

# The Dynasty of Cunedag and the 'Harleian Genealogies'.

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THE oldest 'genealogies' of Welsh royal families are contained in an early twelfth century MS. in the Harleian collection at the British Museum (*MS. Harl. 3859*). They were very carefully printed, with an introduction and valuable notes, by Mr. Egerton Phillimore, in vol. ix of *Y Cymmrodor*. And an index to the names in them has been compiled by Mr. A. Anscombe, and published in vol. i of the *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie*.

They are, however, most inconveniently constructed. They contain no dates, and very seldom any mention of the status of the persons whose names are given in them. Also they are arranged not in modern pedigree-form, but in backward order. If a genealogy of our present king were so constructed, it would appear thus :

[ ]<sup>1</sup> Edward  
son of Victoria, daughter of Edward  
son of George  
son of Frederick  
son of George  
son of George.

Had all the persons with whose names the 'genealogies' begin been contemporaries, that fact alone would have

<sup>1</sup> Initial left for an illuminator to insert.

enabled us to get approximate dates for the entire series ; but this is far from being the case.

I have, nevertheless, found that not fewer than twenty-two out of the thirty-two 'genealogies' can be fitted on to each other, and that a second series of three can also be fitted on to each other. By tabulating them accordingly, and inserting in brackets the known or approximately known dates of some of the persons mentioned, I have been able to reduce the 'genealogies' into a synchronous form in which they can be more conveniently consulted. And I shall add certain preliminary notes which will throw some little new light on their origin and import.

The 'genealogies' are immediately preceded by the oldest text (also early twelfth-century) of the *Annales Cambriae*, and Mr. Phillimore has said (p. 144) :—

"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 (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."

In a paper contributed to the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (vi, 439-53), I have shown that the *Annales* are merely notes from the margin of a paschal table constructed by the 532-year cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine. This table would certainly belong to a church, and we may pretty safely conclude that the *Annales* and the 'Genealogies' which immediately follow them were compiled in the cathedral of Meneu (St. David's).

The fact that the *years* of the *Annales* are continued to 977 is simply due to their being copied (and divided into fifty-three decads) from a 532-year cycle which began with 444.<sup>1</sup> And the first 'genealogy', though it includes Owain, who died in 988, appears to have been originally compiled in the reign of his father, who died in 950. For it begins 'uen map iguel', the initials both of Ouen and of Higuel being left out. Now, in *all* the 'genealogies' the initial of the *first* name is left out—for an illuminator to supply—but (*except in this one case of 'iguel'*) *never any other initial*. Presumably, then, the 'genealogy' originally began with '[H]iguel', to which were prefixed '[O]uen map' when his son succeeded him.

My next point is that in their original form these were not all of them certainly 'genealogies' in the modern sense of the word—that, in fact, No. 1 is not a genealogy but a table of succession. Part, at least, of the original table had no *map's*, but the preposition *guor*, 'over', in their place. This will be seen from lines 5, 7, and 9 in the list of Cunedag's precursors:—

<sup>1</sup> The cycle would end at 976, but another 'an.' may have been added to the paschal table with a note that the cycle began over again, or else the extractor of our *Annales* carelessly wrote an 'an.' too many—just as he often puts 11 'an.' into a decad.

*Phillimore's text**Corrupted from*

[1] map. <i>Ætern.</i>	? guor Cunedag[ <i>g</i> ] <i>Ætern.</i>
[2] map. <i>Patern. pefrut.</i>	? guor <i>Ætern Patern. pefrut.</i>
[3] map. <i>Tacit.</i>	? guor <i>Patern Tacit.</i>
[4] map.* <i>Cein.</i>	? guor <i>Tacit Cein.</i>
[5] map.* <i>Guozcein.</i>	} guor cein doli.
[6] map* <i>doli.</i>	
[7] map.* <i>Guozdoli.</i>	} guor doli dumn.
[8] map.* <i>duumn.</i>	
[9] map.* <i>Gurdumn.</i>	} guor dumn Amgueryt.
[10] map. <i>Amguoloyt.</i>	
[11] map. <i>Anguerit.</i>	} guor <i>Āguerit dubun.</i>
[12] map. <i>Oumun.</i>	
[13] map. <i>dubun.</i>	guor dubun Brithguein.
[14] map. <i>Brithguein.</i>	guor Brithguein Eugenein.
[15] map. <i>Eugein.</i>	} guor Eugenein Aballac. <i>qui fuit.</i>
[16] map. <i>Aballac.</i>	
map. <i>Amalech. qui fuit.</i>	

beli magni filiuf[&c.]    beli magni filiuf[&c.]

Here the original structure is revealed by the sequence of six entries against which I have put a \*. Then came a man who *meant* to strike out all the repeated names and the *guor's*, and to substitute *map*<sup>1</sup>: but he left in *guorcein*, *guordoli*, and *gurdumn* by accident, and failed to see that *Amguoloyt*, *Oumun*, and *Amalech* were only doublets<sup>2</sup> of names next them.

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 91 for the amazing recklessness with which *map* was prefixed to the beginning of lines in table xvi—ordinary words, parts of words, and the name of Jesus having thus had parentage attributed to them. In my *Keltic Researches* (pp. 49, 50) I have pointed out that the table of the succession of Brudes was constructed with the Pictish preposition *uur*, *ur* (Welsh *guor*), 'over', 'after', between names which were repeated like those of Cein, Doli, and Dumn. Then came a later hand who put 'Brude' in front of all the *ur's* and so created 14 or 15 additional Brudes. In a table on p. 134 of Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, we have 'filii Sin, filii Rosin, filii Their, filii Rothir', which looks as if the original text had no *filii*, but either the Latin *pro* or an Irish *ro* corresponding to it in meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Phillimore has seen this of Amalech. *F* in Welsh is a

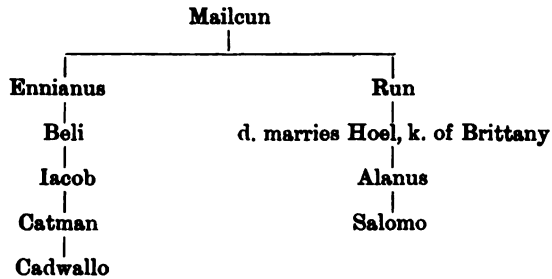
In other words, we have before us what may not be a table of direct blood-descent at all, but only of succession:—

before Cuneda, Ætern  
 „ Ætern, Patern 'pesrut'  
 „ Patern, Tacit

and so on.

