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LATE ADDITIONS TO "BONEDD Y SAINT"

By P. C. BARTRUM, B.A.

PRINTED TEXTS OF "BONEDD Y SAINT."

THE tract "Bonedd y Saint" in its original form was compiled, according to A. W. Wade-Evans, in the twelfth century (*VSB*, p. xvii). The earliest example (A) survives from the thirteenth century and altogether nine versions are extant which were completed before and up to about the year 1514. All of these have been printed as follows:

A. *Peniarth MS. 16*, folio 53, "Bonhed y Seint". (Early thirteenth century.) Ed. *LBS*, IV, 369-71.

B. *Peniarth MS. 45*, pp. 286-90, "Bonhed Seint Kymry". (Late thirteenth century.) Ed. *LBS*, IV, pp. 371-3.

C. *Peniarth MS. 12*, folio 25a-b, "Bonedd y Seint". These pages really belong to *Peniarth MS. 4* (The White Book of Rhydderch) (c. 1320). Ed. E. Phillimore, *YC*, VII (1886), pp. 133-4.

DD. *Hafod MS. 2*, folio 209b-12a, "Bonheyd Seynt". (Second half of fourteenth century.) Sometimes called the "Llanerch MS". Ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, *VSB*, pp. 320-3.

D. *Hafod MS. 16*, pp. 110-12, "Bonhed y Seint" (c. 1400). Ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, *RC*, L (1933), pp. 24-9.

E. *Llanstephan MS. 28*, pp. 69-75, written by Gutun Owain in 1455.¹ Ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, *Arch. Camb.*, LXXXV (1931), pp. 163-70.

F. *Peniarth MS. 27*, part 2, pp. 67-70. (Last quarter of fifteenth century.) Ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, *RC*, L (1933), pp. 363-7.

G. *Peniarth MS. 127*, pp. 43-9, by Sir Thomas ap Ieuan ap Deikws (c. 1510). Ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, *RC*, L (1933), pp. 368-78.

H. *Peniarth MS. 182*, pp. 63-74, by Sir Hugh Pennant (c. 1514). Ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, *RC*, L (1933), pp. 378-84.

The best text is undoubtedly that of *Hafod MS. 2* (DD) except that it is illegible at the end.² But it can be reconstructed (two items and a bit) with some confidence from the evidence of other versions as is done by Wade-Evans. All the manuscripts C to H have additional items, additions to earlier items and variations in the items, which are certainly departures from the primitive text.

¹ This date is given in the manuscript, but it may be a date copied by Gutun Owain himself from one of his sources. A date c. 1475 has been suggested as more likely. See Thomas Roberts in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XV (1953), pp. 99 ff.

² Lewis Morris in 1760 was unable to read the manuscript beyond the point read by Wade-Evans (see no. 29, p. 82 below).

For reference purposes it is convenient to have a standard system of numbering of the items and in this article those that occur in DD are numbered 1 to 63 as edited by Wade-Evans, including the two reconstructed items. Additional items occurring in C to H are numbered as follows :

- 2a Tyrnoc (E, G).
- 3a Carannawc (C, D, G).
- 6a Kyngar ap Garthawc (D, G).
- 6b Kyndeyrn ap Kyngar ap Garthawc (D, G, variant in F).
- 14a Elen verch Goel (G).
- 24a Cristiolus and Rhystud (G).
- 64 Eluoc (E, G, H).
- 65 Saeran (E, G, H).
- 66 Siatt o Redynvre (E, G, H).
- 67 Sanffraid (E, G, H).
- 68 Kanhaval+69 Kadvarch (probably one item) (E, G, H).
- 70 Oswallt+71 Eda Glynvawr (probably one item) (E, H).
- 72 Egryn (G).
- 73 Digain and Erbin (G).
- 74 Kedwyn (G).
- 75 Mevgant (G).
- 76 Kyngar, Iestin, Cattw, Selyf (G, variant in F) (partly duplicating or replacing item 27).

This numbering gives, roughly, the order in which the items occur in the various versions A to H.

LATER VERSIONS OF "BONEDD Y SAINT".

Wade-Evans pointed out (*VSB*, p. xviii, note) that the versions A to H of "Bonedd y Saint" together with two texts of "Achau'r Saint" which he edited (see p. 82 below) gave the ultimate sources of everything contained between pages 265 and 271 of W. J. Rees's *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints* (Llandoverly, 1853). However, they do not give the ultimate sources of material collected by Lewis Morris (1701-1765) and published as the so-called "Alphabetic Bonedd" in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* (see below p. 83, no. 32). In the belief that there might be further matter of interest in later versions of "Bonedd y Saint" I decided to examine as many as possible of those composed up to the beginning of the eighteenth century. By the courtesy of the librarians of the National Library of Wales, the Central Library, Cardiff, the Bodleian Library, and the British Museum, I have had access to, or photostat copies of, all the versions known to me and lying within the above terms of reference. I did not make sufficiently detailed notes to determine with any degree of certainty the relations between all the various versions. Nor did I note passages which were clearly corrupt unless they looked as if they could explain later departures. To have noted all such details would have been a lengthy task hardly commensurate with the value of the results. I think the chief

value of the later versions lies in their additions which preserve traditions of the time in which they were written, and sometimes perhaps, earlier traditions which are not now preserved in earlier manuscripts. For that reason I do not think that any useful purpose would be served by printing any of these later versions *in toto*. Thus only additions and a few "departures" are given in this article. The list is, I believe, reasonably complete up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, and will, I hope, be of some interest. One point which emerges fairly clearly from the examination of these manuscripts is that Iolo Morganwg, or whoever compiled the "Bonedd" material included in the *Iolo MSS.*, used little, if any, "Bonedd y Saint" sources beyond those printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* or the manuscripts of William and Lewis Morris.

A list of all the later versions of Bonedd y Saint, composed up to the beginning of the eighteenth century and known to me, is given below. Also included are four manuscripts (nos. 9, 10, 11, 17 below) which, as far as I know, do not now exist but from which we have extracts in the manuscripts of Edward Lhuyd, William and Lewis Morris and of Evan Evans. One cannot be sure of the precise chronological order, and in several cases manuscripts evidently received additions, often in the same hand, at later times, resulting in overlapping of dates.

1. *Peniarth MS. 137* (these pages dated 1541) :

(a) pp. 197-8 and 204 Brychan sections.

(b) pp. 199-204 Bonedd y Saint. Similar to H.

2. *Peniarth MS. 177*, pp. 262-7 and 269. These pages by Gruffudd Hiraethog between 1544 and 1565 ; and *Peniarth MS. 178*, part 2, pp. 19-20, Bonedd y Saint, pp. 20-25, Brychan section, by Gruffudd Hiraethog, c. 1545. The original text was similar to D but not as full, and had a few peculiarities of G. The original order of the pages seems to have been Pen. 177, p. 262 ; Pen. 178, pp. 19, 20 ; Pen. 177, pp. 264, 265, 269, 267. The pages were later re-arranged in the order found at present and many additions were made in the same(?) hand by writing new items or alternative versions between the lines of the original text and on the blank pages. Some of these additions go over from one page to the next, so that the pages could not now be returned to their original order without destroying the continuity. The result is very cramped writing, giving the pages a rather chaotic appearance. In addition, the edges of the pages are worn and faded so that parts of the text are illegible.

3. *Peniarth MS. 132*. These pages by Lewys Morgannwg, between 1540 and 1577 :

(a) pp. 118-19, Brychan section.

(b) pp. 119-21, Bonedd y Saint. Intermediate between B and D.

4. *Peniarth MS. 128*, "Llyver Edward ap Roger".³ Written mostly before 1565, but there are additions in the same hand, using paler ink, down to 1581.

(a) p. 50, "Plant Brychan Brycheniocr". A list of names only.

(b) pp. 51-5, "Iachoeidd ssaint a gorvchel vrenhinoedd a thwyssogion a gwyr da". The beginning is similar to G but there are many new items and alternative versions at the end.

5. *Peniarth MS. 181*, "Llyvyr Mr. Gruffudd" (mid-sixteenth century).

(a) pp. 66-8, "Plant Brychan".

(b) pp. 274-82, "Achau saint Kymrv".

(c) pp. 283-84, Daughters of Brychan. Incomplete.

6. *Peniarth MS. 75* (second half of sixteenth century).

(a) pp. 9-20, "Iachoeidd saint a gorvchel brenhinedd tywysogion a boneddigion". Very similar to no. 4 (b) above.

(b) pp. 20-1, Sons of Brychan.

(c) pp. 52-4, "Plant Brychan Brycheiniawc".

7. *Peniarth MS. 74* by Simwnt Vychan (second half of sixteenth century).

(a) p. 35, Bonedd y Saint. A selection.

(b) pp. 135-40, "Jach Ddewi ar Saint". Similar to G.

(c) pp. 140-1, Brychan section.

8. *Peniarth MS. 253* (third quarter of sixteenth century).

(a) pp. 143-5, Bonedd y Saint. Begins with item 7. Similar to B.

(b) pp. 146-9, Brychan section. Similar to Pen. 178 (no. 2 above).

