year following, and therefore it seems probable, that the original reading of the British history was *before the end of the second year*. At least it should be so to reconcile both; but as all the writers who have followed the British historian, have made more than one year to elapse between the first and second invasion, I have not disturbed the text.

In this history, and in the accounts of Cæsar's invasions, as given by Nennius; Bede, Giraldus Cambrensis, and the author of *Flores Historiarum*, the general circumstances of the narrative are the same, even to the names of Androgeus and Lubienus. These accounts of the British historians differ so widely in several respects from that given by Cæsar himself in his *Commentaries*, as to prove decisively that they are not of Roman, but of British origin; and had the writers of the *Church of Rome* known of the *Commentaries*, this part of the history would in all probability have been destroyed; but fortunately we still have it, and a proof by its being

extant, that the Britons had historic records at least so far back.

The differences between the British and Roman narratives are such as probably would have been found between the Carthaginian and Roman histories of the Punic Wars, had the former ever appeared. But if the former ever existed, Roman policy would have done all in its power to suppress whatever reflected on the Roman perfidy.

That Cæsar himself was not entirely free from this species of policy has been asserted by Suetonius on the authority of Asinius Pollio, who went so far as to say \* *Commentarios suos parum integrâ fide composuisse, that his Commentaries were written with little attention to truth*. But the generality and the asperity of this censure forbid its being taken in its utmost latitude, unless upon better authority than a sarcasm, and the *Commentaries* have much the appearance of relating the facts which they do give with a regard for truth. Still it is certain, that however correct he may be esteemed, and perhaps justly in what he does record, he does not in all cases record the *whole* truth. In the seventh book he tells us, that Lutetius Cadurcus, who had been active against the Romans, was overpowered, and taken out of the way; but says not a word of Drapès, the associate of Cadurcus, who had intercepted the supplies and baggage of the Romans. The knowledge of this loss we owe to the writer of the eighth book. Even from his own narrative it may justly be inferred, that he was beaten

\* Suetonius in Vita J. Cæsaris.

from Britain; and Caswallon, apprised of it, set iron stakes of the thickness of a man's thigh, in the channel of the Thames, so that Cæsar's ships striking unawares upon them, sunk; and thousands of the men were drowned. Those, who could gain the land, were attacked vigorously by Caswallon at the head of all the British youth, and after a hard battle were overcome, and Cæsar, compelled to fly, returned to the Wash of Moran, and from thence to the fort of Odina, which he had built through precaution.

back from beyond the Rhine, though he claims a victory. That he had been beaten in Britain at one time, the well known line *Territa quæsitis*, &c. (which G. M. quotes so admirably mal-apropos,) sufficiently proves. And even from his own account of the first expedition, it is most probable that he was so.

\* In Cæsar's narrative of his second invasion, he has, if the British historian be correct, so connected the events of two distinct invasions, by wholly omitting his having been defeated, and forced to return to France, and, induced by the treachery of some of the Britons, made a second attempt with more success, as to make the whole seem to be the transactions of one and the same invasion. As the whole passed in one and the same year, it was both very possible to be done, and consistent with his policy to do so. But if I mistake not, there are some circumstances mentioned by him which tend to prove that the British historian is right. He acknowledges that when he had, as he says, forced the passage of the river, notwithstanding the stakes, and was in pursuit of Cassibelan; he was still so harassed that he could not permit any of his troops

to go far from the main body; and yet we are told, that *at this very time* the Trinobantes send proposals of their submission to him, and also accidentally as it were, it occurs to him to mention, that their Prince Mandubratius had gone over to Gaul to him, through fear of Cassibelan; but at what time he did so is omitted.

It is very improbable that the Trinobantes should have made such a proposal at such a time, even had Mandubratius been with Cæsar on the Continent, when his ships were shattered by the storm, as he admits, and himself in difficulties otherwise. It is I think much more probable, that the account given by the British writer is true, as it gives more natural and sufficient reasons for Cæsar's ultimate success, than he has thought proper to state, and in giving them more fully has only revealed what he would naturally endeavour to suppress.

\* Nennius gives the British name *Cethilon* or *Cethiloeium*, properly *Coetholion* from *Coethawl*, a stake. *Esseda* is also properly an ancient British word *Y sedd*, i. e. the seat. These modes of carrying on war indicate a degree of knowledge somewhat higher than what is generally attributed to the Britons of these times

\* *Relinquebatur ut neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi Cæsar pateretur, & tantum in agris vastandis, incendiisque faciendis hostibus noceretur, quantum*

*labore atque itinere legionarii milites efficere poterant. Interim Trinobantes, pollicentur, sese ei dedituros.*  
De Bello, Gal: Lib. 2d.



Caswallon, after his victory, invited all the chiefs to London, where he celebrated it with sacrifices to the gods, and sumptuous feasts. Thirty-two thousand animals of various kinds were slaughtered on the occasion,<sup>1</sup> “and a part of these having been offered to the Gods, the remainder was eaten, and constituted the feast. Such was the custom of those times.” The festivities continued night and day, and were heightened by sports and pastimes. In the course of these it chanced that Hirlas, nephew to the king, having engaged Cyhelin, the nephew of Avarwy, in tilting, slew him. This circumstance threw the whole court into confusion. The king himself was enraged, and insisted that Cyhelin should be tried by his own court. But Avarwy, fearing how the king might decide, opposed it, alledging that <sup>2</sup> London was the proper place of trial for any offence committed on the island, and to this he would consent. The king however was determined to have Cyhelin in his own power, and Avarwy aware of his intent, left the court, and withdrew to his <sup>3</sup> own territory, taking Cyhelin with him.

When Caswallon was informed of this proceeding, he <sup>4</sup> “complained loudly to the remaining chiefs, that Avarwy should without permission have left his court, and taken the murderer of his nephew with him, and” set out at the head of his troops to ravage his territory. Avarwy, thus attacked, solicited an accommodation with the king, but it was in vain. His next object therefore was to resist Caswallon, and for this purpose he sent to intreat Cæsar to come to his assistance, promising at the same time his aid to Cæsar to subdue the island. <sup>5</sup> “But

<sup>1</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>2</sup> London was at this time in the territory of Avarwy, whose court of judicature consequently was there also, and his plea was just upon the principle laid down also in the laws of Howel Dda, viz. that a cause

ought not to be tried in the court of the plaintiff; though Caswallon, as sovereign paramount could hold a court there also.

<sup>3</sup> Probably to the Isle of Thanet.

<sup>4</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>5</sup> Ms. B.

as Cæsar and his council did not think fit to come to Britain on the mere professions of Avarwy; this prince<sup>1</sup> sent <sup>2</sup> Cynan, his son, and thirty-two sons of chieftains as hostages. Cæsar therefore prepared his ships, and came and landed at the Port of<sup>3</sup> Rwydon, where he was received by Avarwy with great respect.

Caswallon was, at this time, <sup>4</sup> attacking London; but, as soon as he had intelligence of Cæsar's landing, he set his forces in order, and marched against him. When he had reached a woody glen near Canterbury, he discovered the Romans encamped, and began to skirmish with them in a spirited manner. A severely contested engagement followed, by which the Britons were forced to retreat to a <sup>5</sup> high hill, where they made an advantageous stand against the enemy, and slew great numbers of them. The Romans therefore desisted from the attack of so strong a position, and determined to force them to a surrender, by inclosing the hill, and cutting off their provisions.

Caswallon, <sup>6</sup> "with his troops, having remained thus inclosed for two days and nights without sustenance, and with no other prospect than that of a bitter death," sent to intreat Avarwy to make his peace

<sup>1</sup> A letter, as from Avarwy, is inserted here in Ms. G. O. as also in G. M. but as it is not in B. T. and evidently an interpolation, it is omitted.

<sup>2</sup> *Secva*, G. M. contrary to all the Welsh copies.

<sup>3</sup> *Rwydun*, B. G. *Dorvyr*, Ms. B. *Rwydun*, Ms. G. O. This last has a near semblance to *Rutupia*, and as the *n* and *v* are often substituted by errors of copyists, may be nearly right. *Rwydun* is the *Isle of Thanet*. See above.

<sup>4</sup> This intimates that, after ravaging the lands of Avarwy, Caswallon on his return to London was opposed by the inhabitants.

<sup>5</sup> According to Cæsar's account, this hill must have been on the western side of the Medway, and not far from it. That he mistook the Medway for the Thames is certain, from his giving *the distance of the river from the sea*, which could not apply to any part of the Thames that he could have known, but does so with great propriety to the Medway.

"Cæsar was nearly losing the day when Avarwy, coming up with 15,000 men, fell on Caswallon's rear, and thus turned the event of the battle." I. G. L.

<sup>6</sup> B. G. &c.



with Cæsar. Avarwy<sup>1</sup> “was much surprised by the message, and observed, that he, who was a lamb in time of war, should not be a lion in time of peace towards his friends. But notwithstanding this, he” proposed it to Cæsar, and said, that as he had willingly been the means of reducing the island, so it was his wish that Caswallon should continue to be king, and in consideration thereof pay a tribute to the Roman senate. And when he found that Cæsar opposed it, he added that, in promising his assistance for the reduction of the island, he had not meant it for its destruction. That, for the injuries he had suffered, he could have compensation, without annihilating his countrymen, neither would he consent to their ruin. Cæsar therefore, finding him so determined, agreed to a peace upon condition that Britain should pay an annual tribute of <sup>2</sup>three thousand pounds of gold and silver. Peace being concluded they all went together to London, where <sup>3</sup>they passed the winter. The following summer Avarwy went to Rome with Cæsar, who went thither to oppose Pompey, at that time the head of the state. Caswallon remained in Britain, where having reigned seven years more in peace, in all twenty-three, he died and was buried at York.

Teneuvan, the son of Lludd, and Earl of Cornwall, <sup>4</sup>“a good and valiant man,” succeeded, <sup>5</sup>(because that Avarwy was gone to Rome) <sup>6</sup>and having reigned peaceably for fifteen years, died, and was succeeded by Cynvelin (*Cunobeline*) his son.

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<sup>1</sup> B. G. &c.

<sup>2</sup> B. G. &c.

<sup>3</sup> This must be a mistake, and can relate only to Caswallon and Avarwy, as Cæsar returned to Gaul, and passed the winter there. Avarwy however may have passed

the winter in Britain, and joined Cæsar afterwards.

<sup>4</sup> B. G.

<sup>5</sup> B. G.

<sup>6</sup> Ms. G. O

Cynvelin, having been educated by Julius Cæsar, was attached to the Romans, and so much so, that,<sup>1</sup> "though it was in his power," he did not withhold the tribute.

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*From the Book of Basingwerke Abbey.*

<sup>2</sup> In the time of this king, our Lord Jesus Christ was born; and on the night of his birth, the statue of the Romans of most perfect workmanship, which was in Rome, fell down; and which, it was said, was not to fall, unless a man were born of a virgin. On the same day also, a golden circle appeared to surround the sun; and the learned men and diviners being consulted, said, that a king was born whose power would be eternal. Augustus Cæsar, otherwise called Octavius, governed Rome at this time, and Herod Antipater, who cruelly put the children to death, in the hope of killing Jesus Christ, was governor of Judea.

About the fourth year after the birth of Christ, John the Evangelist was born.

In the fifth year Jesus came from Egypt to Galilee, and made seven basons for lakes out of the dust, and brought water into them from the Jordan, and from the lakes back to that river.

In the sixth year, Herod the cruel, slew Maria (*Mariamne*) his wife; and his three sons, Alexander, Aristobulus, and Antipater, died of a loath-

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<sup>1</sup> B. G. &c.

<sup>2</sup> The passage included in brackets, I have found only in Ms. G. O. It is inserted here merely as a relation of circumstances collected by the writer, and received as true in his time. The two first are probably a misapplication of facts that happened some years before. Suetonius says, that when Augustus returned from Apollonia, immediately after the death of Cæsar, the

Sun appeared surrounded by a circle of rainbow hues, and that almost immediately afterwards, the statue of Julia, Cæsar's daughter, was struck by lightning. (p. 260, Ed. Var.) These circumstances were interpreted as favourable presages to Augustus, and the idea of the birth of one, who was to rule the world, about that time general, made him to be considered as the probable object. See Enderbie.



Cynvelin died, after a reign of twelve years, leaving two sons, Gwydyr and <sup>1</sup> Gweyrydd. Gwydyr succeeding his father in the sovereignty, as soon as he found himself established firmly in it, withheld the tribute from the Romans. When the Romans were informed that he refused to pay the tribute, they sent Claudius Cæsar to Britain,

some disease, that arose in boils, filled with worms, between the skin and the flesh.

In the seventh year, Jesus went to Israel.

In the eighth year, flourished Sallust, <sup>1</sup> Terence, Horace, and some of the wisest of the wise.

9th. Virgil spoke of the incarnation of Christ, and the regeneration of the children of heaven.

10th. Gwydr, the son of Cynvelin was born.

11th. Gweryd, the second son was born.

12th. Jesus was found in the temple, hearing and answering the wise men.

13th. Augustus Cæsar died.

14th. Tiberius became emperor of Rome.

15th. Herod Antipas was made lord of the fourth part of Galilee.

16th. Ovid was exiled to Pontus.

17th. Pilate of Pontus was made procurator of Judea.

30th. John, the son of Zacharias preached concerning baptism, and baptised Jesus in the Jordan, after that he had fasted forty days and nights in the Wilderness, where the Devil tempted him.

31st. Jesus Christ fed 5000 with five loaves and two fishes, on the wedding night, when he turned water into wine.

<sup>1</sup> G. M. has with his usual incorrectness supposed that this prince was the Arviragus of Juvenal, though the latter was in the time of Domitian, successfully engaged, as it should seem against the Romans, for the hope of his failure is all that the expression of the poet intimates.

<sup>2</sup> This must be Terentius Varro.

with a great force; and when this general had landed, he attacked Caer <sup>1</sup> Peris, but being unable to take it by assault, he blocked up the gates by walls built with stone and mortar, in order to reduce it by famine. This having reached the ears of Gwydyr, he collected a large force, with which he hasted to Caer Peris, and fell upon the besiegers, and by his own personal achievements, distinguished himself far beyond all others. Whilst Gwydyr thus spread slaughter around

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32d. John the Baptist was imprisoned, and beheaded at the desire of Herodias.

33d. Jesus Christ suffered, and came back from death to life, and ascended into Heaven.

34th. James, the son of Alpheus, was made Bishop in Jerusalem by the Apostles, and <sup>2</sup> Peter fixed his See in Antioch.

35th. Stephen was stoned, and Paul converted on his way to Damascus. Cassius the wise, died of hunger and nakedness.

36th. Persius the wise, was born, and Herod Agrippa, the nephew of Herodias, was seized and imprisoned in Rome by Tiberius.

37th. Tiberius the emperor died, and Caius, (*Caligula*) became emperor, who set Agrippa free, made him of his council, and gave him three parts of Judea, with the title of king.

39th. Caius required to be worshiped as a God, and commanded Petronius, king of Assyria (*Syria*) to make an image of him, and set it up in Jerusalem to be worshiped by the Jews; which Pentronius durst not do for fear of the Jews.

40th. Matthew the Evangelist wrote his Gospel in <sup>3</sup> Judea.

43d. Cynvelin died, after a reign of twelve years.

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<sup>1</sup> Port-chester, perhaps built by the Bericus, mentioned by Dion Cassius, who having, because of seditious conduct, been driven out of Britain, went to Rome, and persuaded Claudius to undertake the invasion of the island.

<sup>2</sup> The writer, who flourished in the 15th century, was certainly no Roman catholic.

<sup>3</sup> The Ms. reads *India* but *Judea*, is certainly the proper reading.



him, one <sup>1</sup> Hamon, to whom the appellation of the Assassin has, from the circumstance been given, and who from the British hostages had learned their language, laid aside his own armour, and put on that of the Britons, and thus accoutred, insinuated himself among the British troops, and having watched his opportunity, killed the British king. This done, he made his escape during the tumult, joined his own party, and resumed his own armour. As soon as Gweirydd knew of his brother's death, he put on the armour his brother had worn, and thus continued the battle strenuously, and routed the Romans. <sup>2</sup> "Claudius with one part of the army fled to their ships, and" Hamon and the other and greater part of them fled, and were pursued by Gweirydd to a place thence called the Port of Hamon, as it is called to this day; and there Hamon was killed. Gweirydd then went on to Caer Peris, where Claudius had renewed the siege. As soon as the Britons, who were within the fort, perceived the approach of their countrymen, they sallied out against the enemy. But so great was the power of the Romans, that they were able to take the fort, and Gweirydd, after a bloody engagement was obliged to retreat to Winchester. Hither Claudius followed him, hoping to blockade him in it. But Gweirydd, aware of his inten-

<sup>1</sup> Jeulius Haymo, B. G. Lilius Hamo, Ms. B. Gervase of Tilbury, who most certainly did not copy Geoffrey of Monmouth's book, and probably never heard of it, has preserved the following curious tradition respecting this traitor.

"Cassibelan was succeeded by Tenuancius, the brother of Androgeus; his son Cabellinus (Cymbeline); his son Gundarius; and his brother Arturagus, who in the same battle (in which his brother was killed) slew Amon, by whose advice Claudius had made war, and in reference to whom Antonia, Northamptonia and Southamptonia were so called, as having been Hamon's northern and southern residences."

As *Amon* might easily be read for *Anton* in old Mss. there can be little doubt but that the true name here is *Laelius Antonius*. The Port of Hamon is said above (page 52) to be Northampton; and had I seen Gerv. Tilb. before that page had been printed off, it would have cleared up the difficulty, and proved the explanation to be correct. The Northampton is then the *North Antona*, that is, the river Nen, and it appears that there was once a port somewhere on it, and that the scene of battle on this occasion was near it. I suspect that this Caer Peris was also on this coast.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. B.

tion, determined to oppose him in the field. This determination, and the resistance he had already met with, induced Claudius to send proposals of peace, which were accepted. A peace was therefore concluded, and to confirm it, Claudius promised to give his daughter to Gweyrydd in marriage. After this arrangement, the Romans assisted by the Britons, took possession of the Orkney <sup>1</sup> Isles, and others near them, and when the winter was over, the <sup>2</sup> young lady, who was of uncommon beauty, came from Rome, and was married to Gweyrydd. <sup>3</sup> Claudius also built a city on the Severn, which from his name was called Claudii castra (Gloucester) on the boundary between Wales and England.<sup>4</sup>

In these times Christ suffered at Jerusalem; the apostle Peter established his See at Antioch, and came from thence to Rome to dwell there as Bishop; and having written a Gospel, he sent Mark the Evangelist to Egypt to preach it there.

<sup>1</sup> Isle, G. O. The Orcades, formerly one island, called Orc, are in the Triads said to have been formed into a number of isles by a great inroad of the ocean.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. has given to this lady the name of *Genuissa*. In B. G. it is *Genuylles*. In the W. Ms. it is *Generys*, and in I. G. L. *Gwenisa*. The latter of these is the Welsh reading of the Roman name *Venusia*. If this was her name perhaps the treacherous *Venusius* was her son.

From the general character of Claudius it may without much risk of a mistake be presumed, that when he came to Britain, it was with considerable confidence of acquiring the credit of a victory previously assured. And the shortness of his stay in Britain, proves that little was left for him to do, or that he did not wish to expose himself much. The repeated and continued resistance of the Britons to the Roman power does not admit of the former supposition; and according to the latter, it may have been very possible, that he should

have offered a lady, under the name of daughter by adoption, to the British Prince, in order to secure such a peace as might enable him to appear in Rome without disgrace.

<sup>3</sup> Claudius constrictit Claerdon. Claergon, hoc est Gloncestream.

Gerv. Tilb. p. 38.

Others say, that Gloyw wlad lydan, (*Claudius of the extensive country*) a son, (probably by adoption,) of Claudius Caesar, built it, B. G. But Nennius attributes it, (cap. 53) to Gloyw, or Gloni, ancestor of Vortigern in the fourth degree.

<sup>4</sup> Here a most material leaf is unhappily wanting in the Ms. G. O. and as it is the only leaf that is so, and appears to have been so very long ago, it may justly be suspected that Guttyn Owain had on it written something that opposed the claims of the church of Rome, which displeased the monks of Basingwerke, and that it was therefore destroyed.



At his convenient time Claudius returned to Rome, and left Gweyrydd in possession of the sovereignty of Britain.<sup>1</sup>

After the departure of Claudius, Gweyrydd, elevated the more by confidence and ambition, having refused to pay the tribute to

<sup>1</sup> The account which Dion Cassius gives of Togodumnus and Cataratacus (as he names them) the sons of Cymbeline, has induced the belief that the same persons are meant, who are in this history called Gwydyr and Gweyrydd. But the Welsh triads and pedigrees shew that Caractacus, or, as Dio calls him, Cataratacus, was not, by descent, the son of Cymbeline, but of Bran ap Llyr. Whether he was so by marriage, or that the Romans, knowing Cymbeline had two sons, mistook him for one of them, can now be only a matter of conjecture. However this be, our historian appears to have known nothing of Caractacus, or of Boadicea, his narrative is, in this part, confined to the transaction of the sovereign.

In this narrative, when compared with the few particulars transmitted by the historians of Rome, and some allowance being made for variations, such as will generally be found in relations of the same facts, by different writers of the same country, and still more so by those of opposite parties; there will be found little to object to, if it be admitted that, Gweyrydd being the sovereign, Caractacus had the principal command under him in the army, and that, as was very natural, a great part of what was done by Plantius, was attributed to Claudius. The first stand made by the Britons will then have been at Portchester, the second at Winchester, from whence they retreated to some place, not mentioned by our author, where they made a third and a formidable one. Dio says, that Plautius first beat Caractacus; then

Togodumnus; but *where*, he does not specify. Most probably therefore, Caractacus was at Portchester. The manner, in which Dio mentions the death of Togodumnus, countenances the Welsh narration of it. He says, that when the Britons were driven beyond the Thames, Togodumnus was dead, but not *how* he died; and the rage, which he says his death excited in the Britons *to avenge it*, justifies a suspicion of treachery, even from Dio's narrative alone. Dio is very brief in his relations of the manner in which this rage was suppressed; he only says in a few words, that Claudius brought elephants with him; a battle was fought, and Camalodunum, Cymbeline's capital taken; Suetonius expressly says, *there was no battle, or bloodshed*. (In Vita Claud. cap. 15.) which, from the wars that followed, is the most probable. A Greek, who should have written that Claudius had lost a battle, would perhaps have done so to his own misfortune, as it would have been contrary to the idea of the event, upon which a decree of the senate had been founded. G. M. adds, but erroneously, that Claudius stayed the winter in Britain, for his stay was only of a few days.

As to the name Togodumnus, the etymology at this distance of time must be very uncertain. The word Tog, found in the compound *Here-tog*, signifying a *chieftain*, may either be Saxon, or old German, and this word Togodumnus, or Tog-y-dymnaint, *the prince of the Damnonii*, have been the name given by the Germans in the Roman army to Gwydyr.

Rome, Claudius sent <sup>1</sup> Vespasian to Britain, at the head of a great army, and when Vespasian with a large fleet endeavoured to land near Rhydypï (*Portus Rutupie*) he was opposed by a numerous army, led on by Gweyrydd, and prevented from it. He therefore made for Totness, where he landed, and immediately attacked Penhwylgoed, (*Exeter*.) Gweyrydd as soon as he was informed of this, made for Exeter, and on the seventh day arrived there, and commenced a bloody but unsuccessful battle, in which he was overpowered by the number of the Romans. But by the intervention of the Queen, who came thither, peace was made between them; after which they went together to London, from whence they sent parties and commanders from both armies to subdue <sup>2</sup> Ireland. And when the winter was over, Vespasian departed for Rome, having previously sworn Gweyrydd to perpetual fealty to the Romans. <sup>3</sup> Gweyrydd at his death was buried at Gloucester in a “<sup>4</sup> temple” built by Claudius Cæsar.

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<sup>1</sup> The British history gives the names with which the Britons were most acquainted. Plantius was at this time Proprætor; but Vespasian was the most actively engaged as general, and is said to have fought no less than thirty battles with the Britons. This sufficiently displays the noble spirit of the latter.

<sup>2</sup> This is not improbable, Tacitus informs us, that while Agricola was in Britain, Ireland was visited; and Juvenal says, *Littera Juvænæ promovimus arma quid ultra, &c.* Sat. 2d.

<sup>3</sup> Here a chasm occurs in the Welsh history, which extends from the year after Claudius came into Britain to the time of Domitian. This may be easily accounted for by the disastrous circumstances of the Britons in these times; and the calamities and destruction of the greater part, pro-

bably of the bards and druids. Some remains however of the history of these times are still found in the Triads, and in pedigrees, particularly as to the family of the truly great Caractacus. As these have been detailed in the Essay on the early History of the Britons, it is not necessary to add more upon them here.

<sup>4</sup> The original says, *in the monastery built by Claudius*. But the other copies read, *in a temple*, as it certainly should be. The custom of giving the names of their times, instead of the ancient names, is so common to ancient writers and copyists, as to need no farther observation here, than that the monastery is marked by it, to have been erected on the site of a Roman temple, which appears to have been frequently the use as to the christian churches.



On the death of Gweyrydd, his son <sup>1</sup> Meurig succeeded to the sovereignty; and in his time Roderic, the king of the Picts, brought a great multitude of them from <sup>2</sup> Scythia to Britain, and seized on Albany. Meurig as soon as he heard this, collected his forces, attacked and routed them, and in the rout Roderic was slain. To those who survived, Meurig granted a settlement in Albany; but when they had settled, as they had no women there, they came and besought the Britons to give them their daughters in marriage; and, having met with a refusal, they married Irish women, and from them have the Scots descended.

When Meurig had brought the island to a state of tranquility, <sup>3</sup> he granted the Romans a peace, of his own free accord, and made new laws throughout his dominions, and thus rendered the remainder of his life tranquil and happy.

On the death of Meurig, his son Coel succeeded, who having had his education in Rome, and <sup>4</sup> “ been familiarised to the Roman customs

<sup>1</sup> If there be any one in this succession of kings, to whom the name of Arviragus can be with propriety applied, it must, as far as the name can direct, be so to this king. With the article prefixed, the name Meurig will be y-Veurig, and as some of our old writers would have expressed it, yr-Veurig, which is so near Arvirag or Arviragus as to make it highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that both names designate the same person, and the more so as the old scholiast on Juvenal calls Beli, *Arbila*. How G. M. came to metamorphose Gweyrydd into Arviragus; and Meurig into Marius, is not worth enquiry. It proves however, that his knowledge of the very history he was translating was very imperfect, and this, with many other

instances of his incorrectness and fanciful renderings, may have contributed much to the clamour raised against him. Upon his own error he has engrafted another of a memorial stone set up in Stanmore, to record the victory over the Picts.

<sup>2</sup> This name seems to have been generally used for the inhabitants of the interior of the northern part of the continent.

<sup>3</sup> That Arviragus had gained great advantages over the Romans is evident, as Langhorn observes, from the expression of Tacitus, *Perdomita Britannia, & statim amissa*. Agricola had subjected it; but immediately after his departure it was lost.

<sup>4</sup> B. G. &c. This circumstance agrees perfectly with what Tacitus says of the Policy of Agricola. As part of Britain had

and manners," was attached to the Romans, and fond of their society. Hence, though he had sufficient power to withhold the tribute, he granted it freely during his life<sup>1</sup> "as he saw the whole world submit to them."