When this is realized, we are at once able to clear away two great apparent discrepancies between this list and early twelfth century authorities.

(1) Geoffrey of Monmouth (xii, 6) puts into the mouth of king Cadwallon an extremely specific statement of his relationship to the king of Brittany, which I tabulate thus:



According to our doctored Harleian table, Beli was the son, not of Enniaun, but of Run. Strike out the interpolated *map's*, restore the original *guor's*, and we see that

guor Beli Run  
 guor Run Mailcun

meant not that Run was father of Beli, but that he preceded him as head of the house of Gwynedd. Why

mutation both of medial *b* and medial *m*, and Aballac, Amalech, are merely archaic spellings of Afallach: no doubt the *b* form is here more correct than the *m* form. When this is recognized, and the similarity noticed between the short-necked capital *ð* and an *O*, it will at once appear that Oumun and Dubun are also doublets. In Amguoloyt the *l* is a scribe's misreading of the conjunct form of *r*—i.e., *z*—as a capital *L*. This suggests that the tables are copied directly or indirectly from an exemplar written in capitals.

Enniaun is not so named is obviously due to one of two causes: either he died before his father Mailcun, or he was younger than his brother Run. In either case the headship of the house would naturally devolve on Beli if Run left no son.

It is possible that Geoffrey's own authority was not any Welsh pedigree, but the book of Breton tradition from which he borrowed so freely.<sup>1</sup> In any case, however, that Enniaun, and *not* Run, was Beli's father is practically certain from the fact that Run would have *better* suited the drift of Cadwallon's speech.

Finally, in the *Brut y Tywysogion*, Caradoc of Llangarvan says that Cynan Tyndaethwy's daughter Essyllt married a chieftain named Mervyn Frych. This Mervyn he represents subsequently as king of North Wales, and as being killed by the English in 844, and succeeded by Rotri. Of any Mervyn the *son* of Essyllt he knows nothing, and it is clear to me that in our original pedigree the text ran:—

*guor Rotri mermin gur Etthil merch cinnan*

before Rotri, Mermin—husband of Etthil, daughter of Cinnan

and that the later scribe (who struck out *guor's* and inserted *map's*) mistook *gur*, 'husband', for the preposition *guor*, and, by substituting *map*, turned Etthil's husband into her son!

Since writing the last few paragraphs, I discover, in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (text, ii, 218; translation, i, 462), a document (from the *Red Book of Hergest*) which is virtually conclusive as to one of these discrepancies. It is a poetical 'prophecy' (put in the mouth of Merlin) of the succession of chiefs of the Cymry. It begins with Rydderch Hael, described as an enemy of the city on the

<sup>1</sup> See my note in *Y Cymmrodor*, xix, p. 6. To the instances there given, add the very striking one of Guithelin's embassy (vi, 4).

Clyde. He was to be followed by Morgant Mawr, son of Sadyrnin (= Saturninus), who was to be followed by Urien (= Urbigena). Then was to come Maelgwn, in connexion with whom Gwendydd (*i.e.*, Gwynedd) is for the first time mentioned by the poet.<sup>1</sup> Then would follow Run, Beli, Iago (son of Beli), Cadvan (son of Iago), Cadwallawn, Cadwaladyr, Idwal, Howel (son of Cadwal), and Rodri. Then Mervyn Vrych, *described as coming from Manaw*. Then Rodri Mawr, his son Anarawd, and Howel.

Now, the very important statement that Mermin Frych came from Manaw is not in Caradoc—in other words, the evidence of the prophecy is presumably not *borrowed* from him. And the only way to bolster up the statement in our 'genealogies' that Mermin was the son of 'Etthil' is to suppose that she had both a husband and a son of the same name—which is to the last degree unlikely; for in these 'genealogies' no 'son' bears the name of his 'father' except in a few cases for which no historical corroboration is forthcoming, and which are almost certainly mere doublets of the kind we have already detected in the ancestry assigned to Cunedag.

And now for the names of some of Cunedag's precursors, and the lost history revealed by them.

Everyone has seen that Ætern is a Latin name, but has anyone explained why it should be given? We *do* sometimes speak of 'that eternal baby', but no one ever heard

<sup>1</sup> The writer clearly supposed that the primacy was previously with the 'men of the North', for, in the *Historia Brittonum*, § 63, we are told that the invaders of Northumbria were combated by Urbgen, Riderch Hen, 'Guallanc' (Guallauc), and Morcant. But these princes did not precede Mailcun, and his precursors in the dignity of chief king were, doubtless, the Gildan kings specified by Geoffrey of Monmouth.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest instance I know of such a case in Welsh history is that of Idwal Fychan, 'Little Idwal,' a son of Eidwal Foel ('Idwal the Bald,' who died in 943).

of the baby being named Eternal for the rest of his life. No one, in fact, has noticed in this connexion that *aeternus*, 'immortal', is a title borne on coins by Diocletian (emperor in 284-305), his imperial partner Maximian († 310), and Julian (360-3).

Everyone has also seen that Patern(us) is a Latin name, but has anyone observed that it was borne by Roman consuls of 233, 267, 268, 269, and 279 ?