9. "*Llyfr Bodeulwyn*". "Iachau y gwyr ar merched bycheddol aeth o'u bucheddu yn seintiau ac santesau". Extracts were made by William Morris for an Alphabetic Bonedd (no. 30 below), and there marked "C". Similar to G. Dated 1579 (see no. 30 below, folio 123b).

10. A manuscript belonging to *William Salesbury* of Plas Isaf near Llanrwst. (W.S. lived 1520?-84?.) Quoted in nos. 27, 30, and 32 below, where extracts are marked "S". This, or another manuscript of William Salesbury, is used in nos. 19, 23, and 24 below. See also p. 90 below.

11. A manuscript ascribed to "Thomas Wynn ap Edmwnd ap Rys ap Robert ap Jevan Vychan, A^o 1577". In about 1700 it belonged to Watkyn Owen of Gwydyr. We only have a list of the saints mentioned in this manuscript from which it seems to have been similar to G, with a Brychan section. See below nos. 27, 28, 30, and p. 83.

³ Otherwise Edward Eyton of Bodylltyn in the parish of Ruabon. He died in 1587. (*Arch. Camb.*, Series IV, no. 1 (1870), p. 94.)

12. *Peniarth MS. 183*. This part by William Dyfi, 1586.

(a) pp. 259–66, Bonedd y Saint. It follows directly after Achau'r Saint (see below, p. 88), beginning "Mam Dewi vab Ssant".

(b) pp. 266–8, Brychan section. Incomplete. Similar to no. 1 (b) above.

13. *Peniarth MS. 118* by Dr. John David Rhys (last quarter of sixteenth century).

pp. 604–6, "Achoedh a bonedh Saint Ynys Prydein". Similar to H.

14. *Peniarth MS. 270*. This part by Dr. John David Rhys (d. 1609), pp. 297–9, Bonedd y Saint. Incomplete. Ends with Gwrhei (item 60) as D.

15. *Wrexham MS. 1*, "Llyvyr John Brooke o Vowddwy" (1590–1), pp. 435–7, Bonedd y Saint. Similar to B. This is apparently the manuscript denoted by "B" in the Alphabetic Bonedd, no. 27 below, and copied with various errors in nos. 28, 30, and 32.

16. *Mostyn MS. 114* (c. 1592).

Folios 48b–49b, "Bonedd Saint Kymry". Incomplete, ending with the sons of Awystyl gloff (item 43).

17. A manuscript of *Dr. Thomas Williams* written between 1570 and 1609. Extracts were made by Lewis Morris (see no. 31 below).

18. *Peniarth MS. 403*, "16th–17th century".

Pp. 153–8, Bonedd y Saint. Very similar to G.

19. *Llanstephan MS. 187* (c. 1634) apparently by H. Salesbury. Pp. 216–37, "Bonedd Saint Cymry ar ol pedwar copi".

(a) pp. 216–19, Brychan section.

(b) pp. 220–4 and 230–7, Bonedd y Saint.

The four copies used are not specified but one was probably that of William Salesbury (no. 10 above). See also no. 24 below.

20. *Llanstephan MS. 138* (c. 1634–53).

Pp. 3–6, "Bonedd Saint Cymry ar ol pedwar copi". Evidently copied from no. 19 (a) (b).

21. *Cardiff MS. 25* by John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy, 1640.

Pp. 10–11, Daughters of Brychan. Beginning missing. Very similar to E.

(a) pp. 23–30, Bonedd y Saint. Evidently a copy of A.

pp. 32–44, "Açau Saint Ynys Brydaen".

(b) Pp. 32–9, Bonedd y Saint. Similar to H, but begins with Tydecho (item 22).

(c) p. 40–4, Brychan section, similar to no. 6 (c).

(d) pp. 108–110, "Surn o açau Saint Kymru". A selection apparently copied from Pen. 50, p. 86 (1415–56). See below, p. 96.

(e) pp. 111–22, Bonedd y Saint. Evidently copied from F. The parts of F illegible to Wade-Evans could be restored from this text. There are no surprises.

22. *Harleian MS. 4181* by Hugh Thomas (late seventeenth to early eighteenth century).

(a) folios 24a–25b, "Achey yr Santey" "from a manuscript on vellum . . . late in the custody of Mr. Edward Lhuyd". This manuscript was clearly D. There is another copy of D by Hugh Thomas in Harl. MS. 2289, folios 159b–160a.

(b) folios 25b–27a, "Achau Saint Cymreig" from a manuscript of Mr. John Lewis of Llynwene in Radnorshire. A combination of Achau'r Saint (see below p. 88), Bonedd y Saint and Brychan material, probably extracted from a text akin to Pen. 183, pp. 255–268. The above two tracts were edited by W. J. Rees in *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853, pp. 265–8 and 269–71 respectively.

23. *N.L.W. MS. 6150*, Bonedd y Saint, written by James Davies (Jaco ap Dewi, 1648–1722) in 1713. Similar to no. 19 (a) (b), but not said to be based on four copies.

24. *Cardiff MS. 36*. These parts copied (1716) from a book of James Davies by "W.T." This W.T. compared his text with no. 22 above and annotated both manuscripts. See YC, VII (1886), p. 104, note 1.

(a) pp. 42–6, Bonedd y Saint, follows directly after a version of Achau'r Saint, with "Mam Dewi". Similar to no. 12 (a) without items 64–71.

(b) pp. 47–67, "Bonedd Saint Cymry ar ol pedwar copi, llyfr Wiliam Salsbri, a llyfr Cadwaladr Reinallt o Lanfawr a dau hen lyfr arall". This is copied from a manuscript written by Jaco ap Dewi in 1714. Similar to no. 19 (a) (b) and no. 23.

25. *Llanstephan MS. 81* by Moses Williams (early eighteenth century).

(a) pp. 4–8, Bonedd y Saint. Follows Achau'r Saint. Similar to no. 24 (a).

(b) pp. 13–15, "Gwehelyth Saint Ynys Brydain", "from Bib. Harl. 95 A 16". Similar to B.

26. *Llanstephan MS. 145* in the hands of Samuel and Moses Williams, Jaco ap Dewi and others (early eighteenth century).

P. 165, Bonedd y Saint. Evidently copied from p. 4 (only) of no. 25. Ends with Cyndeyrn (item 14).

27. *Bodleian MS. Rawlinson B. 464* (c. 1700). Edward Lhuyd's "Itinerary". Folios 189b–227a, "Achae Seint Ynys Brydain". This consists of an "Alphabetic Bonedd" based on three manuscripts labelled "S", "B", and "D". The three manuscripts are thus described:

(folio 189b): "S. Lib. [space]⁴ Salisbury de Plas Issaf prope LhanRwst penes Viduam Wynn de Bodyskallen.

⁴ Probably *William*. See *Arch. Camb. Suppl.*, 1909, pp. 154–5 and *MA*, II, pp. 26–417.

B. Lib. Joh. Brook (Lhyvyr Jo. Brook o Vowdhwy) pen. Doñ Johanñ Parry Rect. Eccles. S^a Georgij in Com. Denb.

D. Codex vetust. in membrana penes Dñum R. Davies de Lhannerch".

These manuscripts are nos. 10, 15, and DD respectively, above. A copy of this is in N.L.W. MS. 1506 (The Halston or Kinnel manuscript), part 3, p. 82 *et seq.* (unnumbered). Definitions of S, B, and D on p. 73.

This "Alphabetic Bonedd" was edited under the title "Parochialia" in *Arch. Camb. Suppl.*, 1909, p. 155 and 1910, pp. 12-21.

28. *Panton MS. 52.* Belonged to Evan Evans (1731-1788).

(a) Part 2, folios 93b-115a, "Alphabetic Bonedd", similar to no. 27 and probably copied from it. On folio 93b the following is written: "Y gwr a wnaeth y llyfr achau Mr. Watkyn Owen Thos. Wynn ap Edmwnd ap Rhys ap Robert ap Jeuan Vychan 1577. Yn llyfr Mr. Owen i mae achau'r saint viz. yr un llyfr yw ar un sydd yn canlyn".

(b) Part 2, folios 129a-140b. A copy of folios 7a-18b of no. 31 below.

29. *B.M. Add. MS. 14,924.*

Folios 14a-19a, "Bonheyd Saint". A copy of DD made by Lewis Morris in 1760.

30. *B.M. Add. MS. 14,883.* "Y Lyfr Brith o Gaergybi, Vol. 1".

(a) folio 119b, Children of Brychan from "Llyfr Bodeulwyn" (no. 9 above).

(b) folios 123b-141a, "Alphabetic Bonedd" by William Morris. This consists of an "Alphabetic Bonedd" copied on the right-hand pages and described as "Achau Saint Ynys Prydain o lyfr Watkyn Owen, o gasgliad Thomas Wyn ap Edmwnt, &c." (folio 124a). Near the end (folio 140b) are the words "Transcribed this out of a copy of Ieuan Fardd, i.e. S.B.D. An. 1759 W.M." (This refers to no. 28 above; Ieuan Fardd = Evan Evans.) On the left-hand pages are entries made by William Morris in 1759 from "Llyfr Bodeulwyn" (no. 9 above) marked "C", and quotations from Henry Rowlands. A few of these entries have also been made on the right-hand pages. A copy of all this occurs in N.L.W. Add. MS. 35, pp. 1-30.

