

THE  
*ANNALES CAMBRIÆ* AND OLD-WELSH  
 GENEALOGIES  
 FROM *HARLEIAN MS.* 3859.  
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OF the scanty existing remains of Old-Welsh, the only one of any extent still remaining unpublished in any form available to scholars or students<sup>1</sup> consists of the early Welsh Genealogies, embracing most of the royal and princely lines of the Cymric race, immediately appended to the oldest known Welsh annals, the *Annales Cambriæ*, in *Harleian MS.* No. 3859. These Genealogies are now for the first time com-

<sup>1</sup> The whole Genealogies, with the annexed *Catalogue of Cities*, were transcribed by (or for ?) the late Sir Samuel R. Meyrick, and printed by him, with a partial translation, in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* for 1832 (vol. iv, pp. 16—24). Of this performance we can only say (from our own collation of it) that the number of the proper names occurring in the text is *at least* exceeded by the number of mistakes in its "reproduction". So incompetent was the transcriber, that he read the concluding word of the MS. of "Nennius", of which the Genealogies form part, which is simply *Amen*, as "*αλλεχι*", or something very like it"! The first two Genealogies (those of Owain ab Hywel Dda) are tolerably reproduced in the Preface to Aneurin Owen's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (1841), and (taken thence) in that of the printed *Annales Cambriæ*; and so many of the Genealogies as relate to the princely lines of Cumbria have also been printed (with but few mistakes) by Skene in his *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots*, etc. (1867), pp. 15, 16, where they follow extracts from the *Saxon Genealogies* and *Annales Cambriæ*, also taken from *Harl.* 3859.

pletely and exactly reproduced from the unique<sup>1</sup> copy of them contained in that MS.

It has also been thought desirable to take the opportunity of simultaneously reproducing here the *Annales Cambriæ*, especially as in the printed editions of them (1) in *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (1848), p. 830, and (2) (taken thence) in the separate work to which they furnish the title, printed for the Master of the Rolls in 1860, they have been so amalgamated with two much later Chronicles (only to a limited extent copied from the earlier record) that the real nature and value of the older document are much obscured by the process. Amongst other reasons for printing the *Annales* and the Genealogies *together* are, that the former as well as the latter document is only found in this one MS.; that they were both compiled (as we shall see) at the same period, and very probably by the same person; and that, being both largely concerned with the same historical personages and events, they extensively illustrate one another. It may be added that the printed work, though in substance very accurate, makes no pretence to give in any way an *exact* transcription of our MS., and that we are here concerned with a MS. in which minute exactness of reproduction is of unusual importance. Not only is it expedient, both from the palæographical and from the historical point of view, to show the *precise* shape in which the ancient Cymry kept their national records, but, from the philological point of view, a mere consideration of the mistakes of the MS. will suffice to guide anyone to the important conclusion that its transcriber (if not also the transcriber of *his*

<sup>1</sup> Some of the identical genealogies occur in a modernised form, and with important variations, in the collection of the fourteenth century contained in No. 20 of the MSS. at Jesus College, Oxford, recently printed by us in *Y Cymnirodor*, vol. viii, pp. 83—92. But that collection is also largely drawn from other, and to a great extent later, sources.

immediate original) was ignorant of Welsh, and thus a blind copyist and unconscious preserver of verbal forms materially older than his own day. On the subject of this last remark, applicable to the Genealogies still more than to the *Annales*, and in some degree to the whole MS. of which they both form part, more will be found in the sequel.

The *Annales* form in the MS. a part of the extensive appendages to one of the oldest copies of "Nennius'" *Historia Britonum*, and the reason of their occurrence in their present position is to be found in the desire of some copyist of the *Historia* to furnish a continuation to the *Calculi*, or brief chronological data, which are themselves added by way of appendix to the short historical document known as the *Genealogies of the Saxon Kings*.<sup>1</sup> The last tract, consisting partly of the genealogies of the various royal lines of Anglo-Saxon England, partly of memoranda relating to early Northumbrian and early Cymric history, itself of earlier composition than the *Historia*, was embodied with it (approximately at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century) by intercalation between the concluding tract of the *Historia* proper, the notice *De Arthuro et ejus praeliis*,<sup>2</sup> and the *Catalogue of (British) Cities*,<sup>3</sup> of which the latter had immediately followed the former in the previous edition of the principal

<sup>1</sup> In the sequel we shall designate these, for brevity's sake, the *Saxon Genealogies*. They were put together at various times between the end of the seventh and middle of the eighth centuries, as is apparent from an examination of the events and persons recorded and mentioned therein.