Finally, everyone has seen that Tacit(us) is another Latin name, but has anyone pointed out that it was the name of a Roman emperor of 275-6 ?

And no one, so far as I know, has detected in Cein the well-known Roman family name Ceionius, borne by a consul of 240.

The inference is obvious, that the names of the four immediate precursors of Cunedag are *regnal* names (as those of the Popes are even now), borrowed from those of contemporary emperors or consuls, and that the bearers of them held rule in subordination to, or alliance with, the Roman government of South Britain.

It may be asked why Cunedag has no regnal name. There are at least three possible replies : (1) that he had a regnal name which has not descended to us, the length of time during which he had been known as Cunedag<sup>1</sup> having prevented the later name from ever taking root ; (2) that, whereas Cunedag's father, Ætern, was (to judge from his name 'Immortal') probably a Pagan, Cunedag himself was probably a Christian, and preferred not to change the name

<sup>1</sup> So given in the eighth century *Historia Brittonum*, and = Good Hound, like Biliconus in the Bath Christian tablet (see my *Vinisius to Nigra*). The perpetuation of the "connecting vowel" in this and certain other early Welsh names was doubtless due to the continued recitation of ancient poems from which it could not be eliminated without spoiling the metre or altering the text.



under which he was baptized; (3) that a nationalist feeling had arisen in favour of vernacular names.

Of the names of Cunedag's own children two in every three are apparently Roman, the third is Keltic. From what Latin name in *-anus* Typipaun<sup>1</sup> comes I do not know, unless it be from Tiberianus; but Rumaun, Dunaut, Enniaun, are Romanus, Donatus, and Ennianus (as Geoffrey of Monmouth calls him)—names which may have been those of Roman governors or commanders in Britain. Possibly, Abloyc = Apulicius or Apulicus—the latter name found<sup>2</sup> in West Britain in the fourth century; Ætern is probably not a genuine borrowing from Latin, as in the case of his grandfather, but an instance of that repetition of ancestral names which afterwards becomes so common in these 'genealogies'. But Osmail, Ceretic, and Docmail are Keltic.

So, too, Typipaun's son Meriaun appears to represent a Marianus; Enniaun's 'son' Eugene<sup>3</sup> is probably named after Eugenius, emperor in 392-4; and Dunaut's 'son' Ebiaun seems to = Epianus, or (Prof. Anwyl suggests from *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, 1336, 5) Abianus. Ebiaun is followed by a 'son' with a Keltic name, but *his* 'son' Mouric is

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Phillimore says: "Certainly a mistake for *Typiaun* (now *Tybion*)". Does Tybion exist except as a modern form of this very man's name? And does not Typipaun represent a partly obliterated TYBIRIAUN? I am reminded of the supposed reading PESPITER on the Senacus stone at Cefn Amwlch, where I have ascertained by my own eyes that the supposed second P is a B.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Vinicius to Nigra*. The Apulicus in question was the bearer of a letter to a Christian woman from a man who apparently held a position of some authority among British Christians. Our MS. has *oy* for *i* in Amguoloyt and Cynloyt. The *Annales* give the death of a king Abloyc in a year corresponding to 942.

<sup>3</sup> True that it is found as the name of one of Cunedag's remote ancestors, but in that case it may be pure Keltic (= Avigeni-os). In the case of Enniaun's son, the name may have been selected from Roman sources, but with ancestral *nuance*.

named after some Mauricus or Mauricius. If after the Emperor Mauricius, who attained that position in 582, either he must have taken the name at an advanced age or probably a generation or two is missing between him and Dunaut.<sup>1</sup>

I cannot refrain from mentioning here two passages in *MS. Jesus Coll.* 20, as printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 83-91, which have an important bearing on the doings of Cunedag in North Wales.

The first says that Cunedag had two daughters, Tecgygyl and Gwen, the latter of whom became the wife of Anlavl 'wledic', and that the mother of his sons was Wavl, daughter of Coyl Hen (No. vii, p. 85).

The second says that Einyav and Katwallavn Llavhir were two brothers, and their two mothers were sisters, daughters to Tidlet (*y didlet*)<sup>2</sup> king of the Goidel Picts (*gvydyl fichti*) in Pywys (No. xxiii, p. 87).

Now Einyavn was not Katwallavn's brother, but his father, and is given as such in the preceding pedigree: doubtless for Einyaun we should substitute Eugene

<sup>1</sup> I say 'probably' because recent letters to *The Daily News* show that the usual allowance of thirty years to a generation is sometimes very inadequate. In its issue of Feb. 10, 1909, is a letter from William J. Stephens, of Newquay, saying that Robert Carne, born in 1624, had a grandson John born in 1714, who had a grandson James born in 1806 and still living—being parish-clerk of St. Columb Minor! This gives four *complete* generations in 1624-1806, an average of forty-five years. Mr. Stephens says he has verified the dates in the parish register.

<sup>2</sup> Sir J. Rhŷs believes 'didlet' to be a name: I was in doubt whether it might not be a *di-* word meaning 'dethroned', 'expelled', or the like. I know no such *Pictish* name, and take it to represent Titlat for Lat. Tit(u)latus. In Welsh the *ā* should give *au*, *aw*, or *o*, not *e*, but, if the source of the pedigree were Goidelic (whether Pictish or Irish), Titled would be a quite correct genitive, which, in later Welsh, would become Tidlet, and (after the preposition *y*) Didlet.

Dantguin. That the alliances between their father Ennianus and the Pictish sisters took place after their grandfather Cunedag's descent from the North is clear from the fact that his two grandsons by them—Mailcun and Cinglas—were still living about 548, when the former died. Indeed, it is practically certain that Ennianus and his younger brothers were born in Wales.