Coel was succeeded by his son<sup>2</sup> Lles, (*Lucius*) whose disposition resembled that of his father; and when he was established in his sovereignty, he sent to Eleutherius,<sup>3</sup> the Bishop of Rome, to request that he would send teachers of the Christian faith, that by their learned instructions he might acquire faith in Christ. Eleutherius therefore sent two learned men, Dyvan and Fagan, who preached *Christ come in the flesh* to Lucius, and purified him, and all his subjects, by holy Baptism. This done, Lucius<sup>4</sup> gave the temples, which had been dedi-

been made a Roman Province, it is much more probable that it was in this Province, than in Rome itself, that Coel had been educated, and this during the time of Agricola; or he may have been sent as an hostage to Rome, and sent back, as likely, to promote the Roman interest.

<sup>1</sup> The success and grandeur of the Romans, aided no doubt by their artful suggestions, that they were irresistible, produced about this time a revolution in the ideas of the nations in the western extremities of the empire, who felt themselves too weak to repel them effectually. These began to look up to gradations of honour in servitude, and therefore to hold it their honour to be subject to the greatest power, rather than any other. It is a part of the history of the human mind. *Langhorn*, but on what authority I know not, makes the life of Coel to have extended 289 years.

<sup>2</sup> Lles or Lucius is well known as the king to whom the first introduction of Christianity into Britain has been so sedulously ascribed, though erroneously. It

may however very well be, and from the authority of Nennius it may be admitted, that he did send to Rome for Christian teachers; to which he may have been excited by the idea of the superiority attached to Rome itself, and which the Church of Rome began at a very early period to arrogate to itself. The epistle ascribed to him is too impudent a forgery to merit animadversion.

<sup>3</sup> The other copies and G. M. have made a *Pope of the Bishop* of Rome, as might naturally be expected. That he retains the primitive appellation in this copy is a proof of its particular claim to attention.

<sup>4</sup> The heathen temples on the subversion of heathenism were in general converted into churches. So far is true, but it was not till then. In the beginning of the reign of Constantine, the Christians assembled in the open air, they had *no* temples, and they worshiped *no* saints. This our historian was probably ignorant of, and following the traditions of his time, has with an unsparing hand given to the name



ated to false Gods, to be consecrated in the name of the Almighty and his saints, and made several ordinances for the maintenance of religious worship. At that time there were <sup>1</sup>thirty Sacerdotal Presidencies and three superior ones in Britain. These three were in the three principal cities, viz. London, York and Caerleon on Uske. When the districts they were to govern were assigned to them, that of York comprehended Deira and Bernicia, and all the country north of the Humber; that of London, Loegria and Cornwall, as far as the Severn; and that of Caerleon, Wales, from the Severn upwards, and a superiority over the other two. All of these were endowed by the king.

He died at Gloucester, and was buried in the principal church there, A. D. 136. There were in his time in Britain thirty-eight heathen temples subject to three more. To each of the former, after its consecration, Lucius assigned a Bishop; and to each of the other three an Archbishop in the cities above mentioned. Lles having died childless, <sup>2</sup> party tumults arose between the Britons and Romans.

of Lucius the credit of the establishment of Christianity in all the instances mentioned; though they must have been the work of a long time, and successive exertions. For this the same apology must be made as in other similar cases. The traditions of troublous times are always liable to mistakes.

<sup>1</sup> The *Flamens* and *Archiflamens* of Geoffrey of Monmouth have been ridiculed with great and unmerited severity. The Welsh copies of the Brut agree in the general purport, that there was a dignified order of priesthood among the heathen Britons, one of which presided in each of the thirty residences which were afterwards made episcopal sees, and that three of a higher order and more extensive jurisdiction had their residences at London,

York, and Caerleon, and that their offices had a resemblance as to rank and superintendence to those of bishops and archbishops. In this he is right. Whether he might not have chosen more appropriate denominations is not worth considering. From what is said of them, it is probable that there was one in each of the principal cities, and I am inclined to think that the present Dioceses differ very little from the districts of the Pagan pontifical orders, whether in Britain or in other countries.

<sup>2</sup> From this observation it seems most probable, that Coel and Lles enjoyed the name, at least of sovereignty, according to the known policy of the Romans; to whom the national king was useful, by screening

<sup>1</sup> As soon as the Roman Senate was informed of the tumults in Britain, it sent Severus, a Roman senator with two legions, who soon after his arrival, subjected the greatest part of the Britons. The rest fled beyond Deira and Bernicia, with <sup>2</sup> Julian at their head, and their frequent encounters so irritated the general, that he directed a dike faced by a stone wall, to be made between Deira and Albania, from sea to sea, to oppose the Britons. Having so done, he determined to subdue the whole island. Julian feeling the inequality of the contest, went to Scythia, from whence the Scots, who had joined Julian, had come to Britain, and from thence brought back with him all the youth of that country, and immediately attacked York. Here he was joined by the greatest part of the Britons, for they forsook Severus as soon as the enterprise of Julian was known. Severus also brought together all his forces, and a severe battle ensued, in which Julian was mortally wounded, and Severus himself was killed, and <sup>3</sup> buried at York.

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their agency from the eyes of the people. When Lucius died childless, they were obliged to come forward themselves and tumults naturally followed.

<sup>1</sup> Here a second chasm in the history occurs, and the transactions of about eighty years are omitted.

It is also worthy of notice, that in this history the Emperors are always represented as acting by the order of the Senate; and probably they suffered it to be so understood, as to any acts of severity. This policy would throw the odium on a distant authority, and enable them to claim the merit of lenity, if any were shewn, to themselves.

<sup>2</sup> *Fulgenius* G. M. The Welsh copies read *Sylien*, that is *Julian*, or *Julianus*, which has at least the advantage of being

a name in use at the time. "According to Hector Boethius he was a Briton of noble birth, being descended from royal ancestry; according to Fordun he was an Albanian chieftain. He appears to have been a prince of the *Maatae*." *Langhorne*, *Antiq. Abb.* p. 176, who in this instance has by a mistake, added on the authority of G. M. that Julian was brother in law to Severus. But G. M. has nothing of this.

<sup>3</sup> Of this, *Spartianus* says, there were different accounts, some reporting that his body was burned there, and the ashes sent in an urn to Rome; others that the body itself was sent thither. The funeral ceremonies appear however to have been celebrated at York.



Severus left two sons, Bassianus and Geta. The mother of Geta was a <sup>1</sup> Roman, but the mother of Bassianus was of <sup>2</sup> British origin. The Romans therefore on the death of Severus made <sup>3</sup> Geta their king for his mother's sake, and the Britons made Bassianus their king because of his mother's British descent. Hence a quarrel arose between the brothers, in which Geta was killed, and Bassianus took the whole of the government in his own hands.

<sup>4</sup> *At this time* there was a young man of the name of Caron, of a British family, but of low degree, who having distinguished himself in many engagements, went to Rome, and solicited the Senate to grant him permission and aid to protect the sea coasts of Britain, against the attempts of foreign nations, and pointed out immense advantages to result from their assent to his request. This after some deliberation was granted, <sup>5</sup> "but with the condition that no Briton should be molested." Caron thus assured, returned to Britain, and collecting the strength of Britain, put to sea; and taking various courses, and entering different ports, his violence and rapine, and

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<sup>1</sup> She was in reality a Syrian. But this degree of accuracy is more than could well be expected here.

<sup>2</sup> Her name was Marcia, according to Spartianus, who notices a curious trait in the character of Severus, with respect to her, viz. that he omitted her name in the history of his private life, and afterwards erected statues to her memory.

<sup>3</sup> Geta appears to have been justly the greater favorite with the Roman soldiery.

<sup>4</sup> If the outline of this part of the history be compared with Nennius, it will be evident that the succession of those only who were deemed sovereigns of Britain, is followed, and the interval between the times of Severus and Carausius, about eighty years, passed over alike by both. The words *At this time* must therefore either be an inter-

polation, or refer to somewhat omitted. If the former, it may be by a mistake founded on the repetition of the name of Bassianus. That the person intended here by the name of Caron is Carausius, both the description here given of him, and the order in which he is mentioned by Nennius, put it beyond a doubt. The only difficulty is as to the name *Bassianus*. It certainly may be an error of the copyist. But as Eutropius says, that Maximian was obliged, after several battles, to make peace with Carausius, it may be conjectured that, in some of these wars, a Roman General of the name of Bassianus had been slain, and that this Bassianus has been confounded with the son of Severus by our author.

<sup>5</sup> Omitted by B. T.

the ravages he committed with fire and sword, spread terror wherever he went. Those also who had no other resource flocked to him in such multitudes, that he had a force which set him above fear. Thus elevated by success, he sent and proposed to the Britons that they should make him their king, promising, if they did, that he would drive the Romans out of Britain, restore their freedom, and defend them from every foreign power. The Britons, with these hopes, and also having noted that he had done no injury to Britain, agreed to his proposal, and Caron, having received their answer, joined them with a large army. Bassianus also with an army of Romans and Picts, marched against and engaged him; but in the heat of the battle the Picts joined Caron; Bassianus was killed, and the Romans completely put to the route. Caron having thus obtained the victory, settled the Picts in Scotland, where they remain.

When the Roman Senate heard that Caron was elected king, and that he withheld the tribute, it was greatly irritated, and dispatched <sup>1</sup> Allectus with three legions to Britain; who coming to an engagement with Caron, overpowered him by numbers. The death of Caron in the battle, which was hard fought, exposed the Britons to great severities, and they were oppressed and slaughtered without mercy.

By this means Allectus became <sup>2</sup> king, but such was his cruelty, that the Britons, unable to support it, chose <sup>3</sup> Asclepiodotus, Earl of

<sup>1</sup> Aurelius Victor calls Allectus *the associate of Carausius*; and Langhorn therefore takes it for granted, that the account given of him in this history must be a fiction. But it is very possible that Allectus may have been sent by the Romans into Britain, have joined Carausius in the hope of attaining the supreme power, and assassinated Carausius to secure it. There is

nothing in all this inconsistent with the practises of the times, and the very scanty history of them affords room enough for the supposition. Allectus may have been sent over by Maximian.

<sup>2</sup> That is, had a sovereign authority or power.

<sup>3</sup> Alysgapitulus, B. T.



Cornwall for their king, and under his command marched to London. Allectus, who, when they approached the town, was sacrificing to his national Gods, broke off the ceremony, and sallied out to attack them; but his troops after a severe engagement were routed, and himself with many thousands were slain. Hereupon Livius Gallus shut the gates of the city, and endeavoured to keep it, but Asclepiodotus and the Britons invested it, and sent advice of this to the several chieftains of the island, and solicited their aid. This summons brought thither the men of North and South Wales, and of those of Deira and Bernicia. The city was taken by storm, and the Romans now subject to the sword, sent to the king to intreat their lives might be spared; but whilst this was under consideration, the North Wales men fell upon them in their station, which was on a declivity over the river, and left none alive. This place is called in Welsh Nant Gallgwn, in English, Walbrook.

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<sup>1</sup> Belysgalys, B.T. This name, and the preceding, which appear in this copy only, to my knowledge, would from the authority of this Ms. induce some suspicion, that the former should be Ælius Capitolinus, and the latter Belus Gallus, did not the circumstances of the narrative agree so nearly in general with the ostentatious panegyric of Eumenes. Langhorn, to whose industry I am obliged for several references, and who appears to have been rather puzzled, how to reconcile the Roman account with the British, as given by Geoffrey, has overlooked a very material expression of the Panegyrist. Speaking of the expedition of Constantius against Allectus he says, *Statim atque ad litus illud—appuleras, obviussese majestati tuæ triumphus effudit.* If then *victory met him immediately after his landing*, he could have had but a very small share in the engagements with Allectus. The probability is, that Asclepiodotus commanded

in all the engagements, at least it is so from the British account of them. This account styles Asclepiodotus *Earl*, that is, governor or superintendent of Cornwall; and, as no one unacquainted with the island would, on such an occasion, have had such a command, it is very probable he might have been previously stationed there in some such capacity, and not disliked by the Britons. If so, they would have been happy to join him, even in the hope of better treatment, against one of the savage character of Allectus; those of the Roman province especially, who considering it as a British cause, or wishing to make it so, appear to have given the epithet of Roman on this occasion, exclusively to the partizans of Allectus; whose force, partly Roman, and partly perhaps of other nations, merited fully the appellation of *barbarians*, which the Rhetorician gives them.

Asclepiodotus now became sovereign of the nation, and governed it for ten years.

Then followed the persecution which Dioclesian the Roman Emperor raised against the Christians, by which Christianity was nearly extirpated. For about this time Maximian Herculius by his order came into Britain, and destroyed the Churches, burned the holy Scriptures, and put the Christian clergy and laity to cruel deaths. In this persecution died Alban of Verulam, and his friend Aaron of Caerleon.

“ After this, Coel, surnamed Coedhebawg, Earl of Gloucester, arose against Asclepiodotus, and having begun a war, soon slew him; in consequence whereof Constantius, a Roman Senator, who had already been engaged in the reduction of Spain, came to Britain, to carry on a war against Coel. But when Constantius had appointed a day for the commencement of hostilities, and manifested his wish to engage, a peace was suddenly concluded. Five weeks after this event Coel died, having reigned ten years.

Constantius afterwards married Helen, surnamed *the Prosperous*,<sup>1</sup> the only daughter of Coel, a lady of unrivalled beauty, and by her had a son, called Constantine. Constantius died after a reign of eleven years, and was buried at York.

<sup>1</sup> The other copies are more diffuse, and certainly less correct, in detailing the accomplishments of Helen. If the decision of Mr. Gibbon, that Helen was not born in Britain, were to be admitted, it may surely be asked, how has it happened that such a tradition should become perfectly national? or is not such a tradition as likely to be accurate as that of the historians, whose authority he adopts, especially when it is singular? Is it not also confirmed by the subsequent attachment of the Britons to the family of Constantius? Mr. G.

thinks that the word *oriendo*, used by the Panegyrist, may be referred to Constantine's accession; but he has given no instance of such use of the word, and perhaps could not give one. He has also omitted the following passage addressed by Eumenius to Constantine himself.

O! fortunata, & nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia, quæ Constantinum prima vidisti. Merito te omnibus cæli ac soli bonis natura donavit.—Dii boni, quid hoc est, quod semper ex aliquo *supremo fine mundi*, nova Deum numina universo orbi



This Constantine, with his three uncles, (the brothers of his mother) Llewelyn, Trahaern, and Meurig, conquered Rome, and Maxentius the cruel. And this Trahaern returned with three legions to recover Britain from <sup>1</sup> Eudaf, the Earl of Erging, and <sup>2</sup> Euas, and landed at Caerberis, (*Portchester.*) The next day Eudaf came to Maes Urien, (*the field of battle of Urien*) near Winchester, where he gained the first battle. Trahaern was thus compelled to flight, and betaking himself to his ships, he sailed to Albany, where he landed and renewed the war; defeated Eudaf, and pursuing him, forced him to leave the kingdom. Eudaf therefore fled to <sup>3</sup> Godbert, king of Scandinavia to implore his aid.<sup>4</sup> “Trahaern therefore proceeded to reduce the island under the Roman power,” and in the mean time Eudaf sent to urge his friends in Britain to compass the death of Trahaern. The Earl of <sup>5</sup> the Strong-Castle therefore with an hundred horsemen, lay in wait for Trahaern in a glen, through which he was to pass, and suddenly slew him when he entered it. Eudaf now assumed the sove-

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descendunt.—Sic Mercurius a Nilo—Liber ab Indis—se gentibus ostendêre præsentés. *Eumenius in Panegy.*

*Fortunate Britain! now the happiest of all countries, that thou didst first behold Constantine. Justly has nature endowed thee with every advantage of clime and soil. Whence, ye Gods, is it, that new deities always come to us from some EXTREME LIMIT of the earth? thus Mercury made his presence visible from the Nile—Bacchus from India.*

These compliments cannot be well reconciled to any other idea than that of Constantine's birth in Britain. Had the Panegyrist intended them of his accession to the people, the word *prima vidisti* alone would be far from intimating it. In fact they

convey merely the idea of Britain having been the country that first saw Constantine himself. This is confirmed by the references to the births of Mercury and Bacchus, and still more by the manner in which the Panegyrist labours to extol Britain; a labour hardly necessary or intelligible, unless in compliment to the place of his hero's birth.

<sup>1</sup> Of the Eudaf G.M. makes an Octavius, and I imagine he is right.

<sup>2</sup> Erging and Euas are two small districts (Hundreds) of Monmouthshire.

<sup>3</sup> Gombert, G. M.

<sup>4</sup> B. G.

<sup>5</sup> Strong mountain, B. G. a municipal town, G. M. where I know not.

reignty of Britain, and so attached his followers to himself, by gratuities in money, horses, and arms, that no other king would have found it an easy undertaking to contend with him. Thus Eudaf maintained his power to <sup>1</sup> the time of the two Roman Emperors, Gratian and Valentinian. About this time, Eudaf having only one daughter, whose name was Helen, to inherit after his death, summoned a council of his nobles in order to consult them as to the disposal of this daughter in marriage, and also of the government of the kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Some part of his council advised him to confer the government on his Nephew, Cynan Meiriadawg, his brother's son, and to bestow his daughter with an affluent portion on some foreign prince. Others advised that the princess and kingdom should be given to him who was to rule the island. But Caradoc, the Earl of Cornwall, said, 'As we are under the Roman Senate, my advice is, that you look to Rome, and chuse <sup>3</sup> Maximus the Great, who is son to Llewelyn, the brother of Helen the Prosperous, and whose mother was the daughter of a Roman Senator; for thus, by giving your daughter to him, the power of the Senate will enable us to defend ourselves against foreigners.' This course was adopted, and Caradoc sent his son Meurig to Rome. It was seldom that Romans were upon good terms with all the provinces,

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<sup>1</sup> The occurrences in Britain of about fifty years are therefore compressed into the few noticed by our author.

<sup>2</sup> In this part of the original there is a peculiar use of several terms used in the Welsh, such as *prins* for *princeps*, instead of *Twysog*. *Pedestric* for *the infantry*, &c. a species of Latinised Welsh which I am induced to suspect is copied from the original manuscript, rather than translated back into Welsh from the Latin. A Latinised Welsh prevails in the old Welsh poems from the fifth to the ninth century, but it does not appear afterwards, except in a very few words.

<sup>3</sup> Langhorne has strangely mistaken this Maximus, (who having killed Gratian, became the tyrant of Gaul, and was slain by Theodosius) for the Maximus who with Severus was created Caesar by Galerius. G. M. and Nennius have also mistaken him for Maximian. As the Welsh name is *Maxen*, which may signify either Maximus or Maximian. In A. D. 410, a century had passed since the accession of Constantine, and Maximus however related to Llewelyn could not well be his son.



“and when Meurig arrived in Rome, <sup>2</sup> three emperors were striving for the superiority, without being able to agree upon a division of power;” Meurig noticing this, observed to Maximus, that he was surprised he should bear with the other two. How, said Maximus, can I avoid it? to which Meurig replied, come with me to Britain, marry Helen; the daughter of Eudaf, with whom the government of Britain will be yours, and possessed of this power you will be irresistible.<sup>3</sup>

To this Maximus agreed, and having collected ships, sailed to Gaul, which he forced to submit to him, and to pay a large contribution in money. Soon after, word was brought to the British king, that a fleet was in sight of the coast, whose destination was unknown. Eudaf therefore commissioned Cynan to collect the British youth, and oppose the foreigners. Cynan did so, and advanced to the hills of Kent, with a large force, and Maximus seeing such a force so apparently ready to oppose them, hastily sought Meurig, and in displeasure demanded an explanation. However, after some consideration, which the case required, they sent twelve persons of the most advanced age, and greatest prudence, in a boat to land, and each bearing an olive branch, in token of peace, they went to Cynan and informed him that Maximus had brought a message to the British king. Cynan then asked why he had brought so great a force, if his intent was peaceable? to which it was answered, that it was to protect him on his voyage. Cynan however, notwithstanding this plea, insisted on opposing Maximus, lest he himself should lose the sovereignty; but <sup>4</sup> Caradoc the Earl

<sup>1</sup> Omitted, but evidently requisite to the sense in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the three emperors referred to here may have been Valens, Valentinian, and Gratian, who reigned all at the same time for a while.

<sup>3</sup> According to Zosimus, Maximus was invited to Britain by the army, and came *by sea*.

<sup>4</sup> This Caradoc was probably the father of Cynan Meiriadawg.

of Cornwall, advised him at all events to suffer them to proceed ; and accordingly they went to the king, who, accompanied by his daughter Helen, then held his court at Carnarvon. The nuptials of Maximus and Helen were speedily celebrated,<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup>Maximus thus obtained the sovereignty. As soon as Cynan knew it,<sup>3</sup> he departed for Albany, where he levied an army, then crossed the Humber, and began to ravage the country, but was met by Maximus, driven back, and obliged to fly to Scandinavia. From thence he returned, when Maximus had retired, and was about to recommence hostilities ; but peace was concluded between them, and they agreed to make their views a common cause.

The fifth year after this, Maximus and Cynan went to Gaul, where they slew <sup>4</sup>Hymblat the chief of the Gauls ; Maximus then told Cynan, that as he had deprived him of Britain, he would give him Armorica. This was the first time the Britons went to settle there, and from this time it has been called Little Britain.

Maximus went from thence to <sup>5</sup>Rouen in Normandy, and the Gauls fled before him, deserting both their forts and towns. He then proceeded towards Rome, to carry on a war against Gratian and Valentinian, the Roman emperors, and soon <sup>6</sup>killed Gratian, and drove Valentinian from Rome.

<sup>1</sup> There still exists a fabulous story in the Welsh language which relates to this circumstance. It is called *The Dream of Maximus*.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. that Maximus had obtained Helen and the sovereignty. For Cynan expected that the latter would devolve upon himself.

<sup>3</sup> Hence it seems that Cynan's territory lay in Albany.

<sup>4</sup> Ymbelt, B. G. Imbelt, G. O. Imbelt, Ms. B.

<sup>5</sup> The Archdeacon here, as every where else, uses the names familiar in his time.

<sup>6</sup> Gratian was killed, and though not by the hand of Maximus, by his means, which is all the text imports.



At this time there were frequent battles between the Armorican Britons and the Gauls, and when this had been long the case, these Britons were desirous of having eligible wives, and therefore sent to the Earl of Cornwall, who had been left to defend Britain, to request that he would send over <sup>1</sup> eleven hundred of the daughters of <sup>2</sup> men of rank of Britain, and sixty of the daughters of foreigners, and servants. The number of virgins having been collected and embarked, they set sail, but an adverse wind arising, scattered their ships, and sunk some. Two of the ships dispersed were seized on the Gallic coast by Gwnwas and Melwas, who were then at sea with crews from Germany, in support of Gratian; and these men having been informed by the virgins that Britain was drained of troops, changed their course, and made for Britain. This <sup>3</sup> Gwnwas was a king of

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<sup>1</sup> Though I have not disturbed the text, the following extract from Ms. A. is certainly more eligible and more probable.

"Dunawd was at this time king of Cornwall, and to him Maximus had committed the defence of the island. This Dunawd had a beautiful daughter, of whom Cynan was enamoured, and therefore sent to request her for his wife, and that a large number of British women might be sent over with her." Now, if as it is possible her name was Emillia. Y FVNDEGEMILLIA, will signify *the beautiful woman* Emillia; from whence it was not difficult to elicit VNDECIM MILLIA. But as tradition says, that her name was *Ursula*, in Welsh *Ursul* or *Ursil*, perhaps the difficulty may be solved more satisfactorily another way. *Eleven thousand* is in Welsh *An* *tit* a *deg*. *Ursil* and *ten* would be *Ar* *tit* a *deg*. The former might easily in an old Ms. be read for the latter; but though the martyrology may suffer by it, the latter may be considered

as the true reading. Her name ought of course to be found in the history. It would be absurd to send eleven thousand ladies of rank with only sixty attendants. But thus correcting the text, we have *Ursula, ten ladies of rank, and sixty attendants*. Nothing is said of their deaths in this copy, or G. O. In all the other copies in the Archaeology, this tale has received ample embellishments.

<sup>2</sup> Literally *who were not subject to military levies*, and therefore noble.

<sup>3</sup> The Huns, Alans, and Goths were at this time commencing their career on the borders of the eastern empire, and Gratian who was partial to their manners, had by a large bounty attached some (Paulus Diaconus, and Aur. Victor, say *a few*) Alans to himself, and his partiality to them, by giving umbrage to his army, was the cause of his death. After this event it is very probable, that his favorite Alans, and many more of his partizans, had no resource but in piracy. If, as it should

the Huns, and Melwas was a king of the Pictavians, and these two, having sailed to the north of Britain, landed and destroyed the inhabitants wheresoever they went. And when Maximus, then in Rome, heard of it, he sent two legions under Gratian Municeps to defend Britain, by whom, after several bloody engagements, Gwnwas and Melwas were obliged to fly to Ireland.

About this time Maximus was killed, as were also the Britons that were of his party, except the infantry, who took refuge in Armorica. And Gratian (*Municeps*) when he heard of the death of Maximus, assumed to himself the sovereignty of Britain, which he exercised<sup>1</sup> for (*no*) long time, but with great cruelty towards the Britons. He

seem, Gratian's partiality was that arising from a love of novelty and singularity, or from the idea of safety with a guard of foreigners; the same motive would induce him to wish to exhibit Huns also in his train. This our author asserts that he did, and if so, they must have shared the fate of the Alans.

As to the names Gwnwas and Melwas, I suspect that the Welsh translator has mistaken general for proper names. The name *Gwnwas* seems to be merely a corruption of *Hun-wys*, or as it is sometimes written, *Chun-wys*, and properly *Khan-wys*, that is, the *Khanians*, or subjects of Khan. Perhaps Melwas is also a corruption of *Alan-wys*, that is *the Alans*. Such a corruption (though the conjecture has, I own, no other foundation than what the attachment of Gratian to the Alans may afford) is not more unlikely than that in the name *Hudibras* already noticed. If these conjectures be admitted, the sense of the passage will be that under the conduct of the Huns and Alans, who had been Gratian's favorites; his partizans, after his death, harassed Britain, and the continued

recurrence of the names for so long a time may be accounted for as those of parties in the war. If they are proper names, the former must mean simply *Khan-was*, that is, *a subject or servant of the Khan*, and as to the latter, unless it has a relation to the Frankish names, Melo or Melbodugus, I can form no other reasonable conjecture.

<sup>1</sup> The original reads, *for a long time*. But this should certainly be *for no long time*. As the following testimonies will prove.

Apud Britannias Gratianus (Municeps) tyrannus mox creatus occiditur.

Paulus Diaconus, lib. 12. vide Zosim, lib. 6.

*In Britain Gratian ascending the throne, is soon killed.*

Τεσσαρεσὶ ὑστέρῳ μηνὶ παραλυσαντες ἀναιρουσι, Κωνσταντῶν παραδόντες τὴν βασιλείαν.

Zosimus, p. 371. ed. Oxon.

*They deposed and killed him (Gratian) at the end of four months, and transferred the sovereignty to Constantine.*



was at last killed by his own partizans. The intelligence of his death having reached Gwnwas and Melwas, they collected Norwegians, Danes, Scots and Picts, and at the head of these ravaged Britain, with fire and sword from sea to sea, and slaughtering the natives. The Britons finding themselves unable to oppose them, solicited the aid of the Romans, and obtained a legion under the command of <sup>1</sup> Severus, which soon marched against the enemy, and drove them out of their boundaries, and then the Britons and Romans by common consent and their joint labour, built up the stone wall, which separates Deira from the north country,<sup>2</sup> “and which Severus had built,” to impede the incursions of the foreigners in future.