<sup>2</sup> No edition of the *Historia* is known which does not contain this tract; nor are there now any means of ascertaining whether it really formed a part of the original *Historia* (as issued in 828), or is a very early subsequent addition.

<sup>3</sup> The *Catalogue of Cities* varies much in different MSS. of "Nennius". Only a very few of the versions have yet been published. Stevenson merely gives the one in our MS. (*Harl.* 3859). The variations are chiefly in order and orthography.

work.<sup>1</sup> And, just as the *Saxon Genealogies* were obviously appended in the first instance in order to form a sort of historical continuation to the note on the early history of Bernicia which concludes the tract *De Arthuro*, and the *Annales* were similarly appended to furnish a still more marked continuation of the *Calculi*, so the Welsh Genealogies now published must have been largely intended, not only as a "patriotic" counterpart to the previous "Saxon" ones, but also to illustrate the two immediately preceding historical documents by displaying the ancestry and relationships of most of the personages mentioned in both of them.

Both *Annales* and Genealogies, in their present form, show marks of having been composed in the last half of the tenth century. The years of the *Annales* are written down to 977, though the last event recorded is the death of Rhodri ab Hywel Dda in 954; while the omission of the battle of Llanrwst, which was fought in the very next year (955) between the sons of Idwal and those of Hywel Dda (especially on the part of an annalist who, if also the composer of the Genealogies, would seem to have been a partisan of Hywel's family in their contest for the supremacy of Wales), certainly points to the *Annales* having been finished as they are now in the year 954 or 955, and never subsequently retouched. The Genealogies commence with that

<sup>1</sup> Now represented by such MSS. as *Cott. Caligula A. viii*, or *Nero D. viii*. It must be borne in mind that the later and amplified editions of the *Historia* did not always completely supersede the earlier and simpler ones; but that in some cases the latter continued to be copied for centuries after the former had been in existence. Thus our MS. (*Harl.* 3859) is older, as a MS., than the two MSS. above mentioned, but the edition it represents is considerably more modern than theirs. We may add that in some cases they preserve, not only the correcter readings, but the more archaic Welsh forms. Mr. Stevenson's statement (in the preface to his *Nennius*, p. xxiii), that *Calig. A. viii* contains the *Saxon Genealogies*, is quite incorrect.

(given both on the father's and on the mother's side) of Owen ab Hywel Dda, who died in 988, and they must therefore have been compiled during his reign, and before that year. The frequent allusions to St. David's and its Bishops, and the almost complete absence of similar allusions to Llandaff, in the *Annales*, show these to have been composed in the former, not in the latter, see; and we are led to place the composition of the Genealogies in the same district from a consideration of the extreme meagreness and incompleteness with which they give the pedigree of the royal lines of Gwent and Morganwg, districts politically and ecclesiastically as much identified with the see of Llandaff as were Dyfed and Cardigan with that of St. David's.<sup>1</sup>

The date of the MS.<sup>2</sup> is upwards of a century later than that of the composition of the *Annales* and Welsh Genealogies which it contains; the hand (or hands ?) in which they, in common with the rest of the MS. of "Nennius" of

<sup>1</sup> Other notable omissions are those of the pedigrees of (1) Merfyn frych in the male line; (2) of several important Cumbrian princes included in the *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* in *Hengwrt MS.* 536, printed by Mr. Skene in the Appendix to his *Four Ancient Books of Wales*; (3) of the line of Cornish princes represented by Geraint ab Erbin in about the sixth century, especially when an otherwise almost unknown line of Damnonian princes is set out in No. xxv; (4) of the line of princes of Brycheiniog who deduced their descent from Brychan. The omission of the princes of Buallt and Gwrtheyrnion is to be accounted for by the fact that their pedigree had been already given in the preceding *Historia Britonum*. For the sake of completeness, the passage of that work containing the genealogy in question, as given in the same MS. (*Harl.* 3859), together with a few other extracts, containing early genealogies parallel to those in our text, will be printed in the next number of *Y Cymmrodor*.