Katwallavn's own name I take to mean Catuvellaunian, and to show that his mother belonged to that people, who, there is strong ground for believing (see Holder), had a town Tossobion on a river Tossobios (the Conwy?) in N. Wales. In that case, they were apparently Goidelic-speaking Picts, *i.e.*, Goidels who tattooed. If the name of the Catalauni is only an abbreviated form of Catuvellauni (as is generally assumed), that is likely enough: for that people were in the Belgic part of Gaul and next neighbours to the Sequani, who certainly tattooed (see my *Keltic Researches*).

But Cunedag himself seems beyond doubt to have allied himself to a lady of North Wales, whether his wife Waul' was dead or not. For the name of his daughter Teggygyl is to me Tegŷgyl, Deceangla, 'the Deceanglan',<sup>2</sup> and I take Tegeing(e)l to be the district settled on her.

Continuing the consideration of Cunedag's ancestors, I make nothing at present out of *Doli*, and suspect that we should follow the version of this pedigree given at p. 144 of Rees's *Cambro-British Saints*, and read *Docil* =

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the modern Gwawl, 'Brightness', and the name Valos (Holder), and see Stokes, *Urk. Spr.*, p. 262, under 'Vâleti-s'.

<sup>2</sup> That certain inscribed pigs of lead in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, do show an *L* in the name of the Deceangli—as contended by Sir J. Rhŷs—I felt sure from photographs and rubbings which I owed to the kindness of the Keeper of the Museum, Mr. Alfred Newstead. I have now seen them. No. 196 is beyond question. Otherwise Tegŷgyl would = Deceangula, 'the little Deceangan'.

the Latin surname Docilis. *Dumn* appears to be the adjective *dumnos*, 'tall', though that does not seem to be found as a proper name except in composition. If its phonetics had been influenced by transmission through Goidelic sources, it *might* = *Domn*, representing *Domnus* for *Dominus*. *Amguerit* is simply the form eventually taken in Welsh<sup>1</sup> by the name of the Ambivareti or Ambivariti, a people on the borders of Belgium and Burgundy, and it enables us to add one to the small number of Belgian tribes hitherto identified<sup>2</sup> as occupying the coast-regions of Britain: their name is also preserved in Irish in the name of 'the king of the descendants of Neill, Aidus, the son of Ammereth'<sup>3</sup> (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 562). And the natural inference is that *Amguerit* had an Ambivaritan mother.

Exactly similar is the case of the next ancestor, *Dubun*, who doubtless had for his mother one of the Dobuni, a tribe settled about the head of the Severn estuary, in or near Gloucestershire: the first *u* suggests Goidelic influence in transmission, or else that Ptolemy's *Δοβούνοι* should have had not *ō* but *ō̄*—which may very well be, as Ptolemy sometimes trips in his quantities (e.g., in *Δημητραι* for *Dēmētae*).

*Brithquein* looks like an error for *Brithgein* (*Brictogenios*), which would mean 'of painted ancestry', or 'of distinguished birth', but the corresponding pedigree in

<sup>1</sup> *M* for earlier *mm* (= *mb*); terminal vowel (*i*) of first part of compound lost; *gu* for earlier *u*; *e* 'umlaut' of following vowel. An earlier Welsh *Ammueret* can be traced in the *Anuueret* of the version of this pedigree given on f. 35a of *MS. Jesus Coll.* 20 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 85, vi).

<sup>2</sup> *Menapii*, *Atrebates*, *Parisii*.

<sup>3</sup> = *Amm(fh)ereth*. Here again the changes are perfectly regular, the final *t* becoming *th*, and the *v* becoming *fh*, which was silent and is, therefore, omitted in the spelling.

MS. *Jesus Coll.* 20, has Prydein, which might be a Kymric form of Qritanios = Coritanian. The Coritāni (= Cruithni) were an East Midland tattooed tribe, speaking Goidelic (*Keltic Researches*, 17). *Eugein* is not Graeco-Latin Eugenius (unknown in the West *at that period*), but the later Welsh form (cf. Eu-tegirn and like names) of an earlier Avigenios, 'of noble birth'. *Aballac*<sup>1</sup> (Aballacos) means 'Rich in apples' or 'Applelander'.

The Latin passage giving Aballac Beli the Great as a father, and Anna, the Virgin's *consobrina*, as a mother, is added by a later hand, and is utterly false, except for the bare possibility that Anna may be a feminine of the Keltic name Andus, with *nd* assimilated into *nn*.

Beli the Great appears in middle Welsh story as the son of Mynogan, and father of Cassivellaunus. He was manufactured in this way. Suetonius (Cal. 44) refers to 'Adminio Cynobellini Britannorum regis filio'. In Orosius (7,5,5), a fifth century writer, blundering ignorance has tortured out of this 'Mynocybelinum Britannorum regis filium', and in the eighth century *Historia Brittonum* (c. 19) we find evolved 'regi Britannico, qui et ipse Bellinus vocabatur, et filius erat Minocanni' (or Minocani). Hence, Beli son of Mynogan—the real persons being Cynobelinus and his son Adminius.<sup>2</sup> The further designation of Beli as father of Cassivellaunus is due to a misreading of the name Heli, ascribed by Geoffrey of Monmouth to Cassivellaunus's father. As all three of my editions of Geoffrey give Heli, or Hely; as I have seen Heli myself both in MS. Rawlinson C. 152 and in the Bern MS.; and as Geoffrey gives Heli a father whose name is totally unlike Minocan(n)us, I cannot doubt that Heli is the correct reading.

<sup>1</sup> *Amalech* looks like a Goidelic genitive.

<sup>2</sup> I learn from Sir J. Rhys in *The Welsh People* (p. 41), that Zimmer found out these things long ago. I rediscovered them by Holder.

