

The Brychan Documents.

By A. W. WADE-EVANS.

NOTWITHSTANDING either their supreme value, or even their brevity, it is for the first time that the attempt is now made to print these two tracts with that approximation to accuracy which modern science demands. Indeed, so supreme is their value that this fact would be a marvel and a mystery in the story of historical research, were it not that primarily they are only of Welsh interest, so that (needless to say) no marvel or mystery whatsoever is involved.

The *De situ Brecheniauc* manuscript is supposed to have been written in the early part of the thirteenth century by a scribe ignorant of Welsh, and from a MS. as old at least as the eleventh century.¹ The *Cognacio Brychan* manuscript was written by a seventeenth century hand, apparently from a document of the thirteenth century, as Mr. Phillimore judges from the archaic spelling of Welsh words. This seventeenth century scribe had also before him the actual copy of the *De Situ* which we are using, and from it he adds not only the marginal and interlineal notes which appear in our printed *Cognacio*, but also two pages of transcription not here reproduced. It is clear, therefore, that the two tracts are independent of one another, although

¹ See *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. vii, pp. 105-6, by Mr. Egerton Phillimore ; also, the *Archiv. f. celtische Lexikographie*, ii, 516, etc., by Mr. Alfred Anscombe.

a comparison shews that they are both drawing from some common original, which appears to have been so archaic to somebody, both in matter and expression, that he had to interpret it as best he could, according to the ideas of his own time and place. Their general arrangement is identical, whilst, as Mr. Anscombe has pointed out, they give "the names of Brychan's children in practically the same order".

The monks, who founded the oldest churches in Wales and the Devonian peninsula (which two districts together were known as "Britannia"), were closely connected with the ruling families. Of these, three were chosen as specially prominent and typical, during that period when the triadic method of systematizing knowledge gained acceptance. The Triad reads as follows¹ :—

Tair gwelygordd Saint Cymru : plant Brychan ; a phlant Cunedda Wledig ; a phlant Caw o Brydyn.

The Three Stocks of the Saints of Cymru : the children of Brychan, and the children of Cunedda Wledig, and the children of Caw of Prydyn.

It must be remembered, however, that there were other families besides these, which will be found enumerated in the *Bonedd y Saint*.² In this important document, the family of Cunedda takes a leading place, that of Caw a minor, and that of Brychan no place at all. Into the probable or possible causes of this fact we need not now enter, but a chief cause, or perhaps a chief result, is this, that the House of Brychan has a document of its own, now represented by the *De Situ* and the *Cognacio*. These

¹ Cf., for example, Peniarth MS. 129, fo. 10.

² See *Myvyrian Archæology* (1801), vol. ii, pp. 23-5 ; *I' Cymmrodor*, vii, 133 ; and Anscombe's "Indexes to Old-Welsh Genealogies" in *Archiv. f. celt. Levik.*, ii, 147-196.

two tracts, therefore, rank with the *Bonedd* itself as authority of the first class.

The most striking feature about the traditions of Brychan is the large progeny attributed to him. It has been suggested that there were many Brychans, or that the children enumerated include later generations. Large families, however, are also ascribed to others, such as Caw of Twrkelyn and Clechre,¹ whilst it must be remembered that even as late as the thirteenth century Welsh law made no distinction between children born in and out of wedlock.² This last custom, so repulsive to ecclesiastical ideas, points back to a time when no such distinction existed, even in thought. Indeed, it is a well-established fact that marriage, as we understand it to-day, was not so understood in and before the fifth century in Britannia. There is no need here to refer to such evidence as that of Cæsar, Dion Cassius, the monumental inscriptions, the *Mabinogion*, the Pictish succession, and so forth,³ but attention may be drawn to the evidence afforded by the very important work known as *Epistola Gildæ*, written before 502 A.D.⁴ This epistle opens with an attack on the

¹ See Rees' *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 9.

² Aneurin Owen's *Ancient Laws of Wales*, vol. i, p. 178.

³ See Rhys' and Jones' *Welsh People*, p. 36, etc.; Mr. Willis Bund in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for January 1905; and especially *La Famille Celtique*, by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville (Paris, 1905).

⁴ This *Epistola*, beginning with the words "Reges habet Britannia" in ch. 27, must be carefully distinguished from the preceding twenty-six chapters, which are not by Gildas at all, but constitute a distinct work known as *Excidium Britannicæ*, written by an anonymous "Roman" Britannus, somewhere near the mouth of the Severn, about the year 690. I have dealt with this subject in the *Celtic Review* (Edinburgh), for April, July, and October, 1905, in which last will be found a tentative map of Britannia in Britain from 424-5 (when Vortigern began to reign in S.E. Wales) to 577, the date of the

five leading Kings of Britannia, who were ruling in *cir.* 500, and it is a striking fact that in every case save that of the "Roman", Aurelius Caninus, a specific charge concerned with the violation of the ecclesiastical ideas of matrimony, is brought forward. Constantine of Devon puts away his legitimate wife and is given to successive deeds of adultery. Vortipore of Dyfed, defiled by adulteries, puts away his wife and marries his own daughter, just like Vortigern did in *cir.* 429.¹ Cynlas drives away his wife and meditates marrying her sister, although a nun; and Maelgwn Gwynedd himself, the great head of the House of Cunedda, abandons his first wife and marries that of his nephew, although that nephew is still living. Even Aurelius is ecclesiastically described as "swallowed up in the filth of adulteries", whilst the general charge of polygamy is brought against them all. It has hitherto been the fashion to suppose that these kings were sinners above all others, but in the light of independent and abundant

crushing defeat of the Britanni at Deorham. It will be observed that I differ *in toto* from the view expressed by Prof. Hugh Williams of Bala in his edition of *Gildas* (Cymmrodorion Record Series), a work, however, to which I am exceedingly indebted, and for whose author I have the profoundest admiration and respect. I may also take the present opportunity of protesting against the indiscriminate use of the terms "Goidel" and "Brython" when dealing with the inhabitants of the numerous patrias of Britannia in the immediate post-Roman period. These terms are really only proper to the technical phraseology of modern savants in the domain of *language*, and are worse than useless when used to designate *races*. The consequences are still more grotesque when they are regarded as the names by which the actual men and women in Wales fourteen hundred years ago recognised the patriotic and political groups into which they were divided. Whether members of Vortigern's kingdom in 428 spoke Goidelic or Brythonic they were none the less opposed to invasions by Brythonic speaking Picts (the Cymry), or by Goidelic speaking Scotti from Ireland.

¹ See Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, iii, 180.

evidence the *Epistola Gildæ* only confirms the fact that the matrimonial arrangements of the fifth century were not those which the Church blessed, but such as defy explanation in terms of the Church's thought on such matters. What may have been adultery and shame to a partisan of a new sect full of foreign ideas, may also have been an honoured custom to those who practised it. Sunday sports, for example, were no doubt highly distasteful to Vicar Pritchard and the new Puritanism, but were at the same time harmless enough to their opponents of the High Church. St. Gildas, like Vicar Pritchard, represented a new movement, that of monasticism, which spread from Gaul and St. Martin of Tours. Whatever the Christianity in Britannia may have been before the fifth century, it certainly was not that of Gildas. And although this ascetic movement from Gaul effected in Wales as mighty a change as Methodism did a millennium and a quarter later, yet the Laws of Hywel testify that there prevailed throughout Wales, at least as late as the eleventh century, matrimonial institutions which were notoriously opposed to the ideas of the Church.

We have seen that Welsh law made no distinction between children born in and out of wedlock, but far more vital than this is the fact that the dissolution of marriage ties is incredibly easy. "Practically, either husband or wife might separate whenever one or both chose."¹ And if all this prevailed in the Wales of the eleventh century and later, surely the *milieu* of the fifth century must be to us singularly strange.

We must, therefore, be prepared to find underlying these two tracts archaic matters concerned with marriage and descent. We must be prepared to find late scribes en-

¹ Rhys' and Jones' *Welsh People*, 212.

deavouring to explain the inexplicable according to their own ideas. They will be obviously astonished at the number of children attributed to Brychan, and we shall see them tripping in making three wives out of the three forms of the one name, Prawst. They will, of course, explain the birth of Cynog as illegitimate, whose descent from Banadylfed is too historical to deny, and on which perhaps depend certain rights pertaining to Cynog's foundations. The story of Marchell will be also perplexing, questions arising at every step. Why did she leave her own patria to find a husband? Why did royal Anlach quit his own realm? Why was it that Marchell's son inherited the kingdom? Explanations will be given, and the actual facts perhaps distorted, for us to dispute about and to trip miserably in our turn.