Upon their return to London, the Romans desired Cyhelin to inform the Britons that they would now give up their tribute, as it cost them more in men and money to defend the island, than they ever gained from it. This declaration called forth <sup>3</sup> a piteous cry

The difference which causes the errors is no greater in the Welsh than that in the English expressions. The other copies say nothing of the duration of his reign.

<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to discover any general of this name about this time, unless it could be *Libius Severus*, on whom the Senate, at the command of Ricimer, bestowed the title of Emperor of the West, about A. D. 461. Mr. Gibbon says of him that “history has scarcely deigned to notice his birth, his elevation, his character or his death.” *Rom. Empire*, vol. 5. p. 184. ed. 8vo. London.

As the legion was recalled A. D. 403, Severus must, if the same person, have been very old when he received his imperial title. He died six years after.

The other copies do not mention the name of the commander of the legion.

<sup>2</sup> Mss. A and B.

<sup>3</sup> It is remarkable that, in every addition made to this part of the history by the monkish writers, in the later copies, the situation and conduct of the Britons is made more deplorable, and their dependence on the Romans exaggerated. This was in part policy, but more in malice, because the Britons strenuously opposed the Church of Rome. Zosimus however represents their conduct, about A. D. 408, viz. after the death of Constantine, very differently. His words are these:

‘Οι τε ουν εκ της Βρετανίας οπλα ενδυνες, σφων αυτων προκινδυνευτανης, ηλευθερωταν των επικειμενων Βαρβαρων τας πολεις, και ο Αρμοριχος αττας και εις α. Γαλαων επαρχιας Βρετανους μιμηταμενης, κατ’α τον ισον σφας ηλευθερωταν τροπον. εκβολουται μεν ιους Ρωμαιους αρχοντας, οικειον δε και εξουσιαν πολιτευμα καθισασαι

Zosimus, p. 331, ed. Oxon, 1679.

of the multitude, who thus found themselves deprived of succour. The Romans however betook themselves to their ships and returned home,<sup>1</sup> “and Cyhelin having assembled the Britons, addressed them thus:

The information which I am enjoined to communicate, is such as my tears are more ready than my words to impart. Bitterly do I lament the state of weakness and insecurity in which Maximus has left our country. By him we have been deprived of all our warriors, and you, who have remained here, wholly employed as you have been, in commerce or agriculture, have been but little acquainted with war. Hence, when the enemy came, you were scattered as sheep without a shepherd, till the Romans came to protect you. But is it ever to be thus? How long will you look to the Roman power for aid, and depend on foreigners, not more courageous than yourselves, if you suffer not your spirit to be depressed by inactivity? You are now to know that the Romans are weary of protecting you, and repent them of their labours. They prefer a remission of the tribute to further interference. What think you would have been the public feeling here, in such a case, when Britain was a land of warriors? and now—Is the order of nature changed?—a lord may be father to a vassal,

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*The Britons took up arms, and facing the danger, freed their towns from the attacks of the Barbarians; and then all Armorica, and the other Gallic governments following the example of the Britons, set themselves free in like manner; and having expelled the Roman governors, settled their own form of government, as well as they were able.*

<sup>1</sup> The Guithelinus of G. M. As his name is given simply, he probably was not, though the other copies say he was,

Archbishop of London. The speech attributed to him on this occasion, in the copies B. G. Ms. A. and B. is such as may well have been recorded, and has every appearance of authenticity, as far truth of feeling can give it. The ideas, the spirit, and the eloquence of language are so far superior to those of the writers of the Brut, as to exempt them from all suspicion of having composed an address, which gives so fine an impression of the character of Cyhelin.



or the vassal to a lord; and if so, do they lose the natural privileges of man? As then, you are men; act as it becomes men to act. Invoke the aid of Christ, and he will give you a spirit to rise superior to your enemies, and to secure freedom to yourselves."

When the departure of the Romans was known to Gwnwas and Melwas, they assembled the greatest force they were able, landed in Albany, and renewed the war with the Britons, and ravaged the country as far as the Humber. The Britons being unable to repel the enemy, sent to implore the assistance of Gittius, <sup>1</sup> (*Ægidius*) the Roman General, against their enemies. But the Roman Senate, having heard their petition, refused to comply with it, and <sup>2</sup> renounced the tribute.

As the Britons were now hopeless of aid from the Romans, they sent Cyhelin, the Archbishop of London to solicit assistance from Aldor, <sup>3</sup> "the son of Cynvawr," the king of Brittany, who was the fourth in succession from Cynan Meiriadawg. When Cyhelin had

<sup>1</sup> *Agityus*, B. G. *Agitius*, G. M. and Ms. A. *Agicius*, M. B. This must be *Ægidius*. "He was master general of Gaul."

<sup>2</sup> Ὁνοριου γραμμασι προς τους Βρετανους χρησαμενου πολεις φυλαττεσθαι παραγγελουσι.

Zosimus, p. 381.

*Honorius wrote in answer to the British cities, to exhort them to defend themselves.* This was about A. D. 411. The British cities had therefore applied to him for assistance.

<sup>3</sup> If a few only of the transactions which intervened from the death of Gratian Municeps to this time are recorded in this history, it must be attributed to the troubled state of the times. Yet those, which are mentioned, occur in due order, which may

be shewn thus. Cynan Meriadawg and Maximus were contemporaries, and went together to Gaul, A. D. 383; and when the Archbishop Cyhelin went to Armorica, he found Ardor the Fourth in succession from Cynan on the throne, and returned with Constantine, Ardor's brother, who having reigned twelve years in Britain, was succeeded by Vortigern, A. D. 446; consequently the reign of this Constantine began A. D. 434, and 51 years after the death of Gratian Municeps; a sufficient length of time for the successions to Cynan.

To supply in some degree the deficiency of the history of this period, in the account of it given by our author, the following circumstances are given here from Mr. Gibbon's History.

laid the circumstances before him, Aldor was much grieved for them, and granted an aid of two thousand men at arms, giving the command to his brother <sup>1</sup>Constantine, who set sail as soon as vessels for them could be got ready, and landed at Totness in Lloegria.

As soon as Gwnwas and Melwas were informed of their arrival, they prepared and set forward to meet them, many battles were fought, and in the event, Constantine being completely victorious over his enemies, went to Caer Vudau <sup>2</sup>(*Cirencester*) where he assumed the sovereignty of the kingdom, and married <sup>3</sup>a lady who was the daughter of a Roman chieftain, and had been educated by Cyhelin.

A. D. 383 Maximus revolts.

383—403 The Britons repair the Wall of Severus.

403 The legion is withdrawn from Britain.

407 Constantine (*not the brother of Ardor*) revolts in Britain.

409 The Britons assemble in arms, repel the invaders, and establish their own independence.

411 Constantine is killed.

411—446 It may be inferred, even from the reproaches of the spurious Gildas, that previous to the arrival of the Saxons, there was a period of considerable prosperity in Britain, because he represents their coming as a punishment for the *luxury* of the Britons; and it is probable, that when they had established their independence, they did enjoy its blessings according to their value, though it does not follow that the representation of that enjoyment by an enemy is true. It seems to have continued under the care of a governor who did not assume a legal title, from A. D.

409, to A. D. 434, and that then the Scots and Picts became more troublesome, and the aid of the Romans, if the army in Gaul can be considered as such, or that of the Armoricans, became necessary:

<sup>1</sup> This Constantine, from the similarity of some circumstances, has been confounded with the former, who died A. D. 411. It is not impossible that the sons of both the Constantines may have been monks. Orosius, Jornandes, and others affirm it of the first Constans, but still, considering the sudden rise of the first Constantine, the shortness of his reign, and that his son Constans was engaged in his father's wars, it is more probable, that these authors have related of the first Constans, what was true only of the second.

That Cynan went to Gaul with Maximus is also asserted by the Triads, and the circumstance is recorded as one of the *three disastrous expeditions*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cirencester*, Ms. A. and B.

<sup>3</sup> Here it is important to observe, that many Roman families remained in Britain, and seem to have constituted a Clan which subsisted for some time.



By her Constantine had three sons, Constans, Emrys, (*Ambrosius*) and Uther-pen-dragon. This Constans was educated in the monastery of Amphibalus at Winchester, and the other two were committed to the tuition of Cyhelin. Constantine governed the kingdom successfully and without disturbance for <sup>1</sup> twelve years; when a Pict addressing him under the pretence of business, stabbed him, and he died of the wound.

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<sup>1</sup> Ten years, B. G.



By her Constantine had three sons Constantine (Emperor) and two others. Constantine was educated in the monastery of Amphibalus at West Saxon, and the other two were committed to the tuition of Gylfius. Constantine returned the kingdom peacefully and without disturbance for twelve years, when a riot arising from the neglect of business, caused him to abdicate the throne.

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Two years B.C.



## BOOK THE FOURTH.

*From the Invasion by the Saxons, to the death of Cadwallader;  
the last Welsh Sovereign.*

THE death of Constantine gave rise to a contention between the chiefs as to a successor, some of them wishing to elect Uther, and others one of their own kindred. At length, as there appeared but little hopes of their agreement, Vortigern, surnamed Gwrthenau,<sup>1</sup> “lord of Erging and Enas,” one of the council, and whose opinion was of the highest authority, asserted that no other than one of the sons of Constantine had a right to it. Constans the eldest was at this time a monk, and the other two were under age. Vortigern therefore went to the monk, and enquired of him what honours he might expect, if he made him king. The monk answered, that <sup>2</sup>Vortigern should have the whole conduct of the state. Vortigern therefore, notwithstanding the opposition of the Abbot, took Constans out of the monastery, and made him king.

<sup>3</sup>“Vortigern himself set the crown on his head,” and was in return made superintendent of the whole island. <sup>4</sup>“This was exactly to

<sup>1</sup> B. G. &c.

<sup>2</sup> And confirmed it by an oath. B. G. Ms. A. and G. M.

<sup>3</sup> This circumstance is so conformable to

the character of Vortigern, as to require admission, when it has the authorities of B. G. Ms. B. and G. M.

<sup>4</sup> B. G.

the wish of the weak mind of Constans, and moreover what he had learned in the cloister was not how to govern a kingdom."

When some time had elapsed, Vortigern conceived the design of making himself king by treasonable means, and having laid down his plan, he informed the king that a foreign fleet, whose destination was unknown, was at sea, and that it would therefore be necessary to garrison the castles, and stock them with provisions. The king desired him to do what he thought best, as he had given him the superintendence of every thing. Vortigern, thus answered, inspected every fort personally,<sup>1</sup> "and placed confidential friends of his own in them, and provided them for three years." He then appointed a guard of fourscore Picts of the best families, and most approved courage, to ride out with the king,<sup>2</sup> "under the pretext that in case of a war, they might be detained as hostages. At the same time by gifts, and the ease of their service he attached them to himself."<sup>3</sup> "And these Picts, in their drunken revels, sung songs, in which Constans was represented as contemptible, and Vortigern as the only one fit to reign."

In this train the plan had proceeded for some time, when one night, the king having retired to his bed, Vortigern complained to the Picts of his inability to be of essential service to them, and added that, had he the power, they should enjoy the highest honours he could confer. To this they retorted, why not? was not he king? to which he replied, that he was not king, he had only the small territory of Erging and Euas. Having said so, he immediately retired to rest. When he was gone they went to the king's chamber, cut off his head, and brought it to Vortigern, saying, take this, and now, if you will, be king. Vortigern shed some dissembling tears, and

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<sup>1</sup> G. O.

<sup>2</sup> B. G. &c.

<sup>3</sup> B. G.



committed the murderers to prison. And when the council was informed of the king's death, they met in London, condemned the four-score Picts to be hanged, and committed the care of the state to Vortigern, until the rightful king should be established. The Archbishop Cyhelin, when he heard of the death of the king, became apprehensive of treachery to his wards, and fled with them to Emyr king of Armorica, by whom they were joyfully received. <sup>1</sup> The Picts also, when they found that their friends were hanged, began a war against Vortigern, whilst he, thinking that he had now no opposition to dread, assumed the sovereignty without the consent of the chieftains.

Vortigern having thus assumed the sovereignty, summoned the nation in general to join him, and expel the enemy. This it absolutely refused to do, and insisted on his being brought to justice for the deceit and treachery of which he had been guilty. He therefore finding this summons ineffectual, sent to invite foreigners to his aid, but in this also he was for some time disappointed, and in several contests with his opponents he was worsted. Neither was he less in danger from the Britons themselves;<sup>2</sup> "as he had heard that Uther and Ambrosius were preparing a fleet in order to attack him from Armorica," so that his situation became daily more desperate. Whilst he was thus involved in difficulties he, one day, as he was going over the hills of Kent,<sup>3</sup> "with the intention of quitting the island," having discovered three ships of uncommon size in the channel, sent to enquire who, and whence they were, and what was their object. Their answer was, that they were from Saxony;

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<sup>1</sup> Here a considerable portion of the history is deficient in the printed copy of B. T. and is supplied from Ms. G. O. and marked by single commas.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. B. and B. G.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. A.

' that the custom of this country was; once every seven years, to  
 ' send out a numerous body of men to seek a settlement elsewhere,  
 ' as it could not support them; that the names of their chiefs were  
 ' Hengist and Horsa; that for this purpose they had been selected  
 ' a year and a half before, and had been roving about in vain for  
 ' so long a time; and now petitioned the king to grant them a place  
 ' to dwell in, promising their faithful adherence to him if it were  
 ' granted. Vortigern, having heard this, sent to invite them on shore,  
 ' and when they came to him ("<sup>1</sup> Hengist having mentioned Woden,")  
 ' he asked what God they believed in? They answered, that in their  
 ' language his name was Woden; (which name was said by his  
 ' interpreters to signify the heathen god Mercury) that in honour of him  
 ' they kept the fourth day sacred, and called it Woden's day; and  
 ' that they had another Deity called Friga, from whose name another  
 ' day was called Friday. <sup>2</sup> The king having satisfied himself of their  
 ' abilities to assist him, accepted their pledges of fidelity, and with  
 ' them went to London. A. D. 454.

' When the Picts knew that Vortigern had obtained this rein-  
 ' forcement of foreigners, they collected their powers, and marched  
 ' against him, but were, after an engagement, severe to both parties,  
 ' defeated, and principally by means of the Saxons. The king there-  
 ' fore, in acknowledgment of the services of the Saxons, gave them  
 ' a portion of land, called <sup>3</sup> Lindsey, to settle in. Having obtained  
 ' this, they sent to Germany, to request that eighteen vessels filled with  
 ' men at arms might come to their aid; and in the mean time Horsa  
 ' and Hengist requested that Vortigern would allow them some fort

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<sup>1</sup> B. G. and Ms. B. This is necessary to understand Vortigern's questions.

<sup>2</sup> The expressions of concern for the Paganism of the Saxons, which the writers

of B. G. Ms. B. and G. M. here put into the mouth of Vortigern, are amusing instances of monkish zeal.

<sup>3</sup> In Lincolnshire.



‘ or castle as a protection against their enemies. But this he said  
 ‘ was so far from being in his power, that it would expose both himself  
 ‘ and them to expulsion from Britain. They then requested permission  
 ‘ to build such a fort only as could be inclosed by an ox-hide; and  
 ‘ this being granted, they took the largest hide they could procure,  
 ‘ and cut it into the finest thongs possible; with this they measured  
 ‘ out the largest portion of ground they could inclose, and built their  
 ‘ fort, thence called *Caer y garrai*, or <sup>1</sup> *Thongcaster*.

‘ When the fort was built, the abovementioned ships arrived, and  
 ‘ the Saxons also brought with them the beautiful Rowena, daughter  
 ‘ to Hengist. The Saxons now thought proper to make a feast, and  
 ‘ invite the king and his attendants to partake of the feast, and inspect  
 ‘ the building. Here he was received with great hospitality, and at  
 ‘ the conclusion of the entertainment, a most beautiful young lady  
 ‘ advanced towards him from a chamber, bearing a goblet of wine  
 ‘ in her hands, kneeled before him and said, *Loveyd king* <sup>2</sup> *Wasael*.  
 ‘ The king asked his interpreter what she said, and being told that  
 ‘ she said Royal Sir, and bid him welcome. In return, by the in-  
 ‘ struction of his interpreter, he replied, *Drink heil*. This was the  
 ‘ origin of Wassail in Britain. The king soon became enamoured of  
 ‘ her beauty, so that he earnestly requested Hengist to give her to him  
 ‘ in marriage. To this Hengist assented, and gave her to him that  
 ‘ night, and the next morning came to them to claim her bridal portion.  
 ‘ The king desired him to make the demand, and he would fulfil it,  
 ‘ and as Hengist requested the king to pledge himself to it by an  
 ‘ oath, the king did so. Then Hengist demanded the Earldom of

<sup>1</sup> *Now Castor in Lincolnshire.* Camden. Supposing a hide to be six feet square, and cut into thongs of  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch, they

would extend so as to inclose a circular space of 480 yards diameter nearly.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the true reading would be, *Wachs heil*, i. e. *increase in health*.

‘ Kent, as it was there he had first landed; but another reason was,  
 ‘ that he could there receive his countrymen in the ports without  
 ‘ seeking the permission of any; and Vortigern, to fulfil his promise,  
 ‘ granted it,<sup>1</sup> without informing either Gwrgant, the earl of Kent,  
 ‘ or any other of the chiefs.’ They therefore, when they heard of  
 it, were greatly irritated, as were also Cyndeyrn, Gwrthefyr, and  
 Pasgen, the sons of Vortigern by his former wife.

<sup>2</sup>[In these times *Simeon* (*Garmon* or *Germanus*) a bishop, and  
 his friend *Lupus* were preaching in Britain, and teaching the Christian  
 Faith, because that since the arrival of the Pagans it had been cor-  
 rupted by the erroneous and Antichristian preaching of Pelagius; but  
 by the instructions of these holy men, the Britons were brought back  
 to the true faith.]

Hengist therefore came to Vortigern and told him that as he  
 was now his son-in-law he ought to listen to the counsels of one who  
 had the title of his father. As such, said he, that you may be able to  
 defend yourself against your foreign enemies<sup>3</sup> “and your own nation,”  
 my advice is that you send to Germany to invite hither my son<sup>4</sup> Octa,  
 and his uncle Ossa, who is a valiant warrior. Give Scotland, which  
 troubles you with so many wars, up to them, and they will preserve it  
 from strangers<sup>5</sup> “and make you too powerful to fear opposition.” This  
 advice the king adopted, and accordingly sent to Germany, and  
 from thence there came<sup>6</sup> three hundred ships with men at arms,

<sup>1</sup> Here the copy B. T. is resumed.

<sup>2</sup> The passage included in brackets is  
 evidently an interpolation. This copy  
 only gives the name Simeon to Germanus,  
 who seems to have been a German. G.M.  
 says he was Bishop of Auxerre, and that  
 Lupus was Bishop of Troyes. The legend  
 is in Nennius. Chap. 29, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>4</sup> *Offa*, Ms. B. *Escus*, W. Malmes-  
 bury.

<sup>5</sup> *Ebyssa*, B. G. *Ebissa*, Ms. A. *Ossa*,  
 Ms. B. *Abisa*, Nennius.

<sup>6</sup> Forty. Nennius.



under the command of Octa, Ossa, and Chledric, (*Cerdic*.) This introduction of so numerous a body into the kingdom, excited the displeasure of the British princes, so that they sent to Vortigern to insist that he should send them out of the kingdom. But so far was he from compliance, that he encouraged and supported them, and gave them wealth and landed property. The Britons therefore made Gwrthefyr (*Vortimer*) their king, and began to make war upon the Saxons, whom he defeated in four battles. The first of these was fought near the river Darwent, the second at <sup>1</sup> Fishford, in which Cyndeyrn and Horsa slew each other. The third was on the seaside, after which they fled to the Isle of Thanet, whither Vortimer pursued them with great slaughter. The Saxons, thus reduced to extremities, forsook their wives and children, and fled towards their own country. Vortimer pursued them, and having again defeated them, <sup>2</sup> returned to Britain, <sup>3</sup> "and distributed rewards to his followers," and began to restore order.

But when Rowena heard of the utter destruction of the Saxons by Vortimer, she prevailed on some of his attendants, by bribery, to poison him. Vortimer perceiving that he was poisoned, sent for all the chiefs, and exhorted them earnestly to protect their country from foreigners. He then distributed his wealth among them, desired

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<sup>1</sup> This name is a literal translation of *Rhyd y pyscod*, the name in the Welsh copy. In B. G. Ms. B. and Nennius it is written *Episford*. But Nennius says, that in the Welsh it was called *Sathne-gabail*, which seems to have been written for *Syddyn* (pronounced *Sythin*, *y ceubal*, that is, *the station of the ferry boat*. As the preceding battle was near the Darwent, this was probably near Aylesford, on the Medway.

<sup>2</sup> This expression of this copy and Ms. G. O. intimates that Vortimer had fought a battle with the Saxons at sea, which is very probable, as it is said he fought four, and but three on land are specified.

<sup>3</sup> G. O.

them to burn his body, and lay the ashes in a statue of copper, at the port where the foreigners landed;<sup>1</sup> for that, whilst they should see there an image of himself, they would never venture to approach it. The wishes of Vortimer were however<sup>2</sup> no farther attended to by the chiefs, than that he was buried in London; and Vortigern was set on the throne a second time, as they knew not where to find another capable of the station.

Vortigern's sovereignty being thus confirmed once more, Rowena sent to Germany to recal Hengist, informing him of the death of Vortimer, and also desiring him to bring with him a sufficient number of followers. Hengist, thus invited, came to Britain, with sixty sail, the number whereof so alarmed the Britons, that they again called upon the king to force them back. The Germans, when they knew this, sent to inform the King and his chief that they had come with no hostile intent, that they had not even suspected that Vortimer was dead; but supposing him still alive, had brought that number in self defence. As he was dead, they requested that the king would appoint a time and place, where it might be determined between them what number should be permitted to remain, and that then the rest should return to their own country. A meeting was consequently appointed, to take place on May day, on the large plain of the<sup>3</sup> Cymry<sup>4</sup> "near Ambresbury" with the precaution that no one should be armed, lest any contention should arise between the parties. But Hengist with his usual treachery desired each of his friends to take with him a long

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<sup>1</sup> Nennius mentions only that Vortimer wished his tomb to be erected there. The spirit of Vortimer, like that of Zisca, seems to have looked to triumphs in the grave.

<sup>2</sup> One of the Triads already quoted mentions this interment of Vortimer, and the idea of fatality which was annexed to the repose of his remains.

<sup>3</sup> The original says *in Cymry*; that is, *in Wales*; but it certainly was near Ambresbury. It will hereafter appear, that the great national assemblies were held there, as in the Campus Martius of the Romans, the correction introduced in the translation is therefore indispensably necessary.

<sup>4</sup> B. G. &c.



knife, concealed in his hose, and that when he should give the word <sup>1</sup> *Nemht ihre Saxes*, they should at once draw them and kill the Britons. Accordingly when the day arrived, the king and his chiefs came thither on the one part, and the Saxons on the other; and, as the chiefs stood in one body in consultation, Hengist said, *Nemht ihre Saxes*, and the Saxons drew out their knives and killed four hundred and sixty of the Earls, Barons and Chieftains of the Britons. The king was seized by Hengist; and of all the British Chiefs assembled there escaped but one, Eidiol, Earl of Gloucester, who having found a pole lying on the ground, with it killed seventy men, and so escaped and returned safe home. The Saxons now took London, York, Lincoln, <sup>2</sup> “and Winchester, and the whole of Lloegria from the king, as his ransom, and banished him from Lloegria;” wherefore he fled to Wales.

<sup>1</sup> In the Welsh copy, the words are *owd iwr Saxes*, meaning I suppose, *out with your Saxes*. In Nennius they are *nimed eure Saxes*, which is nearly correct. I have ventured to give the German expression correctly in the text.

I will here beg leave to rectify two mistakes very general in England; viz. that it is usual with the Welsh to say *hur* for he; and 2d. that if they did, it would be a violation of grammar. The first is not the fact. I have never known an instance of it, or met with any one that did. Mr. Malkin has, I believe, said the same. As to the second mistake, the word *hur*, if so used, would be not the feminine English pronoun *her*, but the old Saxon and modern German masculine pronoun *er*, i. e. *he*. Whether as such it may have been at any time on the borders of Wales, I cannot pretend to say.

Having mentioned Mr. Malkin's name, I will also hope to be excused, if I notice a passage in his excellent Tour in South Wales, in which, not being sufficiently acquainted with the Welsh language, he has, I think, given an unfavorable turn to a good intention. It is in the anecdote concerning Mr. Yorke, who, when he enquired in English of a Welshman, whether that was *the ford*, was answered yes, and when the same question was repeated in Welsh, was answered with emotion, that the river was there deep enough to drown him. Now *ffordd* is the Welsh word for a road, and that for a ford, is *rhyd*. The Welshman might then, and I should think from the emotion he evinced on discovering his error, did answer from his own idea of the word *ffordd*, supposing that Mr. Yorke had enquired, not for *the ford*, but for *the road*.

<sup>2</sup> B. G. and G. M. and Ms. G. O.

Now When he had been there some time, he thought of building a fort to prevent his being again made prisoner; and having surveyed the whole of Wales, he selected the place now called Dinas Emrys, in Snowdon. Hither he had many masons brought, and the work was soon begun; but it so happened, that whatever was built by day fell down by night. This having frequently been repeated, Vortigern enquired of the <sup>1</sup> twelve principal Bards, to what cause the falling of the work was owing. The Bards held a consultation upon it, in which one of them proposed that, to preserve their credit, they should refer Vortigern for a remedy to somewhat which could never be found. This was agreed to, and they therefore answered the king, that to make the foundation permanent, the mortar must be mixed with the blood of a child who had no father. The king therefore sent messengers to enquire throughout his territory for a child, who should answer the description. After they had made a tedious search, they arrived at Caervyrddin (*Caermarthen*)<sup>2</sup> so called because of the *myrdddyn*, (10,000 men, i. e. a legion) who were there, and there several children were at the time wrangling about a game at ball, one of whom cried out to another, ‘hold your tongue, and do not set yourself on a level with me. My father and mother are both of good families, and you never had any father.’ The messengers,<sup>3</sup> “who had sat down to look on the game,” having heard what was said, seized on the boy, brought him to the mayor, and demanded on the part of the king,

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<sup>1</sup> The Bards as it appears from hence, maintained hitherto some regular kind of association. They were not certainly upon good terms with the monks, and perhaps not wholly reconciled to Christianity in this remote situation. Vortigern’s application to them much resembles that of Macbeth to the Wierd Sisters, neither were their characters dissimilar.

<sup>2</sup> This observation, though it interrupts the story, is otherwise very properly introduced, to exclude the idea that the town had its name from Merddyn or Merlin, whose history is here given.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. G. O.



that he and his mother should be sent with him to Vortigern, to which the mayor assented. When they were brought to the king, he asked the woman, who was the child's father? to which she replied, 'I solemnly declare I know not. All that I am able to say is this; I am only daughter to the king of Demetia, (South Wales) and when very young, I was placed in a nunnery at Carmarthen. One night as I slept between my sisters, I in a dream saw a young man who embraced me; but when I awoke, there was no one but my sisters and myself. After this I became pregnant, and this boy was born. But, as I must confess it before God, I know no more of man than this. The king now enquired of <sup>2</sup>Maygan (*Meugant*) a Bishop, whether this could be true, who answered that it might. For, said he, 'since Lucifer and the evil spirits who sinned with him fell, they have remained, as they were when God restrained them, in the place appointed for their abode. Some of them notwithstanding have the power to break out from thence in the forms of women, and others in those of men, and such perhaps is the origin of this child.' The king now addressed the child, and told him that he must have his blood to be mixed with the cement, for the building. 'What,' said the boy, 'is my blood more than any other?' 'The twelve chief Bards say that it is,' replied the king. 'Call the twelve hither then,' said the boy, and

<sup>1</sup> This part, at least, seems to have been intended to satirize Numeries, which about this time perhaps began to be established in Britain. In France they arose about a century before.