The names of the other three Beli's in these tables are quite genuine, and possibly indicate that their mothers were of the Belgic tribes of Britain. Belg- would pass very early into Beli in Welsh, just as *boly*, 'a bag', and later *bol*, 'a bag' or 'Belgian' (*Keltic Researches*, 11), are from a lost *bolg*, which is only a variant of *belg*-.

We are now in a position to make one or two plausible guesses at the history of this family—if family it was. Early in the first century its members lived in an apple-growing region, and three generations later one of them is called a Dobunian. So that their original home was probably in the apple-growing counties on the west side of the Severn valley, where they would have the Dobunians for neighbours on the east. A generation later they intermarry with the Ambivariti, whose habitat is unknown, but who on the Continent were inland dwellers. In the first half of the third century they began assuming regnal names of Roman origin, and, if we may adopt the form Docil, there arises a strong suspicion that their doing so coincided with the Caledonian expedition of Severus, that the emperor found the son of Dumn a 'teachable' lieutenant, and that, when (after reconstructing the Northern wall) he retired south, 'Docilis' was left to occupy as a dependent chief that part of the neighbouring country known to the Welsh as Manaw Guotodin ('Sub-Otadine Menapia').

There is, however, one fact which suggests that even in the third and fourth centuries the family (if, as I say, family it was) may have had some connexion with the more southern region. The sheet of water called by the English 'Lake Bala', is called by the Welsh 'Tegid's Lake' (*Llyn Tegid*), and Tegid is only a later form of Tacit. I think it likely that the person commemorated is not Tacit himself, but the early sixth century Tegid: that prince's

own name, however, can only be rationally explained, it seems to me, as recording his descent from Tacit. Tegid's father, Catell Durnluc,<sup>1</sup> was founder of the line of kings of Powis, and, if Cunedag attacked the Goidels in North Wales because they were injuriously pressing on the tribes of Powis,<sup>2</sup> it is permissible to wonder whether his intervention was not due to ancestral connexions. On the other hand, it is possible that Tegid's *mother* was of the Cunedag family, and that he had no more distant connexion with it.

It might, however, be pointed out to me that there is also a Llyn Padarn, 'Patern's Lake', and I might be asked if this also did not indicate that Cunedag's ancestors were settled in North Wales. Unless Cunedag's 'grandfather' was a Goidel, this is very unlikely: I feel certain that, in his time, the shores of Llyn Padarn were occupied by Goidels. I am confident that the lake owes its name to the neighbouring Dolbadarn, 'meadow of Paternus', and that Dolbadarn in turn was named from property belonging to a neighbouring church of St. Paternus,<sup>3</sup> I suspect that of Old Llanberis. For the evidence of the existence of any St. Peris seems to me exceedingly doubtful, and the name of the village and its lake (Llyn Peris) may have been derived from the ancient *Caer Peris*, *i.e.*, the fort of the Parisians,<sup>4</sup> or the fort of the Parisian.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Historia Brittonum* tells us (c. 35), that Catell was a servant in the court of Vortigern, whose own kingdom was in East Wales, to the south of Powis.

<sup>2</sup> I have seen this stated or suggested, but have failed to discover where.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dolwyddelan, 'meadow of Gwyddelan'. Gwyddelan means 'descendant of Goidels' or 'little Goidel', and—as Sir J. Rhys told me—there was a St. Gwyddelan, to whom I doubt not the neighbouring church was dedicated.

<sup>4</sup> Otherwise only found in Britain about the Humber estuary.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, a chief of half Parisian blood—cf. Cunedag's 'ancestors',

So much for the 'ancestors' of Cunedag, if ancestors they really were and not merely dynastic precursors. But Ætern probably *was* Cunedag's father, since Cunedag had a son of that name, and Ætern's own name has the look of being chosen for its assonance with that of his precursor Patern—which makes relationship probable. Whether Patern was Ætern's father or his elder brother is rendered doubtful by the closeness of their dates, but that closeness does not, of course, preclude the former belief.

Here ends the subject proper of this study, but I venture to add such observations as have occurred to me, or may occur, with regard to the remainder of the 'genealogies'.

As Table I professed to be a pedigree, not of Hywel, but of his son Ouein, so Table II professes to be the same man's pedigree on his mother's side, beginning '[O]uein. map. elen.'. It is natural to suspect that here also '[O]uein. map.' are insertions, and that the table originally began with '[E]len' or '[H]elen'. Elen, however, died in 943, Hywel not till 950, and the table may have been prepared between those years—in which case it might very well be headed by her son's name.

The name of Elen's great-grandmother should be not Tancoyslt, but Tancoysl. This and other transpositions indicate to me that the tables were copied from an exemplar in narrow lines, and that for want of room final letters were sometimes written above the end of names—with the result that they are brought down into the wrong place in the Harleian MS. The following are my cases :

'the Dobunian' and 'the Ambivaretan'. The chiefs of the Llanberis district are not very likely to have intermarried with those of the Humber, but there may have been Parisian colonies in Wales, as well as on the east coast. There is also a Hafod Peris, 'summer-residence of Peris', in the shire of Cardigan—where the name is clearly that of a person.



Table.	Name.	Representing
1	'Catgualart	Catgualat <sup>r</sup> i.e. Catgualatr
2	Tancoyslt	Tancoyst <sup>l</sup> „ Tancoystl
18	Gueinoth	Gueith <sup>no</sup> „ Gueithno
„	Glitnoth	Glitth <sup>no</sup> „ Glitthno ( <i>sic</i> )
„	'Gatgular	Gatgulat <sup>r</sup> „ Gatgualatr ( <i>sic</i> )

The name of Tancoystl's great-grandfather, Teudos, represents 'Theodosius', and is found four generations earlier in this line, collaterally (see xv), being borne by a prince of the seventh century. It is most probably derived from that of the great general who came in 369 to the rescue of the Roman power in Britain; less probably from his son Theodosius I, from Theodosius II, in whose reign the Theodosian code was issued, or from Theodosius, son of the emperor Maurice, who was associated with his father in the empire of the East from 590 to 602.