(c) folios 152a-155b. A copy of DD made by William Morris in 1760 apparently taken from no. 29 above.

31. *B.M. Add. MS. 14,949* by Lewis Morris "out of a MS. of Dr. Thos. Williams, now (1760) in Gwedir belonging to the Duke of Ancaster" (folio 7a); "wrote between A.D. 1570 and 1609" (folio 9a).

(a) folios 9a-14b, Bonedd y Saint. This, which appears to be only a selection, contains a number of new items, most of which were included by Lewis Morris in his "Alphabetic Bonedd" (no. 32 below), where they are marked TW. 1.

(b) folios 15a-18b, "out of the same MS. of Dr. Thomas Wms. at Gwedir". "Achau Saint Cymry allan o lyfr Thomas ap Llywelyn ap Ithel o Sir y Flint. . . . Having compared this MS. of Thos. ap Ll^a with the Llannerch MS. [= DD] what is more in this than in that, I shall insert here". The extracts show that the text was similar to G with a few slight additions. It also contains a Brychan section similar to G, which is copied in full. Most of the extracts are included in his "Alphabetic Bonedd" (no. 32 below) and marked TW. 2.

Both of these have peculiarities which seem to derive from Pen. 181 (no. 5 above).

32. *B.M. Add. MS. 14,928*. "Bonedd y Saint collected from several MSS. by L. M. 1760". Based mainly on nos. 30 and 31 above. The "Alphabetic Bonedd" printed in *MA*, II, pp. 25-56=pp. 417-31 is taken from this, but Lewis Morris's English has been turned into Welsh.

33. *Panton MS. 55*. Belonged to Evan Evans.

Pp. 109-16, Bonedd y Saint. A copy of DD taken from no. 29.

Note on the manuscript of Watkyn Owen of Gwydyr (no. 11 above).

According to Panton MS. 52, folio 93b (see no. 28) the manuscript of Watkyn Owen, which was compiled by Thomas Wynn in 1577, contained the original "Alphabetical Bonedd" on which all the later versions were founded. It seems certain, however, that this idea was a misapprehension of the writer of Panton 52. It was perpetuated by William Morris (no. 30 above) and then by Lewis Morris (no. 32 above, folio 2b) whence it got into *MA*, II, pp. 26=417. Actually it seems that only the *names* from this manuscript were used as the basis for the "Alphabetic Bonedd".

The first mention of the manuscript is in Edward Lhuyd's "Itinerary" in Rawl. B. 464, folio 31a, where the following appears: "Y gwr a wnaeth y Lhyvyr achae Mr. Watk. Owen Thomas Wynn ap Edmwnd ap Rys ap Robert ap Jevan Vychan A^o 1577". Then (folio 31b) "Yn Lhyvyr Mr. Owen y mae Achae'r Seint". Below this is a list of saints apparently taken in order from the manuscript, but no "Bonedd". Later this list was put into alphabetical order and in this form appears in the Halston or Kinnel MS. (N.L.W. 1506), part 1, p. 34 (see *Arch. Camb. Suppl.*, 1909, pp. 23-4, and 1910, p. 5). It is clear that this alphabetical list was used as the basis of the "Alphabetic Bonedd" in Rawl. B. 464 (no. 27 above). The names in the alphabetic list were first copied out, generally two to a page, and then the genealogical entries from "S", "B", and "D" were inserted. Many of the names have no entries against them, and the amount of space left suggests that the compiler intended to add further entries from other manuscripts—probably including that of Watkyn Owen. But he never did so. That the compilation from the three manuscripts "S", "B", and "D" was done by

Edward Lhuyd or a contemporary is virtually proved by the fact that the then owners of the manuscripts are named. A further confirmation is that Watkyn Owen's manuscript is dated 1577 while "B" (no. 15 above) is dated 1590-1, so that it could not have been used by Thomas Wynn in 1577.

Lewis Morris says that Watkyn Owen was of Gwydyr in B.M. Add. MS. 14,924, folio 19b, and Add. MS. 14,928, folio 2b.

ADDITIONS AND DEPARTURES IN THE LATER VERSIONS.

A list of additions in the later manuscripts is given below. They are grouped into (1) additional items, i.e. entirely new items, and (2) additions to those items which have already appeared in the versions A to H. A few "departures" are also given. Like most of the departures in these manuscripts they are nearly all due to mis-copying. These particular cases have been picked out because some interest attaches to them.

There are several interesting additions in Pen. MSS. 177, 128, and 75, which have not been printed before. In preparing the list below I have given the additions in these three manuscripts the order of priority Pen. 128, Pen. 75, and Pen. 177. The texts of the "Bonedd" in Pen. 128 and Pen. 75 are closely related, but it does not appear that one could have been copied directly from the other. From their titles it may be inferred that not all the items necessarily refer to persons after whom churches have been named. Most of these additions, and a few others, are found in Llan. 187, Card. 36, and N.L.W. 6150. These are closer to Pen. 75 than to Pen. 128.

The other additions are mainly from two manuscripts now apparently lost; those of William Salesbury and Dr. Thomas Williams (nos. 10 and 17). We are indebted to Edward Lhuyd and Lewis Morris for preserving some of the contents of these manuscripts.

Lewis and William Morris often quote Henry Rowlands in their "Alphabetic Bonedd". I have not included this material because it can all be found in *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*. Some of this is referred to in the notes.

The following abbreviations are used :

J = Pen. 128, K = Pen. 75, L = Pen. 177, M = Llan. 187, N = Card. 36, pp. 46-67, P = N.L.W. 6150. A number following the letter indicates the page number in the manuscript.

TW. 1 and TW. 2 = B.M. Add. MS. 14, 949, folios 7a-14b and 15a-18b respectively. Y = Bodleian MS. Rawlinson B. 464. Y(S) denotes extracts in Y from no. 10. Z = B.M. Add. MS. 14,883. Z(C) denotes extracts in Z from no. 9.

"Similarly" means that differences are minor ones of orthography or perhaps of wording. The use of capitals and punctuation have been regularised.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS

77. Pevlan a Gwylgenav meibion Pevl hen o Vanaw a Gwennvavn i chwaer. J 54. Similarly K 18, corruptly P 22.

Gwyngenav, L 265 ; TW. 1, folio 10a.

Gwylgenau ne Gwynenau, M 234 ; *Gwylnenu*, N 63.

Paul hen, L 265 ; *Peul ne Paul hên o Fanaw*, M 234.

Pawl hen o'r Gogledd, TW. 1, folio 10a ; *Pawl hen o Fanaw*, TW. 1, folio 10b.

Gwenvaen, TW. 1, folio 10b.

78. Kynvarwy ap Awy lvyddawc o Geyrnyw. J. 54. Similarly K 18, L 265, M 234, N 63, P 22.

79. Anghenell v'ch Elissav ap Gwelawc ap Beli ap Mael meingan ap Sselyf ssarf kadav ap Kynan garwyn ap Brochwel ysgrithroc. J 54. Similarly K 18, L 265, M 234, N 63-4, P 22.

80. Dwywau a Dervel gadarn meibion Ho(wel) ap Emyr Llydaw. J 54. *Doewan*, K 19, M 234, N 64 ; *Dwywei*, TW. 2, folio 17a ; *Dorwan*, P 23.

81. Tyvabo a Distir a Distain meibion Rvn ap Enas ledewic o Lydaw. J 54.

Tudnabo ne Tyfabwy, M 234 ; *Tyfabwy*, *Tudnaio*, N 64.

Eneas, K 19, M 234, N 64. (Not in P.)

82. Gargvnan a Ssilin meibion Ronan ledewic o Lydaw. J 54. *Gorgvnan*, K 19 ; *Gorgunan*, M 235, N 64, P 23 ; *Gwrgvnan*, L 266.

83. Garmoniawn ap Petrwn wledic o Lydaw. J 54. Similarly K 19, M 235, N 64 ; *Garmonjam*, P 23.

84. Tekwyn ap Gwyddno hen ap Ymaelaris brenin y Pwyl. J 53. *Amaelarus*, K 19, M 235, N 64, P 23 ; *Amalarus*, L 266.

85. Efadier a Gwrial plant Llawvrodedd varchoc o Archvedd v'ch Arthur i mam. J 55. Similarly K 20. *Archwedd*, M 236, N 65, P 25.

86. Kynlluc ap Kynan gen hir ap Kynwyd Kynwydion ap Kynvelyn ap Athrwys ap Mar ap Kenav ap Koel godeboc. J 55. Similarly K 20. *Arthwys*, M 236, N 65, P 25.

87. Elgan. Eigrad a Dyfnwy a Dyfnaw yn Llan y Ddeusant, Keidio yn y Rrodwydd ac Afarwy ac Aneu yn y Koetanav. Gwrddelw a Gwrhydwl. L 624.