<sup>2</sup> *Meugant*, a very learned man, G. O. B. G. makes Meugant a Dewin or Soothsayer, who displays his knowledge by quoting Apuleius. G. M. omits the note of character entirely, as Nemius does the

mention of a nunnery. These variations, as they are easily accounted for, give a greater value to the copy. B. T. from which this translation is given. It is evident that the story was thought too good to be lost, and it seems to have been too great a favorite to be dispensed with, as it is one which the Bards may have been industrious to record.

when they were come, 'why,' said he, 'have you told the king, that my blood is necessary to make the building stand? can you tell me what is below that *heap of rushes*. When the Bards acknowledged their ignorance, he desired that the rushes might be cleared away, and there appeared a large pool of water. Now said the boy to them, tell me what is in that lake? they answered, we know not. Then drain the lake said he, and at the bottom you will find a stone chest, in which there are two sleeping dragons. These whenever they awake, fight with each other, and it is their violence that shake the ground, and causes the work to fall. The Bards however were unable to drain the lake, and Merddyn effected it by letting it out in five streams. Hitherto he had been called the Nun's child, but from this time he was called Myrddin (Merlin) because he was born in Caer-vyrddin (Caermarthen).

Vortigern now commanded the stone chest to be opened, and out of it there came<sup>1</sup> a white and a red dragon, which immediately began a fierce battle. At first the white dragon drove the red one to the middle of the pool, then the red one provoked to rage, drove the white one thither in turn.

Vortigern now asked what this should signify, and Merlin exclaimed, 'woe to the red dragon, for her calamity draws nigh, and the white dragon shall seize on her cells. By the white dragon the

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<sup>1</sup> In the history of the life of Lludd, the manner in which these dragons, as they are called, were deposited in Snowdon was mentioned, as also the dependence of the fate of Britain upon their being discovered. The whole of this story seems to have been founded on some Bardic ceremony, or imposture now unknown, in which Myrddin seems to have been merely

the instrument of the Bards; and perhaps of a party of them which had embraced christianity. Whatever was the real nature of this transaction, the pretensions of the Bards to prophecy were constant; and those of Myrddin were allowed, and certainly had a great and decisive effect in sustaining the spirit of the Britons to oppose their enemies.



Saxons are signified and the Britons by the red one, which the white dragon shall overcome. Then shall the mountains be made plains, and the glens and rivers flow with blood. The knowledge this answer discovered, induced Vortigern to enquire what his own fate would be. Merlin replied, 'Beware of the two sons of Constantine.' This day they unfurl their sails on the coast of Brittany; to morrow they will land at Totness, to recover their rights from the Saxons. But ere they do this, they will burn thee in a tower of stone, inasmuch as that thy craft and treachery caused the death of their father, and the arrival of the Saxons, whom thou hast looked for as thy strength, and shalt find to be thy weakness, and thy destruction; for they also shall with one mind persecute thee. To-morrow Emrys (*Ambrosius*) and Uther, the sons of Constantine, shall come with twelve thousand warriors, and make the cheeks of the Saxons red

\* This speech, severe as it is against Vortigern, is in perfect conformity with the practise of the Bards. Their persons were sacred, and their access to all privileged. A similar instance occurs in the life of Taliesin, who presented himself before Maelgwyn Gwynedd, and pronounced lines against him which are still extant. They begin with the words, *Na bo rhad na gwedd ar Faelgwyn Gwynedd*, &c. "Be neither blessing, nor success, to Maelgwyn Gwynedd. May vengeance overtake him for the wrongs, the treachery, and the cruelty he has shewn to the race of Arthur. Waste lie his lands, short be his life, extensive be vengeance on Maelgwyn Gwynedd—a strange animal shall come from Morfa Rhianedd, shaggy, long toothed, and fire-eyed. This shall do vengeance on Maelgwyn Gwynedd."

Though Taliesin said this in the presence of the court, even of the powerful and spirited Maelgwyn, he was suffered to retire uninjured. Another instance of the same privilege occurred at a much later period. David ap Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, having refused to see the Bards upon a plea of sickness, they thinking it was through avarice, as they were entitled to a present on their visit, all fell on their knees, and prayed that if the sickness were real he might recover, but if otherwise that he should not. Yet the Prince inflicted no punishment, but on the contrary apologized for the inattention. David died soon after.

For the substance of this note I am indebted to a Ms. by Mr. Vaughan, of Hengwrt.

with Saxon blood. When Hengist shall have been slain, Emrys shall be crowned, and shall rebuild the churches. But his end shall be by poison. Such also shall be the end of Uther, by Saxon treachery, though he shall succeed to the crown, but the boar of Cornwall shall avenge it all.\*

The following day, the sons of Constantine landed, and the report of it being spread abroad, the Britons assembled in multitudes to do fealty to Emrys, and made him their king. This done, Emrys held a consultation as to their first object, whether it should be to go against Vortigern or the Saxons. It was resolved here to attack the Castle of Goronwy, which is in Erging, on the <sup>1</sup> Wye, and whither Vortigern had fled. Hither Emrys came with a large army, and addressing his troops, told them, that in that castle was the man who had been the occasion of the death of his father and his brother, and had brought the treacherous and infidel Saxons into the island. The army thus addressed, assailed the castle with vigour, soon set it on fire, and burned it and all in it, Vortigern included.

Neither was Hengist now free from apprehensions, for he had heard that no one in France was able to cope with Emrys, and that he was sagacious, liberal, and mild. The Saxons therefore retired beyond the Humber, and fortified themselves there. Emrys having

\* A river that runs in Clorach Mountains, G. O. G. M. has changed the name of the Wye into Gania; and Clorach into Cloarius. William of Malmesbury mentions a Prince of this name, whose territory of Kent, was given to Hengist by Vortigern. Possibly this Goronwy might have retired to Wales.

Postremo (*Hengistus*) quasi gravatus in sententiam (*Vortigerni*) transit, totam Cantiam pro munere accipiens, ubi jam-

dudum omnis justitia sub Gorongi ejusdam laborabat regimine; qui tamen, sicut omnes reguli insulæ, Vortigerni substernebatur monarchiæ.

*Hengist yielded to Vortigern's wish (to marry Rowena) with apparent reluctance, and received as a recompence the whole of Kent, which had been oppressed by the injustice of one Goronwy, who, like all the inferior kings, was subject to the sovereignty of Vortigern.*



learned their retreat followed them, and, seeing in his progress the ruined state of the churches, was much grieved at it, and promised to rebuild them with advantage, should he live to return.

Hengist also hearing that he was pursued, encouraged his men at arms to oppose Emrys, by representing, that he had but few with him from Brittany, and that as to the Britons they need not fear them, as their own force amounted to two thousand men. The Saxons stationed themselves in a place called Maes-Beli (the war-field of Beli) in the hope of falling upon Emrys by surprise. This intent did not however escape the observation of Emrys, who therefore marshalled his army in the following manner. His own subjects and the Armoricans intermixed, formed the main body; the <sup>1</sup> South Wales men were stationed on the heights, and the North Wales men in the woods, so that the Saxons might be intercepted in every direction. Hengist also on the other side drew up, and gave instructions to, his men. Many soon fell on both sides, but at length, Hengist and his followers fled to a place called *Caer Cynan* (*the Fort of Cynan*) and were pursued; and such as were overtaken killed by Emrys. A great number took refuge in a neighbouring fort, where they made a second stand; but after a severe contest, the army of Emrys broke the Saxon line by the skill of his chiefs, and the Saxons were routed. In this battle Eidiol, Earl of Gloucester, sought anxiously to meet with Hengist, and having at last found him, they fought so furiously, that the fire flashed from their armour as the lightning that precedes the thunder. Whilst they were thus engaged, Gwrlais, Earl "of Cornwall,"<sup>2</sup> came

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<sup>1</sup> The South Wales men were mostly *spear-men*, and the North Wales men, *bow-men*; which affords a probable reason for this disposition. It is also a curious

circumstance that they are distinguished from the subjects of Emrys.

<sup>2</sup> G. O. &c.

up with them and put the Saxons to the rout; and Eidiol, reanimated thus, seized Hengist by <sup>1</sup> the beard and helmet, and dragged him into the midst of the British troops, and cried out, now avenge yourselves upon the flying Saxons, for Hengist is here.

The Saxons now fled from the field. Octa the son of Hengist with the greater part of the army to York, and <sup>2</sup> Ossa his uncle with another part to Alcluyd.

After this battle, the victorious Emrys attacked, and took Caer Cynan, abovementioned, where he rested three days, to bury the dead; take care of the wounded, and refresh his troops.

The next concern of Emrys being how to dispose of Hengist; he assembled a council, at which the Bishop of Gloucester and Eidiol his brother were present. And when the Bishop saw Hengist stand before him, he exclaimed, My noble friends, though ye should all wish to liberate Hengist, I myself would with mine own hand slay him, as the prophet Samuel, when he saw Agag, king of Amalek, in hold, commanded him to be hewn in pieces, and said, "*As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women.*" Eidiol therefore took Hengist to the top of a hill, near the castle, and beheaded him; and a great mound was raised over him, according to the custom of those days, when a warrior was interred.

From thence Emrys went to York, in pursuit of Octa. Here Octa and his followers, with chains in their hands, and each with earth on his head, came and surrendered themselves at discretion to Emrys, saying, 'Sovereign Lord, our gods are weak, and we doubt not but that it is your god, who has subdued so many noble men as appear thus before you, to await your decree. Here then we are, each with a

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<sup>1</sup> The part of the helmet next the beard, G. O. Perhaps the crest of the helmet may have been called its *beard*.

<sup>2</sup> Here this name is in the Welsh copy written *Osar*.



chain in his hand, wholly submissive, if such be your pleasure, to be bound with it.'

<sup>1</sup> Emrys therefore held a council upon the subject, <sup>2</sup> "in which Idwal, a Bishop, thus gave his opinion. 'When the Gibeonites,' besought the clemency of Israel, they had it; let not our mercy therefore be less than that of the Jews."

Octa, and his followers were therefore admitted to mercy by Emrys, <sup>3</sup> "as were also Ossa and his party, who following the example, submitted themselves in like manner," and they all received lands in servile tenure <sup>4</sup> in Scotland.

Peace having thus been established, Emrys summoned all the Earl and Barons, and <sup>5</sup> the Archbishops to a council at York, in which it was resolved that the churches, which the Saxons had destroyed throughout the kingdom, should be repaired at the expence of Emrys. On the fifteenth day after the sitting of the council, Emrys arrived in London, where he issued orders that the churches should be repaired, the bad laws amended, lands unjustly seized restored,

<sup>1</sup> The frequent holding of councils, so constantly noticed, shews the sovereignty to have been a limited one, and much resembling that of Agamemnon over the Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is more correctly given here from Ms. G. O. as it is somewhat confused in the printed copy, in which the bishop is made to address, not the council, as it ought evidently to be, but the Saxons themselves.

The anachronism in calling the Israelites *Jews* is a very venial one for the time of the writer.

<sup>3</sup> Supplied from Ms. B. and G. M.

<sup>4</sup> *Near Scotland*, Ms. B. and G. M.

<sup>5</sup> The changes this part of the sentence has, from evident motives, undergone in

the several copies is worthy of notice. Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions only the consuls (i. e. earls, as being of the council of the sovereign) and princes; and takes no notice of the archbishops. B. G. which in general agrees with G. M. mentions only one archbishop; the writer probably acknowledging only one, the archbishop of Carleon or St. David's.

B. T. as above, admits more than one.

G. O. adds the bishop to the number; and Ms. B. adds *the knights* to the earls and barons, and to the archbishops and bishops, *the abbots and the men of erudition*.

and justice maintained. From thence he went to Winchester, where he proceeded in like manner.

When by these means he had established a general tranquility, he went to <sup>1</sup>Salisbury to view the tombs of the Earls, Barons, and worthy knights, whom Hengist had caused to be slain. Near that place there were <sup>2</sup>also three hundred monks in the monastery of the mountain of Ambri, so called from Ambri, the name of its founder.

Here Emrys, grieved to see the spot so destitute of memorial, sent for all the masons, and some of the carpenters of the kingdom, to erect a monument of honour, that should be a perpetual ornament

<sup>1</sup> *Caer Caradoc*, i. e. Caradoc's Fort, (probably Old Sarum) where the *Gwyddfa* of the princes was, W. Ms.

<sup>2</sup> The original meaning of the word *Gwyddfa* is a place in view, or a place of view. Hence it has derivatively the signification of an eminence, a mound, and as such a place of interment; and as the bards and probably the national councils, assembled on eminences; this name was given to such places with respect to interments, and probably to the places of such assemblies. The name preserved in the *Wynnstey* Ms. seems to indicate as much; and may have been the true and proper one of the place, which the writer of the history may have considered in the signification of a burial place, rather than that of a place of assembly, as more familiar to him, and as coinciding with the tradition of burial there, not incompatible with the other.

But the history itself furnishes a circumstance which points to the other signification. Emrys had with his council resolved on a revision of the laws, which could be effected only in a time of tranquility, and as soon as the time arrives he goes to Salisbury, and this merely, according to the historian, to visit the burial place of

the British chiefs. This was certainly a worthy occasion, but may there not have been another? May not the revisal of the laws, the abrogation of old, and the enacting of new ones, have taken place at Stonehenge itself; and may not this, and similar places have been originally destined for such assemblies under religious auspices? The sequel will shew that this was done, and probably in the usual mode. The custom of the Isle of Man of holding their court of justice, called *Tinwald* on a hill, seems to be of this kind, and to favor the opinion, that such was the ancient custom of Britain.

<sup>2</sup> It is well known that the early christians founded many of their churches on the site of the heathen temples (perhaps always where it was possible) and substituted Christian rites instead of Pagan ones at the same times and places. A passage in the sequel of this history inclines me to believe that this number should be 360, or if 300, that it was the number of the Druid priests, who had a kind of monastery previously at Ambresbury. The derivation of the name Ambri is worthy of notice, as it marks the priority of this name to the time of Ambrosius.



on their place of burial. But when they arrived, they were unable to invent a design that would answer the purpose. Tramor, archbishop of Carleon, therefore came forward, and advised Emrys to send for Merddyn, the bard of Vortigern, as one whose genius would suggest the plan of such a monument as should remain for perpetual admiration. Merddyn was accordingly sought for, and <sup>1</sup>“having been found near the well Galabes, in Ewias, a place to which he frequently resorted,” brought to the king, who received him with great joy. But, when the king desired that he would prophecy concerning future events in Britain, Merddyn answered, those are things which are not to be declared, but when a necessity for it exists. Were I otherwise to declare them, the spirit which informs me would forsake me when its instructions would be the most requisite. The king therefore pressed him no farther on this subject, but enquired as to the means of erecting a perpetual memorial on that site. And Merddyn advised him thus: ‘Send to a place in Ireland, <sup>1</sup>Killara Mountain, where

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<sup>1</sup> B. G. *Galabes in lower Gwent, W. Ms. Galabes in the country of the Gewisseans, G. M. Euas, or Ewias, is the name of a commot in the hundred of Gwent-uchcoed or, Gwent above the wood, i. e. upper Gwent, near which is Clydach, a name not very remote in form from Calades, or Galades; but, whether there be any well esteemed sacred near it, I know not. Giraldus is copious on the advantages of Ewias, as a place of religious retirement. See his Itin: Camb. lib. 1, cap. 3.*

<sup>2</sup> Kularaf, I. G. L. *In Monte Dardo*, (perhaps Tara) Gerv. Tilb.

Camden places Killair in Meath. Giraldus, Camb. differs from all the Welsh copies I have seen in referring the Irish Stonehenge to Kildare; and asserts that there remained some traces of such a

structure in his time. If he was not imposed on in this respect by reports, as he has certainly been in many others, his reference would have great weight. But Camden has given the following tradition as to Kil-lair, that ought not to be overlooked. “They say that Killair, a castle “in these parts, is, as it were, *the navel* “of Ireland. For *lair*, in Irish, signifies “*a navel*.” This tradition can, from the situation, be true in no other sense than that of the *Ομφαλος* or place of divination; a sense that has at least the advantage of concurring with the reference of Merddyn to that place. There is another circumstance which makes this the more probable. O. Flaherty, in his *Ogygia* (part 3d. ch. 66) says, that the Taltienian games were celebrated annually on Taltien Mountain in Meath; and if I understood him rightly,

the circle of the heroes is, consisting of stones of immense size, of which no one can give an account. Yet they will not be had by corporal strength, but by science. Were they here, as they are there, they would stand for ever. The king hearing this, laughed out and said, how will you convey them hither. 'Laugh not, sire,' replied

the Timor, or great temple, was there also, at least it was in Meath, and hence if, as I presume, it was an oracular temple, it was one that would be represented as the *Ομφαλος*. At this time the Druids seems to have exerted themselves in opposition to Christianity, and Merddyn to have referred to the Timor for the means of effecting his purpose, and establishing the credit of his party, and probably restoring the rites of Stonehenge.

What those means were, it is now perhaps impossible to ascertain, but I will beg leave to hazard a conjecture which has occurred to me on the subject of this strange legend.

The convocation on Salisbury Plain is said to have had in view not merely the memorial of the British nobles assassinated there, but the grand objects of legislation, and the coronation of Ambrosius. The title to the crown was also disputed by Pasgen. To confirm it in favor of Ambrosius was therefore of essential consequence, if it could be done. At that time the celebrated stone on which the kings were crowned, was probably (*See O. Flaherty's Ogygia, Part 1st.*) at the Timor abovementioned, and the tradition concerning it is that, when the possessor of the throne by right sat on it, a voice issued from it in confirmation of that right, and that when any other sat on it, the stone was silent. Fordun (*lib. 1. ch. 27.*) says, this stone was brought from thence to Scone, by the Irish colonists, and yet it is not very probable that it would have been suffered to go with a colony, or without a

contest. It is also evident, that Merddyn could not depend on his science alone, and that his object required the aid of a strong military force, and if it was this stone, it was sufficient, as being a stone brought to Salisbury Plain, for tradition to confound it with the others. Such an evidence as its *speaking*, though of no very deep artifice, may have been of very great importance, and I am inclined to think this was so, and that the stone was, for the sake of security, carried in Scotland, either by Uther, or the remaining Druids, and perhaps by the direction of Merddyn himself.

Dr. Smith has, in his explanation of Stonehenge, a curious observation, which intimates an astronomical intent also in the plan, by some resemblance in it to a projection of the sphere on the plane of the horizon. He says, (in p. 66.) "Draw a line through the temple," (*passing through the foci of the ellipse, and terminated either way by the outer circle*) "and divide it into ninety equal parts—you will find the center between the two focus's of the ellipse to be 51 degrees and about 11 minutes. You will find the latitude of this temple to be the same in the maps of Wiltshire. In order to prove it, draw two concentric circles about eleven degrees from each other; another circle must be drawn, the lower part of which is to be formed with part of the second circle, so as to give a phrase to the moon, when she is six days old; the center then of this last circle will be in 51°, and about 11 minutes N. latitude."



Merddyn, 'for my words shall be in seriousness and truth. Those stones are <sup>1</sup> of various efficacy and medicinal powers, and were brought thither formerly by the heroes from Spain, who placed them as they are at present. Their motive for bringing them was this. In cases of sickness, they made a medicine in the middle of the stone, the stone was then washed with water, which water they added to the medicine, and thus used it cured any disorder, or wound; but for wounds, herbs were also put in the medicine, which healed them.

The king, thus informed of the efficacy of the stones, determined on an immediate expedition, and sent out Uther Pendragon upon it at the head of fifteen thousand men at arms, and with him Merddyn as the most scientific man of the age.

At this time <sup>1</sup> Gillamori was king of Ireland, and when he heard of their arrival, he with a large force met them, and demanded the reason, and having heard it, burst into laughter, saying, No wonder, a weak nation can ravage Britain, when its natives are fools enough to challenge the Irish to fight, for the sake of stones. This was followed by a battle, in which Gillamori was routed, and his army dispersed.

The Britons now proceeded to the place where the stones were, and there Merddyn desired them to try their own power and skill

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<sup>1</sup> The healing power, here attributed to these stones, is not even yet forgotten or neglected, as to the stones of Cromlechs in Wales. The country people consider the water left by the rain upon them, as efficacious for sore eyes; and probably in other cases. The legend as given above implies that the stones were rendered medicinal by a composition lodged in the very inmost part of the stone, and such was probably the popular persuasion in the time of the writer. The addition of *herbs for wounds* was undoubtedly a prudent one.

<sup>2</sup> Who or what this Gillamori was, I have not been able to discover. I suspect it is not the name of an individual, but that of a clan. Shaw in his *Gaelic Dictionary*, says, that *Gillian* signifies a *tribe of the Firbolg*. May not the name be properly *Gillian-mor*, that is *the great tribe of the Firbolg*? According to O'Flaherty, the Firbolg settled in Leinster. If this explanation be admitted, there will be no difficulty as to the repetition of the name, after a considerable interval of time in the course of the history.

to move them, which they did, but it was in vain. Merddyn smiled at the attempt, and then by his art alone drew them freely and without labour into the ships, and thus they were brought to the mountain of Ambri.

When this was effected, Emrys assembled there all the earls, barons, and learned men, to do honour to the place by august ceremonies. And upon this occasion he put the sovereign's crown on his head, instituted the observation of Whitsuntide for three days, confirmed the particular rights of every class, and recompensed his army by presents of horses and armour.<sup>1</sup> "The two Archbishopricks of Carleon on Usk, and York, being vacant at this time, by the unanimous consent of this assembly, a person of the name of Samson was appointed to York, and one of the name of Dubric (Dubricius) to Carleon." He then desired Merddyn to place the stones in the same manner as they had been placed at Killara, which he did; and by so doing manifested the superiority of genius over simple strength.

During this period, Pasgen, the son of Vortigern, who had fled to Germany, collected an army there, in order to recover Britain from Emrys, the son of Constantine, and such was the credit given to his representations, that he was able to bring with him a numerous army, with whom he effected<sup>2</sup> a landing, and began to ravage the country. But Emrys having had intelligence of it, soon advanced against him with a great force, and compelled him to fly with disgrace to Ireland, where the king Gillamori gladly received him. After mutual complaints of the sons of Constantine, they in conclusion agreed to set sail together, and attack the country, near St. David's. The intelligence of their landing<sup>3</sup> induced Emrys to send Uther

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<sup>1</sup> B. G. G. M. and Ms. G. O. The former two attribute this appointment to the king only; the last, to the whole assembly.

<sup>2</sup> *In the North*, G. M.  
<sup>3</sup> Ms. B.



with an army against them," because Emrys himself lay ill at Winchester, and Uther with great concern found that he had not a sufficient power to meet their combined forces. Pasgen and Gillamori, on their part, congratulated each other on the sickness of Emrys presuming that Uther alone would not hazard a battle. In the meantime one Eppa, a Saxon, came and enquired of Pasgen, what reward he might expect, if he should destroy Emrys. To which Pasgen answered, that he should have <sup>1</sup> an ample pecuniary reward, his friendship through life, and should he obtain the crown, a farther gratification to his full content. Eppa then told him that he was well skilled in the medical art, and <sup>2</sup> "in the language" and customs of the Britons; and having required and received a pledge of Pasgen's promise, he undertook to be the means of the death of Emrys.

For this purpose he disguised himself by shaving his head and beard in the manner of a monk, and then presented himself to some of the attendants of the palace of Emrys, and offered his service, as one of great medical skill. The attendants with joy communicated the information to Emrys, and he took a poisoned draught, which Eppa had prepared for him. This traitor then advised him to sleep, so that the poison had the quicker effect; and in the meantime Eppa made his escape from the palace, "under pretext of gathering simples."

At this time <sup>3</sup> a star of amazing size appeared. It had one beam, and on the head of the beam was a ball of fire resembling a dragon;

<sup>1</sup> Literally the general expression of *a thousand pounds*, which M. B. magnifies to *three thousand*.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. G. O. &c.

<sup>3</sup> In the catalogue of comets given by Sherburne at the end of his *Manilius*, a comet is described as having appeared, A. D. 454 or 457, so nearly in the same terms as to make it probable the descrip-

tion was taken from G. M. Another of A. D. 504, *crowned with a dragon*, is more probably the same that is said to have been seen by Uther. Heary of Huntingdon dates the death of Emrys, A. D. 503. It is therefore probable, that the comet of A. D. 504 was the one seen by Uther, and if so, we have the true date of the death of Emrys.

and from the jaws of the dragon two beams ascended, the one towards the extremity of France, and the other towards Ireland, subdividing itself into seven small beams.

<sup>1</sup> Uther and all around him, alarmed by such an appearance, enquired of the learned men what it might portend. Merddyn bursting into tears, exclaimed, 'Sons of Britain, ye have suffered an irrecoverable loss, ye are widowed of Emrys the Great. But still ye have a king. Haste thou therefore, Uther, and engage the enemy, for the whole island shall be thine. For it is thou, Uther, who art signified by this star with the head of a dragon. By the beam pointing over France is denoted a son of thine, who shall be great in wealth, and extensive in sway, and by that directed towards Ireland, a daughter, whose sons and grandsons shall successively govern the whole.'<sup>2</sup>

Thus encouraged, Uther, though he thought it a risque, engaged the enemy, and after a battle, long doubtful, at length was victorious, and drove Pasgen and Gillamori to their ships with great slaughter.

After the victory, Uther returned to Winchester to inter his brother. Thither also came all the archbishops, <sup>3</sup> "bishops" and abbots, <sup>4</sup> "and laymen of rank," <sup>5</sup> of the island; and Emrys was buried within the circle of the Heroes, and near the monastery of Ambri. Those who were present had been invited by Uther, and by their common consent he was crowned king, the crown of sovereignty being put on his head.

Uther recollecting the words of Merddyn, when the ceremony was over, commanded two dragons of gold, and of exquisite work-

<sup>1</sup> Who were then on a march to Cambria, G. M. *In* Cambria, B. G.

<sup>2</sup> *This Island*, G. O. and Ms. B. The kingdom of Britain, B. G.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. G. O. B. G. and Ms. B.

<sup>4</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>5</sup> *Of the province*, G. M.



manship, to be made, in form similar to that which he had seen on the head of the comet's beam of light. One of these he deposited in the principal church at Winchester, the other he made his standard to be carried before his army. From <sup>1</sup> this circumstance he was thenceforward called Uther Pendragon, (*Uther of the dragon's head.*)

And now Octa, the son of Hengist, and Ossa, declaring themselves free from their engagement to Emrys, invited the Saxons to join them, and sent both to Germany, and to Pasgen to solicit troops; and having collected a considerable force, they fell upon Lægria, and proceeded as far as York. But, whilst they were assailing the town, Uther with his army came up with, and after a severe engagement completely routed them, and drove them to the mountain <sup>2</sup> Dannel. <sup>3</sup> For this was a lofty and craggy mountain, <sup>4</sup> "and had cells on its summit." That night Uther convened a council, in which Gorlais, Earl of Cornwall proposed that, as the night was dark, and the Britons

<sup>1</sup> From this passage I am tempted to believe, that Stonehenge was a *Dracontium*, and that from the appearance of the comet before the coronation of Uther, the occasion was taken, by converting the circumstance into an omen, and inducing him to bear the image of a serpent on his standard, to attach Uther to the religion of the temple, and constitute him its patron. Upon this supposition, the reason is evident why he alone had the title. At least it is not said in any ancient history of this country, that I know of, to have been given to any one else.