The name of Teudos's father, Regin, is the Keltic name Reginus (and Regnus), borne also by a few Romans (of Cisalpine Gallic descent?): it doubtless comes from the *reig-* stem and means 'of royal ancestry'. The name of Regin's grandfather Cathen (= Holder's Catuenus) shows Irish phonetics: the Welsh form would have been Caten, Caden.

Further back, Guortepir is, of course, Votepori,<sup>2</sup> and Aircol has been derived by Zimmer from 'Agricola': note that the stress must have been placed on the first syllable, Ágricol(a), to produce the contraction (it must be remembered that this family was Irish). Presumably Triphun is simply the Roman military title *tribunus* borne by the

<sup>1</sup> Yet the *Grammatica Celtica* quotes four Breton instances of -walart or -gualart.

<sup>2</sup> On the derivation and proper form of whose name see my paper in *Arch. Camb.*, 8th Ser., vi, pp. 78-80.

commander of one of the divisions of a legion: the mutation of intervocalic *b* to *ph* is Irish (see *Gram. Celt.*), as one would expect in this family.

Mr. Phillimore says that 'Gloitguin' is 'Clydwyn, the son of Brychan Brycheiniog, whose reputed conquest of Demetia has caused him to be foisted into this Dimetian pedigree. *Nimet* was his son, not his father, and appears as *Neufedd* in the Breconshire pedigrees'. Whether *this* Clydwyn is the son of Brychan or not I do not know, but do not think *Nimet* has anything to do with any real Neufedd. I take it for nothing more than a misread doublet of the next name, *dimet*, a capital D with the bottom stroke partly obliterated having been misread as D, i.e., N; and, as it merely means 'Demetian', I suspect it to be expressly meant to differentiate him from Clydwyn Brycheiniog. We have two other instances of such mere doublets in the neighbouring names Protec and Protector, Ebiud and Eliud. In fact, it is clear to me that the early part of this pedigree (like that of No. I) was originally not a family-tree but a table of succession, which may have run thus:

Before Clotri, Cloitguin Dimet  
Before (Cloitguin) Dimet, Protector  
Before Protector, Eliud.

When the *guor*'s were dropped and the *map*'s substituted, 'Maxim guletic' would be seen to be a doublet and be omitted, while *Nimet*, *Protec*, and *Ebiud* might be mistaken for distinct names owing to the corruptions they had undergone. The loss of final *tor* in *Protec* might have been due to its coming on the margin, but for the fact that *Protec* is found in the *Book of Llan Dáv* as the name of a sixth century witness: I suggest that, as this line was Irish, the stress was altered from *Protéctor* to *Prótector*, whence an abbreviated form, *Prótec*. As to

Ebiud for Eliud,<sup>1</sup> the confusion of *l* and *b* was very easy, and the *Book of Llan Dáv* contains no name at all resembling Ebiud.

Protector, again, is simply a Latin official title—given to Votepori on his tombstone, and meaning either that he was an honorary member of the Emperor's bodyguard (as hitherto supposed) or (as I now suspect) that he was a Protector of the population within his rule—perhaps of Romano-Britons against his own Goidelic rivals. It can hardly be a mere epithet, however, of Maxim(us), who was a Roman general, of Spanish birth, and a claimant for the imperial throne; and the examples of Votepori and Triphun show us that in this particular line official titles were used as independent personal names.

The end of the table is in a terrible state. Less than half a century separated Maxim from Constans, yet four names come between them, and two of these are very curious indeed. In the really fabulous part of Geoffrey of Monmouth's book, names are borrowed<sup>2</sup> freely from these or similar 'genealogies' to bestow on his prehistoric kings; and, as he gives 'Staterius rex Albanix' and 'Pinnerem regem Loegrix' consecutively within a couple of lines (ii, 17), it is pretty certain that he read not the impossible Pincr but Piner. *Stater* reminds one of *stator*, a magistrate's marshal; *Pincr* of *pincerna*, cup-mixer, cup-bearer; while *misser* resembles various Latin words, and might even represent a Keltic corruption of a lost *mistor*, 'mixer', and so be a gloss on *pincerna*. Was *Stator* a *pincerna* of Constans, and did the table originally so end? And have we any reasonable certainty that Maxim himself was not a

<sup>1</sup> The name means 'Of many battles', and implies that he was the head of a tribe or a military leader.

<sup>2</sup> Thus he has a Cunedag about 600 B.C. The real Cunedag he does not mention at all.

later interpolation for the purpose of deriving the modern heads of the line from a Roman emperor?

As a matter of fact, there has been handed down to us an Irish pedigree of the Triphun family (see Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictus*, 87-8), which gives Triphun entirely different ancestors, and I can only suppose that the list of them in the table before us, if not a mere concoction, simply represents his precursors in the overlordship of Demetia, or else that a leaf in the archetype was lost<sup>1</sup> or misplaced and that we have the tail of one pedigree accidentally tacked on to the body of another.

In Table III Cinglas = Cuneglasus, presumably the king harangued by Gildas.

Anaraut in Table IV is, I am told by Prof. Anwyl, Lat. Honoratus: I may note the form Anarauht in Nennius as showing a confused recollection that the name ought to have an *h* somewhere in it. Prof. Anwyl has also told me that Aneurin = Honorinus, so that I may pretty safely add that Eneuris in the *Annales Cambriae* and the *Book of Llan Dáv* = Honorius.