88. Iddew Korn Brydain ab Kowrda ab Kriadoc vreichvras ab Llyr merini. Y(S), folio 203b. Similarly M 237. *Iddawg Corn Brydain*, N 66, similarly P 25.

89. Kathan ab Kowrda ab Kriadoc vreichvras ab Llyr merini. Y(S), folio 205b. Similarly TW. 1, folio 12b, M 237, N 66, P 25.

90. Tydech ap Gildas ab Kaw. Y(S), folio 226b. *Tydecho*, Panton 52, folio 113a.

91. Rhwydrys vab Rhwydrhieni brenin Conach o Iwerddon. TW. 1, folio 9a.
92. Ailfyw fab Dirdan a Danhadlwen verch Ynyr o Gaer Gawch i fam. TW. 1, folio 10a.
93. Ust a Dyfnig y saint yn Llanwrin yNghyfeiliog, a ddoethant ir ynys hon gyda Chadvan. TW. 1, folio 11b.
94. Cynllo sant yn Rhaiadr Gwy fab Mar fab Cenau fab Coel. TW. 1, folio 12b.
95. Doged ap Cedig ap Cunedda wledig frenin. TW. 1, folio 13b.
96. Cedol sant yMhlwy Pentir wrth Fangor fawr yNgwynedd. TW. 1, folio 14a.
97. S. Silin yNgwrecsam ap Howel ap Ymyr Llydaw. TW. 1, folio 14b.
98. Euan ap Llywelyn, gwas Patrig, fanach sant Cerig y Dridion, ar llwyn yNgeinnech. M 237.
99. Stephan verthyr ap Symion ap Zacheus. Pen. 181, p. 279. *Simon*, TW. 1, folio 13b.

ADDITIONS TO ITEMS 1-76

1. *Non vam Ddewi oedd u'ch y Anna u'ch Ythur bendragon.* Pen. 132, p. 119.
 1. . . . *mam Cynyr o Gaer Gawch oedd Anna verch Uthr bendragon.* TW. 2, folio 15a.
 18. *Gwytherin* ap Dingat ap Nudd hael. M 225. Similarly N 56, P 11.
 21. Padarn . . . *Gwenn v'ch Karedic ap Kvnedda wledic oedd i vam.* J 52. *Gwean*, K 13, M 223 ; *Gwan*, N 54, P 9.
 25. Tegai . . . *a Rhychwyn* meibion Ithel hael. TW. 1, folio 12a. *Tanwg, Twrog, Baglan*, hefyd meibion i Ithel hael. TW. 1, folio 12b.
 26. Kustenin gorvav ysgimi. J 52, ysginn, K 13, Pen. 74, p. 138.
 34. Llewelyn sant *ap Einawn* ap Bleuddud ap Tegonwy . . . *Merch Rodri mawr oedd i fam. Penteulu i Rodri oedd Llewelyn sant.* M 230. Similarly N 60, P 17.
 39. Pedroc ap Klemens *ap Llyr merini.* L 263. Similarly M 232, N 62, P 20.
 42. Boda a Gwynin *a Chelynin a Rychwin ac Aelgyfarch a ssim Brenda* a Brothen meibion Helic. . . (part in italics added later). J 52.
- Brothen sant *yn Arddwy*, a Boda, a Gwynnin *yn y Ddwygyfylchi*, a Chelynin *y Meirionnydd*, a Rychwin *yn Nantkonwy*, ac Aelgyvarch *yn y Gyffin*, a saint Brenda *yn Ewerddon* meibion Helic (p. 20) ap Glynnawc o oresgynodd mor eu tir, *ac Ananan lleian oedd i chwaer vddun.* K 19-20. Similarly M 235, N 65, P 24. Similarly L 266 but it ends : *ac Anan ap y lleian nai uabchwaer.*

47. *Elien . . . o Gyna ferch Tewdwr mawr ap Emyr Llydaw i fam.* TW. 1, folio 11a.

Elien . . . o Gyna v'ch Tewdwr mawr ap Madoc ap Ymyr Llydaw i vam. Pen. 181, p. 276, similarly TW. 2, folio 16b.

49. *Mechell ap Mochwys ap y Gwynn gohoyw ap Gloyw gwlad lydan ap Llarf ap Kassnar wledic ap Lludd ap Beli mawr ap Mynogan.* J 66 (but on p. 54 this item ends with *Gwyn gohoyw*).

51. *Dyfnoc ap Medrod . . . a Gwenhvauc v'ch Ogror gawr oedd i mam.* J 55. Similarly K 16, L 263, M 236, N 65, P 24. (The part in italics is also added later to the item in J 53).

54. . . . *Llawfrodedd farchog coch.* TW. 2, folio 16b. . . . *Llawfrodedd varfog coch.* Z(C), folio 130b.

55. *Nidan . . . ac Ethni v'ch Alfryd ap Grono ap Gwdio(n) ap Don i vam.* L 265. Similarly M 231 but it ends: *ap Don ap Dygyn ferthyr.* Similarly N 61. *Dogyn ferthyr*, P 18.

59. *Gwynnawg . . . ap Caw arglwydd Cwm Cawlwyd a Dolgar eu chwaer.* TW. 2, folio 16b.

63. *Peblic ac Owain vinddu* meibion Maxen wledic ac Elen . . . L 266.

64. *Elwad ssant ap Kowlwyd esgob Kaergybi a Gwenvrewy v'ch Tyvid ap Evnydd oedd i vam.* J 55. Similarly K 20, M 236, N 65, P 24.

Elwad fab Cowlwyd a fu escob yNghaer Gybi pan fu oedran Crist 773. TW. 1, folio 11a.

67. *Sanffraid leian ferch Dwppws ap Cefych o rieni Scotieid.* TW. 1, folio 9b.

68. *Kanhaval ap Aergad gwayw-drusiad ynys Brydain ai thrydydd tarw unbenn.* K 20. Similarly N 65, P 24.

72. *Egryn . . . ac Eneiliau v'ch Gadvan ap Jago i vam.* (The part in italics is added above in the same ? hand, K 18). *Efeiliau*, L 263; *Euelian*, M 234, N 63, P 22.

DEPARTURES OF INTEREST IN ITEMS 1-76

6a. *Kowair* for *Kyngar*, J 50, 54; *Cowair*, M 235; *Cyweir*, N 64, P 23.

24a. *Rystud ap Md' ap Emyr Llydaw.* J 54. *Madoc* K 19. Similarly M 234, N 64, P 23. *Kristolus ap Owen ap Emyr Llydaw*, J 54. *Kristiolus, Owain*, K 19. Similarly M 234, N 64.

26. *goronog* for *gorneu*. TW. 1, folio 11a.

29. *Tanwc* for *Tangwn*. L 264.

36. . . . *meibion i Grannvael* ap Kyndrwyn. Pen. 181, p. 279. *i Garanfael*. TW. 1, folio 13a.

42. *Bodfan, Ernin* for *Bodo, Gwynnin*. TW. 1, folio 10a.

73. *Digain yn Llangernyw ap Cwstennin gorneu.* *Ysgin ap Erbin ap Cwstennin ei frawd.* TW. 2, folio 17b.

ACHAU'R SAINT

The later tract, known as "Achau'r Saint", is of less authority and even the earliest version is somewhat corrupt. Most of the contents have probably been drawn from some text of "Bonedd y Saint", but it contains a small amount of additional material. It should be noted that the titles of late texts are no guide as to whether they belong to the "Bonedd" or the "Achau" group, and in some of the later manuscripts listed above as "Bonedd" a certain amount of material from "Achau" has been incorporated, so that the distinction between the two tracts was gradually becoming obscured.

The following is a list of the manuscripts of "Achau'r Saint" known to me :

A. *Cardiff MS. 5*. This part written by Elis Gruffydd in 1572 Pp. 117-20, "Iache r Saint". Ed. A. W. Wade-Evans in *Études Celtiques*, I (1936), pp. 281-3.

B. *Peniarth MS. 183*. This part by William Dyfi, 1586. Pp. 255-9, "Achoedd y Saint". Ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, *Études Celtiques*, I (1936), pp. 284-6.

C. *Cardiff MS. 36*. This section copied 1716. Pp. 39-42, "Achoedd y Saint", "ex libro D. Jacobi Davis . . . 1716" (i.e. Jaco ap Dewi). Similar to Pen. 183 with some further corruptions.

D. *Llanstephan MS. 81* by Moses Williams (early eighteenth century). Pp. 1-3, "Achoedd y Saint". Similar to Card. 36. pp. 39-42.

E. *Llanstephan MS. 145* (early eighteenth century). P. 165, "Achoedd y Saint". A copy of Llan. 81, pp. 1-3.

None of the inedited versions contain any new material.

THE FAMILY OF BRYCHAN

Five early texts dealing with the family of Brychan have been printed as follows :

1. *Cotton MS. Vespasian A. xiv*. (This part c. 1200.) Folios 10b-11b, "De situ Brecheniauc". Ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, *VSB*, pp. 313-15.

2. *Cotton MS. Domitian I*. (First half of sixteenth century) by Sir John Price (1502?-55). Probably copied from a manuscript of the thirteenth century. (E. Phillimore in *YC*, VII, p. 106.) Folios 157b-160a, "Cognacio Brychan". Ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, *VSB*, pp. 315-18.