The worship of the serpent or dragon is well known to have been of great antiquity, and so much has been written concerning it, that I will only offer a conjecture as to the name *Dragon*. I conceive it to have been originally דֶּרֶךְ אֵן *Derech On*, or *The path of the Sun*, that is the ecliptic repre-

sented under the form of a serpent, and that the original name was corrupted by the Greeks into Δρακων.

<sup>2</sup> Damen, B. G. &c. The copy B. T. and Ms. G. O. both attribute the superiority near York to the Britons, whereas the copies B. G. Ms. B. and G. M. attribute it to the Saxons.

<sup>3</sup> B. G. G. M. and Ms. G. O.

<sup>4</sup> Ms. G. O. says expressly *cells in the rock*. The original word *Celli*, may be a plural of *Collen*, a *hazel tree*; or of *Cell*, a *cell*, and hence Geoffrey with his usual good fortune, has translated it to *hazel trees*. It is however a proof that he did *translate*. Such cells as are here mentioned are noticed as sound on Pen-maen-mawr, in the accurate and entertaining tour of one, whose name is an honour to his country, Mr. Pennant.

the lesser number, they should attack the Saxons by surprise. The Britons therefore did so, and having gained the top of the mountain made a great slaughter, took many prisoners, amongst whom were Octa and Ossa, and dispersed the rest.

Uther after his victory, went to Alcluyd, made a circuit of the whole country, and established the power of the law and justice, reducing all to an obedience to them. Having thus settled every thing, he returned to London, where he committed Octa and Ossa to prison. There also he celebrated Easter by a great festival, to which he invited all the earls and barons of the kingdom, and their wives; and the hospitality of Uther, and the variety of the mirthful entertainments, amply gratified his guests. On this occasion, Gorlais, Earl of Cornwall, had brought with him his wife, <sup>1</sup>Eigr, daughter of <sup>2</sup>Amlawdd the Great, and who was considered the most beautiful woman then in Britain.

When Uther beheld her he conceived a passion for her too strong to be concealed. He could not bear to be absent from her, or if he was, sent her presents of various liquors in goblets of gold, accompanied by <sup>3</sup>idle messages, till at length it became known to Earl Gorlais, who in rage quitted the palace without the king's permission.

Uther also, when he knew this, was violently irritated, and sent orders to Gorlais to return; because it was a high misdemeanor to quit the palace without permission. A second, and a third messenger were sent with the same orders, and yet he did not return. The king then threatened to dispossess him of his property by force, unless he would return. And as Gorlais, notwithstanding the threat, refused

<sup>1</sup> The Igerna of G. M.

<sup>2</sup> "A prince of North Britain, better known as the hero of dramatic tales than of history." Camb. Biog. Something of the dramatic kind seems to be alluded

to by the word *Digrifwch*, translated above *mirthful entertainments*, literally *such as excited laughter*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ammlhwys*, *idle*, seems here to have been written for *amheuys*, *equivocal*.



to comply, Uther set out at the head of his troops, and began to ravage the property of Gorlais with fire and sword. Unable to oppose such a power in the field, Gorlais fortified two of his castles, and in one of these, called Tintagol, and situated on the sea side, he left his wife,<sup>1</sup> “for whom he was more anxious than for himself;” and, to avoid losing all at once, went himself to the other called<sup>2</sup> Dinblot.

<sup>3</sup> “Uther having discovered where he was, brought his forces against the castle, and attacked it incessantly for three days together; but with so little success, that he lost a great part of them. It was therefore determined to divide the remainder into three bodies, and invest the castle, to reduce it by famine. And when he had been there a week,” Uther sent for Ulphin,<sup>4</sup> of *Caer-Caradoc* (*Salisbury*) one of his knights, and having communicated to him his passion for Eigr, asked his advice. To which Ulphin replied, that it was in vain to think of attacking the castle where she was, as it was on a rock in the sea, accessible only to one at a time, and that by a path, which three knights might defend against the whole world. ‘My advice therefore,’ said he, is, that you send for Merddyn, who by his art may assist you; and if he cannot, no one can.

This being done, Merddyn said to the king, ‘To attain your wishes,<sup>5</sup> I must give you the form of Gorlais, I myself will assume that of<sup>6</sup> Brithael, a favorite servant of Gorlais, and give Ulphin that

<sup>1</sup> B. G. G. M. and Ms. B.

<sup>2</sup> *The castle of Dunod*, Ms. G. O. Several persons of this name are mentioned in the Camb. Biog. Dimlyot, B. G. Dimlot, Ms. B. Dimilioc, G. M.

<sup>3</sup> This passage necessary to what follows is omitted in B. T. and here supplied from Ms. G. O. and agrees with B. G. G. M. and Ms. B. but is more full.

<sup>4</sup> *Ulfen de Ricaradock*, G. M.

<sup>5</sup> Criminal, and detestably so, as the conduct of Uther is described to have been, (and most probably it is an interpolation to degrade Arthur) that Arthur was his son, is, I think, clear from Nemius. In his explanation of the name, he says, (ch. 62.) *Artur-Mabute*. *Britannice, filius horribilis* latine. Mabute is here defectively written for Mab Uther, *the son of Uther*. Uther, or Uthr, signifies *terrific*.

<sup>6</sup> *Brithvayl*, B. G. Bricel, G. M.

of <sup>1</sup> Medaf of Tindagol, another favorite servant of his. Thus none will know but that we are Gorlais and his two servants.<sup>2</sup>

Thus disguised they set out at edge of night for Tindagol; and having informed the porter that Gorlais was there, he admitted them, and Uther went to the bed of Eigr, where he deceitfully told her that unable to bear her absence, he had come privately away from the other castle to visit her. That night, Arthur son of Uther was won. Uther's army, during his absence, which was known to them, assailed the castle, forced Gorlais out to combat in the field, slew him, and dispersed his adherents.

This intelligence was quickly communicated to Eigr, whilst Uther lay by her side, and he having heard it, said with a smile, nay I am not yet slain, but as it is, I must go and see what has passed in the garrison, so saying, he departed, and resuming his own form he returned to his troops. For the death of Gorlais he was in part grieved and in part rejoiced, and <sup>2</sup>“when all was quiet,” he married Eigr <sup>2</sup> in secret, and had by her a son and daughter, viz. Arthur and Anna.

Uther afterwards fell sick, and during his illness which was long and heavy, those who had the charge of Octa and Ossa became impatient, and having taken umbrage at Uther, set them free, and went with them to Germany. This alarmed the Britons very much, as they heard that they were levying troops there, and it soon proved to be so, for they came to Albany, where they began to ravage and burn what they could find. At this time Uther's army was commanded by <sup>3</sup> Leo, the son of Cynvarch,

<sup>1</sup> *Jurdan*, B. G. Mss. B. and G. O.  
*Jordan*, G. M.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>3</sup> The words *in secret* are omitted by Ms. G. O.

<sup>4</sup> Called by some writers, Nathan-leod. The former part of this compound name seems to be either *Naoidhan*, *an infant*, or some such term of reproach.



who had married Anna, Uther's daughter, and was both just and liberal; but in most of his engagements, for he had many with the Saxons, he was worsted <sup>1</sup> "For his own countrymen thought him not equal to the command, and would not obey him," and hence his ill success was so frequent and so long, that the Saxons were near having the whole island in their power, and Uther was informed that his son-in-law was unable to subdue the Saxons. Enraged at what he heard, he ordered all the men of rank into his presence, and upbraided them with their remissness as to the Saxons. He then caused himself to be carried in a litter, ill as he was, at the head of his army to Verulam, where the Saxons were ravaging.

The report of Uther's arrival at the head of his army in a litter was turned into ridicule by Octa and Ossa, who considered *the man half dead*, as they called him, with more contempt than apprehension; and so much so, as to go into the city, and having the gates open to brave and insult Uther and his army. Uther therefore commanded his troops to invest the city, many of whom entered it, so that there ensued a great slaughter on both sides, until night. On the morrow the Saxons came into the field, and gave battle to the Britons. In this engagement Octa and Ossa were slain, and the other Saxon chiefs forced to a disgraceful flight. Then Uther, though previously it had required two strong men to turn him in his bed, raised himself into a sitting posture, and said <sup>2</sup> "The insolent traitors called me a man

<sup>1</sup> B. G. &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Ambrones*, G. M. "The Ambrones were a people of Gaul, whose country having been inundated, they turned to plunder other nations, and hence the name was afterwards applied to such as led a dissolute life. In this sense it was applied by Geoffrey, as it is evident from the Welsh text, literally translated above. But

Thompson either through ignorance, or carelessness, has translated it literally *The Ambrons*; an expression not likely to be intelligible to the generality of his readers. In Nennius, cap. 65, the word is thus explained, *AMBRONUM id est ALD-SAXONUM*. It seems therefore to be of very ancient usage.

half dead, but the man half dead who conquers, is still better than the man all alive who is conquered; and better is death with glory, than life with shame.<sup>1</sup>

After their defeat, the Saxons who escaped, collected themselves together in Albany, and renewed the war as before. It was Uther's wish to pursue them; but his illness increased so much upon him, that he could not bear even the litter. This the Saxons understood, and having laid a plan for his destruction, sent those who were to execute it to him, under the pretext of a conference. These persons having learned that Uther drank of the water of a particular well only, which was near Verulam, they caused it and the adjacent waters to be poisoned; in consequence whereof, Uther himself died, as did also others, who afterwards drank of them, till at length, the cause having been discovered, the Britons filled up the well with earth. Uther was buried in the circle of the heroes.

The Saxons now sent to Germany for auxiliaries, and having obtained as many as a large fleet could bring over, commanded by <sup>1</sup> Colgrin, the united forces seized on the country from Humber to Penrhyn Bladon, (*Promontory of* <sup>2</sup> *Bulness*). All the principal Britons therefore, ecclesiastics and laymen, assembled at <sup>3</sup> *Caer-Vydau*, and resolved to make Arthur their king.

Arthur, at the time of his coronation, was not more than fifteen years of age, yet was he unrivalled by any within the knowledge of the age, <sup>4</sup> "in lively wit, in valour, or liberality," so that scarcely

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<sup>1</sup> William of Malmsbury says that Colgrin had been left by Octa and Ebusa, to guard Deira, and that it was Cerdic who came over with this *large* fleet (it consisted of five ceoles or keels.) The report of it to the Britons would no doubt be magnified, and the name of the leader might be easily mistaken, both of which in this case appear to have happened.

<sup>2</sup> See the note page 64.

<sup>3</sup> Silchester, G. M.

<sup>4</sup> Ms. G. O. &c. This character is also given of him in the *Chronicon, S. Michaelis, ad. A. D. 421*. His diebus, fuit Artus Rex Britannum fortis & facetus. *In these days lived Arthur, the brave and witty king of Britain.* See L'Abbé, vol. I. p. 349.



could his revenue supply his boons to his adherents; <sup>1</sup> “but where the natural disposition is liberal, God will not suffer it to be destitute of the means.” The chieftains therefore commanded Duvrig (*Dubrious*) Archbishop of Caerleon to crown him king, as they were in apprehension of the Saxons.

Immediately after this ceremony, Arthur collected a great force and marched to York; Colgrin likewise having gained intelligence of this, collected an army consisting of Saxons, <sup>2</sup> Scots and Picts; and gave Arthur battle on the banks of the <sup>3</sup> Dulas. After a severe contest, victory declaring for Arthur, he drove Colgrin, and such as escaped with him, to York; where he shut them in closely, and cut off all provisions from reaching them. And when Baldolf, Colgrin’s brother, heard of it, he advanced at the head of six thousand men, within ten miles of York, having hitherto <sup>4</sup> “remained on the coast, and” waited for <sup>5</sup> Cledric, a German chief to arrive with troops to assist the Saxons. His intent was to attack Arthur by night, but Arthur aware of the design, sent Cador, Earl of Cornwall at the head of six hundred cavalry, and three thousand infantry, to intercept him, which he

<sup>1</sup> Ms. G. O. &c. There is a simplicity and general truth in this observation too valuable to be omitted.

<sup>2</sup> It is observable that this is the first time the name *Scots* occurs in this history.

<sup>3</sup> Douglas, G. M. The signification of the words, *dark blue*, is the same both ways. The river itself is in Lancashire. Nennius says the first victory of Arthur was on the *Glem*. Where this is, I know not, unless it be the Glena in Cambridge-shire.

<sup>4</sup> Ms. G. O. &c.

<sup>5</sup> Gervase of Tilbury calls him *Childeric*, and G. M. *Cheldric*. What was the real

name it is not easy to determine, but it is not probable that it was Cerdic, and certainly the person so denominated, who is said to have been slain soon after the battle of Baddon, could not have been the Cerdic who settled in Wessex. Langhorne observes, that, where the Anglo Saxon writers mention Cimenius and Plentingus, the sons of Ella, the Welsh writers use the names Colgrin and Baldolf; it is therefore most likely, that by the three names Baldolf, Colgrin, and Cledric, the Welsh writer means the three sons of Ella.

did, and routed him with great slaughter. Dispirited by this failure, in his attempt to liberate his brother, Baldolf turned his thoughts to the effecting of it by stratagem, and disguised himself as a minstrel by poling his head, and cutting his beard; and thus with a harp in his hand, he pervaded the British army, and arrived at the foot of the city wall, where he sung aloud, and being recognised by those within, they drew him up into the town by ropes, where, with his brother, he entered into a consultation as to the means of escape.

In the mean time intelligence was brought to Arthur, that Cledric had arrived on the coast of Albany with six hundred ships from Germany, and had landed there. Arthur therefore withdrew from York, to London, and there assembled a council of his chiefs; the result whereof was an application to Howel, the son of <sup>1</sup> Emyr of Brittany by Arthur's sister, for auxiliaries. Howel in consequence of this application came to <sup>2</sup> Northampton, with fifteen thousand men at arms, to the great joy of Arthur. From thence they went to Caerlwyd-coed, otherwise called Lincoln, where the Saxons were. Here a furious battle ensued, in which six thousand of the Saxons perished, either as slain or drowned. Those who escaped, fled to the Wood of <sup>3</sup> Celyddon, whither Arthur pursued them. Here a second and bloody engagement took place, and Arthur perceiving that the Saxons, under shelter of the wood, wounded his men, ordered the trees to be cut down, and interwoven with high stakes, so as to form an inclosure around the Saxons. Thus inclosed, the Saxons remained

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<sup>1</sup> Dubricius, G. M. Contrary to all the Welsh copies I have seen, and probably a mistake, occasioned by the name of Dubricius having occurred a little before.

<sup>2</sup> The port of Hamon, B. G. Northampton, Ms. B. Hamo's Port, G. M. Northampton is so often written for South-

ampton, and stiled a sea port, that I have no doubt but that Southampton is here intended.

<sup>3</sup> The name signifies a *forest* generally. This seems to have been in or near Lincolnshire.



three days and nights without food, so that, to avoid a death by famine, they surrendered, and gave up to Arthur all the wealth they had, and promised him a tribute from Germany, for which they gave hostages.

But when they were fully out at sea, repenting of the conditions they had agreed to, they changed their course, landed at Totness and ravaged the country as far as the Severn, and from it to <sup>1</sup> Caer-Vaddon (Bath) to which they laid siege. As soon as Arthur was informed of what they had done, he ordered the hostages to be hanged immediately. And, though he was obliged to leave his nephew Howel ill at Alcluyd, amidst his enemies, he broke off the war with the Scots and Picts, and came upon the Saxons at Caer-Vaddon; and declared that, as they had not kept their contract with him, they were to look for none from him. Dubricius, Archbishop of Caerleon, then ascended an eminence, from whence he addressed the British army, saying,

‘ My christian brethren, avenge yourselves this day on the infidel Saxons for the blood of your countrymen. So, through the blessing of God, shall the pain or death you may suffer, be an expiation of your sins; <sup>2</sup> “ and Christ, who laid down his life for his brethren, will not reject those, who so offer themselves a sacrifice.’

Arthur then put on a breast plate, worthy of a king; a gilt helmet, on which were the image of a fiery dragon, and another device called Prydwenn, (*the fair farm*) in which was the carved <sup>3</sup> image

<sup>1</sup> The original has Caer *Vyddau* (Silchester) but as all the other copies read Caer *Vaddon* (Bath) and that from the testimony of Nennius, and other historians, and the Welsh bard Taliesin, there can no doubt but that this was the celebrated battle of Badon Hill: I have ventured to introduce the correction into the text.

<sup>2</sup> This text is so justly applied, and has been so little, if at all, applied in the same manner, as to be an apology for admitting the sentence into the above paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> There can be no hesitation in saying that this is an interpolation from some old romance. From the works remaining of the old Welsh poets, it is, I think, certain,

the Virgin, which Arthur usually wore when going to a perilous engagement. He also put on his sword, called <sup>1</sup> Caledvwlch, (*the hard cleft*) as it was the best in Britain, and had been made at <sup>2</sup> Afallach. He also took in his hand a spear called <sup>3</sup> Ron-cymmyniad, (*the spear of command*;) and when all were armed, and had received the Archbishop's blessing, they attacked, and beat the enemy, and continued the slaughter till it was night, when the Saxons retreated towards a high hill, hoping to maintain a position there. The next day they were dislodged from thence, but yet continued to fight desperately. Arthur therefore, drawing his sword Caledvwlch, in rage, and invoking the Virgin, rushed manfully into the midst of his enemies, dealing death at every blow; nor did he cease till he had slain <sup>4</sup> four hundred and seventy. The Britons, noticing his unabated prowess and ardour, joyfully summoned up all their powers to keep pace with him, and at length Colgrin and Baldolf his brother, and many thousands with them, being slain, Cledic with the remnant of his forces fled. Arthur therefore having given it in charge to Cador,

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that, at this time, no particular devotional respect was paid to the Virgin; neither does any appear to have been paid to her, or inculcated by Austin, or his immediate followers, in their addresses to the Saxons; nor does the doctrine, as far as I have been able to find, appear to have been known to Bede himself. The awkward manner in which this part of the sentence is connected with the former in this copy, looks like its first introduction. In the other copies the image of the Virgin is attributed to the shield; and the awkwardness of the connection remedied. The invocation of the Virgin which follows, is of the same spurious origin.

<sup>1</sup> The name, which is given by all the Welsh copies I have, is evidently to be

referred to the story of this sword's having been struck in a stone, and remaining fixed in the cleft; and shews the writer not to have been ignorant of it. Of all the copies, that of Geoffrey alone calls the sword caliburn, i. e. *caledvwrn*, *the hard mass*, i. e. *well tempered and massive*, a name equally significant.

<sup>2</sup> At Avallon, G. M.

<sup>3</sup> Ron uwchel, B. G. Ron yoruchel, Ms. B. *His lance named Ron*, G. M. The two former names signify a tall spear. From the last, wherein *Ron* is made a kind of proper name, it appears that Geoffrey did not know that the word signifies a spear. It is indeed an old word and not much in use.

<sup>4</sup> 460, Ms. B.



Earl of Cornwall, with ten thousand men at arms, to pursue the fugitives, took his route for Alcluyd, where, as he had been informed, the Picts and Scots were endeavouring to dislodge Howel from the fortress.

Cador in the mean time seized on the Saxon vessels, put part of his own men on board of them, and with the other part pursued the Saxons closely, so that Cledric was slain, and those who were not killed, taken and doomed to perpetual slavery. He then went to join Arthur, at Alcluyd, who, he found, had driven the Picts to <sup>1</sup> Mooreif (*Murray*.) This being the third defeat that Arthur and Howel had given them, after which they took refuge in the island of the Lake of Llumonwy (*Loch-Lomond*). In this lake there are three hundred and sixty<sup>2</sup> (*islands, and it receives as many*) rivers from

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<sup>1</sup> I could not hesitate here upon the concurring authorities of Ms. G. O. The copy B. G. and G. M. to substitute this name for *Mor, the sea*, as this copy has it, and which is here almost insignificant. The copy B. G. says, it was otherwise called *Reged*. The copy B. reads the name *Mur-yr-eift*, a name which *may* signify *the wall of the Egyptians*, and as the words *African* and *Egyptian* might so easily be confounded by the Britons, perhaps the wall of *Severus the African* is here intended; and the country beyond it may hence have taken the name of *Mur-eift* or *Mureif*, that is, *Murray*; in Latin *Moravia*, and the territory of *Urien Reged*.

<sup>2</sup> The words in italics and brackets are supplied, as the sequel shews, that they are necessary to the sense in this copy; and other copies mention that both *islands* and *rivers* equal in number, though they differ from this copy in reckoning 60 of each. If this number, viz. 60. be preferred, it will be considered as that of the well known astronomical cycle. If

that of 360 it will have a decisive reference, and I am persuaded the true one, to the number of days in the year. Camden says, there were among the lower orders many traditions respecting this lake, and it would have been well he had noticed them, as they are frequently the clues to the real history. From this tradition I should suspect, that the real origin of it to be, that there was a druidical circle of either 60 or 360 stones in some island of this lake. There is a vulgar tradition (which if I recollect rightly, has been very gravely contradicted) that Salisbury Cathedral has exactly 360 windows. The same tradition has, I believe, been mentioned of one other cathedral, if not more. But I believe it to have been older than any cathedral, and to have belonged originally to druidical temples, on or near, the site whereof cathedrals were afterwards built; that of Salisbury relating to Stonehenge, or Ambresbury, &c. What then are these eagles? I have already observed, that the word *Eryr* is most probably a corruption of *Airur*, a

the mountains <sup>1</sup> of Prydyn, the waters whereof flow in one stream, called Leven, to the sea. In each of these islands there is a large rock, and an eagle's nest on each; and when these eagles assemble on one rock, and scream there, it is known that some calamity from abroad is coming on the country.

Arthur set a guard all around this lake, having had ships and boats brought thither for the purpose, so that thousands were dying there of hunger. Whilst the Scots were in this situation, Gillamori, who was of the same race and language, came from Ireland with a fleet to their aid. Arthur therefore, leaving the Scots, attacked Gillamori, and obliged him to fly to Ireland; and having so done returned to his plan of subduing the Scots. But now the Bishops and Abbots, drest in their vestments, came before him, and on their knees begged that he would spare the lives of that people, and suffer them and their posterity to be slaves for ever, to which he assented.

Peace being thus concluded, Arthur and Howel went to view the whole lake, and having so done, Arthur said to Howel, <sup>2</sup> There is a lake not far off, which is more curious than this. It is twenty

beacon or torch, and from the ceremonial of excommunication in the church of Rome (which has scrupulously retained the old Pagan ceremonies, though under a new name) it appears to me that, when the Druids denounced a curse, they assembled at such places, each with his torch lighted, and struck out the light, repeating the malediction, with a loud voice.

The situation of the islands of this lake corresponds sufficiently with that of the *Brittia* of Procopius, to allow of a reference of it to some one of them, for he places it decidedly beyond the Wall of Severus, and it is very remarkable, that the fame of the magic powers and enchantments in this district should have been so extensively propagated in this age; though

it is not difficult to account for it. The spreading of christianity had necessarily driven the Druids to the most remote situations; and hence we may conceive Scotland, Snowdonia, and Anglesey, to have been their last retreats, in which by superstitious rites, and exhibitions of fantastic appearances, they endeavoured to support their decaying influence; and they must have done so with no common skill, to acquire such celebrity. For the account of *Brittia*, see Procopius. *De Bello Goth*: or Mr. Gibbon's *Rom. Empire*.

<sup>1</sup> The ancient Prydyn comprised the Northern counties of England, and the Southern ones of Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> A similar pond is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, as being on the hill called



feet square and five deep, has four distinct kinds of fish in it, one kind at each angle, and yet no one of them ever interferes with the others. <sup>1</sup> There is also a lake near the Severn, called <sup>2</sup> Llyn-lliawn, which ebbs as the tide fills, and does not rise to the surface, notwithstanding the influx of fresh water. But when the sea ebbs it fills, and throws out mountainous waves of water, from which those who face them scarcely escape with life; whereas those, whose backs are to them, escape, however near they be.

From hence Arthur departed for York, to hold his court there at Christmas, and having on his journey been much grieved to learn how the churches had been destroyed, and the clergy put to death, by the Saxons, <sup>3</sup> “ he made <sup>4</sup> Eppir, the priest of his household, Archbishop of York; directed the churches to be rebuilt, and persons fit for the duties to be appointed to them, male and female, and their property to be restored.”

*Arthur's chair* in Gower, Caermarthen-shire. Ib. Canib. cap. 2. It was he says square, and deep; having no outlet; and adds, that trouts were sometimes found in it. The similarity of form in both, and their proximity to places of Druidical superstition, seem to intimate that they were connected with it, as the tanks of the Hindus are with their temples. As to the disposition of the fish in the distinct corners, this may have been effected by artifice.

<sup>1</sup> In this part of the narrative two distinct phenomena are evidently confounded and combined into one. The phenomenon of the well at Chepstow, which ebbs and flows with fresh water reciprocally as the tide flows and ebbs, still subsists. The other probably (mentioned also by Higden) is erroneous, only in mistaking an acci-

dental circumstance for a general one, as there has been more than one instance in the present times, when an immense wave has suddenly rolled to the coast, and swept away the spectators; in one of which, there was *swept by the reflux wave, A prince and half his people.*

<sup>2</sup> The copies B. G. and G. M. read Shifan.

<sup>3</sup> Supplied from Ms. G. O.

<sup>4</sup> Priam, B. G. and Ms. B. Pyramus, G. M. Neither of the copies B. T. or Ms. G. O. or B. say anything of Sampson. B. G. and G. M. say, that he and seven bishops fled to France; which is not so probable as that this Sampson himself was dead, and that G. M. has confounded him with the Sampson who was archbishop of Dole.

And now Arthur gave to <sup>1</sup> Arawn, the son of Cynfarch, <sup>2</sup> the territory which the Scots had occupied; to <sup>3</sup> Llew, son of Cynfarch, the Earldom of <sup>4</sup> Lindsay, as being <sup>5</sup> brother-in-law to himself, and to Gwyar, (the mother of Gwalchmai, <sup>6</sup> the general;) and he also gave <sup>7</sup> Reged to Urien, the son of Cynfarch.

And when Arthur had regulated the state of Britain, which he did better than it had ever been before, he married Gwenhwyfar, one of the most beautiful women in Britain, and daughter to Gogfran the hero. Her mother was of a noble Roman family, and she had been educated by Cador, earl of Cornwall.

After this, Arthur prepared a fleet in order to make a descent upon Ireland, the following summer. When he arrived there he found Gillamori ready to encounter him. Arthur put him and his army to flight, took Gillamori prisoner, and reduced <sup>8</sup> him and his army to subjection.

<sup>1</sup> Angusel, G. M. which seems to be written for Angus-clw, or, ulaidh, i. e. the rich.

<sup>2</sup> I have translated the original word *Scotland*, thus, as from the sequel it appears that it was the original Prydyn or Britain, and from the context it must be so understood, and to avoid the misapprehension which might arise from the name of Scotland alone; G. M. reads, *Godland*, meaning I suppose, Gothland.

<sup>3</sup> *Lot*, G. M. most unaccountably. The text has *Elw* by mistake, as it has afterwards *Llew*.

<sup>4</sup> *Lothian*, B. G. which seems the true reading. *Londonesia*, G. M. probably for *Loudonesia*.

<sup>5</sup> *Son-in-law to Arthur's sister*. Her sons were *Medrod* and *Gwalchmai*; Ms. G. O.

<sup>6</sup> The original word is *amherawdr*, i. e. the emperor, a title retained from

the time when the Roman legions were in Britain, and it is very probable that the people of this country were remains of the Romans, and retained part of the language, for Latin words frequently occur in the oldest Welsh poems, as incorporated into the Welsh language.