Run and Neithon in the same table are royal Pictish names, indicating an intermarriage either with the Picts direct or with a line which *had* intermarried with them—*e.g.*, the kings of Gwynedd (i), the Strathclyde kings (v), or the descendants of Caratacus (xvi).

And Anthun represents Antonius, perhaps as a corrupt or abbreviated form of Antoninus—for so we have it in xvi, and the *Book of Llan Dáv* has 'antonie' (p. 26) and 'antonie' (p. 289) for Antonini.

Table V is a semi-Pictish line containing three Donalds (Dumnagual), a Ron (Run), a Necton (Neithon), an Alpin (Elfin), and *perhaps* a Kenneth (Cinuit)—not to lay stress

<sup>1</sup> There is reason to suspect this also in Table xvi.

on two Eugeins—while the two Beli's suggest two inter-marriages with the Belgic Menapians of Manau Guotodin (see my *Keltic Researches*). In it we find the name Teudebur, modern Tudor, of which I shall here state what I confidently believe to be the origin.

It is borrowed from Teutonic Theoderht (Theodobertus, Theodebert, Theudebert, Θεοδοίβερος), and the particular person from whom its use originates was apparently Theodobert I of Austrasia, a great sixth century king who invaded Italy, struck a large gold coinage, and, when sending an embassy to Justinian, professed to be overlord of Britain, or, at any rate, of the Angles inhabiting it (Procopius, *Bell. Goth.*, iv, 20).

The Teudebur before us appears in the continuator of Bede as Theodor; the MS. containing this form is of the year 1420, but the work itself is apparently not later than about 766. The *Th* is also preserved in the pedigree of Fernmail, in c. 49 of the *Historia Brittonum*, by various MSS., *C D G L* giving Theudubr, *P* Theudurb, while *H* has Teudubir and *M N* Teudor. The Theudub(i)r in question is obviously referred to as still living ('ipse est rex Buelitiae regionis'), is 10th in descent from Vortigern, and has a son, Fernmail, who rules in Buelt and Guorthi-girniaun, and whose regnal *floruit* is calculated by Zimmer (*Nennius Vindictus*, 71), at 'ca. 785 bis ca. 815': the pedigree is also anterior to the Nennian revision of 796.

The *Book of Llan Dáv*, in which the form is Teudur, yields, in the names Freudubur and Freudur, a close parallel to the change from Theudub(i)r. Moreover, these names—which from their initial F could not be Welsh—are clearly borrowed from a form of the Anglo-Saxon Frithubeorht (also written 'Friudbertus' and 'Fridebertus'), and thus confirm the derivation of Theudub(i)r from Theoderht.

Prof. Oman suggests that the 'Ceritic guletic' of this table is St. Patrick's Alclyde king Coroticus, pointing out the correspondence in date.<sup>1</sup> This suggestion becomes almost a certainty when we note among his successors a Beli († 720-2) who was undoubtedly king of Alclyde. Marriages with Pictish princesses were bound to take place among the Alclyde kings, and the offspring would, naturally, receive Pictish names with a view to their possible future claims to the Pictish throne: indeed, we know that the Beli just mentioned had a son, bearing the Pictish name Brude, who did become king of the Picts. Hence the Pictish names Run, Neithon,<sup>2</sup> and Elfin. Neithon is probably the Nwython of Haneirin's poems on the battle of Raith, possibly also the Nectan who succeeded to the Pictish throne about 597.

The name of Ceritic's father, Cynloyp, is a later form of the ogamic Cunalipos, apparently a Goidelic name containing Indo-European *p*,<sup>3</sup> and the name of his 'grandfather', Cinhil, is apparently adapted from Quintillus, that of a Roman emperor who reigned in 270—and suggests his having had an earlier ancestor of the same name.

Fer should be Goidelic, from its initial *f*, but in that case it should either mean 'Man'—a not very likely name—or be borrowed from the Roman name Verus—which Fer's date makes equally improbable. I suggest that the

<sup>1</sup> My idea that he was the Careticus of Geoffrey of Monmouth, an over-king of the sixth century, must be given up: the number of 'generations' between him and Beli II would be much too large.

<sup>2</sup> Kymricized from Rôn and Necton. The name of Mailcun's son Run in I is due to Mailcun's having married a Pictish princess—see my *Keltic Researches*, 83, and a forthcoming paper on 'Taliessin and his Contemporaries'.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Keltic Researches*, p. 153, on Andelipa. Sir J. Rhys has noted Cynloyp and several other names as having been borrowed into Welsh from Goidelic before the latter had lost Ind.-Eur. *p*.

original had *ŷfer*, i.e., Confer, that the *ŷ* was on the margin, got rubbed away, and was not copied, and that *map* was then wrongly inserted (as it has been many times in these tables): this conjecture is supported by the absence of a stop between 'Confer' and 'ipse'. If it is correct, we have seven consecutive 'generations' whose names begin with C.

Confer itself is a funny name. If it is Goidelic, it should mean 'True hound'—but the *f* would have been silent long before the 'Genealogies' were compiled. If it is Welsh, it apparently stands for Confor, i.e., the Convor (mutated from Con-mor, 'Great hound') of the *Book of Llan Dáv*.

As for the curious statement that 'Confer ipse *est* uero olitau. dimor meton. uenditu<sup>f</sup>. est.', I take it that he was 'sold to (the) Middle Sea', and that *olitau* is a lost word, meaning 'much travelled', derived from the well-known *ol*, 'much', and Stokes's stem *itáδ*, 'I go'.

He may have been captured by Saxon pirates (like Patrick), been sold into slavery in Gaul, and so have reached the Mediterranean—to escape afterwards or to receive his freedom from a Christian master.