3. *Jesus College, Oxford, MS. XX* (fourteenth century). Folios 33a-34a, "Ach Kynawc Sant". Ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, *VSB*, pp. 318-19.

4. *Llanstephan MS. 28* by Gutun Owain (1455?). Pp. 75-6. Ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, *Arch. Camb.*, LXXXVI (1931), p. 174. See "Bonedd y Saint", E. Incomplete.

5. *Peniarth MS. 127* (c. 1510). Pp. 49–51. Ed. A. W. Wade-Evans, *RC, L* (1933), pp. 374–8. See "Bonedd y Saint", G.

There are many later lists of Brychan's sons and daughters in the genealogical manuscripts. Those occurring in the same manuscripts with "Bonedd y Saint" have been listed above, pp. 78–83 ff. Many of these manuscripts give bare lists of names. Those that give further information tend to be very corrupt, especially as regards the married daughters. Apart from corrupt passages the additional material is meagre and is given below.

A version superior to those in *Llanstephan MS. 28* and *Peniarth MS. 127* occurs in *Peniarth MS. 129*, pp. 8–10, dated a little after 1500. Unfortunately the left edges of pages 8 and 10 and the right edge of page 9 have been torn away, but the deficiencies, which are not great, can be made good by reference to *Peniarth MS. 75*, pp. 52–54, which is a close copy of the former. As far as daughters of Brychan are concerned the text is very similar to *Pen. 127*, but the list of sons is conservative and contains none of the new names appearing in *Pen. 127*. The only new name is *Avallach* (torn off in *Pen. 129*), which is almost certainly derived from *Anlach*. This was the name of Brychan's father, which in these texts is omitted from Brychan's pedigree (*Brychan Brycheiniawc ap Korvniawc. . .*). The other peculiarity is that *Rain* has become *Kain*. It seems probable that *Avallach* and *Kain* have provided the names *Llecheu* and *Cayan* of *Pen. 127* and other lists. *Mostyn MS. 113* (1572), pp. 133–6 contains a similar list.

The list given in *Llan. 187* and similar "composite" versions is very inflated owing to the corrupt form of some of the texts incorporated, many names being repeated in different forms. *Llan. 187*, or a very similar text, must have been the basis of the list given by Nicholas Roscarrock and quoted in *LBS, I*, pp. 313–14. It was compiled between 1610 and 1625. (*LBS, I*, 88.) The name *Japan* in Roscarrock's list appears as *Japay* in *Llan. 187*, and is a duplicate of *Papay. Idia* of *Llan. 187* and Roscarrock is for Dedyw son of Clydwyn, while Roscarrock's *Caradocus* comes from *Cradog* in *Llan. 187*, which goes back to Rydoch, who thus appears in disguised form, for the fourth time in these lists.

ADDITIONAL CHILDREN OF BRYCHAN IN LATER MANUSCRIPTS

Sons :

- Avallach*, J 50, K 53, *Pen. 74*, p. 140 ; *Avalach*, *Pen. 137*, p. 197.
- Vaľach* (=Vallach), *Mostyn 113*, p. 134.
- Aflač* (=Afillach), *Card. 25*, p. 41.
- Anllach*, M 217, N 48, P 2.
- Llofan*, J 50 ; *Lloyan*, K 21 ; *Lloian*, M 217, N 48, P 2.
- Llonio*, J 50, K 21 ; *Jo*, M 217 ; *Io* (Roscarrock).
- Heilin*, J 50 ; *Heilin . . . yn Nyffryn Aled*, K 21 ; *Helin*, M 217 ;
- Heilyn*, N 48, P 2 ; *Helim* (Roscarrock).

Daughters :

Gwennan, Mwynwen, Gwenrhiw (Llyfr William Salesbury), quoted in Mostyn 113, p. 136,⁵ M 219, N 51, P 5. *Gwennan, Mwynen, Gwenlliw*. TW. 2, folio 18b. Not in Y or Z. (*Gwenrriw* appears in *Achau'r Saint A*, item 50.)

Kymorth v'ch Brychan yn Emlyn ai chwaer Clydai gyda hi. Z(C), folio 132b.

ADDITIONS TO THE BRIEFS

Kein ap Brychan o dyna *Rieinwc*. Pen. 132, p. 118.

NOTES ON THE ADDITIONAL ITEMS

77. Peulan, Gwyngenu, and Gwenfaen all have, or had, dedications in Anglesey (*PW*, 89, 88, 91).

78. Cynfarwy in Anglesey (*PW*, 90).

79. Anghenell, better known as Enghenedl in Anglesey (*PW*, 90). Henry Rowlands regarded this saint as male and described him as grandson of Brochwel Ysgithrog (*Mon. Ant.*, p. 155). This was copied by William and Lewis Morris, whence *AB* in *MA*, II, pp. 41 = 424, whence it got into *Iolo MSS.*, p. 130.

80. Dwywau, better known as Dwywe, in Merioneth (*PW*, 97).

Derfel appears in "*Achau'r Saint*" (item 2) as son of Hywel Fychan ap Hywel.

81. Tyvabo would appear to be formed from *Ty + Babo (Pabo)*, but, allowing for the possible misreading of *u* for *n*, the alternative readings suggest that we may have here *Ty + Inabwy* or *Ty + Inabo* whence the Tinabo of Llandinabo in Herefordshire, seven miles south of Hereford. The person intended would then be Iunabui or Iunapeius of the Book of Llan Dâv. (*LBS*, III, p. 337, E. Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names*). However, the pedigree would make Tyvabo a nephew of S. Cadfan (item 19) and this seems too late for Inabwy, who was a disciple of S. Dubricius.

82. Silin. See also 97 below. Both Silins are connected by their pedigrees with Llydaw. A Garmon and a Silin are both commemorated on 1 October which suggests that Gargvnan may be a mistake for Garmon. Silin is commemorated on 1 October at Llansilin in Denbighshire (*LBS*, IV, pp. 203-6).

83. Garmoniawn would thus appear to be a brother of Padarn (item 21).

84. Tegwyn or Tecwyn appears in item 20 as one of the companions of S. Cadfan, but without pedigree. This pedigree makes him a nephew of Gwyddfarch (item 37).

85. Llawfrodedd *farfog* was the grandfather of S. Idloes (item 54). "*Farfog*" is often miscopied as "*farchog*", e.g. in E, F, (G), and H. The tradition that he married a daughter of Arthur is not, I think, recorded elsewhere. He was the owner of one of the three chief cows of Ynys Prydain (Triad in Pen. 16, no. 46, *MA*, no. i, 103), and is recorded as possessing a knife which was one of the thirteen treasures of Britain. He appears as a contemporary of Arthur in *Culhwch and Olwen* and *Rhonabwy's Dream*.

86. The pedigree of Cynan Genhir is taken from *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (Pen. 45, item 3, see *Arch. Camb.*, LXXXV (1930), p. 339), with Arthwys changed to Athrwys. But who was Kynlluc?

⁵ Apparently added later.

87. Eigrad (Eugrad), Ceidio, Ane(u), and Gwrddelw are all associated with Anglesey (*PW*, 94, 90, 94, 92). Afarwy, perhaps for Afrogwy; see Wade-Evans in *Études Celtiques*, I, p. 289. Anev and Gwrddelw appear as sons of Caw in Pen. MS. 182, p. 41 (c. 1514) and other lists. Anev may be the "Neb son of Caw" in the list in *Culhwch and Olwen* (*RB*, 107, *WB*, 462). Eugrad is the Egreas son of Caw of the Breton Life of Gildas. He appears in *Culhwch and Olwen* as Ergyryat son of Caw and in Pen. MS. 182, p. 41, as Eirgrawn. Ceidio of Rhodwydd Geidio was probably the son of Ynyr Gwent (item 44) but we find his name in late lists of the sons of Caw (e.g. Mostyn MS. 113, p. 133, *Dwnn*, II, p. 104, *Mon. Ant.*, pp. 154, 155, whence *AB* in *MA*, II, pp. 32, 34 = pp. 420-1; whence *Iolo MSS.*, p. 142). We also find Dyfnwy (Mostyn MS. 113, p. 133, *Dwnn*, II, p. 14), Dyvnan and Dyvawy *Dwnn*, II, p. 104) as sons of Caw; Dyfnwe in Pen. MS. 182, p. 41, while Card. MS. 25 gives Dyfinfe (p. 13) and Ffynwe (p. 46) probably for Dyfnwe. One suspects that Gr. Hiraethog intended to add "meibion Kaw" at the end of this item. (He left a considerable space here.) In about 1590 Llanddeusant was dedicated to Marcellus and Marcellinus (*PW*, 90, *RWM*, I, p. 912). Elgan looks like a mistake for Elyan (Elian) (item 47).