All this places the question of the numerous progeny of Brychan in a new light. And, under its influence, we ought to hesitate considerably before making this or that assumption in order to get rid of a very perplexing difficulty. It is with this as with every other historic tradition; until it can be disproved in a truly scientific way it must be accepted as a fact.

I regret that owing to the extreme length of the lines in the *De Situ* we have been compelled to resort to the upright stroke to indicate the points where they begin and end. For a similar reason we have also been compelled to divide some of the lines in the *Cognacio*. The figure in the right margin is the number of that line which contains the particular word opposite it.

Ty Rhós, Fishguard.

TEXTS.

DE SITV BRECHENIAVC.

[*British Museum. Cottonian Collection. Vespasian A, xiv, 10b-11b.*]

BRECHENIAVC: primum a Brachano DE SITV 1
 BRECHENIAVC | nomen accepit. In initio temporum: 2
 erat Teuderic rex illius regionis | Qui quondam uenit in 3
 Garth matrun indeque perrexit cum ducibus et senio- |
 ribus nec non et omni familia sua abiitque ad Bran coyn 4
 iuxta Lann | Maies. Teuderic uero dixit ad Marchel filiam 5
 suam. Algozif uis aprime nos | affligit. Quamobrem 6
 opereprecium est: quatinus pelliciam uestem nate mee
 conquiramus | ne ipsa frigozif asperitate grauetur. transmit- 7
 tam enim eam in hiberniam cum tre- | centis hominibus ad 8
 Anlac filium Cozonac regem illius patrie que sibi maritetur. |
 Profecta est igitur Marchel cum trecentis hominibus in 9
 Lan Semin: ibidemque prima | nocte per frigozif grauedine. 10
 c. homines mortui sunt. Secunda uero nocte uenit in |
 Methrum: illoque totidem quot superius exspirauerunt. 11
 Tercia quidem nocte descen- | dit in Port Maur: in loco 12
 scilicet apriciozi. Deinceps autem cum . c. uiris | sibi 13
 relictis ad hiberniam transfretauit: et ad Anlac regem
 eiusdem patrie cum suis | incolumis peruenit. Qui cum 14
 magno tripudio et leticia illam suscipiens: | in legitimam 15
 coniugem eandem sibi desponsauit. illi iusiurandum prebens. |
 si eidem filium peperisset: cum eadem Britanniam remearet. 16
 ne uidelicet puer | patrio regno Britannie priuaretur. 17
 Idem uero Anlach dedit. xii. cubiculariis | suis siue pedis- 18
 sequas uiris unamquamque iuxta dignitatem natalium
 suorum. | Postea uero Marchel peperit filium: uocauitque 19
 eum Brachan. Regressus | est ergo Anlach cum Marchel 20
 Regina et Brachan puero. et ducibus sub- | scriptis. Kerniol. 21
 et Alio Fernach. Inde dicitur Enifernach. Tercio Lith

mi | lich . Jnde dicitur Maiuaur oper birnich. Quarto 22
 Lounoic . Natus est Brachan | in Benni : directusque est 23
 ad Drichan . Jnde dicitur Din Drichan . Jpse autem
 Drichan : | educauit Brachan . Jnde ducitur Brachan 24
 Brecheniauc : cum . iiiior. annos | etatis haberet . Jn . viiº. 25
 uero anno dixit Drichan ad Brachan . Affer mihi lan- | ceam 26
 meam ad me. Drichan autem in fine etatis sue cecus factus
 est Et dum idem | uigilans iacisset . quidam aper uenit 27
 de filua stetitque iuxta ripam flu | minis Jschir . Ceruusque 28
 retrosum erat in flumine necnon sub uenire | cerui piscis 29
 erat que tria portendebant Brachan opulentie copia |
 felicem futurum . Adhuc etiam fagus secus fluminis predicti 30
 litus stabat . inqua | mellificabant apes . Dixitque Drichan 31
 alumpno suo Brachan . Ecce hanc | arborem de apibus et 32
 melle . auro quoque et argento plenam do tibi . et gratia dei |
 eiusque dilectio tecum maneat semper hic et infuturo. 33
 Postea uero Anlach | dedit filium suum Brachan regi powis 34
 obfidem . Deinceps uero successu tem- | poris Brachan 35
 oppressit Banadlinet filiam Benadel . Jlla autem pregnant : |

fol. 11 a.

genuit filium nomine kynauc . Qui deuectus ad castra bap- 1
 tiza tus est Quo | facto Brachan accepta armilla abrachio suo 2
 dedit illam kynauc | filio suo . Iste sanctus kynauc celebris est 3
 ualde in patria sua Brecheniauc . | Jpsaque armilla . usque in 4
 presens perpreciosis reliquiis in predicta prouincia | seruatur. 5
Hec est genealogia sancti kynauc filii Brachan . Brachan |
 filius Marchel . Marchel filia Teuderic . Teuderic filius 6
 Teudfall . Teudfall | filius Teuder . filius Teudfal . Teudfal 7
 filius Annhun rex grecorum . **H**ec sunt | nomina filiorum 8
 Brachan de Brecheniauc . Rein filius Brachan . Clýtguin.
 filius | Brachan . qui inuasit totam terram Sudgwalliæ. 9
 Clýdouc sanctus . et Dedýu sanctus filii | illius Clýtguein. 10
 Arthen filius Brachan . Papay . filius Brachan . Kýnon.
 filius Brachan . | qui sanctus est in occidentali parte predictæ 11

i. Jn agere lacus caltionis
 filia | Brachan . ygruge gof auail . kein . filia Brachan 34
 . i. Jn bifurgatione illius fluij .
 ythraul ogmor . | keneŷthon filia Brachan . Jn y minid 35
 cheuoꝝ Jn Kedweli . Clýdei . filia |

fo. 11 b.

. i. Jnangleſe

Brachan est Jn Emelin . Duyn . filia Brachan est Jn Monia . 1
 Jlud . filia | Brachan ¶ Sepulchrum Brachan : est Jninsula 2
 que uocatur enyibrachan . | que est iuxta Manniam . ¶ Sepul- 3
 chrum Rein filii Brachan . Jn Landeuailac . | ¶ Sepulcrum 4
 k(a)nauc . Merthir Jn Brecheniauc . ¶ Sepulcrum . | An- 5
 lauch . ante hostium ecclesie Lanespēt . ¶ Tres uxores
 habuit | Brachan . Prauit scilicet . et Ribrauit . et Proistri . | 6
 Nec est progenies . keredic Regis de keredigan . Dewi filius 7
 Sant . | Sant filii keredic . filii Cuneda . Auan buelh . filius 8
 kedic . filii eiusdem | keredic . Pedŷr Lanwaur . filius 9
 Corin . filii keredic . kenider Gell . | filius kynon . filii kere- 10
 dic . Gunlyu filius Guaur . filie keredic . Gugan | Cledy- 11
 burdh filius Lauch filii Lucho . filii kedich . filii keredic .
 Jna . filia | keredic . karānouc filius keredic . Dŷuennen . 12
 filius Anhun . filii keredic . | keneu sanctus filii Corun filii 13
 keredic . Gugan filius Samfon . filii keredic . | Dogmael 14
 sanctus filius Jthaeil . filius keredic . Tydiuc sanctus filius
 Corun filii keredic .

COGNACIO BRYCHAN.

[British Museum. Cottonian, Domitian I.]

fo. 157 b.