<sup>7</sup> That is *Murray*, as mentioned above. The first of these three divisions seems to include the South western counties of Scotland. The second the South-East to Graham's Dike, and the third the part beyond it.

<sup>8</sup> G. M. and B. G. have made this to be a conquest of *all* Ireland, whereas the text, and Ms. G. O. mention only the victory over Gillamori. Giraldus Camb: says only, that the kings of Ireland were tributary to Arthur. Hib. Exp. lib. 2, ch. 7.



From hence Arthur took <sup>1</sup> Iceland in his way on his return, and subdued it; and when it was reported in the other islands, that Arthur was every where victorious, <sup>2</sup> Doldav the king of the Scots, and Gwynvas, the king of Orkney, came and submitted themselves to Arthur, of their own accord, and promised fidelity to him, and also an annual tribute. And when the winter was over, Arthur returned to Britain, where for twelve years together, he remained in tranquillity, and inviting to his court men of abilities and celebrity from every country, he made it splendid by their numbers. By these means his own martial glory, and that of his soldiery, their courage, their liberality of manner, and conduct, were so celebrated throughout the nation, that no one else was to be compared to him; and every other king feared least he should attack and conquer his kingdom.

Excited by such praise, Arthur proposed to himself, to render himself equal to it by his deeds; nor was his idea less than that

<sup>1</sup> Most probably the isle of *Isla* off Scotland. The word in the original is *Islont*; *Isla* was not far out of the course of the voyage if Arthur's return was to Prydyn or the Northern Britain.

<sup>2</sup> Dolvan, B.G. Doldan, G.M. *Doldav* signifies *the valley of the Tay*, and is therefore probably a titular epithet also. But it is somewhat of a confirmation of the above account, that Fordun mentions a Scottish king, who lived at this time, and whose name *Eothod Hebdur* is a singular compound of Irish and Welsh. *Hebdur* is pure Welsh, and signifies *without land*. Hence the name is *Eothod Lackland*.

See Fordun, Book III. ch. 24.

The name Gwynvas, has been already explained.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jones of Gelly Lyfddy quotes the following from the *San-Greal*:—

“Arthur, when he had completed his conquest of the Saxons, made North Wales his principal residence. In this

“part of the island there were many  
“*miraculous* circumstances, particularly  
“between *Stretmares*, which from the  
“description in the *Sangreal*, appears to be  
“*Ystrad march*, and *Gurloes*, or *Anglesey*.  
“It also says that there was a bridge across  
“the *Menai*, which was constantly guarded  
“by a troop of men in armour; and that  
“there was a king in the island, who  
“fought many hard battles with Arthur.”  
Arthur is also said to have been rebuked  
by a hermit for his attachment to diviners,  
as being contrary to the principles of those  
who set him on the throne, and by which  
it was then in danger. An old poet goes  
so far as to say,

“Arthur ydwyd wrth rodiaw  
“Aeth ei wlad unwaith o'i law.

J. Fynglwyd.

“Thy gait is like that of Arthur, who once  
lost his kingdom.”

of subduing all Europe, which is a third of the whole world. In these days there was neither king, nor lord of any consequence, who did not wish to imitate the manners and conduct of Arthur's court.

Arthur now prepared a fleet to go to Norway because that <sup>1</sup>Asschlym the king of that country having at his death, which had lately taken place, bequeathed his kingdom to his nephew, Llew ap Cynfarch, the Norwegians refused to confirm the bequest, made <sup>2</sup>Riculf their king, and fortified their country. <sup>3</sup>At this time Gwalchmai, the son of Llew ap Cynfarch, attended the bishop of Rome, for his uncle

These diviners could scarcely be any other than the Druids, Priests, and Bards, in their last retreat, which was probably Anglesey. How the Druids terrified the Roman army, when it went thither under Suetonius, is well known. If then Arthur was obliged by his adherents to attack the retreat of the Druids, their best resource must have been in exciting superstitious terrors, which once being overcome, they themselves could make no farther resistance. If this was really the case, and it seems to have been so, it affords a rational account of the origin of the Romance tales of enchanted castles, with a probability that will not be easily found elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Aschelym, Ms. G. O. Sychelin, B. G. Ms. B. Sichelin, G. M. The name intended seems to be Sighelme, or *the victorious helmet*. As the proper name, or the titular epithet, was best known to a different nation, either seems to have been recorded, without noticing the other, and from hence much difficulty has arisen. Another still greater has arisen from what appears to have been the mode of copying, viz. that one person read whilst a second wrote that which was to be copied. Hence we find proper names distorted, and numerals erroneous so often, and particularly

the former, as the reader pronounced the name according to his usual orthographic system. This kind of error is however in some degree a key to the antiquity of a copy, for the name regularly degenerates as copies increase.

<sup>2</sup> This, as a Norman name, occurs in Walsingham, Ypod Neust. ed. Camd. p. 418.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is another glaring instance of monkish interpolation, which like the former is introduced in a more decent manner in the other copies. Ms. G. O. as well as G. M. style *the Bishop of Rome*, of this copy, *the Pope*, and adds that it was Sulpicius. Of this Pope's transactions, Platina notices one, which may deserve a place here. He built a church dedicated to St. Andrew, in which, Platina says, he read a copy of verses, of which these two lines are very remarkable—

Et quod Apostolici deessent limina nobis  
Martyris, Andreae nomine composuit.

In vita Sicup. 1.

As we had no temple of an apostolic martyr, he (Simplicius) built this in the name of Andrew. However unlucky, as to St. Peter's, &c. this assertion may be, it is in all probability, the truth.



Arthur had sent him to Rome to learn the manners, and the military exercises of the Romans, and that bishop first put arms in his hands. When therefore Arthur had reached Norway, Riculf was ready with a large force to oppose him. But Arthur, having in a severe battle slain Riculf, obliged that country and Denmark also to submit to his arms, and left Llew ap Cynfarch as king to govern both.

<sup>1</sup> After this Arthur sailed to Gaul, and began to attack it. Against him came <sup>2</sup> Frollo, who held Gaul under the Roman general, Leo. His opposition was however unsuccessful in battle, because of the superiority of Arthur's knights in number, and in skill. Frollo therefore fled to Paris, to collect all the forces he could. But Arthur and his troops invested that city for a month, so that many died of famine; and Frollo enraged, challenged Arthur to single combat, to be decided on an island of the Seine, the river which flows through Paris; their armies to remain quiet the while, and the victor to have the territories of both.

Accordingly they both went out to the combat, their steeds and arms well matched, and in the presence of both armies. Frollo immediately assailed Arthur with his spear, which Arthur skilfully avoided, and assailing Frollo in turn, unhorsed and threw him under the belly of his steed, and having so done, drew his sword to kill him. But Frollo arose with great spirit, and struck Arthur's horse so that it and Arthur fell together. The Britons now could scarcely restrain themselves to look on; but Arthur in rage, recovering himself,

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<sup>1</sup> It appears from the sequel that it was five years after.

<sup>2</sup> Frollo, G. M. The name intended is probably Rollo. The great irruption and settlement of the Normans into France is allowed to have been in the ninth century. From this and other circumstances in what is emphatically denominated *The history*

of *Arthur and Medrod*, as this is at the close, I must candidly confess that I consider it as taken from some romance of the ninth or tenth century. The question then is, what foundation was there for the romance itself? to which I will endeavour to reply in the Appendix.

threw his shield between him and Frollo, and renewed the encounter, and many severe strokes were exchanged, when Frollo struck one on the forehead of Arthur, which caused the blood to gush down over his face and breast; and Arthur furiously brandishing Caledvwlch, aimed it at Frollo's head, and cleft him down to the waist. So Frollo fell, and died weltering in his blood. Then <sup>1</sup>all Gaul submitted to Arthur, and he, having divided his forces, sent his nephew Howel with one part to attack Poictou, taking the other himself, went to fall upon Anjou and Gascony. Guitard, the chieftain of Poictou, was thus obliged to submit to Arthur. This expedition of Arthur's to subdue these countries took up nine years.

After this he went to Paris to hold his court there, to which he invited all his chiefs, and principal persons, learned and lay, and with their general consent enacted good laws for all those kingdoms. He then gave the Earldom of Normandy <sup>2</sup> to Bedwyr, comptroller of the cellar, and that of Anjou to Cei, his chief minister; and having settled the affairs of these countries, he returned in the following spring to Britain.

Here he determined to hold his court at Caerleon on Usk, because the pleasant situation, and the wealth of this city, made it the most suitable place for the occasion. On one side of this city there is a river, which <sup>3</sup> ships from the ends of the earth frequented, and on

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<sup>1</sup> Hence it is evident that in this history, the expression of *all Gaul* comprises but a small portion of what it would do in its modern acceptation; very little more probably than Artois, Picardy, and the Isle of France. For Normandy, Anjou, and Poictou are formally excluded.

<sup>2</sup> *And Flanders*, B. G.

<sup>3</sup> The author distinguishes well between the ancient state of Caerleon, and what it

was in his time. That it *had been* a place of trade from very distant parts of the world; and that in his time it had remains of its former grandeur. The other copyists, less informed, represent these ships as merely such as should bring the foreign guests. The above description of the situation is tolerably accurate; but of its grandeur it may be almost said *etiam periere ruinae*.



the other side are dry and level meads, encircled by fair and lofty hills. Near it also was a spacious forest for the chase; and within the city, the buildings were of a princely magnificence, so that it was compared to Rome. There were also in it two principal churches, one of which was dedicated to Julius the Martyr, to which was annexed a nunnery, the other dedicated to Aaron the Martyr, which had a monastic canonry connected with it. Here also was the third Archiescopal See of Britain, and a seminary of two hundred scholars instructed in various sciences, and especially the seven liberal ones, so that Carleon was the principal city of the island.

Here it was therefore that Arthur directed preparations to be made for a most splendid festival, for which he sent messengers to all the countries he had subdued, to invite to it the kings and chief persons, ecclesiastical and lay. And so great was the concourse to Carleon, that it was impossible to ascertain the number, or their particular <sup>1</sup> places of dignity and precedence.

To this festival there came <sup>2</sup> Arawn ap Cynfarch, the king of Prydyn, from Albany; Urien ap Cynfarch, Lord of Reged; Caswallon Lawhir (*the long handed*) Lord of Gwynedd; <sup>3</sup> Meyrick, king of Dyfed (Demetia); <sup>4</sup> Cador, Earl of Cornwall; and the three Archbishops of Britain, of whom the Archbishop of Carleon was the principal, for he had the privilege of a <sup>5</sup> legate; and was a pious man. Thither came also Morydd, Earl of <sup>6</sup> Worcester; Anarawd, Earl of Shrewsbury; <sup>7</sup> Madoc of Caer-Wair (i. e. Warwick); Owen of <sup>8</sup> Caer-

<sup>1</sup> This observation countenances at least the general idea of the origin of the Round Table.

<sup>2</sup> *Augusel*, as before, G. M.

<sup>3</sup> *Sater*, ditto.

<sup>4</sup> *Cador Llemeinawg*, or *the Rover*, B. G.

<sup>5</sup> G. M. of course confirms him a legate of the Pope.

<sup>6</sup> *Glocester*, B. G. and B.

<sup>7</sup> *Marchydd*, B. G. *Marchrudd*, B.

<sup>8</sup> Of *Chester*, B. G. and B. of *Lei-*

*cester*, G. M.

Wallawg, otherwise called Salisbury; Gwrsalem of Caer-Gynfarch; Urien of Bath; and Bosso of Oxford;<sup>1</sup> "Dunod ap Pabo-Post-Prydain (*Pabo, the Pillar of Britain*); Cenen ap Coel; Peredur ap<sup>2</sup> Pruth; Gruffydd ap Nogoed; Cynfarch Gorboniawn; Edlym ap Clydawc; Cyngar ap<sup>3</sup> Angen; Marswic Cloff (*the lame*); Rhun ap Nwython; Gwrgant Gwan ap Gwestl."<sup>4</sup> "Rhun ap Clawdd; Cynvelin ap Trunyad; Cadied ap Cadell; Cynllith ap Nwython; Cyhelin;" Cadvan, and many more, whom it would be too tedious to mention.

From other countries there came Gillamori, king of Ireland; another Gillamori, king of<sup>5</sup> Alawnt; Doldav, king of Scotland; Gwynvas, king of Orkney; Llew ap Cynfarch, king of Norway; Achel, king of Denmark, and from the countries of France came Oldyn, king of Rwyntun; Bottel, king of Cenonia (*Senonia*); Leodegar, king of Bolwyn (*Boulogne*); Bedwyr, prince of Normandy; Cei, prince of Anjou; Guitard, prince of Poictou; twelve peers of France, with Geraint of<sup>6</sup> Carnot at their head. Howel ap Emyr of Bretagne, and<sup>7</sup> many more too numerous to recite.

<sup>1</sup> Supplied from Ms. G. O.

<sup>2</sup> *Ap Elidyr*, B. G. "The kingdom of Cornwall in Arthur's time contained Cornwall, all Devonshire, Somersetshire, a great part of Wiltshire, and some of Gloucestershire; for Aust-passage on the Severn in Gloucestershire, was then part of Cornwall."—Ms. of Mr. Vaughan, of Hengwrt, the Antiquarian.

<sup>3</sup> *Angaw*, B.

<sup>4</sup> Supplied from B. G. and B.

<sup>5</sup> *Iceland*, Ms. G. O. &c. The errors of orthography only in the names given by G. M. are not worth any particular notice, as they are corrected above.

<sup>6</sup> *Carreys*, B. T. *Carnweys*, B. G. *Caraffus*, B. *Caranweys*, G. O. *Carnstensis*, G. M. B. T. reads *yn Ysbaen*, i. e. in Spain, instead of *yn eu blaen*.

<sup>7</sup> If we suppose a straight line drawn from Hull to Southampton, then, comparing this catalogue of names with the map of Britain, it will appear, that with the exception of the Archbishop of London, no name in it is referred to any place to the east of that line. This circumstance is so very remarkable as to give, I think, some degree of authenticity to the catalogue itself; and also to confirm the position, that the countries to the east of this line had been ceded to the Saxons, some of whom were probably the *uninvited* spectators of our author. For, as there could have been no actual war at this time, it is most probable that the Britons and Saxons had, for a time at least, made some peaceable agreement.



In short, never were there at a festival so many men and women of rank ; so many steeds, hawks and hounds ; or was there such a display of precious stones, golden vessels, and dresses of purple and fine linen as there ; for there was no one, even beyond Spain, desirous of distinction, who did not come to partake of the general gratification. There were also many who, uninvited, came to be spectators.

When the company was assembled, the three archbishops were called upon to robe the king, and place the crown on his head ; and Dubricius was appointed to sing the sacred service. Arthur, when he entered the church, was arrayed in his royal robes,<sup>1</sup> and supported by the other two archbishops ; and before him went four persons bearing each a drawn sword, this being his privilege as <sup>2</sup> general. The four persons were, Arawn ap Cynfarch, king of Albany ; Caswallon Lawhir, king of Gwynedd ; Meyric, king of Dyfed ; and Cador, earl of Cornwall. As he went on, the <sup>3</sup> conventual train, on all sides, sang the best poetical compositions to the sound of musical instruments.

The queen also, on her part, entered the church<sup>4</sup> “after him,” dressed in her royal robes, her crown on her head, attended by bishops and nuns, and the four wives of the four abovementioned chiefs, each bearing a <sup>5</sup> white pigeon in her hand.

<sup>1</sup> *His train being borne by the other two Archbishops, Ms. G. O. B. G. and B.*

<sup>2</sup> Though this is the literal meaning, it seems here to mean the lord paramount of these four provinces which formed his kingdom. See note 7, page 152.

<sup>3</sup> G. M. has said nothing of the attendance of Monks and Nuns, and it is more remarkable, as he is not fond of omitting ; but he might in this case have had a good reason for it.

<sup>4</sup> Ms. G. O. According to G. M. the queen went to the other church, which agrees better with what is said of the populace running from one church to the other. This, and as some other minute circumstances, give an air of one who had been a spectator to the original author of this description.

<sup>5</sup> This seems to have been a part of the ancient ceremonial.

When she had entered the church, the service began, which had been composed and set to music in the best manner ever known; and the people ran from church to church to listen to the different services.

When the service was over, the king and queen returned to the palace, changed their dresses, and entered the great hall to the banquet. Arthur and his attendants taking their place at one end of the hall, and at the other Gwenhwyfar and the ladies in her train; as it was the custom for the queen to do "when the king held a court, and had guests by invitation."

When all the company were properly seated, Cei arose, and taking with him a <sup>1</sup> thousand men, superintended the distribution and arrangements of the viands, as Bedwyr, comptroller of the cellar with a thousand of his men did those of the mead, which was served in vessels of gold and silver. All these had dresses of yellow ermine. Neither was the number or dress of those, who waited on the queen, inferior to theirs who waited on Arthur.

Hence it was, that no court in Christendom could vie with that of Britain in customs or regulations. For all the men who attended on Arthur were in uniform, as were also their wives, and the ceremonial rules of behaviour were alike to all. And as no female of any description would admit the addresses of a man undistinguished by military excellence, the men were the more valorous, and the women more chaste.

After the banquet the company went out of the town to see a variety of games, and more especially the exercises with the lance; and whatever were the game devised, the walls were crowded with

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<sup>1</sup> Instead of A MIL O WYR, *a thousand* A'I FILWYR, *his soldiers*.  
men; I suspect the true reading should be



female spectators, each of whom recommended her favorite to notice, which caused the men to exert their abilities to the utmost. Prizes for the victors were also given by the sovereign at his own expence.

Thus the festival continued for three whole days, and on the fourth those who attended it were gratified by ample presents; some by a grant of cities, or castles; and others by vacant bishopricks. And on this occasion, Dubricius, archbishop of Carleon, retiring to live as a hermit, surrendered his See. For considering how long a preparation had been made for a festival of three days only, and struck with the perishable nature of worldly enjoyments, he <sup>1</sup> resolved to prepare for the eternal joys of heaven.

Dewi ap Sandde (*commonly called St. David*) a man of a godly life, and the uncle of Arthur, was therefore made the archbishop instead of Dubricius; also instead of <sup>2</sup> Sampson, archbishop of York, Teilo, Bishop of Landaff, was translated thither at the request of Howel ap Emyr of Bretagne; Teilo (*Teilavus*) being a man whose life was truly religious. “<sup>3</sup> At that time also Morgan was made Bishop of Caer-Vuddai (*Silchester*); Julian, of Winchester; and Edelfrith, of Caer-Alcluyd.” <sup>4</sup> But whilst these arrangements were taking place, twelve

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<sup>1</sup> This passage has very much the appearance of an interpolation, or rather, substitution, for another which may have been introductory to the Roman letter, &c. The sentiment attributed to Dubricius, whatever be thought of the mode he pursued, is finely impressive, for surely if transient pleasures require so much preparation, those which are eternal demand one more serious.

<sup>2</sup> The writer, and as I am persuaded, interpolator of this passage, appears to have forgot that it has been mentioned a little earlier in this history that Arthur had appointed Eppir his household priest to York; Teilo therefore could not well be the successor of Sampson.

<sup>3</sup> Supplied from Ms. G. O. &c.

<sup>4</sup> The very awkwardness itself of the connection of this sentence, with the preceding passage, affords a strong presumptive proof, that the whole of what is said of the Archbishops and Bishops, has, in the true monkish style, been substituted for a description of arrangements for a pageant. The transitions from one subject to another in this history, are indeed frequently abrupt, but here most particularly so. The supposed ambassadors come in we know not how, not even the usual information of *where they landed* is given, a circumstance which this history very rarely omits.

men of most reverend aspect, were seen to come forward with olive branches, in token of an embassy, in their hands, who walked with a slow and grave pace, and humble gesture, till they came into Arthur's presence. Then, having greeted him on the part of Lucius, the Roman general, they delivered into his hands a letter, of which these were the contents:

<sup>1</sup> Lucius, general of the Romans, to Arthur, king of the Britons, greeting, according to thy deserving. For I am amazed, Arthur, that by thy impetuosity, thy pride and thy rashness, thou hast misdemeaned thyself towards the Roman Empire. It is full time for thee to make thy submission to Rome, seeing that all the kings of the earth, except thyself, are subject to her. Whereas thou dost withhold the tribute, which was paid to Julius Cæsar, and the other Emperors his successors; and that whilst all other countries pay tribute to Rome, thou has subjected Britain <sup>2</sup> to thyself, and deprived the Romans of their prerogative. Wherefore the Roman senate hath decreed, that thou shouldst appear in Rome, by August next ensuing, to suffer the judgment that may be pronounced upon thee.

To summon thee thither <sup>3</sup> (*added the Ambassadors*) are we come, and if thou appear not at the time, then be it known to thee, that the Romans will come hither to enforce reparation, and the sword shall determine between thee and them.

When Arthur had understood the purport of the letter, he “<sup>4</sup> withdrew to the tower of the Heroes” to consult his counsel as to the answer, and Cador, earl of Cornwall, <sup>5</sup> “as they ascended the steps,” thus addressed Arthur. ‘Sir King,’ said he, ‘remissness and indolence

<sup>1</sup> Lucius Tiberius, G. M.

<sup>2</sup> *And France and Burgundy*, Ms. B. and the *Allobroges* and islands of the ocean, G. M.

<sup>3</sup> If what is called *the letter* is to be understood as such, these words are necessary to the sense.

<sup>4</sup> Ms. B. and G. M.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



have I fear prevailed over us, for during five years past, we have idly given up ourselves to feasting, and conversing with women, which has defrauded us of our valour and our senses: and we ought to thank the Romans for awakening us.' Then answered Arthur, 'Noble and fellow knights, ye have hitherto afforded me wholesome council; and I am now in need of it. Let each therefore advice maturely, and if we lack not useful council, we shall obtain the advantage over the Romans. For though they had a tribute from hence,<sup>1</sup> as a return for their defending this country with their troops against foreign nations, it now owes them nothing. But if they will require of us what we owe them not, we may with a better right demand a tribute of them, if power make the right. For our ancestors, Beli and Bran, the sons of Dyfnwal Moelmud conquered them, and brought twenty of their nobility as hostages to Britain. Constantine the son of Helen also, and Maximus the Great were truly of British origin, and they conquered Rome, and were Emperors. Let us therefore return no answer, save a demand of what they owe to us.'

Howel ap Emyr of Britanny next arose, and said. 'So heaven protect me as I believe, that were each one of us to give his opinion severally, none would be found equal to that of our general. Let us then go forth to defend the prerogative of this kingdom, and since the Romans demand what is not due to them, it belongs to you, Sire, to demand of them that which is so. For the wise<sup>2</sup> Sibyl has prophecied, that three natives of Wales should be Emperors of Rome. Two have already been so, and thou shalt be the third. Haste we

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<sup>1</sup> This passage must have been obliquely aimed at the Saxons, and, whatever may have been the origin of it, is skilfully introduced, and agreeable to the characteristic pleasant wit assigned by our author to Arthur.

<sup>2</sup> Some prophecies, but translations of those well known, into the Welsh are yet extant in Mss. The one mentioned in this part of the history, I have not met with elsewhere.

then thither, all your subjects are united with you, and I will give you a reinforcement of ten thousand cavalry.

Then said Arawn ap Cynfarch, ' My joy, Sire, in hearing what you have said as to Rome, is not to be expressed. We will welcome the attack of the Romans, which will enable us amply to avenge our ancestors; and therefore to enforce your right, I will give you two thousand cavalry, and infantry also, to go thither with you.

And when all had ceased to speak, and each had specified the number of men he would send in the expedition to Rome, and Arthur had thanked them severally, the number of the promised forces being taken and laid before Arthur, it was found, exclusive of that granted by Howel ap Emyr, to amount to sixty thousand cavalry of approved valour. The infantry was innumerable, for from these six countries, viz. Ireland, Iceland, Scotland, Orkney, Norway and Denmark, the number of the infantry was sixty thousand. The contribution of Gaul was to amount to eighty thousand cavalry well armed, and that from the twelve compeers under <sup>1</sup> Geraint of Caerwys, one thousand two hundred. So that the whole of the cavalry amounted to <sup>2</sup> ninety two thousand two hundred. The number of the infantry was too great to be ascertained.

Arthur therefore assured of the general consent, dismissed them home, with a charge to be in readiness the August following. He then informed the Romans<sup>3</sup> " that he would appear at Rome in August to demand" and not to pay tribute, who having received this answer departed.

And when Lucius the Roman General was informed of it, he by advice of the Senate, sent to the kings of the East to request aid against Arthur. " And these were the kings who came: Epis-

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<sup>1</sup> *Geraint ab Erbin*, Ms. G. O.

<sup>2</sup> This should be 153,200.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. G. O.



trophus, king of Greece; Mustensar, king of Africa; Alifatima, king of Spain; Hirtacus, king of Parthia; Bacchus, king of Media; Sertorius, king of Lybia, and Sertorius, king of Iturea: Pandrasus, king of Egypt; Micipsa, king of Babylon; Polycletes, king of Bithynia; Teucer, duke of Phrygia; Evander, king of Syria; Echion, king of Bæotia and Hippolytus, king of Crete. Moreover there were many Princes, Earls, Barons and Gentlemen, subjects of Rome. And of the Senate itself, there were Lucius, the Roman General, Cadell and Meyric, Lepidus, Caius, Metallus, Cotta, Quintus, Milvius, Catulus, and Quintus Carausius."

Thus he raised an army of <sup>2</sup>"four hundred thousand, one hundred and forty men;" and as soon as they were in readiness, they set forward towards Britain. Arthur as soon as he was informed of it, assembled his forces, gave his wife Gwenhwyfar and his kingdom in charge to Medrod his sister's son, until his return, and then with all his troops went to Northampton, (*Southampton*) and sailed for Gaul with the first fair wind.

<sup>1</sup> Aius Gensar, Ms. G. O. f. Caius Gensar, i. e. Genseric.

<sup>2</sup> The text and B. G. read *four hundred thousand thousand*, i. e. *four millions*. But as numbers are generally magnified by copyists, and that the reading above taken from Mss. G. O. and B. may possibly be deemed large enough; and more especially as G. M. affords only *forty thousand one hundred and sixty*, it has been preferred.

The catalogue of the Eastern kings is omitted in the text, from which the translation is taken, though inserted in all the other copies before me, and is referred to in the sequel, it therefore is of necessity inserted from G. M.

As the names are incorrectly given by G. M. and some of them may lead to a

conjecture as to the time when they were inserted, or if this account be taken from a romance when it was composed, they are given here from a comparison of the several copies, at least more intelligibly.

Of these names Epistrophus is borrowed from Dares Phrygius; Pandrasus from the former part of this history, &c. But the most remarkable is *Alifatima*, a Mahomedan name, as that of a king of Spain, which could scarcely have been even thought of prior to the eighth century. It will immediately suggest itself, that they were taken from some romance, and this may well be one of the circumstances to which Giraldus Camb. alludes in his censure of Geoffrey.

That night when he was on the high sea, a deep sleep fell upon Arthur, and in a dream he thought that he beheld a monster from the South, which with a horrid roar descended on the Gallic coast, and that soon after a dragon came from the West, the brightness of whose eyes illumined the sea; that this dragon encountered the bear; and when they had fought for a considerable time, the dragon threw out a stream of fire, which consumed the bear to ashes.

Surprised at such a dream, Arthur, when he awoke, communicated it to his friends; and their interpretation was, that the dragon signified Arthur himself, and that he should fight with some monstrous giant and overcome him. But <sup>1</sup> Arthur gave no credit to this interpretation, because he believed the dream related to the Roman General and himself.