<sup>2</sup> We are of course only speaking of the MS. of "Nennius" and "Additions to Nennius" contained in *Harl.* 3859. That MS. *volume* contains copies of many other works, which resemble the "Nennius", etc., in nothing but in being of uniform size, and written in somewhat similar hands of about the same date.

which they form part, are written, being described by the Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum as an English hand of the early twelfth century. The whole MS., as it stands, bears marks of intermediate transcription by one or more copyists from an earlier MS. in the older "Hiberno-Saxon" character, used in Wales up to the end of the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> The frequent and serious mistakes, both of misspelling and wrong division, made in the transcription of the commonest or most typical Welsh names and words, also show that at least one of the intermediate transcribers cannot have been a Welshman.<sup>2</sup> Making allowance,

<sup>1</sup> This is shown by such mistakes as the following. In the *Historia*, *minmanton* for *inirmanton* (the reading of *Caligula A. viii*; other MSS. read *mirmantum* or *-tun*, or the like), fo. 178<sup>b</sup>, l. 7, = *Stevenson*, § 25. In the Welsh Genealogies: *Guipno* for *Guipno* (now *Gwyddno*), fo. 194<sup>a</sup>, col. 1 top: *Canantinail* for *Carantmail* (= *Carantmael*, three times in *Red Book of Hergest*, Skene, *Four Anct. Books of Wales*, vol. ii, p. 290), fo. 194<sup>b</sup>, col. 3 end. Probably the following instances of confusion between *o*, *b*, and *d* (all in the *Saxon Genealogies*) are also the results of copying a particular kind of "Irish" hand: (1) *Dinguayrdi* for *Dinguayroi*, fo. 188<sup>b</sup>, l. 4, = *S.*, § 61 end (correctly spelt *Dinguaroy* at fo. 189<sup>a</sup>, l. 3, = *S.*, § 63); (2) *Catgublaun* for *Catguolaun*, fo. 189<sup>a</sup>, par. 2 (= *S.*, § 64) out of which mistake Mr. Skene has evolved a mythic king distinct from Cadwallon ab Cadfan; the latter is called (with the Latin genitive termination) *Catguol. launi* (*sic*) at fo. 188<sup>a</sup>, par. 3 (= *S.*, § 61); *Cat guol laun* (*sic*), fo. 190<sup>b</sup>, col. 4 end, *Catguollaun* and *catguollaun*, fo. 191<sup>a</sup>, col. 1 top, *Catgolaun*, fo. 191<sup>a</sup>, col. 3 top, and *Catgollaun* in fo. 193<sup>b</sup>, col. 1 top, whilst other persons of the same name are called *Catgolaun* in fo. 193<sup>b</sup>, col. 1, and [*C*]atguallaun in fo. 194<sup>b</sup>, col. 3 top; (3) *Eoguin* for *Edguin* (i.e., King Edwin of Northumbria), fo. 189<sup>a</sup>, ll. 5 and 6, = *S.*, § 63.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the mistakes enumerated in the last note, we may mention:—In the *Saxon Genealogies*: (1) *gweinth guant* for *guenith guant*, fo. 188<sup>b</sup>, ll. 9 and 10, = *S.*, § 62; (2) *Gwallanc* for *Gwallanc*, fo. 188<sup>b</sup>, par. 5, = *S.*, § 63; the name is rightly spelt in the Welsh Genealogies, fo. 194<sup>a</sup>, col. 1 (bottom); (3) *Flefaurf* for *Flefaur*, fo. 188<sup>b</sup> end, = *S.*, § 63; rightly spelt at fo. 187<sup>b</sup>, par. 2, = *S.*, § 57; (4) [*R*]um for [*R*]un, fo. 189<sup>a</sup>, par. 2, = *S.*, § 63 end (*rū* in fo. 187<sup>b</sup>, par. 2, made by *S.*, § 57, into *Rum*; *Run* in the Welsh Genealogies, fo. 193<sup>b</sup>, col. 1, l. 9, and col. 3 *bis*, and fo. 194<sup>a</sup>, col. 3.). In the Welsh Genealogies: (5) *gurhaiernu* for *gurhaiernn*

however, for the nationality of the scribe (or scribes?), it must be admitted that his general standard of literal accuracy in the transcription of so many (to him) foreign names as the MS. contains is fairly high; and thus it is probable that the serious *lacunæ* in the sense of the short notes in Latin with which some of the Genealogies conclude (resulting in two more or less untranslatable passages), are due to transcription from defective or only partly legible originals. As has been already indicated, the non-Welsh nationality of the scribe is further shown by his preservation throughout the

(now *Gurhaiarn*), fo. 194<sup>b</sup>, col. 3; (6) *Merchianū*, for *Merchiaun* (now *Meirchion*), fo. 194<sup>a</sup>, col. 1 end. The bisection and even trisection of Welsh names is noticeable everywhere; perhaps the most extraordinary instance is at fo. 193<sup>a</sup>, col. 2 of the MS. (in the *Annales*), where the events of the year 939 are made to end with the fifth letter of the name *Clitauc* (now *Clydog*), and the next year contains the entry "uc et mouric. moritur"! In the *Mirabilia* the scribe has copied an original *Cinlipiuc* (a district-name derived from one *Cinlip*, and in other MSS. spelt *Cinloipiauc*, from the other bye-form of the same personal name, which occurs as *Cynloyp* at fo. 194<sup>a</sup>, col. 1 of our MS.) as *Cinlipluc* (fo. 196<sup>a</sup>, par. 3; = *S.*, § 70), an utterly impossible form. Apparently the miscopied *i* was peculiarly formed, for the peccant *l*, though an unmistakable *l* in form, is only of the height of an *i*.