Cognacio Brychan vnde brecheynia

we dicta est pars demetie . i . futh Wallie

Teudric Rex in Garthmathrīm venit vsque ad 3
 Bryncoyn iuxta Lanmaes cum ducibus et senioribus et
 omni familia sua habens vnicam filiam nomine Marchel
 cui et dixit . Timeo de salute tua propter instantem 6
 Pestilentiam que aggrauat nos ad quam vitandam dicta

- Marchel habuit quasi perizoma de corio animalis . opinio enim
erat quod quicumque circumdaret lumbos suos corio 9
alias propter
animal[is] quod vitaret interitum ex pestilencia propterea
frigus
proficiscere in hiberniam si forte respiciat deus votum
meum ut queas vivere. Et assignavit pater Sibi 12
trecentos homines et xij puellas filias Architiolini
vice pedissequarum qui omnes conducerent eandem illuc.
Pergens autem Marchell prima nocte recepit hospitium 15
apud llanfeyn et mortui sunt ibi illa nocte
Centum homines . que mane surrexit execrans locum fedis
illius profecta est anxia tam de periculo quam de verecundia 18
alias Methrum
et secunda nocte peruenit in Madrum et sicut prius mortui
sunt ibi Centum homines. Mane quantocius surgens
Porth mawr loco videlicet apriciori
tercia nocte in Porthmaur et internicie hominum vitata 21
cum Centum hominibus et pedissequis suis venit in
hiberniam cuius aduentu comperto occurrit ei
Anlach filius Gornuc Rex loci illius cum nullo 24
apparatu sicut decuit regem. Et causa adventus
illius cognita beatus est Rex Anlach et
suscepit eam in coniugium tum propter pulcritu- 27
dinem tum propter cognacionem eius quia filia Regis
Et iuravit Rex Anlach quod cum ea rediret
in britanniam si filium de ea posset suscipere 30
Et maritali Rex Anlach dictas xij^{cem}
alias xij cubicularijs suis fo. 158a.
puellas tradens vnamquamque earum matrimonio Et factum
est per
circulum dierum ut marchell conaperet et peperit filium cui
pater
imposuit nomen Brachan. Cum vero Brachan esset 3
duorum annorum adduxerunt eum parentes eius in Britan-
niam et

morati sunt in Benny. Et suscepit puerum Drichan
nutriendum et fuit cum eo vij annis. Postea orta guerra inter 6
Reges dedit eum pater suus obsidem regi de Powys nomine
Banadyl quo dum moram traheret oppressit filiam dicti regis
vocatam Banadylued que concepit et peperit filium quem 9
fecit deportari ad sanctum Gastayn cuius nunc ecclesia fita est
iuxta maram qui baptizavit eum vocatus nomen eius
Kynaucum Cognouerunt autem omnes ex peleo et armilla quo 12
erat indutus Kynauc quod filius Brichan erat. Hec gene-
ologia

eius Kynaucus filius brachan filij Anlach filij Gornuc
filij eurbre de hibernia et hoc ex parte patris. Ex parte 15
matris brichan filius Marchel filie Teudric filij

teudfall Teudeic Teudfall Annhun
Teithphal filij Teithrin filij Tathal filii Annun nigri
regis grecorum. Postea succrescente Brachan virtutibus 18
quieuit bellum et pax inter reges reformata est. Aliquanto

temporis interuallo mortuus est pater eius Anlach
Qui dum aspiraret ad regnum parentum conuenit cum 21

nobilioribus regni de hereditate sua habenda Qui
videntes industriam elegantiam generositatem tantam
in eo fulgentem fullimauerunt eum in regem Qui cum 24
nobilitate rexisset et summo moderamine regnum adeptum
disposuisset copulauit sibi tres vxores succeffiue

alias Prawft
quarum nomina sunt hec Eurbrauft Rybrauft et Proeftri 27
de quibus magnam sobolem procreauit videlicet xiiij^{cem}
filios quorum nomina sunt hec . Kynauc . Reín . Vrein.

alias Clitguin
Rud qui post patrem suum regnauit Clytwyn 30
oresgynnaud deheubarth Qui pater erat sanctorum

fo. 158b.

Clydauc et dettu. Arthen qui erat pater kynon
qui est in manan Papay Run ipse sanctus ycallet in
manan Marthaerun apud Keueilauc. Vingat apud 3

llandeuery qui erat pater pascunt. Kyfliuer ab eo dicitur
 Merthyr Kyfliuer Berwyn apud Cornubiam. Ridoc
 gwindouut in francia inde dicitur collis Ridoc gwindouut. 6
 Et xxiiij^{or} filias quarum nomina sunt h[ec]. Gluadis filia

Brachan

vxor gwenlluc filij glywys cornubienfis mater
 sancti Cadoci Glovyn yn llann hefkyn ninctis tutwal 9
 pefir Mater cunin Cof Tutbiftyl ab ea dicitur Merthyr
 Tutbytil Tvtuil ab ea dicitur Merthyr Tutuil. Tebie
 apud yftrayowy. Keyngair mater mater kenyder fant 12
 Meleri vxor keretici patris sancti dauit Tuglit vxor
 Kyngain mater Cadell Arganwen apud Powys
 Bechan apud manav lluan mater Aidan Grutauc 15
 et mater gafran vradave kerdech apud llandegwin
 Nyuen vxor kynuarch filius Meirchyavn.

Gwawr vxor lledan wyn mater llywarth henn 18
 Grucon guedu vxor cradauc calch uenit.

Marchell vxor gurgeynt Elyuet in monte gorfauael
 que pro amore castitatis martirizata est Gwenn apud 21

Talgarth Koneidon apud Kydwely in monte Kyfor
 Kein Breit apud teraflogur Cledei apud Emlyn
 Vndin apud moniam Jnfulam Kenedlon apud mynyd 24

Kymorth

Grichan iacet in mynav in valle que dicitur vall[is]
 Brchan. Anllach iacet ante hostium ecclesie llanyfpydyt
 Reyn filius brichan iacet apud llanvayloc. Sepulchrum 27
 Kynauc in Merthyr Kynauc in Brecheiniawe.

TRANSLATIONS.

THE SITUATION OF BRECHENIAUC.

Brecheniauc received its name first from Brachan. In the beginning, Teuderic was king of that district. He formerly came to Garthmatrun, and from there proceeded with chiefs and elders and all his *familia*, and went to Brancoyn, near Lann Maies. And Teuderic said to Marchell, his daughter, "The severity of the cold afflicts us exceedingly. Wherefore it is worth the trouble to procure for my daughter a fur garment, however far we may search, lest she should be overcome with the rigour of the cold. For I will send her across into Hibernia with three hundred men to Anlac, son of Coronac, king of that country, that she may be married to him." Marchell therefore set forth with three hundred men for Lan Semin, and there on the first night a hundred men died from the intensity of the cold. And on the second night she came to Methrum, and there as many died as on the former occasion. And on the third night she went down to Port Maur, a place which was much warmer. And then with the hundred men left to her, she sailed across to Hibernia, and came in safety with her followers to Anlac, king of that country. He received her with much dancing and joy, and betrothed her to himself to be his lawful wife, giving her an oath that if she should bear him a son, he would return with her to Brittannia, that the boy might not be deprived of his ancestral kingdom in Brittannia. And the said Anlach gave waiting-women in marriage to his twelve chamberlains or men, to each a damsel apiece, according to the dignity of their birth. And afterwards Marchell brought forth a son and called him Brachan. Anlach therefore returned with Queen

Marchell and the boy Brachan, and the following chiefs : Kerniol ; and secondly, Fernach, from whom Enifernach is named ; thirdly, Lith milich, from whom is named Maiuawr oper birnich ; fourthly, Lounoic. Brachan was born in Benni, and was sent to Drichan, from whom is named Din Drichan. And it was this Drichan who brought up Brachan (from whom is derived [the expression] Brachan Brecheniauc) when he was four years of age. And in his seventh year Drichan said to Brachan, "Bring me my lance." Now Drichan, towards the close of his life, became blind. And as he lay awake, a certain boar came from the wood and stood near the bank of the river Ischir. And behind it in the river was a stag, and under the stag's belly a fish, which three things portended that Brachan would be fortunate in abundance of wealth. Moreover, there was a beech tree standing on the side of the said river, in which bees were making honey, and Drichan said to Brachan, his charge, "Behold, I give thee this tree full of bees and honey, and also of silver and gold, and may the grace of God and his love abide with thee always, here and hereafter." And after this Anlach gave his son Brachan as hostage to the king of Powys, and afterwards, in process of time, Brachan violated Banadlinet, the daughter of Benadel. And she became pregnant and bore a son, Kynauc by name, who was carried to the *caer* and baptized. After this, Brachan took a torque from his arm and gave it to his son Kynauc. That saint Kynauc is very celebrated in his own *patria* of Brecheniauc, and that torque is preserved to the present time in the said province among its most precious relics. This is the genealogy of saint Kynauc the son of Brachan ; Brachan son of Marchell ; Marchell daughter of Teuderic ; Teudiric son of Teudfall ; Teudfall son of Teuder, son of Teudfal ; Teudfal son of Annhun, king of the Greeks.