The next morning at break of day, Arthur and his fleet came to land at <sup>1</sup> Barilio in Normandy, where they waited for the auxiliaries from the other countries.

During this interval, Arthur received information that a giant of monstrous size had come from Spain, and carried off Helen, the niece of Howel ap Emyr of Brittany, by force from her guards, and taken her to the top of a high hill, called the Mount of St. Michael; that he had been pursued by the troops of the country, but without success; for if they endeavoured to attack him from their ships he deluged and sunk them; if from the land, his dreadful blows dispatched them; after which, as some say, he devoured all the slain. Arthur therefore, when the second hour of the night was come, arose, and taking with him Cei, his principal officer, and Bedwyr, his master of the cellar, set out, and immediately proceeded towards the summit

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<sup>1</sup> As *Arth* in Welsh signifies a bear, Arthur might well be dissatisfied with the interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> *Barbestlyw*, Ms. G. O. *Barbestlwi*, B. G. *Bawerfloi*, Ms. B. *Barba*, G. M. *Barbestleure*, or *Barbestleure*, possibly *Barbestleur*.



of the hill, on which they saw a large fire burning. As they approached it they perceived a lesser hill near it, and Bedwyr was directed to examine which of these the monster occupied. The lesser hill was accessible from the sea only, Bedwyr therefore went to it in a boat, which he found at hand. As he ascended the hill, he heard a voice, as of a female in distress, he therefore drew his sword, and advancing cautiously to the top of the hill, discovered there a wretched old female, weeping and wailing over a new made grave. But no sooner did she perceive him than she exclaimed, ‘Rash, most rash of men, you know not, you cannot know, your danger, when you thus expose yourself to the most dreadful tortures a monster can inflict, and the worst of deaths, that can destroy the fair hopes of youth. There, hard by, is he, who bore hither by force, Helen, the niece of Howel; here he killed her, and here I have buried her in this fresh grave. Me too, her nurse, he brought with her, and thee he will instantly devour. Woe is me! that I should survive the dear child that sucked these breasts. The monster’s offers of love were to her the terrors of death, and his apprehensions killed her. Fly then for your life, lest coming to seek me, he may find you here, and be your destruction.’

Bedwyr, thus addressed, was greatly affected by compassion for her sorrows, and assured her, that he would endeavour to rescue her. He then returned to Arthur and reported what he had seen.

The relation gave Arthur much pain, for he greatly regretted the fate of Helen. And now he led the way, desiring his companions not to advance to the contest unless he should be in imminent danger, and therefore they suffered him to go on before them. When they found the monster, he had been devouring the flesh of a wild boar, though scarcely warmed from the spits, and was now roasting what remained on them. But when he saw Arthur and his companions

coming, he hastily finished his repast, and laid hold of a massive club, which two young men would scarcely have been able to lift from the ground. Arthur now drew his sword, and advancing his shield before him, rushed on to the attack before the monster should raise his club. But in this hope he was anticipated by a blow, which made his shield ring, and stunned himself. Arthur however quickly recovering, and brandishing his sword *Caledvwlch*, gave the monster a wound on the forehead, from which the blood gushed down his face, and filled his eyes. Thus blinded, the monster became furious, and rushed on Arthur's sword, as the wild boar on the spear of the hunter, and grappling with him brought him on his knees. But Arthur adroitly disengaging himself, gave the monster a sudden and mighty blow on the back of his head, that cleft it to the brain; whereupon the monster gave a tremendous shriek, and instantly fell at once to the earth, as the oak, which is overthrown by the storm. Arthur now elate with his success, desired *Bedwyr* to cut off the monster's head. When it was done, Arthur declared that he had never met with a rencounter that could be compared with this, save when he fought with *Rhitta* the giant<sup>1</sup> "in the mountain of *Snowdon*, for his robe."

This *Rhitta* had furred his robe with the beards of kings, and left the highest part vacant for the scalp of the chin, with the beard of Arthur, as he was the sovereign paramount; and had sent to require of Arthur, either to flea off his beard and send it to him, or to go and combat with him, upon condition that the conquerer should have the beard of the other. In that contest Arthur was victorious, and won the robe.

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<sup>1</sup> Ms. B. and W. Ms. For a further account of *Rhitta*, see the *Cambrian*

*Biography.*



Arthur having thus slain the monster, returned to the camp about the second watch of the night, and the head was carried afterwards through the camp, and displayed to the astonishment of the beholders. Howel grieved much for the loss of his niece, and from this circumstance that hill has ever since borne the name of *Helen's Grave*.

Arthur now learned that Lucius the Roman general was on the opposite side of a river called <sup>1</sup> Gwen, and he himself the same night encamped on the other, and sent to require that Lucius should either entirely leave France, or meet him to contest it in the field the next day. Those who bore the message were <sup>2</sup> Gwalchmai ap Gwyar; Bosso Earl of Oxford, and <sup>4</sup> Geraint Caerwys, a Prince of France; and Gwalchmai's going was particularly agreeable to Arthur, as he hoped that, by some affront, he would provoke them to the field. When the ambassadors had delivered their message, Lucius answered, that his duty was rather to govern, than to quit France; and to this his nephew <sup>2</sup> Caius subjoined, that the tongues of the Britons were sharper than their swords. Whereupon Gwalchmai instantly drew his sword and slew Caius. The three then swiftly mounted their horses, and rode off; the Romans pursued them to revenge the death of Caius. But Geraint, who was the hindmost of the three, slew the foremost of their pursuers.

Bosso perceiving this, turned and attacked the next, and slew him. Marcellus now came up to avenge Caius; and Gwalchmai waited

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Huine is meant. G. M. has translated the name literally Alba, i.e. *White*; and represents it as does B.G. also near Autun. If the latter reference be right, the river will be either the Vaune or the Yonne.

<sup>2</sup> The Walgan of G. M.

<sup>3</sup> The Guerinus of ditto.

<sup>4</sup> *Caius Quintilianus*, G. M. on what authority I know not.

for him, and with a stroke on the head, cleft him to the chest, and so bid him go and tell his friends in the shades, that the swords of the Britons were sharper than their tongues. And now Gwalchmai and his friends agreed to make a stand, and receive their pursuers as they should come on successively. This they did near a wood, and soon six thousand of the Britons rushed with a loud cry upon the Romans, slew many of them, and put the rest to flight. But <sup>1</sup> Petreius, a Roman senator, being informed of it, he advanced immediately at the head of ten thousand men to the aid of the Romans; and at the first assault drove the Britons back into the wood, where many were slain on both parts. And now Edeyrn ap Nudd, having brought up five thousand men to support the Britons, the engagement was renewed with great vigour and bravery; Petreius calling on, and encouraging his troops to exert themselves to the utmost. Bosso, Earl of Oxford, perceiving this, took some chosen men with him, and going up to Gwalchmai, said to him, let us beware of being worsted in this encounter, and so falling into the king's displeasure. We must attack Petreius himself, and either kill him, or take him prisoner.

Then they immediately broke through the ranks of the Romans, dragged Petreius from his horse, and bound him. Both parties fought hard for him, but at length the Britons were victorious, and having carried Petreius off to their own army, they returned to the battle, where the Romans, soon routed, left little more to be done than slaying, or taking prisoners and spoils.

When the Britons brought their prisoners to Arthur, and informed him of what had passed, he was much pleased to find that they had extricated themselves so happily when he was not present; and immediately directed Bedwyr, and Cador Earl of Cornwall, with two

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<sup>1</sup> The text reads, *Petaraine*. The adopted. other copies, Petreius, which is therefore



other chieftains <sup>1</sup> "Richard and Borel" to convey the prisoners to Paris. The Romans therefore having gained intelligence of this intent, selected a body of fifteen thousand men, and sent them off by night under Quintus, a Roman senator, Evander king of Syria, and Sertorius of Libya, <sup>2</sup> in order to rescue the prisoners. This body went and lay in ambush, and on the next day when Arthur's troops entered a woody glen, where the ambush was, the Romans arose upon them, and threw them into confusion. The Britons now separated into two bodies, the one under Bedwyr, and Richard of Baldwin, to guard the prisoners; whilst Cadur, Earl of Cornwall, and Borel, sustained the attack of the Romans. Presently Guitard, Chieftain of Poictou, brought three thousand men to the aid of the Britons, who, thus reinforced, stood firmly, and took vengeance of the Romans for their perfidy. In this engagement, Evander, king of Syria was slain by a wound from a spear; and Arthur lost four of his nobles; viz. Hirlas of <sup>3</sup> Eliawn; Meyric ap Cadur; Halydue of Tindagol, and Cei ap Ithel. The Britons however lost not one of their prisoners; but, on the contrary, put the Romans to flight, and in that flight it was that Evander, king of Syria was slain, as also Vulteius, a Roman senator. After this victory the Britons brought their former prisoners, and others taken on this day to Paris, and having so done, returned with joy to Arthur.

Lucius was now so much distressed by the ill fortune of his troops, that he consulted with his council whether he should return to Rome, or come to an engagement with Arthur. The result was, that they should make for Langres<sup>4</sup> in the Nivernois, and there they arrived

<sup>1</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>2</sup> To these the other copies add Vulteius, a senator, and Catulus.

<sup>3</sup> Of *Abergwy*, Ms. G. O.

<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to ascertain the sense of the original here. B. G. says, that the intent of Lucius was to go to the Nivernois, and that he reached Langres that night.

Ms. G. O. that they should go to the Nivernois, to a place called Langres. Langres is not indeed in the Nivernois, it is in Champagne. But the names Navarn and Lengrys in Ms. G. O. Nafarn and Leigrys in the text, leave little doubt but that the Nivernois and Langres are intended by them.

that night. And when Arthur heard it, he went to the glen of <sup>1</sup>Seine, to wait for Lucius who was to come thither the following day. Here Arthur set his cavalry on the flank, under the command of Moryd, Prince of Bath, and arranged the main body in eight divisions, each consisting of three thousand five hundred men, and when they were in order, charged them to make the attack together, and to keep their ranks.

Each division was commanded by two experienced chiefs; the first by Aaron ap Cynfarch, and Cador, Earl of Cornwall; the second on the left by Bosso of Oxford, and Geraint Caerwys; the third by Achle, king of Denmark, and Llew ap Cynfarch, king of Prydyn; the fourth by Howel ap Emyr of Brittany, and Gwalchmai ap Gwyar. In the rear of these were the four other divisions, each commanded by two chiefs; the first by Cei the Tall, and Bedwyr ap Pedrod; the second by Holdins, Prince of <sup>2</sup>Ruyten, and Guitard, Prince of Poitou; the third by Owen of Carleon, and Gwynvas of Caer-gaint, (*Winchester*); and the fourth by Urien of Bath, and Gwrsalem of Dorchester. In the rear of these four was Arthur himself, at the head of a legion, consisting of six thousand three hundred men. Arthur then addressed them to this purpose:

‘ Brave warriors, ye know well, that by your counsels, and your valour, Britain is become the sovereign of thirty kingdoms, and by your valour we will yet conquer Rome, and be avenged for her attempts to enslave us. Recollect that if we have for a long time been idly trifling in the society of women, it is now the time to exert the more the valour of the soldier, and with one spirit to give the death-blow to these Romans, who presume we dare not meet them

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<sup>1</sup> The text has *Asnesia*, i. e. The Snesia, *Mena*, Ms. G. O. *Suegia* or *Senan*, B. G.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Witsan.



in the field. Observe my instructions, and to the utmost of my power, Arthur will reward every individual who does so.<sup>1</sup>

Lucius also, when he <sup>1</sup> heard that Arthur had harangued the British army, began to address his own, by telling them, that all the world ought to be subject to Rome. And remember, said he, that your ancestors left Rome superior in valour and prosperity to the rest of the world; do not you therefore fear death to maintain it. Fight bravely that we may make other countries her tributaries. Remember we come not here to fly, but to engage the enemy, who though powerful in the first onset, will give way if you stand firmly.

When he had finished his address, he marshalled his army in twelve divisions, each division having a legion of cavalry, and being commanded by two approved chiefs: <sup>2</sup> “The first was commanded by Cadell the Wolf, (*f. Catulus Lupus*) and Ali Fatima, king of Spain; the second by Hirtacus, king of Persia, and Marcus, the Hare, (*f. Marcus Lepidus*) a senator; the fourth by Ferrex, king of Libya, and Quintus Milvius, a Roman. In the rear of these divisions were four more, the first whereof was commanded by Xerxes, king of Iturea; the second by Pandrasus, king of Egypt; the third by Polycetes, king of Phrygia; and the fourth by <sup>3</sup>Tenetus, prince of Bithynia. Again, in the rear of these were four more; the first commanded by <sup>4</sup>Quintus, a senator; the second by Lælius, a Roman prince; the third by Sulpicius; the fourth by Meyric of the Wood, (*Mauricius, or Marius, Sylvanus.*)”

Lucius himself gave all the necessary instructions, and set up a golden eagle on his standard in the centre, as the rallying signal.

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<sup>1</sup> The reader will probably be amused by the regular intelligence which our author keeps up between the two armies, and have a due respect for the complais-

ance of Lucius in following the example of Arthur.

<sup>2</sup> Supplied from Ms. G. O.

<sup>3</sup> Denotus, B. G.

<sup>4</sup> Quintus Milvius, B. G.

The battle then began; and, first of all, the division of the king of Spain encountered that of Arawn ap Cynfarch, and Cador Earl of Cornwall, and came to close engagement. Then Geraint of Caerwys, and Bosso of Oxford, broke the Roman divisions, and so violent was the contest, that the ground shook, and the air resounded, with the trampling of the armies. The full <sup>1</sup>description of it was a laborious work.

Bocchus, king of Media, pierced Bedwyr through with a spear, and gave Cei a mortal wound. Cei's division however preserved the body of Bedwyr, till they met the division of the Libyan, which dispersed them, yet they carried the body to the station of the golden dragon. Then Hirlas, Bedwyr's nephew, taking with him three hundred of the cavalry, broke through the Romans, as the boar through the pack; and having found Bocchus, unhorsed and dragged him to the place where the body of Bedwyr lay, and there slew him. Hirlas then returned to his division, and animated it to fight strenuously. Many were then slain on either part; on that of the Romans, Alifattima, and Milvius, a senator. On that of Arthur, Holdins, king of Rwyten, Leodegar of Boulogne; and these three British princes, viz. Gwrsalem of Winchester, Gwallawg of Shrewsbury and Urien of Bath. Cei also died of the wound he had lately received.

The first division now gave way, and retreated to that of Howel ap Emyr, and Gwalchmai. Thus strengthened, they renewed the attack, and Gwalchmai dealt death at every blow; nor did he pause till he reached the division of the Roman general. There however the British force was weakened by the loss of Cynfarch, prince of <sup>2</sup>Teigei, (*Triguer*) and two thousand men with him. But Howel and Gwalchmai keeping close together, supported their own honour by valorous deeds,

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<sup>1</sup> This description then was taken from a large work.

<sup>2</sup> Tregery, B. G. Teiger, Ms. G. O. Trigeria, G. M. From whence it appears to be Triguer in Bretagne.



and at last, to the wish of Gwalchmai, he encountered Lucius the Roman general, who no less desired it.

They therefore engaged with the most violent animosity; but, when it was at the height, a multitude of the Romans pouring in, obliged Gwalchmai and Howel to retire and join Arthur, who, when he saw it, rushed forward on the Romans, and brandishing his sword Caledvwlch, cried out to his troops, ‘Avenge the wrongs of your fathers on these boasters; strike hard, and with your constant valour, and they will soon give way.’ Thus having said, he led on, like an enraged lion, and his every stroke was mortal; so that the enemy fled before him, as the herd before the hungry lion; for no armour sustained his blows. Sertorius, king of Libya; and Polyetetes, of Bithynia, were slain by him, each with a single stroke: and his troops, animated by his success, and directed by his orders, fought manfully. The Romans also reproached, and soothed their men by turns, so that great numbers fell on either part. At length Morydd, earl of Gloucester, came up with a legion and renewed the attack, in which a Britain, but who is not known, slew Lucius with a spear; and then the Britons completely routed the Romans, and so requited them for their demand of tribute from a free nation.

Arthur then gave orders, that the bodies of the dead Britons should be separated from those of the Romans, and interred with honour in the neighbouring monasteries, and that those of the Roman nobility should be sent to their friends for burial. The body of Bedwyr was sent to a <sup>1</sup> city of Normandy, which he had himself built; and that of Cei to Poictou, where it was buried in a church of the hermits. That of <sup>2</sup> Holdins, prince of Rwyntun, was sent to Flanders, <sup>3</sup> “where

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<sup>1</sup> Baieux, G. M.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>2</sup> Or *Oldyn*.

he was buried at Terwan" (*Terouanne*.) The rest of the chiefs were buried in the neighbouring churches.

Arthur then sent the body of the Roman general to the senate, with a warning to the Romans not to attempt to seek a tribute thenceforward from Britain.

That winter, Arthur remained in the same station, in order to subdue Burgundy; and in the first week of the following summer, as he was setting out, to go over the Mynnau (*high peaked*) mountains to Rome, messengers arrived from Britain to inform him, that his nephew Medrod had assumed the crown of London, seized on his dominions, and taken his wife Gwenhwyfar to his bed. Arthur therefore returned to Britain, leaving the conquest of the Romans to the care of Howel ap Emyr of Bretagne.

Medrod now, of necessity, sent <sup>1</sup> Selix, a Saxon prince, to induce the Germans to come to Britain in as great force as possible by a promise of more than Vortigern had granted, even from the Humber to Kent. Selix accordingly went, and returned with seven ships full of armed Pagans. And Medrod in the mean time formed a league with the Picts, Scots, and Irish, and every other foe to Arthur, so that he raised an army of eighty thousand men at arms, with which he went to <sup>2</sup> Southampton, to prevent Arthur from landing. The battle began on Arthur's part from the ships, and on Medrod's from the shore; and great slaughter ensued, in which Arawn ap Cynfarch, and Gwalchmai ap Gwyar fell. Urien ap Cynfarch was substituted in the place of Arawn; and with great labour and loss Arthur made good his landing, put Medrod to flight, and dispersed his army. That night Medrod collected his scattered forces and went to Win-

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<sup>1</sup> *Sellinx*, B. G. and B. *Cheldric*, G. M. If, as it seems probable, Cerdic be intended, this is the most corrupted name in the history.

<sup>2</sup> Rutupium, G. M.



chester, which he made as secure as he could. Gwenhwyfar having heard it, withdrew herself to Carleon, where she took the veil and joined the nuns in the church of Julius the martyr.

On the third day, Arthur, having buried the dead, led his army to Winchester, and Medrod came into the field, and gave him battle; in which Medrod, after a severe engagement, was routed, and made his escape to Cornwall. Arthur now would not wait to bury the dead, but pursued the traitor, in rage that he should twice have escaped from him. Medrod however made a stand on the river Camlan, with a force of sixty thousand six hundred and six men, resolved rather to hazard an engagement than fly from place to place. He therefore drew up his army in nine divisions, each consisting of a legion, and to encourage it, was profuse in his promises of reward.

On the other side, Arthur also drew up his men in order of battle, and said 'My brave friends, yonder men will never fight well together; they are a mass of faithless and disorderly wretches, whereas we are Christians; the right is on our part, and the wrong is on theirs.' Having so said, and given his orders, they attacked the enemy, and so bitter was the contest, that the living were almost distracted by the cries of the dying. When the day was far advanced, Arthur fell upon the division, in which Medrod commanded, and dispersed it as the lion does the herd, and in this attack slew Medrod, and numbers more. Yet notwithstanding the death of Medrod, the engagement continued, and was one of the severest ever known. Of Medrod's chiefs there were slain, <sup>1</sup> Eiaes, (*Ella*) Brytt (*Egbert*) and Bwfynt, who were Saxons; Gillamori, Gilafradric, <sup>2</sup> Gilasgyrwm and Ilarch of

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<sup>1</sup> *Elaes*, *Ebrut* and *Eburiawe*, Ms. *Egbriet* and *Buningus*, G. M.  
G. O. *Elacs* *Egbriet* and *Bymyne*,  
B. G. *Cheldric*, *Elaes*, *Edbrich* and B. and B. G. *Gillasar* and *Gilarch*, Mss. G. O. and  
*Humys*, Ms. B. *Cheldric*, *Elafrius*, B. and B. G. *Gislafel* and *Gillarius*, G. M.

Ireland; and all those of the Picts and Scots. Of Arthur's chiefs <sup>1</sup> Ebra, king of Norway; <sup>2</sup> Coel, king of Denmark; Cador, the Róver; Caswallon, and many more. In this battle Arthur received a wound which proved mortal, and he came to the Isle of Afallach to have it taken care of. This is <sup>3</sup> all that is said here of Arthur's death.

Constantine the son of Cador, succeeded to the throne by Arthur's desire, A. D. 552. <sup>4</sup> "For Cador was the son of Gorlais, earl of Cornwall, by Eigr, Arthur's mother, the daughter of Amlawdd the Great." Here ends the history of Arthur and Medrod.

After the coronation of Constantine, Medrod's two sons, in conjunction with the Saxons, made an unsuccessful attempt to oppose him. <sup>5</sup> "About this time St. Daniel, Bishop of Bangor, left this world to receive his reward in Heaven; and Theon, Bishop of Gloucester, was elected Archbishop of London. St. David also died, and was buried at Menevia (*St. David's*) in the monastery, which he had himself founded. To that place he had, before his birth, been destined by Patrick, and there he sickened and died. Maelgwn Gwynedd ordered, that he should be interred with honour in the church; and Cynawe, Bishop of Llanbadarn, was elected Archbishop of Caerleon in his stead." And after that many battles had been

<sup>1</sup> Ebrut, Ms. G. O. Ebriet, B. G. and B. Olbriet, G. M.

<sup>2</sup> Achel, Ms. G. O. and B. G. Echel, B. Aschillius, G. M.

<sup>3</sup> The Ms. J. G. L. gives an account of Arthur's death from the Sangreal, which agrees with that in the *Morte Arthur* in every respect, excepting that the Sir Bedwyr of the latter, is in I. G. L. said to be Constantine, who was Arthur's successor, and that Arthur's body disappears. But whether Mr. Jones found this name in a Welsh copy of the Sangreal, or has himself so interpreted it, I cannot say, (as I have not seen any copy of it,) though I believe that such may still be found.

The words *that is said here* seem to intimate that the writer belonged to the monastery of Glastonbury. If so he may not have been willing to record the popular idea of it, and have been either ignorant of the real circumstance, or unwilling to disclose them.

<sup>4</sup> Ms. G. O. To which it adds, *and then these verses were written*. A space is left for the verses, but they are not inserted. Probably they were to have been these, which are said to have been written by Henry Abbot of Glastonbury.

Hic jacet Arthurus, flos regum, gloria regni,  
Quem mores, probitas commendant laude  
pereuni.

<sup>5</sup> B. G. and Ms. B.



been fought between Constantine and the Saxons, the latter, with one of Medrod's sons fled to London, where he was killed, and was buried in a monastery. The other brother fled to Winchester, where he was killed in the church of Amphibalus, before the high altar.

In the third year of his reign, Constantine himself was killed by Cynan Wledig (*the Great*) and was buried in the Circle of the Heroes at Salisbury, near Uther Pendragon.

<sup>1</sup> Cynan, who succeeded to the crown, was a young man, whose abilities were equal to the station, for he was prompt and spirited in war. He had an uncle, whose right to the crown was nearer than his own, but he put him and his two sons to death. Cynan died in the second year of his reign.

<sup>2</sup> "He was succeeded by <sup>3</sup> Gwrthefyr, (*Vortiper*) who suppressed an insurrection of the Saxons, aided by a large body of their friends from Germany. He reigned four years."

After him Maelgwn Gwynedd came to the crown. He was a great character; for he was sagacious, bold, and rigorous, and subdued many kings. In every respect he excelled, saving that he was addicted to the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah.<sup>4</sup> He was the first successor of Arthur, who gained possession of six countries dependant upon Britain; viz. Ireland, Iceland, Scotland, Orkney, Norway and Denmark; and made them tributary to it. He died in the Church of a convent <sup>5</sup> "at Rhos in Creuddyn," by having seen the <sup>6</sup> yellow spectre through a hole over the door of the church. <sup>7</sup> "It was he who built the castles of Deganwy, Digoll, (*now Shrewsbury*); Cyffin, (*now Conway*); and Collwyn, (*now Harlech*)."

<sup>1</sup> Aurelius Conan, G. M.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in B. T. and supplied from Ms. G. O. &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Wortiporius*, G. M.

<sup>4</sup> For the vindication of Maelgwn from this horrid charge, see the Preface.

<sup>5</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>6</sup> Maelgwn had shut himself up in the church to avoid the infection of a yellow plague, or fever, here called *Malaen*, or *the Dæmon*, but caught it by looking out, as was supposed, and hence this story.

<sup>7</sup> Omitted in B. T. and supplied from Ms. G. O.

Caredig succeeded to Maelgwn. But the contentions he studied to excite among his kindred, made him odious to God and to the Britons; and the Saxons knowing his instability, sent to Ireland, to one <sup>1</sup> Gormund, a king of Africa, and a savage character, who had come thither with a fleet of his, and invited him to make a descent upon Britain, <sup>2</sup> “promising their obedience to him, and an annual tribute.” He accordingly came with three hundred sail, filled with troops.

<sup>3</sup> “At this time the Saxons and infidel Pagans were in possession of one part of the island,” and the Britons, who were christians, of the other, and upon ill terms with the Saxons. When Gormund arrived, the Saxons engaged with Caredig, and forced him to fly to Silchester. After this victory had been gained, Imbert, the king of Gaul came and joined Gormund, on condition of receiving aid from him to recover France from his uncle, who had dispossessed him. They went therefore together to attack Caer-Vyddan, (*Silchester*) by completely investing it, to avoid the loss of men. Having so done, they had recourse to this stratagem. A great number of sparrows were caught, and nutshells filled with pitch and brimstone were set on fire at the edge of night, and tied to their wings, and the birds set free.

The fire in the shells was kindled by the motion of the wings, and the next day the city was on fire. Caredig then came out, and gave his enemies battle, but with so little success, that he was obliged to fly through the Severn to the recesses of Wales. Gormund immediately afterwards began to lay all waste with fire and sword, destroying the cities and castles, sparing neither learned nor unlearned, nor even

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<sup>1</sup> *Gotmud*, B. G. and Ms. B. See the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in B. T. and supplied from Ms. G. O.

<sup>3</sup> Ditto



age itself, so that none knew whither to fly from the calamity, which the vengeance of God had sent on the British nation.

<sup>1</sup> 'Alas! Britons, it is nothing strange, that ye are thus humbled. Your ancestors subdued other nations in former ages, and ye now have fallen so low as not to be able to defend your own country from foreigners. Repent, unhappy Britons, according to your misdeeds, and acknowledge the truth of the words of the gospel, that a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand. For it is thus that the disunion of the Britons destroyed their country, and therefore, the Pagans inherit it.'

The Pagans extended their ravages from sea to sea, for Caredig gave up England to them, whilst the miserable remnant of the Britons retired to the extremities of the island, to Cornwall, and what is called Cymry (*Wales*) still obliged to sustain frequent contests with the enemy.

As the churches of London and York were destroyed, Theon the Archbishop of London, and the <sup>2</sup> Archbishop of York took all the reliques, and bones of the saints, and fled with them to the wildest parts of Snowdon, lest the infidel foe should seize upon them. Many fled to <sup>3</sup> Bretagne. For in either Diocese all the churches were laid in ruins; and the men of learning slain.