The earliest versions of "Bonedd y Saint" attach no surname to Caw. In G he is called *Kaw*, *arglwydd Kwm Cawlwyd* (item 59-item 62 as edited), and this is apparently the origin of the form *Caw Cowllog* used by Rowlands. The genealogical manuscripts call him *Kaw o Dwrcelyn* (e.g. Pen. MS. 182, p. 40), but the oldest designation is *Caw o Brydyn*, or *Caw o Brydain*; *Cau Pritdin* in the Life of S. Cadog (*VSB*, 84). In the tale of *Culhwch and Owen* he is called *Kadw* (*WB*, 482) or *Gado* (*RB*, 123) of Prydein and later *Caw of Prydein* (*RB*, 135, 142). This confusion of the names *Caw* and *Cado* (*Cadwy*, *Gadwy*) is curious. We find it also in manuscript D of "Bonedd y Saint" (*Kadw* for *Kaw* in items 59, 60). Similarly in *Dwnn*, II, p. 23, we find *Kadw o Brydain* for a different *Caw* in the pedigree of Bleddyn ap Maenarch. Presumably it was this confusion which led Rowlands to distinguish between "*Caw o Frydain*" and "*Caw Cowllog*", the latter of which he makes son of Geraint, thereby identifying him, by implication, with *Cado* (*Cadwy*, *Gadwy*) son of Geraint. Rowlands makes this *Caw Cowllog* the father of Ceidio, Ane and Aeddan (*Mon. Ant.*, pp. 154, 155), whence *AB* in *MA*, II, pp. 32, 34 = pp. 420-1. This was probably the immediate source of the *Iolo MSS.* where all the children of *Caw* become grandchildren of Geraint (pp. 101, 117, 137). According to the Alphabetic Bonedd in B.M. Add. MS. 14,928 *Ane ap Caw Cowllog* comes from Llyfr Bodeulwyn (no. 9 above), but in Z it occurs with no indication of source (folio 123b). Being on the left-hand page of Z the source could be Llyfr Bodeulwyn or Rowlands and I strongly suspect that Rowlands is the true source.

88. Iddew Corn Brydain. The person intended is presumably Iddawg Cordd Brydain of *Rhonabwy's Dream* (*RB*, 147-8) where he is said to be the son of Mynyio. After bringing to naught Arthur's proposals for peace with Medrod, before the battle of Camlan, Iddawg went to Prydein (i.e. Prydyn-Pictland) to do penance for seven years. Perhaps this last act entitled him to a place among the saints. The pedigree makes him brother of that Medrod who was father of S. Dyfnog (item 51). The author of this item may have thought that he was making Iddawg brother of Medrod, Arthur's adversary, but the latter could not have been grandson of Caradog freichfras. See also note on "Additions to the items", no. 51 below.

89. Presumably the saint of Llangathen, Carmarthenshire (*PW*, 52), sometimes called Llangathan. By a scribal blunder this item was wrongly attributed to "B" (i.e. Wrexham MS. 1) in the manuscripts numbered 28, 30, and 32, above, and in *AB* in *MA*.

90. This entry is given as occurring in S as well as the standard version for Tydecho (item 22). It is difficult to explain as a corruption, although in Pen. MS. 178, p. 19, we find *Tydecho ap Anvn ddu* . . . followed by *Gwnoc a Noethon meibion Gildas ap Kaw*. A confused echo of this version occurs in

N 54 and P 9. It is possible that Tydoch of Llandydoch in Cardiganshire is intended, although Tydcoch is generally supposed to be Dogfael (*PW*, 58).

91. Rhwydrys in Anglesey (*PW*, 90). Rowlands had similar information (*Mon. Ant.*, p. 157). In N 64 only the end of this item occurs, as follows: *ab Rhwysreingit. pryd osper a phrydelor*. Similarly P 24. Then follows an item giving the sons of "Helig ab Glynnawg". In the corresponding part of M (p. 235) there is nothing of this item, but "Prydosper" and "Prydelor" are given as the names of the first two children of "Helig ap Glynnawg". *Prydosper a phrydelor* seems to mean "the time of Vespers and the time of the bier (?of death)". The words have probably strayed into the text from some note originally made in the margin or at the foot of the page in an earlier manuscript.

92. Ailfyw first appears as *brother* of Dirdan and son of "Helig ap Glannog" in "Achau'r Saint" (item 35). He is the Irish S. Ailbe, bishop of Emly. Irish authorities give him an entirely different pedigree—see Whitley Stokes, *Félire of Oengus*, p. 207; J. F. Shearman, *Loca Patriciana*, p. 140. For Ynyr read Gynyr (mutation of Cynyr).

94. "Bonedd y Saint" F makes Cynllo brother of Teilo (item 5). However, if, as is probable, Cynllo is the *Hetinlau* of the Life of S. Padarn (*VSB*, p. 254, *WCO*, pp. 161, 197) neither of these pedigrees is likely. In the poem "Dyhuddiant Elffin", which occurs in *Hanes Taliesin*, Taliesin is represented as saying "The prayer of Cynllo will not be in vain". He is consoling Elffin on finding nothing but the child Taliesin in the weir of Gwyddno, whereas a hundred pounds worth of fish was normally found there every eve of the first of May (*pob nos Galanmai*). Perhaps there was a legend that this property of the weir was due to the prayer of Cynllo.

95. Probably derived from "Achau'r Saint", item 30.

96. See *PW*, 84.

97. Compare no 82. At Wrexham Silin is commemorated on 1 September, the day of S. Giles (*LBS*, IV, pp. 203-6). Silin is used in Welsh as equivalent to Giles (Aegidius), but one may question whether Silin is not also the name of a genuine Welsh saint.

98. See *LBS*, III, pp. 295-8.

99. Stephen, the first martyr. The pedigree has no Biblical authority. In Pen. MS. 181 this item is substituted for item 38 (Ystyffan ap Mawan). "Achau'r Saint" introduced a precedent by including a few "Red Letter" saints.

NOTES ON ADDITIONS TO THE ITEMS

1. In one of the pedigrees attached to the *Brut* in Mostyn MS. 117 (c. 1290) the mother of *Non*, i.e. the wife of Cynyr, is given as Anna verch Vthyr Pendragon (*RWM*, I, p. 63) agreeing with the version of Pen. MS. 132. This pedigree, impossible in either version, was apparently designed to make Dewi a close relation to Arthur, though it does not succeed in making him uncle of Arthur as stated by Geoffrey of Monmouth (*HRB*, IX, 15). Actually Dewi was second cousin to Arthur, as stated by Gutun Owain in the *Brut* in the Book of Basingwerk, folio 167 (ed. J. J. Parry, *Brut y Brenhinedd*, p. 172), since Eigr, mother of Arthur, was the daughter of Gwen ferch Cunedda Wledig. (*Brut*, Jesus College MS. XX, ped. VII in *YC*, VIII, p. 85.)

18. Though Gwytherin was probably the name of a saint, the pedigree here given is due to a misreading of item 18. See *LBS*, III, pp. 248-9 and *PW*, 44, n. 1, p. 73. Lewis Morris made the same mistake in reading DD. See his copy in B.M. Add. MS. 14,924, folio 15b (no. 29 above). The absence of punctuation in many of the manuscripts makes an error of this kind particularly liable to occur.

21. *Guean* is the name of Padarn's mother in the Life of S. Padarn (*VSB*, p. 252). Pen. MS. 74, p. 138 gives the same pedigree of Padarn's mother, but not her name.

26. See Notes on the Departures, no. 73, below.

34. This version would put the birth of S. Llywelyn in about 850 and that of Tegonwy in about A.D. 760. It is discounted in *LBS*, III, p. 388, on the grounds that Llywelyn o'r Trallwng "is believed to have lived in the sixth century". Such a belief is based on the fact that Iorwerth Hirflawdd ap Tegonwy is said to have married Arianwen, daughter of Brychan (*De situ Brecheniauc*, "Ach Kynawc Sant", "Bonedd y Saint" G). But the marriages of Brychan's daughters show that they could not all have been daughters of the same Brychan and we cannot, therefore, base any date for Iorwerth Hirflawdd on this marriage. On the other hand the pedigrees of Mostyn MS. 117 (c. 1290) (*RWM*, I, p. 63) make Bleddyn ap Cynfyn eleventh in descent from Tegonwy, and Elystan (Glodrydd) ninth in descent (the latter through Iorwerth Hirflawdd). Putting Bleddyn's birth in about A.D. 1030 and Elystan's about 970 and accepting the above date (760) for Tegonwy we get an average of twenty-five years to a generation in the line of Bleddyn and twenty-three years in the line of Elystan. It is possible, however, from the evidence of other versions of the pedigrees, that both lines as given in Mostyn MS. 117 are too long by one or two generations, in which case the average length of a generation would come out nearer to the normal of thirty years. The possibility of the essential accuracy of this version cannot, therefore, be ruled out.

42. Compare the additions in F. For Brenda see "Achau'r Saint", item 35. *a ssim* in J is presumably a miscopying of *a sain*. The change of *Ananan lleian* to *Anan ap y lleian* is curious. Gruffudd Hiraethog showed some interest in "An ap y lleian", see Pen. MS. 176, p. 39, quoted in *RWM*. "Anap y lleian" was a nickname given to Myrddin Emrys (i.e. the Merlin of Geoffrey's *Historia*) and is explained by Lewis Morris as meaning "the mischance of the nun" (*Celtic Remains*, s. v. Myrddin Emrys). See also *Brut y Brenhinedd* from Cotton MS. Cleopatra B, v, folio 61v (ed. J. J. Parry) and the *Englynion y Beddau* in *MA*, I, p. 78 = p. 65, stanza 14.