These are the names of the sons of Brachan of Brecheniauc ; Rein son of Brachan ; Clytguin son of Brachan, who invaded the whole country of South Wales ; saint Clydouc and saint Dedyu, sons of that Clytguein ; Arthen son of Brachan ; Papay son of Brachan ; Kynon son of Brachan, who is a saint in the western part of the said Mannia ; Dynigat son of Brachan ; Paschen son of Brachan ; Chybliuer son of Brachan, from whom is named Merthyr Chebliuer ; Berwin son of Brachan in Corwallia ; Rydoch (*i.e.* Judoc) son of Brachan in Francia, from whom is named Ton Ridoch Windouith (*i.e.* eurus de vent).

Of the daughters of Brachan : Gladus daughter of Brachan and mother of saint Cadoc ; Tudenel daughter of Brachan, in Merthir Euineil ; Goleu daughter of Brachan in Laneschin ; Hunyd daughter of Brachan, who lies under the stone of Meltheu and was wife of Tudual Flauus [*viz.* Pefr] and mother of Cunin Cof (*i.e.* memory) ; Tudhistil daughter of Brachan, from whom is named Merthir Tudhistil ; Tibyei, daughter of Brachan, in Cantrebochan ; Kehingayr daughter of Brachan, mother of Saint Kenider of Glesbyri ; Meleri daughter of Brachan, wife of Keredic and mother of Sant, and Sant was the father of Saint David ; Tutglid daughter of Brachan, wife of Kenken son of Kenwaur Cadeathuc and mother of Cadel and Brochuail schitrauc (*i.e.* with teeth) and mother of Jeuab and mother of Meigh and mother of Sanand which Sanant was wife of Mahelgun King of North Wales ; Aranwen daughter of Brachan in Powis wife of Gereuerth King of Powis, from whom is the name Joruerthiaun ; Bethan daughter of Brachan in Mannia ; Luan daughter of Brachan, mother of Haidan Bradouc (*i.e.* treacherous) ; Kerdych daughter of Brachan who lies in Tywin in Merioneth ; Nyuein daughter of Brachan, wife of Kennarch cul son of Meirchiaun, mother of [Urien (*text very corrupt, Anscombe reads as follows*) and

Euerdil, wife of Elidir Coscoruaur, *i.e.* of great retinue, and mother of Gurgi and Peredur and Estedich]; Guaur, daughter of Brachan wife of Lidanwen and mother of Loarch Hen (*i.e.* old); Gurycon Godheu daughter of Brachan, wife of Cathraut Calchuynid; Marchell daughter of Brachan, wife of Gurind barmbtruch (*i.e.* of the truncated beard) of Merionyth; Guen daughter of Brachan in Talgarth; Belyau daughter of Brachan; Eiliueth daughter of Brachan in Crug Gors Auail (*i.e.* the Mound of the Holding's Mere?); Kein daughter of Brachan in the holding of the Ogmor (*i.e.* within the two branches of that river); Keneython daughter of Brachan in the mountain of Ceur in Kedweli; Clydei daughter of Brachan is in Emelin; Duyn daughter of Brachan is in Monia (*i.e.* in Anglesey); Jlund daughter of Brachan.

The tomb of Brachan is in the island which is called Enysbrachan, which is near Mannia. The tomb of Rein the son of Brachan [is] in Landeuailac. The tomb of Kanauc [is] Merthir [Cynog] in Brecheniauc. The tomb of Anlauch [is] before the door of the church of Lanespetit. Brachan had three wives, to wit, Praust, Ribraust, and Proistri.

This is the progeny of Keredic, king of Keredigan: Dewi son of Sant; Sant son of Keredic son of Cunedda; Auan buelh son of Kedic son of the same Keredic; Pedyr Lanwaur, son of Corin son of Keredic; Kenider Gell son of Kynon son of Keredic; Gunlyu son of Guaur daughter of Keredic; Gugan Cledyburdh son of Lauch son of Lucho son of Kedich son of Keredic; Jna daughter of Keredic; Karanouc son of Keredic; Dyuennen son of Anhun son of Keredic; Saint Keneu son of Corun son of Keredic; Gugan son of Samson son of Keredic; Saint Dogmael son of Jthaeil son of Keredic; saint Tydiuc son of Corun son of Keredic.

THE FAMILY OF BRYCHAN.

The Family of Brychan, from whom was named Brecheyniawc, a part of Demetia, that is, South Wales.

Teudric, king in Garthmathrim, came as far as Bryncoyn, near Lanmaes, with chiefs and elders, and all his *familia*, having an only daughter, Marchell by name, to whom he said, “I fear concerning thy safety, because of the present pestilence which afflicts us”—to avoid which the said Marchell had a kind of girdle made of the skin of an animal, for there was an opinion that whosoever should place the skin of an animal round his loins, would escape death from pestilence—“Wherefore start out for Hibernia if perchance God should respect my wish that thou mayst live.” And her father assigned to her three hundred men and twelve maidens, daughters of the *architriclinus*, as attendants, all of whom accompanied her thither. And as Marchell was on her journey, she was entertained the first night at Llansemyn, and that night a hundred men died there. In the morning she arose cursing the place of that habitation, and started forth fretting with the sense of danger and remorse, and on the second night she arrived at Madrum, and as on the former occasion a hundred men died there. In the morning she arose as quickly as possible, and on the third night arrived at Porthmaur, and the death of her men having been avoided, she came with her hundred men and her attendants to Hibernia. When her arrival was discovered, there met her Anlach, son of Gormac, king of that place, with a great following, as became a king. And when the reason of her arrival was known, King Anlach was glad, and took her to be his wife, both on account of her beauty and on account of her lineage, she being a king’s daughter. And King Anlach vowed that he would

return with her to Britannia if she bore him a son. And King Anlach wedded the said twelve maidens, giving away each one of them in marriage. And it happened in the course of time that Marchell conceived and brought forth a son, to whom the father gave the name of Brachan. Now when Brachan was two years old, his parents brought him to Britannia and they sojourned at Benny. And Drichan took the boy to be fostered, and he was with him seven years. Afterwards a war arose between the kings, and his father gave him as hostage to the King of Powys whose name was Banadyl; where during his sojourn he violated the daughter of the said king, whose name was Banadylued. She conceived and brought forth a son, whom he caused to be carried to saint Gastayn, whose church is now situated by Mara. He baptized him and called his named Kynauc. Now all knew that he was Brichan's son from the cap and torque with which Kynauc had been vested. This is his pedigree: Kynauc son of Brachan son of Anlach son of Gornuc son of Eurbre of Hibernia, and so far on the father's side. On the mother's, Brichan son of Marchell daughter of Teudric son of Teithphal son of Teithrin son of Tathal son of Annun the Black, King of the Greeks. Afterwards, when Brachan was increasing in virtues, the war ceased and peace was restored between the kings. After some time his father Anlach died, who while Brychan was aspiring to the kingdom of his parents, assembled the nobles of his kingdom to discuss concerning his succession. They, beholding so much diligence, grace and nobleness shining in [Brachan], raised him to be king. Whilst he was reigning with lustre and ordering the kingdom which he had received, with greatest care, he married three wives in succession, whose names are these: Eurbraust, Rybraust and Proestri, from whom he had a large progeny; to wit, thirteen sons, whose names

are these: Kynauc; Rein Vrem Rud, who reigned after his father; Clytwyn, *the conqueror of the Deheubarth* [South Wales], who was the father of the saints Clydauc and Dettu; Arthen, who was the father of Kynon, who is in Manan; Papay; Run, himself a saint *ycallet* (?) in Manan; Marthaerun in Keveilauc; Vingat in Llandeuary, who was father of Pascent; Kyfliuer, from whom is called Merthyr Kyfliuer; Berwyn in Cornubia; Ridoc Gwindout in Francia, whence is named the Hill of Ridoc Gwindout. Also twenty-four daughters, whose names are these: Gluadis daughter of Brachan, wife of Gwenlluc, son of Glywys Cornubiensis and mother of St. Cadoc; Gloyv in Llanheskyn; [Hunyd wife of] Tutwal Pefir and mother of Cunin Cof; Tutbistyl, from whom is named Merthyr Tutbystil; Tvtuil, from whom is named Merthyr Tutuil; Tebie in Ystrad Towi; Keyngair mother of St. Kenyder; Meleri wife of Keretic, father of St. David; Tuglit wife of Kyngain mother of Cadell; Arganwen in Powys; Bechan in Manav; Lluan mother of Aidan Grutauc and mother of Gafran Vradave; Kerdech in Llandegwin; Nyuen wife of Kynvarch son of Meirchyavn; Gwawr wife of Lledan Wyn mother of Llywarch Hen; Grucon Guedu wife of Cradauc Calchvenit; Marchell wife of Gurgeynt; Elyuet in Mount Gorsauael who was martyred for the love of chastity; Gwen in Talgarth; Koneidon in Kydwely on the mountain of Kyfor; Keinbreit in the holding of the Ogur; Cledei in Emlyn; Vndin in the island of Monia; Kenedlon on *Mount Kymorth*.