Thus for a length of time the Britons lost the crown and sovereignty of the kingdom, and with them the territory appertaining to them. They were no longer under one, but under three kings, who had frequent wars to sustain. Yet neither did the Saxons obtain the sovereignty, but were often at war with the Britons, and with each other.

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph has most probably been the ground work of the spurious epistle of Gildas.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. calls him Thadioceus. The *relicks* are certainly an interpolation.

<sup>3</sup> B. G. adds. *I will say no more of this here, but defer it till I write of their happiness in Normandy.* G. M. defers it till he translated the Book.

At this time a <sup>1</sup> Bishop, <sup>2</sup> "Austin, sent by Pope Gregory," came from Rome to preach to the Pagan Saxons of Britain, for they were ignorant of the faith, and had destroyed it in their territories. But the Britons maintained it, as they had done from the days of Eleutherius, the Bishop of Rome, who communicated it to this country. The preaching of Austin was more attended with ridicule, than conversions to the faith; but still he went on till he arrived at the mountain of the saints, followed by a great multitude. On one of the declivities of this mountain they were in great want of water, and he having therefore prayed to God for it, an angel appeared to him, and commanded him not to remit of his labours, as God would supply him with all that was requisite, and immediately to the great joy of Austin, a fountain burst forth, which was sufficient for them all.<sup>3</sup> He then proceeded towards Kent, where he converted the king and all his army. From thence he went to the town of <sup>4</sup>Riw, but whilst he was preaching they sewed the tails of beasts to his canonical dress, and mocked him, and he then prayed that whosoever should be born in that town <sup>5</sup> should be born with a tail, <sup>6</sup> "and it was so."

From hence he went to London, where having enquired as to the cathedral, and the clergy slain by the Saxons, he learned that there was an archiepiscopal church at Carleon, which had seven bishops of the faith subject to it; as also monasteries and convents, where God <sup>7</sup> and the saints were worshipped. Of these was the monastery

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<sup>1</sup> The other copies correct this mistake, as Austin was not a bishop at this time.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. G. O. &c.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. G. O. adds. *And Austin gave to the place the name of Cernel, (a Greek word signifying mystery) which it retains to this day. I know nothing of it, or its derivation.*

<sup>4</sup> Raw, Ms. G. O. Perhaps Rye.

<sup>5</sup> This seems to be the real origin of the fabulous tradition, that Kentish men were born with tails. And which in later times was revived, and said by the Papists to have happened to them at the time of the Reformation.

<sup>6</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>7</sup> There is every reason to believe, that at this time the Britons did not worship saints.



of great Bangor in English Maelor, in which, exclusive of the priors and servants, there were two thousand one hundred monks all supported by the labour of their own hands. The name of its Abbot was <sup>1</sup> Dunod, who was the most learned man of his age. Austin

\* The son of Pabo, the Pillar of Britain. Daniel, the son of this Dunod, founded Bangor in Caernarvonshire after the destruction of the Bangor in Denbighshire. Brochwel had married Arddun Dunod's sister.

The account here given of the contest between Dunod and Austin proves incontrovertibly that this passage has been carefully managed so as to avoid giving offence to the church of Rome. It tells only what could not be concealed. Even to the time of Geoffrey, the British and Romish churches were distinct, and it was necessary to assign some reason for it, as Bede had done before. To refer the origin of the dissension to the domineering pride of Rome, was only to refer it to a principle, which probably the Saxon clergy felt the effects of too sensibly not to be gratified by so convenient an occasion of rebuking it, under the person of Dunod. But the following passage,\* quoted by Spelman, from an antient manuscript in the Mostyn collection, gives the speech of Dunod more fully, and whatever be its date, it certainly gives the opinion of the British church truly. Not having seen the original, I cannot judge of the date from the character; but, from the orthography, which in Welsh writings is a criterion of very considerable importance, I cannot consider the original document as having been written later than the tenth century, and am of opinion it was of higher antiquity. In the present standard orthography, it is as follows:

' Bid hyspys a diogel i chwi, bod ni oll, un agarall, yn ufudd ag yn ostyngedig i. Eglwys Dduw, ag i'r Pab o Rufain, ag

i pob gywair Gristion duwiol, i garu pawb yn ei radd, mewn cariad perfaith; ag i helpio pawb o honynt ar air a gweithred i fod yn blant i Dduw. Ag amgenach ufuddod na hwn nid adwain i fod i'r neb yr ydych chi yn ei henwi yn Bab, neu yn Dad o Dadau, i wgleinio, ag i'w ofyn. A'r ufuddod hwn ydym ni yn barod i'w roddi ag i'w dalu iddo ef, ag i bob Gristion yn dragwyddol. Hefyd yr ydym ni dan lywodraeth Esgob Caerleon a'r wysg, yr hwn sydd yn olygwr, dan Duw arnom ni, i wneuthur i ni gadw'r ffordd ysprydol."

" Know and be assured, that we all, jointly and severally, are in humility ready to defer to the church of God, the Pope of Rome, and every sincere and pious christian; so to love every one according to his station, in perfect charity, and to assist them all by word and deed, so that they may become children of God. But as to farther deference than this, I know of none, which he, whom ye call Pope, or father of fathers, (*i. e. bishop of bishops*) can claim or demand. The deference which I have stated, we are ever ready to pay to him, and every christian. Moreover we are subject to the bishop of Carleon on Uske, who is, under God, our superintendant to keep us in our spiritual path."

This passage, though somewhat more full than that in the Brut, is still defective as to several of the principal motives of the dissension. It is however valuable as it states, and truly, that the British clergy were by no means averse to preaching the

\* There also is a copy of it in the British Museum. Claudius, A. D.

heard this with great joy, and sent to enjoin him to come and assist himself in preaching and converting the Saxons. But Dunod answered, that he would not think it worthy of him to preach to that cruel nation of foreigners, who had treacherously destroyed the ancestors of the Britons, and disinherited their posterity, and <sup>1</sup>“proved by various arguments and by authorities of Scripture,” that he and his monastery owed no subjection either to them, or any one else, but their own Primate the Archbishop of Carleon, who was Primate of Britain.<sup>2</sup>

When this was made known to Edelfled (*Ethelbert*) king of Kent, he sent to another Edelfled (*Edelfrid*) in the north, and the other Saxon chiefs, enjoining them immediately to fall upon Dunod and his monastery, and punish his disobedience. All the Saxons assembled came therefore as far as Chester. At this time Brochwel Ysgythrog was there, and headed the Welsh, and there also were with them in the city a great number of the monks from every British monastery, and especially from Great Bangor, <sup>3</sup>“who came thither to offer up their prayers for their countrymen.” Brochwel with this force encountered the Saxons; but was obliged to retreat to Bangor, and summon all the Britons to his aid.

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gospel to the Saxons. The Romish writers have indeed so represented them, as do also the known copies of the Brut; the imputation was a calumny necessary to the Romish cause from the beginning, and therefore steadily adhered to. In the *Genealogies of the British Saints*, some of these holy persons are noted as having preached to the Saxons; and even from the life of Wilfred it appears, that many of the Saxon bishops in his time were connected with the British church.

The other causes of the dissension were of equal importance, to say the least of them. In the British church the bishops

were elective. The gospel of St. John was principally its authority, Saints and Martyrs were not regarded as intercessors. The use of the cross, except perhaps in baptism, was held to be an abomination; as also that of images. No affinity was thought to be contracted by being sponsors, &c.

<sup>1</sup> G. M. and B. have here interpolated a false and invidious sentence, importing that the Welsh absolutely refused to preach to the Saxons. It is not in B. T. or in Ms. G. O.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. and B.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. B.



<sup>1</sup> "Edelfrid was now irritated because of the numbers he had lost; and Dunod, apprised of his coming, sent two hundred of the most prudent of the monks to intreat he would spare that sacred mansion, and to offer to him all their property, so that he would permit them to serve and praise God in peace in their monastery, they having done nothing against him. But Edelfrid, when he heard their message, ordered all these holy messengers to be slain, and advanced with his forces to the monastery," <sup>2</sup> and when he saw the monks, knowing that the battle would, for their sakes, be bloody, he ordered one thousand two hundred of them to be put to death.

Brochwel was speedily joined by Bledrig, prince of Cornwall; Meredyth, king of South Wales; and Cadvan, king of North Wales; and with them marched to Bangor, where they engaged with the Saxons, and after a battle, in which the slaughter on both parts was great, were victorious. Edelfrid was wounded, and fled with the remains of his army. In this battle there were slain of the Saxons ten thousand, sixty and six; and on the part of the Welsh fell Bledrig, prince of Cornwall, and many more with him, as he had preeminently stood and maintained the brunt of the battle.

The Britons now united together, and went to Chester, where they elected <sup>3</sup> Cadvan ap Iago as their chieftain, and pursued Edelfrid and the Saxons till they passed the Humber. There Edelfrid obtained

<sup>1</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>2</sup> "There Brochwel made a stand against him, and a bloody battle was fought by them, since called the battle of Bangor-garden. But, after long contesting of the day, Brochwel was forced to retreat through the river Aeren (*Aeren, marginal note, i.e. the Severn*) being overpowered by the Saxons. He then guarded the fords till he should

"receive succours. In this battle were slain of men of learning, exclusive of the labouring brothers, above a thousand." Ms. G. O. This account is probably the most correct, as Guttyn Owain, who transcribed this manuscript, was well versed in Welsh history.

<sup>3</sup> Cadvan ap Iago, ap Beli, ap Rhun, ap Maelgwn Gwynedd, Ms. G. O.

reinforcements, and prepared to engage Cadvan; but, when their armies were in view of each other, a peace was concluded between them, on condition that Edelfrid should retain the country beyond the Humber, and that Cadvan should have the crown of London,<sup>1</sup> (*i. e. the title of Paramount sovereign of Britain*) and hostages were given to confirm the terms.

Some time afterwards, Edelfrid put away his lawful wife, because of his attachment to a concubine; and the wife, who was in her pregnancy, applied to Cadvan to mediate between her and her husband. But as Edelfrid would not listen to him, she remained in Cadvan's palace till she was brought to bed of a son. About the same time Cadvan's wife also was delivered of a son. Cadvan's son was named Cadwallon, and Edelfrid's Edwin; both were reared there together, until they grew up, and then both were sent for their instruction in the manners of a court, and the use of arms, to the court of Solomon, king of Bretagne, and were by him gladly received. Here they improved so much as, both in skirmishing, and actual engagement, not to be surpassed by any.

When Cadvan and Edelfrid died, the sons succeeded to the father's respectively, and renewed the conditions, and amity, agreed on by their fathers. But, at the end of two years, Edwin demanded permission of Cadwallon to make a crown for himself, <sup>2</sup>(*i. e. to be acknow-*

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<sup>1</sup> This is the proper meaning of the Welsh words, which have been mistaken even by Welsh writers, for the actual possession of the whole territory of Britain, and confounded with it.

<sup>2</sup> The distinction marked in the preceding note is here sufficiently evident. The mere wearing of a crown, as an ornament, was amply in Edwin's power. The object of contention would therefore be, not the right to the territory beyond the Humber, for this had been already granted;

nor the diadem, which he could have had made, and set on his own head; but an acknowledged right annexed to his so doing, which, without that acknowledgement, would be noted and condemned as usurpation. And however the island was divided into petty kingdoms, and variously possessed, the right of sovereignty does not appear to have been conceded to any by the British line of Princes till this period.



*ledged as an independent king,)* that he might wear it on the other side of the Humber, on the festivals of the saints, according to the privilege of kings before him. To determine upon this subject a day was appointed for the holding of a council of wise and learned men, near the river Dulas. When there, Cadwallon having rested his head on the knee of his nephew, Braint ap Nefyn, and fallen asleep, Braint burst into tears, which flowed so fast, as to fall on the face of Cadwallon, and awoke him; and alarmed him for the health of his nephew, so that he anxiously enquiring what was the cause. To which Braint thus replied:

‘From this day Britons will have cause to weep; for you have given up that distinctive note of superiority of your family, which has been its honour ever since the time of Maelgwn Gwynedd to this day. You have now consented that these treacherous infidels, the Saxons, independent of you, should make a king; and henceforward they will unite, and by their craft will seize on all Britain. It was your duty to repress, not to foster them. How could you, Sir, forget their conduct to Vortigern, who first transferred his confidence from honest men to them; or how ill they requited his favors? their treachery to Emrys; their poisoning him, and Uther Pendragon? Did they not <sup>1</sup> break their faith to Arthur, and join Medrod against him; and last of all they invited Gormund to seize on the possessions of Caredig, and drove him by treachery from his kingdom.’

This speech was no sooner concluded, than Cadwallon sent to inform Edwin that he had no intention of allowing any other crown than that of <sup>2</sup> London. To which Edwin replied, that he would

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<sup>1</sup> This implies what has either been omitted in the former part of this history, or lost of it, viz. that Arthur had granted a settlement to the Saxons in England, upon the condition of acknowledging the sovereignty of the island to be vested in himself.

<sup>2</sup> This expression, having been made use of, when the chief residence of the sovereign Paramount was in London, can

make one in defiance of him; and Cadwallon declared, that he would then cut off Edwin's head when crowned. So that both collected all the forces they were able, and a great battle ensued between them, which terminated in the defeat of Cadwallon, whereupon he fled to Ireland, and Edwin ravaged all his territories.

Cadwallon however, still endeavoured to land in Britain, but without success, for wheresoever he made the attempt, Edwin was ready to oppose him with an army, being always apprised of Cadwallon's intention by a <sup>1</sup> magician from Spain, whose name was Pelidys, who by the stars, and the flight of birds, foretold every thing. Cadwallon was thus reduced to great despondency, and a fear that he should never regain his territories. In this distress he determined to lay his situation before Solomon, the king of Bretagne, and to request his advice and aid. He therefore sailed for Bretagne, but a storm arose and dispersed his fleet. Cadwallon himself was for three days together so ill, that he was unable to taste food, <sup>2</sup> but on the fourth recovered perfectly, and having obtained a fair wind, they reached Bretagne.

Here they were welcomed by Solomon, who readily promised Cadwallon that he should have aid; lamented much that a foreign nation should have been able to oppress the Britons, and expressed his surprise that the Britons had been so inactive, as to the Saxons, whom every other country had driven away. 'For,' added he, 'since the time of Maximus the Great, and Cynan Meriadawg, came with

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here have no other signification than that the sovereignty, and London itself, as the seat of sovereignty, did belong of right (though London did not at the time by possession) to the British sovereign.

<sup>1</sup> This magician is hereafter described as found *distributing bread to the poor*; a circumstance which makes it probable that some Romish missionary, of the name

of Mellitus or Palladius, who was at this time with Edwin, was the magician. His knowledge might easily acquire such a character from the heathens, and it be believed by the christians from their reports.

<sup>2</sup> A silly story of Cadwallon's being recovered by eating human flesh, is here, as in the Welsh copy, omitted. It may be seen in G. M.



the natives of Britain hither, no one has there maintained fully the prerogative of the island, and sorry am I that I cannot in person execute vengeance on the Saxons.

This address abashed Cadwallon greatly, and therefore, having first acknowledged gratefully the kindness of Solomon, he continued thus:

<sup>1</sup> ' You ought not, Sir, to be surprised, that those who were left in the island, should have been inactive; as every man of rank came hither with Cynan Meriadawg, and when the island was left to the protection of the weak commonalty, you must be aware that they were too feeble for it, being more inclined to gluttony, drunkenness, and lust. For, as Gildas observes, many sins bring a nation low, until it repent, because it seeketh not the true physician. Therefore, Sir, they were displeasing to God, and therefore he has given them into the hands of strangers to punish them for their sins. And therefore am I come to plead the alliance of kindred with you. For Maelgwn Gwynedd was the fourth king of all Britain after Arthur. He had two sons Einion and Rhun; Rhun's son was Beli, and Beli's son was Iago, and Iago's son was Cadvan my father. Rhun on the death of his brother Einion, and after the expulsion of the Saxons, gave his daughter in marriage to Howel Vychan, ap Howel, ap Emyr, of Bretagne; the Emyr, who had accompanied Arthur in the conquest of many countries, and Howel Vychan had by her a son called Alan. This Alan's son was your father, and a brave and energetic man he was <sup>2</sup> " so that our fathers were cousins in the third degree."

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<sup>1</sup> Though it be true that Maximus left the Britons with little comparative means of defence; it is not true that those who remained did not make a brave resistance against their invaders. The greater part of this apology is in the canting and humiliating stile, which the church of Rome has every where endeavoured to put into

the mouths of the Britons, though, thank God, without attaining its full object; and it might the more easily have been admitted if written in Bretagne. If the reader compare it with the exaggerations in G. M. he will be at no loss for the authors.

<sup>2</sup> Ms. G. O.

Cadwallon remained in Bretagne that winter, and during that time thought fit to send Braint to Britain, that he might enquire concerning Pelidys, the Saxon king's magician. He accordingly went, disguised as a vagabond, with a staff,<sup>1</sup> "in the head of which was a blade of iron," and thus arrived at York, where Edwin's palace was. There having joined a troop of beggars, he saw his sister going with a vessel in her hand to fetch water for the queen, and from her he learned the state of the palace, and how to discern the magician. And afterwards, when the magician came out to distribute alms to the poor, Braint pierced him through with the blade of his staff, so that he instantly fell down dead, without its being discovered who slew him,<sup>2</sup> "as the weapon was left in the body."

Braint now went to Exeter, where he summoned the Britons to join him, and strengthened the town and fort. He also let the Britons know that he had killed the magician, and sent the same information to Cadwallon, with a request to him to come to Britain as soon as possible, where he should find the Britains assembled to join him.

And now Penda, a Saxon prince, informed of what was done, came with a large force and laid siege to Exon. Cadwallon also knowing this, hastened to Britain with ten thousand men, granted to him by Solomon, the king of Bretagne; and without resting, advanced to Exeter. There he drew up his army in four divisions, attacked the Saxons, slew great numbers of them, and took Penda prisoner, who, to save his life, did fealty to Cadwallon, and having given hostages for his fidelity marched with him against the Saxons.

Cadwallon then went over the Humber to attack Edwin who came out in conjunction with <sup>3</sup> Gorblot, king of Orkney, and with their

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<sup>1</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Godbold, B. G. and G. M.



united forces they met and engaged with him. Edwin and <sup>1</sup>his son Offrid and Gorblot being soon slain, their army was routed, and Cadwallon after the victory ravaged the country with fire and sword; his vengeance and wish to destroy the Saxons, not sparing even the children in the womb. King Offrid and his two nephews; and Penda, king of Scotland, an auxiliary to Offrid, and their followers were also slain in a subsequent engagement.

Oswald was made king by the Saxons, to succeed Edwin; but Cadwallon pursued him from one place to another, till he fled beyond the wall of Severus, which is between Deira and Bernicia; and then Cadwallon sent Penda with a great part of his army to follow him, and Penda there surrounded him in a place called <sup>2</sup> *Heaven-Field*. In this situation Oswald displayed a cross, and exhorted his army to kneel down, and pray sincerely to the Almighty, that he would deliver them from the cruel Penda, seeing that they were only endeavouring to obtain freedom

The following day Oswald, trusting in God, attacked his adversaries, and was that day the conqueror. But Cadwallon, as soon as he heard of it, collected what force he could, and pursued Oswald, and conquered him at a place called <sup>3</sup> Bournay, and there Penda slew Oswald.

On the death of Oswald the Saxons made Oswy Whitebrow, his brother, king, who having collected a large sum of money, sent it to Cadwallon, with an acknowledgement of his sovereignty of Britain, and did fealty to him. Then Oswy's two nephews, his brother's sons,

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<sup>1</sup> Omitted in the copy B. T. and supplied from Ms. G. O.

<sup>2</sup> *Hedfeld*, Ms. G. and B. G. *Herefield* G. M. *Hamfield*, that is, the Field of

*Heaven*, W. Ms. It was according to Bede, at Heathfield.

<sup>3</sup> *Denises Burna*, that is, the River *Denise*. Bede.

began to make war on their uncle, but being unsuccessful, came to an accommodation with him. Oswy now applied to Penda, the king of Mercia, to solicit his assistance, in order to make war on Cadwallon; but Penda replied, that he was bound in fealty to Cadwallon, which during his life he would not break.

The Whitsuntide following, Cadwallon held his court in London, and thither came all the princes, Welsh and Saxon, Oswy alone excepted, which induced Cadwallon to enquire of Penda why he was absent. Is he ill said the king? By no means answered Penda, for he sent to me to aid him to avenge his brother on you, and on my refusal, has sent to Germany for succours to enable him to do so on you and me. As proof of his intentions, his banishing of his nephews from the island, and soliciting me against you, are sufficient to shew, that he has already broken the peace. Grant me therefore permission either to kill him, or drive him out of the island.

Cadwallon consulted his council on the subject, and there Meredydd, the king of South Wales, said to him, ‘ You should not have desisted from your first enterprise till you had driven all the Saxons out of the island. Let Penda go against Oswy, that they may destroy each other, for the faithless deserves no faith, and in the end they will all be destroyed.’

Cadwallon then permitted Penda to go, which he did, and passing the Humber with a large army, began to ravage Oswy’s country. Oswy offered Penda a large sum of money, as a condition of peace; but Penda rejected it, and continued the war, and <sup>1</sup> “Oswy” left it to God to decide on the event. Penda was killed in the battle <sup>2</sup> “on the river Wynnod” in the first onset; and Cadwallon gave his kingdom

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<sup>1</sup> B. G. &c.

<sup>2</sup> B. G. Gyaniwed, B. Wynnet, Ms. G. O.



to Olfrýd<sup>1</sup> (*Offryd*) Penda's son; who, with Edbert, prince of Mercia, continued the war. At last Cadwallon agreed to a peace.

Thus Cadwallon reigned forty-two years as Paramount Sovereign of Wales and England, and then falling sick, died, on the fifteenth day of <sup>2</sup>December. The Welsh embalmed his body, and deposited it in an image of bronze of curious workmanship, and this image was placed on a horse of bronze also, over a gate of London, so as to appear to rush on the Saxons. At this gate also a church was built, and dedicated to God and St. Martin; and there masses were said for the soul of Cadwallon, of whom Merlin prophesied, as the *Equestrian in Brass*.

On the death of Cadwallon, his son Cadwallader, surnamed the Blessed, succeeded to the crown, and for <sup>3</sup>eleven years maintained his sovereignty in peace. But at the end of that period he fell ill of a tedious and languishing disorder; and then disturbances arose amongst the Welsh themselves. For Cadwallader's mother was own sister to Penda, and her mother was of a noble family in Erging and Euas: and Cadwallon had married Cadwallader's mother when he made the league with Penda.<sup>4</sup>.....

During these disturbances, a pestilence and a famine, sent from God as a punishment for their sins, fell upon the Britons so grievously that food was not to be had, saving what the chace could afford; and the living were, through hunger, unable to bury the dead. Such as were able to go to other countries did so, exclaiming, 'O Lord! thou hast given us to be a prey to wolves.' Cadwallader had a fleet prepared for him, and set sail for Bretagne, exclaiming in like man-

<sup>1</sup> *Wulfher*, Bede.

<sup>2</sup> *November*, B. G. B. and Ms. G. O. the 15th of the Calends of December, G.M. that is the 15th of November.

<sup>3</sup> *Twelve years* all the other copies.

<sup>4</sup> There is here an omission of the circumstances of the troubles, which none of the other copies supplies.



ner, 'Woe to us sinners! by the multitude of our sins have we provoked our God: when we had a time to return to him, we returned not, therefore doth he disperse us abroad; whom not the Roman power, nor any, save himself, could thus disperse.'

With such lamentations, Cadwallader approached the dwelling of Alan, by whom he was welcomed thither most kindly. In Britain there were left, by the pestilence and famine, those only who retired into the forests, and lived by hunting, <sup>1</sup> "and mostly in the recesses of Wales." This calamity continued for eleven years.

When it ceased, those of the Saxons who had escaped it, sent information to Germany, that the island was destitute of inhabitants, and advised them to come and take a cheap possession of it. That people therefore collected an immense number of men and women, who <sup>2</sup> "with their queen Sexburgis" landed in the North, and settled in the kingdom from <sup>3</sup> Norway to Cornwall; there remaining no Britons able to oppose them.

From this time the Britons lost the sovereignty in the isle of Britain. Sometime after their landing, Cadwallader requested of Alan a force to dispossess them. But, <sup>4</sup> an angel appeared to Cadwallader to warn him not to proceed thither, (it being the Divine will, that the Britons should not return until the time foretold by Merlin to Vortigern) but to go to Rome, and lead a penitentiary life; and for this reason he is there numbered among the saints. The

<sup>1</sup> W. Ms.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> *Albany*. The other copies except the W. Ms. which has Northumberland. Still I suspect that *Idychlin*, (*Norway*,) the word in the text is right; and that there were in the Highlands of Scotland two districts, the one called Norway, and the other Denmark, as being colonized from

those places, and sometimes referred to in this history, where these names occur.

<sup>4</sup> Cadwallader was a very proper subject to be thus played upon, and the Church of Rome had a strong motive to play upon his weakness, viz. to avoid the obstacle the return of the Britons would present to her governing the whole island. Many of the like tricks we read in Giraldus Cambresius.



angel also told him, that by his merits and goods works, the Welsh should, at the appointed time, regain the Sovereignty of Britain; 'and that,' said the angel, 'will be when thy bones shall be brought from Rome to Britain, and displayed with the bones of all the saints that have been hidden through fear of <sup>1</sup> the Saracens.' Then the Welsh shall recover the sovereignty.

Cadwallader communicated the vision, and the precise words of the angel, to Alan; and Alan examined all the prophecies of Merlin, and the poems of the Sibyl, in order to know <sup>2</sup> whether what the angel had said, was in them really so; and much rejoiced to find that it was so: recommended it to Cadwallader to go to Rome.

Cadwallader therefore sent his son Ivor, and his nephew Ynyr, to endeavour to retain Britain, and prevent the annihilation of the Welsh there; whilst he himself gave up the world through the love of God, and went to Rome, and entered on the religious life. <sup>3</sup> "Having lived there five years," he died, and his soul went to Heaven on the <sup>4</sup> twelfth of December, A. D. 688.

Ivor the son of Cadwallader, and Ynyr his nephew, in the mean time raised a large force, and came to Britain, where for eight and twenty years they carried on a war against the Saxons, but without being successful; so much had the previous calamity weakened the power of the Welsh to resist the foreigners. From this time they were no more called the Britons, but the Welsh.

<sup>1</sup> *The infidels*, B.G. &c. This reference marks the time of the fabrication of this miracle.

<sup>2</sup> Alan appears to have had his suspicions of the angel, and not to have been unwilling that his son and nephew should profit by the vision. All the Welsh copies make him look into Merlin, to see whether the angel had reported it truly. This was not very decorous towards the angel, of

whose reality our author, as well as Alan, appears to have been doubted, though it pays a high complement to Merlin, that shews the estimation in which the prophecies were held.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. G. O.

<sup>4</sup> 12th May, A. D. 688, B. G. 12th May, A. D. 687, B. 12 Calends of May, A. D. 689, G. M. A. D. 683, Ms. G. O.



The Saxons thenceforward prudently kept themselves united; and built towns, and castles : and thus having freed themselves from the power of the Britons, they under Athelstan, obtained possession of all England, and he was the first Saxon who had the sovereignty of it.

Thus the original nation lost its name, and was unable to recover it; and was alternately subject to oppression from the Saxons, and its own Princes.

I, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, translated this book from the Welsh into Latin, and in my old age have again translated it from the <sup>1</sup> Latin into Welsh.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably because he had given the original Welsh copy to Geoffrey of Monmouth.