47. If Yspwys, the great-great-grandfather of S. Elian, and the great-grandfather of S. Tegfan, was really the son of Cadrod Calchfynydd as stated in "Bonedd y Saint", then the birth of Yspwys would be about A.D. 580 and Tegfan and Elian would be born about 680 and 710 respectively. This is probably the basis of Phillimore's suggestion that Tewdwr mawr was Tewdwr ap Beli of Strathclyde, who died in 750 according to the *Annales Cambriae* (*Owen's Pembrokeshire*, II, p. 427). Tegfan and Elian would then be eighth-century saints. But Tegfan is traditionally associated with S. Dogfael (Tydoch) and Elian with S. Cybi and Cadwallon Lawhir. (Rice Rees, *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 267, *LBS*, s. vv. Elian, Tegfan.) Now a gloss in a thirteenth-century manuscript of the Welsh Laws makes Yspwys (there called Ysbwch) the great-grandfather of Maeldaf Hynaf, a contemporary of Maelgwn Gwynedd (Aneurin Owen, *Ancient Laws*, II, p. 49 = p. 412).⁶ Thus it is possible that "Bonedd y Saint" is wrong in making Yspwys the son of Cadrod Calchfynydd, and that Tegfan and Elian were born c. 470 and 490 respectively. In this case Tewdwr mawr is not identified, but he could be a son of Emyr Llydaw.

49. This quotation comes from a part of Pen. MS. 128 which is not a portion of "Bonedd y Saint". Mechell or Mechyll is also called in Welsh *Machudd* and is the saint better known as Malo. All versions of his Life call his father *Wentus* but both Rice Rees (op. cit., 233, 256) and *LBS* (II, pp. 418, 430) say that the father of Malo was named Caradog. I can find no authority for this statement, and should be interested to know if there is one.

⁶ The identity of this manuscript is not stated. A copy of the whole gloss is in B.M. Add. MS. 14,949, folios 7b-8a. See also the *Cambrian Register* I (1796), 153 note.

For the addition to the pedigree see "Pwyll" (*RB*, 25, *WB*, 38) where Kicfa, wife of Pryderi, is said to be daughter of Gwyn Gohoyw. Later, in "Manawydan" (*RB*, 44-5, 52, *WB*, 62, 71) he is called Gwyn Gloyw or Gloew. See also "Bonedd y Saint" *G*, item 34 (item 40 as edited).

51. This addition points to an opinion, at least as old as the sixteenth century, that Gwenhwyach, sister of Gwenhwyfar, was the wife of Medrod, Arthur's adversary at the battle of Camlan. But here again, as in item 88, the wrong Medrod has been chosen. We know from *Culhwch and Olwen* that Gwenhwyach was the sister of Gwenhwyfar (*RB*, 112, *WB*, 469) and from the triads (*RB*, no. 13, *MA*, nos. i, 47, 87) that contention between Gwenhwyfar and Gwenhwyfach was supposed to be one of the causes of the battle of Camlan. It was, therefore, a natural supposition, if not traditional, that Gwenhwy(f)ach was the wife of Medrod. Lewis Morris knew of it (*Celtic Remains*, s. v. Gwenhwyfach). But later Lewis Morris made the curious mistake, as I believe, of stating that Cwyllog, daughter of Caw, was the wife of Medrod. (*AB* in *MA*, II, p. 36 = p. 422 and *B.M. Add. MS.* 14,928, folio 17a.) I do not think he had any authority for this statement, but he was copied by Angharad Llwyd, *History of the Island of Mona* (1833), p. 284, and by the authors of *LBS* (II, p. 279).

54. The addition of *coch* is almost certainly due to the partial erasure of *varchoc* and substitution of *varvoc* (or vice versa) in some earlier text. This occurred, for example, in *G*, and both *TW*. 2 and *Z(C)* probably derive from *G*.

55. This interesting addition, which can hardly be due to the running together of two items, makes Nidan nephew of Padrig of item 28, the saint of Llanbadrig in Anglesey.

59. Nothing seems to be known about Dolgar.

64. It is clear that two items have been run together here, from which it can be concluded that a text existed in which Elwad (Elfodd) and Gwenfrewy occurred in consecutive items. No "Gwenfrewy" item occurs in any version of "Bonedd y Saint" that I have seen. There is one in "Achau'r Saint" (item 27) but it does not give the name Eunydd (*recte* Eiludd) of Gwenfrewy's paternal grandfather (*VS*B, p. 288).

68. Cynhafal ap Argat was one of the three *tarw unben* (Triad in *Pen. MS.* 12 and *RB*, no. 27). The name occurs in the *Gododdin* (Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin* ll. 507, 518, 527).

72. In the triads one of the three "loyal wives of Ynys Prydain" was Eueilian, Eneilian, or Efilieu, wife of *Gwydyr drwm* (*Pen. MS.* 12 and *RB*, no. 47, *MA*, no. i, 55).

NOTES ON THE DEPARTURES

6a. Cywair or Cowair was the saint of Llangywair near Bala, generally assumed to be female. (*LBS*, II, p. 278.)

26. Henry Rowlands evidently had a manuscript which gave the father of Erbin as Custennin *Goronawg*. But he mistakenly treated this Constantine as the son of Cador, and the successor of Arthur according to Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Mon. Ant.*, pp. 166, 168). As a result we find Custennin ap Cadwr called Cystennyn *Goronog* by William Owen Pughe (*Cambrian Biography*, 1803) and a number of later writers followed him or Rowlands.

36. *i Grannvael, i Garanfael*. Phillimore thought that Caranfael was probably the correct form of the name which, by corruption, became Hygarfael (*Owen's Pembrokeshire*, II, p. 475). The manuscripts give Hygaruael (*A*, *B*, *Pen. MS.* 132, p. 120); Hyrgaruael (*D*); Hygaruayl (*F*); Hygarfael (*Wrexham MS.* 1, p. 436); hy garnael (*Mostyn MS.* 114); Hvgar Voel (*Pen. MS.* 253, p. 144); Hygar Voel (*Ach A*, *B*, similarly all other versions of "Achau'r Saint"); Eharnuael (*C*); Keruael (*DD*, *E*, *H*); Kyrval (*Card. MS.* 25, p. 34); Kyrvael? or Kynvael? (*Llyfr W. Salesbury*); Kenael

(Pen. MS. 137, p. 202); Kemael (Pen. 183, p. 263, Llan. MS. 81, p. 6); Cemael (Card. MS. 36, p. 44); Morvael (G, J 52, K 14, Pen. MS. 74, p. 139); Morfael (TW. 2, folio 16a, M 230, P 17); Morfael als Moryal⁷ (N 60); Hagrv . . . l ap Gwrgon ap Kyndrwyn (L 263). These readings, incidentally, help to classify the various versions, and supplement the few remarks made on pages 78 to 84 above. They provide no further evidence to confirm the "Caranfael" hypothesis. Genealogical manuscripts give lists of the children of Cyndrwyn but neither Caranfael⁸ nor Hygarfael ever seems to appear in them. On the other hand Morfael does. But it must be admitted that Cynddylan, the most famous of the sons of Cyndrwyn, is also missing from most of the lists. Caranfael appears in poetry as a son of Cynddylan, not Cyndrwyn. (See Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen*, XI, vv. 90-97 for Caranfael and XIII, l. 54 for Morfael.) In a cywydd of the early sixteenth century to Llŵchaearn, the name of his father is Cynfael (*LBS*, III, p. 382). This name does not occur in the lists.

73. This item, as given in TW. 2, makes nonsense as it stands, because if Ysgin is son of Erbin he is *nephew* of Digain, and if *brother* of Digain he is son of Custennin. We find the first alternative in the "Alphabetic Bonedd" (*MA*, II, p. 56 = p. 431) and the second in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 137. But Ysgin is in any case fictitious. The name is a corruption of Iestin.⁹ Owing to the running together of items 26 and 27 (as e.g. in L 265) the corrupt form Ysgin came to be attached to Custennin Gorneu in item 26. Then the words after Ysgin were dropped (e.g. in E, J 52, K 13—see Additions to the items no. 26, above). Then the corruption spread to item 73 which occurs first, and correctly, in G thus:

Digain yn Llann Gernyw ap Custenin Goruev, ac Erbin ap Custenin i vrawd. The word Ysgin was inserted after Goruev, in imitation of item 26. Then *ac Erbin* was changed to *ap Erbin*, and we have the item as given in TW. 2.

BRYCHAN, NOTES

Llofan or Lloyan. Perhaps a corruption of Lluan, the name of one of Brychan's daughters.

Avallach, etc. Probably a corruption of Anlach, the name of Brychan's father. See above, p. 89.