Grichan lies in Mynav, in the valley which is called the valley of Brchan. Anllach lies before the door of the church of Llanyspydyt. Reyn son of Brichan lies in Llanvayloc. The tomb of Kynauc is in Merthyr Kynauc in Brecheiniawe.

NOTES.

A.—THE SONS OF BRYCHAN.

The three leading authorities, *i.e.* the *De Situ*, the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn Offeiriad* (Jesus College MS. 20 in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. viii) agree as to the following eight sons:—

1. KYNAUC the saint of Merthyr Cynog.
2. REIN DREMRUD who succeeded his father [cf. Cair Rein = Aconbury Hill, in Herefordshire, *Bk. of Llandav*].
3. CLYTGWIN conqueror of the Deheubarth [cf. Llanglydwyn in West Carmarthenshire] father of
 - (a) ST. CLYDAUC [Clodock on R. Munnow in Herefordshire].
 - (b) ST. DETTU [Llandetty on R. Usk in Breconshire].
4. ARTHEN [cf. Llanarthen, west of Marshfield in S.W. Monmouthshire].
5. PAPAY.
6. DYNIGAT in Llandovery [cf. also Merthir Dincat = Dingestow (Mon.), *Bk. of Llandav*].
7. BERWIN in "Cornwallia".
8. RYDOC in "Francia", etc.

They disagree as to the following three names which, however, they all regard as those of Brychanites:—

9. KYNON [ap Brychan *D.S.* and *L.O.*; ap Arthen *Cog.*]
10. PASCENT [ap Brychan *D.S.*; ap Dingat *Cog.* and *L.O.*]
11. CYFLIFER [ap Brychan *D.S.* and *Cog.*; ap Dingat *L.O.*]

Both the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn* introduce these two additional names, which I leave unnumbered:—

MARTHAERUN *Cog.* or MARCHARAIRJUN *L.O.* in
Cyfeiliog.

RUN *Cog.* or RUNAN *L.O.* in Manan or Manaw.

It will be observed that the three documents are agreed in giving Brychan *eleven sons*, which certainly echoes a fixed tradition, as in the case of the *twenty-four daughters*. It is true that the *De Situ* enumerates twenty-five by the introduction of an otherwise unknown “Belyau”, but on the other hand we shall see both the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn* faking names of their own in order to complete the twenty-four, whilst in addition we have it on the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis that the traditions of the twelfth century ascribed to Brychan twenty-four daughters, and this in the Brychan district itself (Gerald’s *Itinerary through Wales*, Bk. i, ch. 2). The first point, therefore, to note is that our scribes were constrained to give *eleven* names to represent the sons. Of these eleven names, they all agree as to eight, and we note further that they all agree in regarding Kynon, Pascent and Cyflifer as Brychanites. If these last are sons, our difficulty is solved and the eleven complete, but here the trouble begins. For the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn* add two names which are absent in the *De Situ*. In other words, whereas they all agree in regarding Kynon, Pascent and Cyflifer as Brychanites, the *De Situ* which represents the oldest tradition, makes no mention whatever of Marthaerun or Marcharairjun and Run or Runan, whom the later documents introduce. Again, whereas the *De Situ* makes Kynon, Pascent and Cyflifer to be all sons of Brychan, thus completing the eleven, the *Cognacio* and *Llewelyn* only agree as to Pascent, whom they describe as son of Dingad ap Brychan. In order to find room for Marthaerun and Run, and at the

same time remain faithful to the tradition of eleven sons, one makes Kynon a grandson, and the other insists on Cyflifer. It looks, therefore, as though Marthaerun and Run are intruders, who have entirely usurped the place of Pascent and partially that of Cynon and that of Cyflifer.

Marthaerun apud Keueilauc or Marcharairjun ygkeueil-yawc clearly suggests that there was a foundation of some kind called after such a person in Cyfeiliog, which was a commote comprising roughly the parishes of Machynlleth Llanwrin, Cemes, Darowen, Penegos, Llanbrynmair and Caereinion fechan on either side of the R. Dyfi in the extreme W. of Montgomeryshire. Has any such foundation ever been discovered in this district? I believe that Mathafarn in the parish of Llanwrin is generally taken to be the place intended. But Mathafarn is certainly not the name of a person, and, as far as I know, is associated with no ancient ecclesiastical foundation whatsoever. Moreover the connection between such forms as Marthaerun, Marcharairjun or Marcharanhun and Mathafarn is parallel with such identifications as Martletwy and St. Marcellus, Lamphey and St. Faith, and other similar abominations.

Our forms appear to point back to some original Marth . r . . . n in which we may perhaps see a familiar type of place name peculiarly associated with the Brychan traditions, viz., that commencing with Merthyr. With the above, for example, compare such a name as Marther Geryn in the *Book of Llundav*, where Marther represents Martyrium, i.e. a shrine for the preservation of relics,¹ and where Geryn is a personal name. If this suggestion proves right, we may perhaps see the personal

¹ See the first essay on the Gildas question in the *St. David's College Magazine*, p. 13 (December 1904), where this explanation of merthyr was apparently put forward for the first time.

name of our supposed Marther in the Run or Runan whom *Cog.* and *L.O.* also introduce into the list of Brychan's sons, and who may be no other than Rein, whose *sepulchrum* was at Llandyfaelog.

Certain references in these documents to the obscure localities "Cornwallia", "Francia", and particularly "Mannia, Manan or Manau", have provided evidence for the presence of Brychanites in Cornwall, France, the Isle of Man, and Manau Guotodin in Southern Scotland. On this basis, also, the theory has been advanced that there were many Brychans, so that nowadays our hero is undergoing the treatment formerly meted out to St. Gildas ap Caw o Priten. With this we are given a companion theory that the eleven sons and twenty-four daughters really comprise grand- and great grand-children. One hardly wonders, therefore, at the impatience even of a scholar like Professor Hugh Williams of the Bala who does not hesitate to refer to Brychan's "mythical progeny" and to describe them as "shadowy beings".¹ Now there appears to be other evidence for the presence of Brychanites in the Devonian Peninsula and in Ireland, but "Francia" or "infrancia", and "Manau", both want watching.

The reference to the former is in the curious note which deals with Rydoc or Iudoc:—

infrancia inde dicitur ton Ridoch Windouith (*i.e.*
eurus de vent). *D.S.*

gwindout in francia inde dicitur collis Ridoc gwindout. *Cog.*

yn freink yny lle a elwir twmbreidoc oe enw ef. *L.O.*
Fortunately this place is almost undoubtedly referred

¹ Williams' *Gildas* (Cymmrodorion Record Series), p. 27.

to in the *Mirabilia* of Nennius (*Chronica Minora*, iii, 215) where we read as follows:—

Est aliud mirabile in regione quæ vocatur Guent. Est ibi fovea a qua ventus inflat per omne tempus sine intermissione et quando non flat ventus in tempore aestatis, de illa fovea incessanter flat ut nemo possit sustinere neque ante foveae profunditatem. Et vocatur nomen eius Vith Guint Brittannico sermone, Latine autem flatio venti. Magnum mirabile est ventus de terra flare.

“There is another wonderful thing in the region which is called Gwent. There is there a pit from which the wind blows at all times without intermission, and when in summer time no wind blows, yet from that pit it blows incessantly, so that no one is able to stand up before the mouth of the pit. It is called *Chryth Gwynt* in the Brittannic speech, and in Latin *flatio venti* [the blowing of the wind]. It is a very wonderful thing that wind should blow out of the ground”.