The very bad mistakes of Stevenson's edition, *Lenin* for *Lemn* of the MS., fo. 195<sup>b</sup>, par. 1, = *S.*, § 67 (the river meant is the Leven of Lennox, anciently Levenachs), and *Cataguen* for *tat aguen* of the MS. (fo. 188<sup>b</sup>, l. 8, = *S.*, § 62), the modern *tad awen*, are entirely due to the Editor, and in no way to the MS., the readings of which are perfectly clear in both instances. It is fair to say that Mr. Stevenson was generally accurate in his reproduction of this MS. (which he took for his text), though his collations of other MSS. (so far at least as relates to the forms of the proper names) cannot be implicitly relied on. In the *Saxon Genealogies*, for instance (§ 65), *manu* is given in the text as the reading of *Harl.* 3859, which reads *manau*, and the latter reading is attributed to *MS. a*, and to it alone! Now *MS. a* is the Vatican MS., which does not contain the *Saxon Genealogies* at all! The facts are that *manau* is the reading of *Harl.* 3859 alone, the other three MSS. in which the *Saxon Genealogies* are found (*Vespasian D.* xxi and *B.* xxv, and *Vitellius A.* xiii; Stevenson's *MSS. B., C.* and *F.* respectively) all reading *manu*.

whole Nennian MS. of the Old-Welsh orthography,<sup>1</sup> which we know from other sources to have subsisted in the latter half of the tenth century, when (as we have seen) the *Annales* and Genealogies were compiled, but to have become obsolete by the early part of the twelfth century, when they and the rest of the MS. were transcribed in their present shape.<sup>2</sup> We may just mention here that all the Old-Welsh forms in the MS. do not belong to the same stage of Old-Welsh. Thus we find the form *Cunedu* in the *Historia* (fo. 176<sup>a</sup>, par. 1; = *Stevenson*, § 14), and six times in the Welsh Genealogies, but the older form *Cunedag* in the *Saxon Genealogies* (fo. 188<sup>b</sup>, par. 4; = *S.*, § 62); on the other hand, the river Teifi is called by its older form *Tebi* at the end of the Welsh Genealogies (fo. 195<sup>a</sup>, col. 3, par. 2), but *Teibl* in the *Historia* (fo. 185<sup>a</sup>, l. 9; = *S.*, § 47); whilst in

<sup>1</sup> The only exceptions that we have been able to find to this rule are: (a) The name *Ceneu*, which (assuming it to stand for the modern name *Cenau* found in *Llangenau*, which it has always been considered to do) should certainly in Old-Welsh be *Cenou*, and *Ceneu* only in Middle-Welsh. *Ceneu* occurs thrice (twice with the *u* accented) on fo. 194<sup>a</sup> of the MS. *Cenew* (for which the Old-Welsh would be *Ceneu*) does not seem to be an authenticated Welsh name. (b) The name *Callei*, in fo. 194<sup>a</sup>, col. 3; but this may be the Old-Welsh form of a name *Cadlew*, just as well as the Middle-Welsh one of a name *Cadlau*. It should be borne in mind that Middle-Welsh peculiarities do occur, though very rarely, in the oldest Welsh Glosses, and that the Old-Welsh pronunciation had probably been given up for some time before the orthography representing it became obsolete.

<sup>2</sup> The *Liber Landavensis*, of which the original MS., completed in about 1133, and therefore nearly contemporary with the "Nennius", etc., of *Harl.* 3859, still exists, presents very numerous specimens of Welsh, in many of which the chief Middle-Welsh peculiarities are so constantly intruding as to show that the latter must then have been well established. The fact that the language of these specimens is to a very great extent Old-Welsh must be attributed to the circumstance that they chiefly consist of the boundaries and attestations contained in copies of old grants of land to the Bishops of Llandaff; and of such documents it was naturally considered highly important to put on record, as far as possible, the exact original forms.



the *Annales*, the district of Brycheiniog is called by its older form *Broceniauc* under the year 848 (fo. 192<sup>b</sup>, col. 1, top), but *Bricheniauc* under the year 895 (fo. 192<sup>b</sup>, col. 3, middle).