Kymorth. Although this is a clear corruption, I have included it because it gained some currency. It is derived from "Mynydd Cyfor" in the brief concerning Cynheiddon, which becomes Myn(n)ydd Kymorth in E and G (*LBS*, II, p. 257). It was apparently the compiler of the *Iolo MSS.* who took this fictitious person from *MA* (or Lewis Morris's manuscript) and made her the wife of Brynach Wyddel and the father of Gerwyn (for Berwyn), Gwennan, Mwynen, and Gwenlliw who were originally listed as children of Brychan (*Iolo MSS.*, pp. 119, 121, 140, 141).

In a similar way the brief in *De situ Brecheniauc* reading *Hunid . . . sub petra Meltheu* has provided two daughters *Nevydd* and *Melltu* in Pen. MS. 178, p. 23.¹⁰ This is also found in Pen. MS. 253, p. 147 where the names are *Nefydd* and *Mellden*. *Melldu*, M 218; *Melltu*, N 49, P 3; *Meldrada* (Roscarrock). The entry is interesting because it shows that Gruffudd

⁷ See Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen*, XI, v. 77 and cf., the reading *Moriael* for *Morfael*, *ibid.*, XIII, l. 54.

⁸ Caranfael does appear in N.L.W. MS. 6150, p. 12. The only case I have seen in some twenty lists.

⁹ Conversely *Ysgwn* has become *Iestin* in "Bonedd y Saint" F, item 17 (18 as edited).

¹⁰ *Nevydd verch B. y sydd yn santes yn lle a elwir Llech Gelyddon yMrrydyn. Melltu verch Brych. a vu wraic j Dywallt pair llaw Eiddon a mam Gynvyn Kadwyl.*

Hiraethog had either seen the *De situ* manuscript or used a text nearer to *De situ* than any now extant. The quotation in the footnote shows, however, a typical example of the corruptions in Pen. MS. 178.

By the late sixteenth century it was being stated in genealogical manuscripts that the mother of Caradog Freichfras was a daughter of Brychan. Thus Mostyn MS. 212b (second half of sixteenth century), p. 33 says *Mam y Karadoc oedd [space] verch Brychan Brecheiniog*. This was doubtless invented because certain Brecknock families traced their descent to Caradog Freichfras. But it seems to have been Hugh Thomas (d. 1720) who first named this daughter—as Gwenllian. In Harl. MS. 2289, p. 3, after enumerating the married daughters of Brychan, he writes: "to whome I may add the 10th St. Gwenllian, wife to Lhyr Molwynen [Merini] . . . and mother of Cradoc Vraych Vras". Further down he mentions Gwen of Talgarth among the unmarried daughters, but on page 93 of the same manuscript he identifies the two, making Gwen of Talgarth the mother of Caradog Freichfras. Gwenllian appears as a daughter of Brychan in Pen. MS. 178 and Pen. MS. 253 but there the name is for Lluan.

Kein . . . o dyna Rieinwc. Kein for Rein (see above, p. 89). This entry shows the belief that Rhieinwg was named after Rhain ap Brychan. See *Cym. Trans.*, 1948, p. 296 and cp. Pen. MS. 132, p. 130: *Saith gantref Rein dremrydd ap Brychan Brycheinioc, sef yw hynny tri chantref Brycheinoc a thri chantref Rung Gwy a Hauren a chantref Byellt*.

MISCELLANEOUS MEMORANDA

Fragmentary parts of "Bonedd y Saint" as well as miscellaneous memoranda concerning the saints occur here and there in fifteenth to seventeenth century Welsh manuscripts. For example, there is a selection of items in Pen. MS. 50, dated 1415–1456, p. 86, a copy of which occurs in Card. MS. 25, pp. 108–110. There are twelve items of which the following three are of interest (quoted from Pen. MS. 50):

- (4) *Kybi. m. Selyf. m. Gereint. m. Erbyn. m. Custenin C. . nen.*
- (5) *Yestyn. m. Gereint. m. Erbyn.*
a Gwenn uch. Gynyr o Gaergaŕch yMyny6 y vam.
- (7) *Beuno. m. Hengi. m. Gwynlly6. m. Glywys. m. Tegyd. m. Cadell*
deyrnll6ydd. a Pherferen. . . .

Notes.—(5) is the first appearance of Gwen, daughter of Cynyr of Caer Gawch, who in G and later versions is made the mother of Cybi, not Iestin. The version of G seems more probable, making Cybi a first cousin of Dewi, and the variation given here may be a mistake due to accidental transference from item (4) to (5). In (7) we have the first occurrence of the identification of Cadell, father of Tegid with Cadell ddyrnllug. It next occurs in G.

The following item, apparently by Gutun Owain, does not seem to have been reported before and may be of some interest:

Jewryd sant ap Kynyr o Gaer Gawch yMynyw. Pen. MS. 131, p. 74. The saint is presumably Ewryd who gave his name to Bodewryd in Anglesey (*PW*, 94, *LBS*, II, p. 477), but the memorandum suggests that he was also known in Mynyw. Perhaps Capel y Gwrhyd, an extinct chapel under St. David's, preserves a reminiscence of his name (*PW*, 28).

The following triad is quoted by Lewis Morris "from a manuscript in the handwriting of Dr. Thos. Williams now at Gwedir (A.D. 1760) . . ." in B.M. Add. MS. 14,924, folio 20a:

Llyma henwau y tair rhiaïn verched aeth yn llyn tawdd o gywilydd. Gwen verch Efracw jarll, a †Chain verch Vaelgwn Gwynedd, a Genau verch Tewdwr mawr.

† *Eurgain.*

Notes.—The expression *aeth yn llyn tawdd* is reminiscent of the story of the king Caradog in *Buchedd Beuno* who was rebuked by Beuno *ac yn yr awr honno y todes y brenhin yn llynn tawd* (*VSb*, p. 18), "and in that hour the king melted into a dissolved lake"—see Wade-Evans, *Arch. Camb.*, LXXXV (1930), p. 318). Lewis Morris may well be right in correcting Cain to Eurgain ("Bonedd y Saint", item 57). Eurgain was the wife of Elidyr Mwynfawr (Triad in Pen. MS. 16, no. 44, *MA*, no. i, 93). Genau verch Tewdwr mawr is evidently the mother of Elian Geimiad ("Bonedd y Saint", item 47). Her real name was probably Tegno, but it sometimes occurs as Cenaf (D, G, H). Gwen verch Efracw would be the sister of Peredur ap Efracw. In the Grail romances Perceval (who is called Peredur ap Efracw in the Welsh versions) is given a sister but she is not called Gwen and there is nothing in her story corresponding to the subject of the triad.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AB* "Alphabetic Bonedd" (see p. 13, no. 32).
BM British Museum.
Card. Cardiff MS.
Cym. Trans. .. *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, London.
Dwnn *Heraldic Visitations of Wales and part of the Marches between 1586 and 1613* by Lewis Dwnn, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick, 2 vols., Llandovery, 1846.
Iolo MSS. .. Ed., Taliesin Williams (ab Iolo), Llandovery, 1848.
LBS *The Lives of the British Saints* by S. Baring Gould and John Fisher, 4 vols., London, 1907–1913.
Llan Llanstephan MS.
MA *The Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales*, ed. Owen Jones (Myvyr), Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg), and William Owen Pughe, 1st ed. 3 vols., London, 1801–1807; 2nd ed. 1 vol., Denbigh, 1870.
Mon. Ant. .. *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* by Henry Rowlands, Dublin, 1723, 2nd. ed. London, 1766. Page references are to the second edition.
NLW National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
Owen's Pembrokeshire *The Description of Pembrokeshire (1603)*, by George Owen, ed. Henry Owen, London, 1892–1906. References are to the notes by Egerton Phillimore. The paging is as for two volumes.
Pen. Peniarth MS.
PW *Parochiale Wallicanum* by A. W. Wade-Evans, *YC*, XXII (1910) pp. 22–124.
RB *The Text of the Mabinogion and other Welsh tales from the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. John Rhys and John Gwenogvryn Evans, Oxford, 1887. Numbers refer to pages in this edition.
RC *Revue Celtique*, Paris.
RWM *Report on manuscripts in the Welsh language* by John Gwenogvryn Evans, London, 1898–1910. The paging is as for two volumes.

- Triads* .. Triads are referred to from the following printed sources :
 Peniarth MS. 16 (early thirteenth century), ed. Rachel Bromwich, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XII, pp. 1-15 (Nov. 1946) ; Peniarth MS. 12 (pages from the White Book of Rhydderch), ed. E. Phillimore, *YC*, vii (1886), pp. 123-4, 126-132 ; Red Book of Hergest, triads ed., pp. 297-309 of *RB* ; the first series (i) in *MA*, II, pp. 1-19 = pp. 388-394.
- VSB* *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* by A. W. Wade-Evans, Cardiff, 1944.
- WB* *The White Book Mabinogion*, ed. John Gwenogvryn Evans, Pwllheli, 1907. Numbers refer to columns in this edition.
- WCO* *Welsh Christian Origins* by A. W. Wade-Evans, Oxford, 1934.
- YC* *Y Cymmrodor*. The magazine of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, London.