It is clear that the Hill of Rydoc, the son of Brychan, is somewhere near Chwyth Gwynt, wherever that may be. I very much regret that I have been unable to identify the spot, but when found it will hardly fail to assist us in the elucidation of this difficulty of “*infrancia*”.

B.—THE DAUGHTERS OF BRYCHAN.

Our three authorities are agreed as to all the married daughters of Brychan, eleven in number:—

1. GLADUS wife of Gwynllwg and mother of St. Cadoc.
2. HUNYD wife of Tudwal Pefr and mother of St. Cynin.
3. KEHINGAYR mother of St. Cynidr of Glasebury.
4. MELERI wife of Ceredig [Cedig?], mother of Sant, St. David's father.
5. TUTGLID wife of Kenken son of Kenwaur Cad-cathuc, mother of Cadell, etc.
6. ARANWEN in Powys, wife of Iorwerth Hirflawdd, whence Iorwerthion.

7. LUAN mother of Aidan Bradouc.
8. NYUEIN wife of Cynfarch Cul, mother of Urien.
9. GUAUR wife of [Elidyr] Llydanwyn, mother of Llywarch Hen.
10. GURYCON GODHEU wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd.
11. MARCHELL wife of Gwrin Barfdrwch of Meirionydd.

They are also agreed as to the following nine unmarried daughters :—

12. TUDEUEL in Merthyr Tydvil [and Llysworney. Cf. also Hafod Tydvil in the Gwaun valley, N. Pem.]
13. TUDHISTIL in Merthyr Tudhistil [wherever this may be. Cf. Llanawstl in Machen (Monmouthshire) *C-B. SS.*, 607.]
14. TIBYEI in Llandybie, Carmarthenshire [also Lamphey (Pem.), etc.]
15. KERDYCH at Towyn in Merioneth.
16. GUEN in Talgarth.
17. KEIN in Llangeinor, Glam. [This is Kein Wryr', or Keyne the Virgin of Keynsham (Somerset), Kentchurch (Herefordshire), etc].
18. KENEYTHON in Ilangynheiddon on Mt. Cyfor at Kidweli.
19. CLYDEI in Clydey in Emlyn, N.E. Pem.
20. DUYN in Anglesey at Llanddwyn.

The following four appear in at least two of our authorities :—

21. GOLEU in Laneschin [cf. Glan Hesgyn in Llanfair Culgudden (Monmouthshire), *C-B. SS.*, 607. *L.O.* appears to have this name erroneously prefixed to Hunyd under the form Goleudyd gwreic Tutwawl Beper].

22. EILIUETH on the hill, once known as Cruc Gors Auail near Brecon. [Gerald's *Itinerary*, i, 2. *L.O.*'s Felis may represent this saint.]
23. BETHAN in Mannia. [*D.S.* and *Cog.*]
24. ILUD in Llanilid, Rhuthyn, Glam. [*D.S.* and *L.O.*]

The following, which I leave unnumbered, only appear in one of our three authorities, and with the exception of Belyau are clearly intended to complete the traditional number of twenty-four.

BELYAU. *D.S.* only.

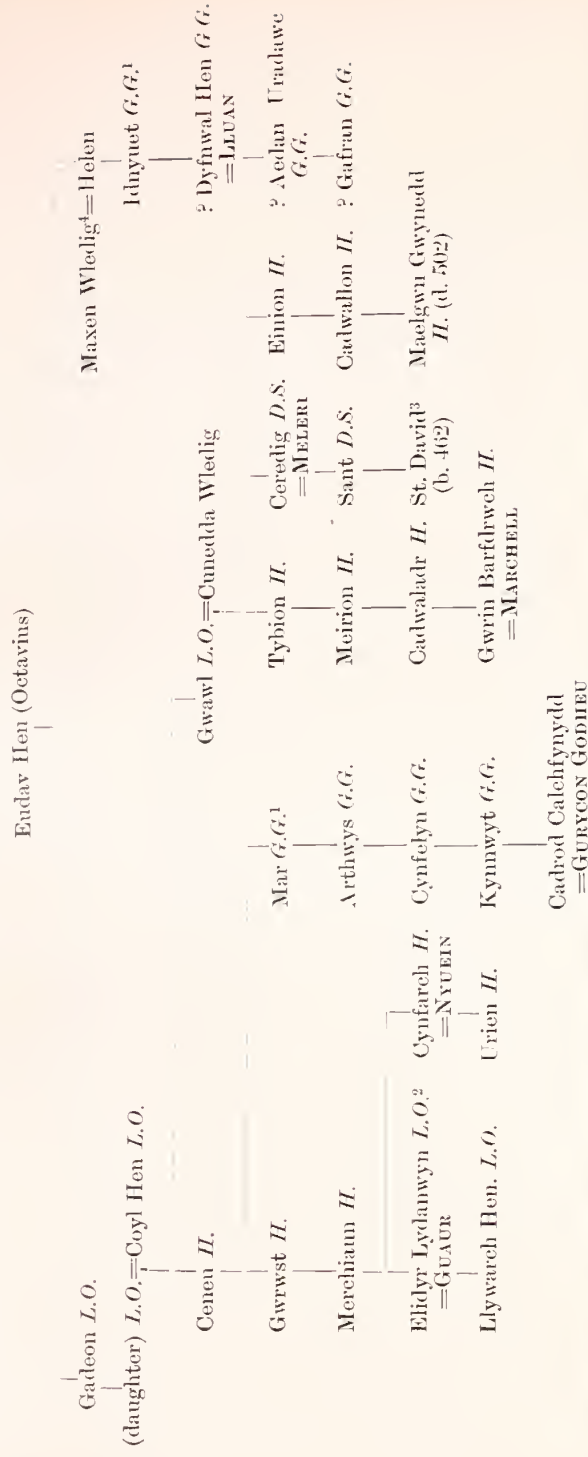
KENEDLON apud Mynydd Kymorth. *Cog.* only. This is merely a repetition of Koneidon apud Kydwely in monte Kyfor. No. 18.

TUTLITH yn Llys Ronwy ygwlat vorgan. *L.O.* only. A hybrid form of Tutglid and Tydfil. The addition, however, is interesting and refers to Lisworney near Cowbridge. Lewis in his *Top. Dict. of Wales* (1833) says that the church of Llysworney is "dedicated" to St. Tydfil. See also p. xlvj in the excellent appendices to John Griffith's *Edward II in Glamorgan* (1904).

RINHIDYR a bungle for St. Cynidr son of Kehin-gayr daughter of Brychan. *L.O.* only.

If the medieval tradition respecting the number of Brychan's daughters be ever disproved, it is probable that the first effective attack will be made through the apparently impossible alliances which at least six of them are said to have made with famous representatives of the "Men of the North—Gwyr y Gogledd". In order to provide a bird's-eye view of these apparently impossible alliances, I subjoin a scheme compiled from *L.O.* = Jesus

SCHEME ILLUSTRATING REPUTED ALLIANCES BETWEEN BRYCHAN'S DAUGHTERS AND GWYR Y GOGLEDD.



¹ The pedigree from this name downwards is found in *G.G.*, a document on which Mr. Ansonbe lays great stress. "Its precision, its clear arrangement, and the absence of uncritical addenda, proclaim it to be the work of a professional genealogist" (*Arch. f. Celt. Lex.*, ii, 521). It must be noted, however, that Mar and Arthwys do not appear in *H.*, a much older manuscript, where Pabo is made the son of Cenen ap Coel, whereas in *G.G.* he is described as son of Arthwys ap Mar ap Kenen, etc. Moreover the statement in *G.G.*, that Gafran is the son of Aedan Uradawe, etc., is a serious error, for Gafran, as is well known, was the father of Aedan, who died in the Annus CLXIII, which in the era of the *Annales Cambrie* is 607 A.D. Gafran died Annus cxxiv, which in the same era makes 558 A.D., whilst in the notice of his death he is described as the son of Dungart. If Lluan, therefore, is the mother of this particular Aedan, she cannot possibly be the daughter of our present Brychan. It may, of course, be quite another Aedan who has been confounded with his more famous namesake.