The historical value of the *Annales* is so well known and so universally recognised, that we have considered it superfluous to dilate upon it here. Our own investigations into such of the Welsh Genealogies as admit of being checked by comparison with collateral authorities (such as the *Annales*, the various Irish Annals, and the scattered indications of the facts of early Welsh history to be gleaned from other authentic sources) is, that up to the date when all Welsh records necessarily become more or less fabulous, these Genealogies have every claim to rank beside the *Annales* and the *Saxon Genealogies* as a valuable historical authority. Allowance must of course be made for such mistakes as are naturally incident to the transcription of pedigrees written in narrow columns of a name to a line; the most important of which are (1) the frequent omission of names, and (2) the occasional repetition of the word *map*, "son", where it ought not to be repeated, by which means a man's epithet is wrongly made to appear as though it were the name of his father, whilst his real father is put back one generation. But a little knowledge of Welsh personal names, and occasional reference to later versions of the pedigrees, will enable anyone readily to correct most of these blunders. As to the philological value of both *Annales* and Genealogies, it will be enough to point out that they contain several hundred Welsh words (chiefly names of persons and places), in their Old-Welsh forms. No other such repertory of Old-Welsh proper names exists; the older collection of them in the *Book of St. Chad* being very scanty, and the later ones in the *Liber Landavensis* and in the Lives of the Welsh Saints (chiefly contained in *Cott. Vesp. A. xiv*) being largely intermixed with Middle-Welsh forms.

We have considered the importance of our whole text to warrant our reproducing it line for line, exactly as in the MS., where it is written continuously in columns of three or four to the page. A fair specimen of the handwriting and style of the MS. will be found in the facsimile of fo. 192\*, prefixed to the printed *Annales Cambriæ*. In the MS. the columnar arrangement is continued to the end of the *Catalogue of Cities*, which we have therefore included here; and we have also, in order to show the position of the *Annales* relatively to the other "Additions" to the *Historia Britonum*, reprinted the *Calculi*, which the annalist clearly intended to serve as a ready-made preface to his appended chronicle. Both the *Catalogue* and the *Calculi* will be found in Stevenson's edition of "Nennius", where the second forms § 66, and the first is printed by way of appendix on p. 62.

Two letter-forms occur in the MS. which, in consequence of the lack of proper type, we have not been able exactly to reproduce. The first of these is the second or short form of *r*, which in our MS., when in the middle of a word, is sometimes almost indistinguishable from *i*. This we have represented by the character "z". The second is the well-known mediæval character for the diphthong *æ* (in our MS. an *e* with a loop underneath it), which we have rendered by simply *italicising* the ordinary diphthong. In the case of a *capital* letter, the MS. almost always writes the diphthong in full. With regard to the letter *i*, the practice of the MS. is irregular. Sometimes it marks the *i*'s with the common acute stroke over them, sometimes not. Wherever the stroke occurs, we have reproduced it; where it is omitted, we have dotted the letter. We may add here that an identical stroke or accent sometimes occurs over other vowels, and in every case has been reproduced. Two kinds of *d* occur in the MS., one with an upright, the other with a bent-back, upward stroke. The latter

is by far the rarer, and is represented by the character "ð". As a rule the letter *v* only occurs in the MS. as a capital or a substitution for a cancelled letter, the short *s* only as a capital or at the end of lines, or in substitution. We only give hyphens where they are given in the MS. Contractions (the Latin ones are often arbitrary, or at least unusual, and throughout there is no distinction between the contractions for *m* and *n*) are extended in italics,<sup>1</sup> and the initial capitals of each genealogy, etc., omitted through the neglect of the rubricator to supply them, are supplied by us (as far as possible) in black-letter type within square brackets. The Genealogies have been consecutively numbered in Roman figures, to facilitate future reference, and the dates of the events, taken from the published editions, have been similarly supplied in the *Annales*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of (1) the contraction for "*Annus*", heading every year in the *Annales*, which we have left as in the MS.; (2) sometimes the contractions for "*Iesus Christus*" (*ih's xpc* or the like), and for "*Dominus noster*" (*dn's n'r*), and (3) one of the contractions for *et*, very similar to the modern *&*, by which we have represented it.

<sup>2</sup> It was the intention of the writer to have accompanied both the fourteenth-century Genealogies from *Jesus College* (Oxon.) MS. 20 (printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. viii, pp. 83—92) and the ones now printed with translations and extensive critical notes, the latter embracing a comparison of the corresponding genealogies in the two MSS. with each other and with the other early authorities. The state of his health prevented his carrying out this plan; but he hopes to be able to perform the very necessary task in a slightly different form some time during the coming year. All he is able to do at present is to give an exact text of the Harleian Genealogies, with a few critical notes, merely relating to the readings of the MS.