² Llywarch ab Elidyr ab Merchiam appears both in *L.O.* and *G.G.*, but *not* in *H.* Moreover, Eliffr Gogorduanr, who is made the son of Arthwys ab Mar, etc., in *G.G.*, is described in *H.* as brother of Merchiam ap Gwrwst, etc. The two sons of Eliffr, viz., Gwrct and Peredur were slain in the Annus cxxxvi, which in the era of Stilicho's Consulship is (400 + 135) = 535 A.D. Their "Welsh" nephew, Urien ap Cynfarch, was treacherously murdered, apparently during the reign of Hussa, King of Northumbria (585-592). It is impossible, therefore, that a daughter of our Brychan could have been this Urien's mother. Llywarch Hen is not mentioned in Nennius, either as one of the British chiefs who fought against the Angles of Northumbria, or as one of the famous British poets who flourished at that time, among which last there is a Bluchbard but no Llywarch (*Chronica Minor*, iii, 205-6). The association of Urien of the North with Arthur, is, of course in this case, a gross anachronism, as Arthur fell at Camlan in 492 A.D. Llywarch Hen is always associated with Powys or Mid-Wales (cf. Anwyl's "Prolegomena to Study of Old Welsh Poetry"; *Trans. of Cymm. Soc.* (1903-4), 72, etc.), and belongs apparently to the fifth century. At least in a charter on p. 146 of the *Book of Llandaf*, in which Augustus, one of the kings of Brycheiniog, gives some property at Llangors in modern Breconshire to the monks of Llandaf, reference is made in the boundaries of this property to a certain *claud llywarch hen*. Part of Dr. Evans' translation on p. 369 reads as follows:—"From the Aber of the Well of the Twelve Saints on Lake Syvaddon along the Gwver upwards to its spring, to the head of *Llywarch Hen's dyke*: *along the dyke till it descends into the Llynri*," etc. Now, as the son of this King Augustus, whose name was Elgistil, was treacherously slain by Teudur son of *Rein ap Brychan* (see p. 167), Augustus must have been a contemporary of Rein, so that Llywarch Hen was already a well-known personage in the fifth century. Moreover, as the reference to the dyke descending into the R. Llynri shews, he must have been a neighbour of the Brycheiniotes, so that the tradition that he was the son of Guair v'ch Brychan is by no means improbable. To return to Urien, it must be remembered that traditions contained in the *Iolo MSS.*, insist on a certain Urien, called Urien Rhaged, who drove the Scotti out of Gower, Kidweli, etc., and occupied the district between the Tawe and the Towy. This may have been Brychan's grandson and Arthur's contemporary (Ihys' *Celtic Britain*, 3rd ed., 257).

³ There is always a strong temptation to ascribe this pedigree to scribal bungling, thus, Dewi Sant ap C'edig ap Cunedda being read as Dewi ap Sant ap C'edig ap Ceredig ap Cunedda as it appears in the important *Loneid y Saint* (Peniarth MSS. 16 and 45).

⁴ Maxen, i.e. Maxentius, has suffered grievously in being mistaken for Maximus who became Emperor of Rome and perished miserably in 388 A.D. The real Maxen appears to have been a Britanno Romanus in South Wales (cf. Cadell Maxen near the Teify: the Pedigree No. II in *H.*; the tale called *Maxen's Dream*, etc.) who formed a matrimonial alliance with a "Roman" princess of Carnarvon, viz., Helena, daughter of Octavius. He appears to have had at least four sons, viz., St. Peblie (Publius?); Eugenius (i.e. Owen Vindlu); [Iut]lunet [of] Dyfed (? Ped. H. I' *Cynan*., ix, 171); and Antonius (Anthon).

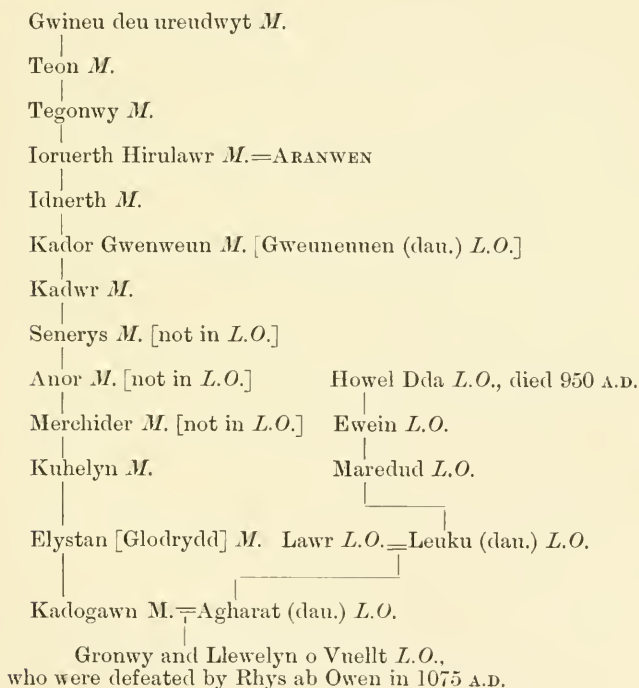
son of Arthwys ab Mar, etc., in *G.G.*, is described in *IL* as brother of Merchiam ap Gwrwst, etc. The two sons of Eliffr, viz., Gwrei and Peredur were slain in the Annus cxxxvi, which in the era of Stilicho's Consulship is (400 + 135) = 535 A.D. Their "Welsh" nephew, Urien ap Cynfarch, was treacherously murdered, apparently during the reign of Inessa, King of Northumbria (585-592). It is impossible, therefore, that a daughter of our Brychan could have been this Urien's mother. Llywarch Hen is not mentioned in Nemius, either as one of the British chiefs who fought against the Angles of Northumbria, or as one of the famous British poets who flourished at that time, among which last there is a Bluchbard but no Llywarch (*Chronica Minora*, iii, 205-6). The association of Urien of the North with Arthur, is, of course in this case, a gross anachronism, as Arthur fell at Camlan in 492 A.D. Llywarch Hen is always associated with Powys or Mid-Wales (cf. Anwyl's "Prolegomena to Study of Old Welsh Poetry", *Trans. of Cymm. Soc.* (1903-4), 72, etc.), and belongs apparently to the fifth century. At least in a charter on p. 146 of the *Book of Llandaf*, in which Augustus, one of the kings of Brycheiniog, gives some property at Llangors in modern Breconshire to the monks of Llandaf, reference is made in the boundaries of this property to a certain *cland llywarch hen*. Part of Dr. Evans' translation on p. 369 reads as follows:—"From the Aber of the Well of the Twelve Saints on Lake Syvaddon along the Gwver upwards to its spring, to the head of *Llywarch Hen's dyke*: along the dyke till it descends into the *Llyvni*," etc. Now, as the son of this King Augustus, whose name was Elgistil, was treacherously slain by Tenthur son of *Rein ap Brychan* (see p. 167), Augustus must have been a contemporary of Rein, so that Llywarch Hen was already a well-known personage in the fifth century. Moreover, as the reference to the dyke descending into the R. Llyvni shews, he must have been a neighbour of the Brychanites, so that the tradition that he was the son of Guaur v'ch Brychan is by no means improbable. To return to Urien, it must be remembered that the traditions contained in the *Iolo MSS.* insist on a certain Urien, called Urien Rheged, who drove the Scotti out of Gower, Kidweli, etc., and occupied the district between the Tawe and the Towy. This may have been Brychan's grandson and Arthur's contemporary (Rhys *Celtic Britain*, 3rd ed., 257).

³ There is always a strong temptation to ascribe this pedigree to scribal bungling, thus, Dewi Sant ap C'edig ap Cunedda being read as Dewi ap Sant ap Cedig ap Ceredig ap Cunedda as it appears in the important *Donedd y Saint* (Peniarth MSS. 16 and 45).

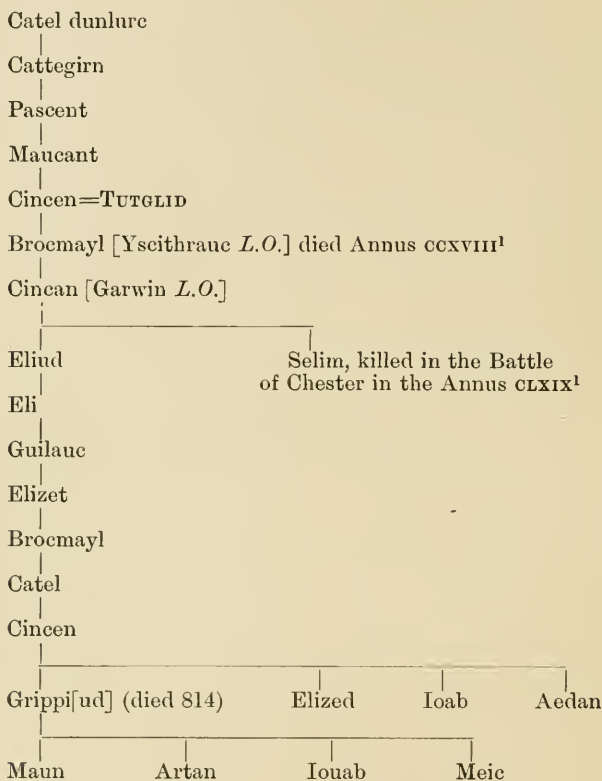
⁴ Maxen, *i.e.* Maxentius, has suffered grievously in being mistaken for Maximus who became Emperor of Rome and perished miserably in 388 A.D. The real Maxen appears to have been a Britannic Romanus in South Wales (cf. Cader Maxen near the Teify; the Pedigree No. II in *IL*; the tale called *Maxen's Dream*, etc.) who formed a matrimonial alliance with a "Roman" princess of Carnarvon, viz., Helena, daughter of Octavius. He appears to have had at least four sons, viz., St. Peblie (Publius?); Eugenius (*i.e.* Owen Viudda); [Iut]hmet [of] Dyfed (? Ped. II, *I' Gymn.*, ix, 171); and Antonius (Anthon).

Coll. MS. 20; *G.G.* = Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd (Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii, appendix); and *H.* = Harleian MS. 3859 (*Y Cymm.*, vol. ix).

IORWERTH HIRFLAWDD.—In the following pedigree, *M.* denotes Mostyn MS. 117 (13th cent.) and *L.O.* as before. It would seem that Iorwerth, the founder of the Powysian “tribe” of Iorwerthion, comes much too late to have married Aranwen, a daughter of our Brychan. But this pedigree is by no means conclusive, as names may have dropped out.



TUTGLID.—The following pedigree is compiled from Harleian MS. 3859 [and Jesus College MS. 20, where marked *L.O.*]



¹ These two Anni in the era of the *Annales Cambriæ* make 662 and 613 respectively, but they seem to refer to the same year, being apparently computations from two distinct eras, neither of which is that of the *Annales* itself. The first, viz. Annus ccxviii, if computed from the Consulship of Stilicho, gives $400 + 217 = 617$ A.D., and the second, viz. Annus clxix from the erroneous Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, gives $449 + 168 = 617$ A.D. This year 617 A.D. (which really represents Sept. 1, 616—August 31, 617) is that of the Battle of Chester, where patriotic Englishmen are pleased to see a severing of

This pedigree contradicts that of the *De Situ* which states that Kenken, the father of Brochwel Ysgythrog, was son of Kenwaur Cadcathuc. We certainly have some bungling here. As far as chronology is concerned, it is quite possible that a granddaughter of Brychan could be the wife of Maelgwn Gwynedd (died 502), but it is quite impossible that a daughter of our Brychan could be the mother of Brochwel who died in 617.

THE DATE OF BRYCHAN.—“St. David ap Sant ap Meleri v'ch Brychan” was born in Annus xiv, which in the era of the *Annales* makes $445 + 13 = 458$. But in the *Vite* of St. David, there is a fixed tradition that he was born thirty years after St. Patrick went to Ireland as Bishop, which occurred in 433. Hence St. David was born $433 + 29 = 462$ A.D. Now 462 A.D. is Annus xiv, computing from the false Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, viz. $449 + 13 = 462$, which era is known to be one of the many distinct eras commingled in the computations of our present *Annales*. We may, therefore, for the present say roughly that Brychan was born at latest *circa* 400 A.D.

C.—THE FOUR SEPULCHRA.

Both our authorities agree as to the sepulchra, which are as follows:—

the Britons of Wales from those of the North. This of course, if it means anything, assumes that there were previous to this date Cymry beyond the R. Dee, in what we now call Cheshire and Lancashire, which no one as yet has succeeded in shewing. The Cymry who entered North Wales from Cumberland and Southern Scotland *came over the sea* and were regarded by the “Romans” of Britannia as transmarine Picts. The only severing of Britannia was that which the *Excidium Britanniae* calls *lugubre divortium*, and which occurred in A.D. 577 as a result of the Battle of Deorham in modern Gloucestershire. Until this date, Britannia was a fixed quantity, at least from 424-5, the year when Vortigern began to reign in S.E. Wales.

1. *Sepulchrum* BRYCHAN in Enys Brachan near Mannia *D.S.*; in the valley of Brychan in Mynav *Cog.*
2. *Sepulchrum* REIN in Llandyfailog. There are two places so called in Breconshire, and one in Carmarthenshire.
3. *Sepulchrum* CYNOG at Merthyr Cynog in Breconshire.
4. *Sepulchrum* ANLACH before the door of Llan-spyddyd Church near Brecon.

The situation of Mannia or Mynav is not yet known. It may be well, therefore, to place together all the references to it in these documents:—

- (a) Kynon ab Brychan, a saint in the western part of the aforesaid Mannia. *D.S.* This is, however, the first time it is mentioned in this MS.

Kynon ab Arthen, who is in Manan. *Cog.*

- (b) Run, a saint *ycallet* (?) in Manan. *Cog.*

Runan in the place called Manaw. *L.O.*

- (c) Bethan in Mannia. *D.S.*

Bechan in Manav. *Cog.*

- (d) Brychan lies in Enys Brachan near Mannia. *D.S.*

Brychan lies in the valley of Brychan in Mynav. *Cog.*

There is a *Vallis Brachan* referred to twice in the *Book of Llandav* (217 and 263) which appears to be situated within the modern parish of St. Bride's-super-Ely in Glamorgan-shire. The first reference is found in certain boundaries in a grant of land called *Villa Penn Onn et Sant Tylull*, which Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, with a query, identifies with St. y Nill in the above parish. The relevant passage reads as follows:—" *Finis illius est: de valle Brachan* along the high road as far as the spring; from the spring following the high road as far as the ford on the Dulas. *Ab occidentali*

parte de Nant Brachan along the ditch, following it straight to the other ditch, along it as far as Rhiw Guorgued. From the Rhiw in a straight line to the head of the dyke. Along the dyke to the ascent as far as the Cecin. From the Cecin as far as Brynn Hinn Hitian as far as Dulas." The second reference is found under the heading *Lann sant breit in mainaur crucmarc* with a peculiar contraction over the *ar* of the last word. Dr. Evans says (352)—"This contraction is not used elsewhere in this MS. ? *crucmarchan* or *crucmrachan*. Cp. *Marchan* and *Brachan*." It refers to St. Bride's-super-Ely, and the boundary is described thus: "In width from Nant Brachan as far as Glesius [Glasswg]. In length from Ffynnon Liss as far as the confluence of the two brooks of Brachan —*ir dou nant brachan*." In a casual reference to the 6-inch Ordnance Survey map, I find Nant Dowlais and Glasswg, also a place called Pentre-Bannau, but nothing nearer Nant Brychan than Nant Rhych. Others may be more successful. Seeing that the *Cognacio* makes Kynon, who is in western Manan, to be the son of Arthen, and that there is a Llanarthen near Marshfield in S.W. Monmouthshire; seeing also that Run or Runan is described as being in Manan, it may not be amiss to point out that the old name of Marshfield is Maerun, whatever that may signify (*Bk. of Llandav*, 190; Leland's *Itinerary in Wales* (ed. 1906), 15).

D.—PALÆOGRAPHICAL.

De Situ.

10b. 11. Metrum with h above line and mark of omission.

10b. 18. A later hand, probably that of the *Cognacio* has underlined *siue*, the writer probably having hesitated before the very unusual construction of this part of the sentence.

11a. 20. The d of Keredic seems to have been changed from t.

11a. 25. The e of Bethan is apparently changed from a.

Cognacio.

157b. The three notes printed here interlineally are in the left margin in the original MS. On the next page they are all interlineal.

158a. 5. Between Benny and Et is a mark of omission, which refers to the passage copied on 159a. from the *De Situ*, viz. 10b. 20. Regressus est, etc., to line 23 Din Drichan.

158a. 30. After Clytwyn is a word of two letters, possibly al for alias, or ut or et.

158b. 9. *Ninctis* is difficult to read. The letter before the t appears to be c, with some attempt to change it into i. The expansion of the contraction into *is* is a guess.