In VII, the final *h* of Clinoch is Goidelic, and in VIII I regard [*C*]linog *eitin* as another Clinoc (who would be a nephew of the former), and not as a mistake for *Clitnoy eitin*, as Mr. Phillimore would have it. It is doubtless true that Clynog 'never could have been spelt with a final *g* in the tenth to twelfth centuries', but it is equally true that capital G is thrice miswritten for capital C in these tables, in Gloitguin (ii) for Cloitguin, Gatgular (xviii) for Catgualatr, Gyl (xix) for Coyl, and it is quite possible that in an earlier MS. of these genealogies the names were written entirely in capitals.

In VIII note the Roman names Urbigena and Marcianus, converted into '[U]rbgen' and 'Merchianum', with

Gurgust either parallel to or metamorphosed from Pictish Vergust (Fergus) and Vurgust.

In IX, Mr. Phillimore (p. 176) says that '*Masguic clop*' (= "M. the lame") has apparently formed one of the elements of a name, *Masgoit cloflaut*, found in some MSS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth (ix, 12), the other element being the *Cinis scaplaut* of our xvi. The latter name I shall explain in due course. As to the former, Geoffrey undoubtedly borrowed from *some* MS. of our 'genealogies', and I suspect that Table IX should have read '*Masguic cloflaut*'. In the later middle ages *c* and *t* are incessantly confused, owing to the way in which *t* was written. As to *clop*, it *might* arise from *cloflaut*, the final letters of which might have been written above the line for want of space, and so overlooked by a copyist, while a subsequent scribe would naturally read *clop* into *clop*, 'lame'. *Cloflaut* might represent<sup>1</sup> the Latin stems *clāv-* and *lāt-*, and mean one who wore the 'clavus latus' or 'broad stripe' of a senator: compare the epithet 'Pesrut', 'red-cloaked', of Cunedag's 'grandfather'. But I prefer *cloflaut* = *clavātus* (with the same meaning), which is in all three of my editions, in the Bern MS., and in MS. Laud misc. 720.<sup>2</sup> And I suggest that Masguic = Mascuit from a Goidelic Mascēt = Macsēt = Maxentius, and that his grandfather Coyl = Lat. Caelius.

In X, note Morcant the *Belgian* ('bule'), which suggests that his mother was a Menapian; Garbaniaún, Vrbán, and Grat, equaling Lat. Germanianus (Prof. Anwyl), Urbanus, and Gratus; and the many Eu-, Ou-, Iu- names, including one, Oudecant, which has the stem of the tribal name Decanti.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Latin *a* becoming *au* and *o* in Welsh, and Welsh *f* being English *v*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Rawlinson C. 152 unluckily misses both names.

<sup>3</sup> This form is Goidelic.

<sup>4</sup> On which see my *Keltic Researches*, 28.



I cannot doubt that Ebiud should be Eliud. We have already had the two together as a doublet in II, and the *Book of Llan Dáv* contains no such name as Ebiud.

Teuhant and Tecmant are a mere doublet. Teuhant, Sir John Rhŷs has shown (*The Welsh People*, 90), is a degenerate form of Tasciovant, the *s* becoming *h*, and vowel-changes and droppings producing Tehcvant, modern Tegfan. Teuhant is a blundered transcript of an earlier Ténant, *i.e.* Tehvant, while Tecmant represents Tecvant—the *m* standing (as in 'Oumun' and 'Amalech') for the *v* sound.

In XII, Elidir is doctored into Eleuther, after a Pope supposed to have sent missionaries to Britain. The first occurrence of this erroneous statement (on which see below, p. 95) is in the recension of the Roman Pontifical known as the *Catalogus Felicianus*, and made in 530. Elidir really answers to a Goidelic Ailithir or (*Martyrology of Donegal*) Elithir, *i.e.* 'foreigner', 'exile', or 'pilgrim'. See Baring-Gould and Fisher's *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 445, and Professor Kuno Meyer's *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*.

Table XVI is of exceptional interest, being obviously a line of descendants of the kings Tasciovant, Cunobelinus, and Caratacus.

This family were of the Goidelic-speaking Belgian conquerors of South England, and the names of most of them have been Kymricized (like Guortepir in II for Votecori). 'Teuhant' is followed by Cinbelin, Caratauc, and 'Guidgen'. The name of Guidgen (for Goidelic Vid(o)gen) means 'Wood-born'; he was probably born 'on the march' in the wars with the Romans. Then Louhen should be Lou Hen, on whose name see Sir John Rhŷs at p. 6 of this volume. 'Cinis scaplaut', who comes next, has a Roman name and

cognomen, which make it practically certain that he served in the Roman army. For *Cinis* = *Canis*, 'Hound' (with *i* umlaut), doubtless the mere Latin translation of a Goidelic *Cu(o)*—while *scaplaut* is simply the Welsh transcript (with regular *au* for *ā*) of *scapulātus*, 'broad-shouldered,' found hitherto only in Low Latin, but shown by this nickname to be at least as old as the middle of the second century. His successors, Decion and Catel, represent Decianus and Catellus, the latter just possibly a Latin translation of *Cunagnos* (later *Conan*). But their successor *Catleú* (for Goidelic *Cat(u)léo*) has a Keltic name, 'War-lion', and the following name *Letan* is Goidelic. Adamnan, in his *Life of Columba*, writes 'de Cormaco nepote Lethani', and *Letenn* is the name of one of the earliest mythical *Cruithni*: *Leitagnos* is the earlier form postulated by Holder. Then comes *Serguan*, apparently for *Servandus*, another Latin name: he would seem to have been born about 260. He is succeeded by *Caurtam*, a name of which a later form is *Caurdaf*, 'dusky hero' or 'dusky giant'—*caur* being Irish *caur*, 'hero', Welsh *cawr*, 'giant' or 'mighty man', and *tām*, an adjective from Stokes's '\*teme dunkeln', which became obsolete very early, but is preserved in the names *Cunatamos*, *Cunotamus*, *Condaf*, *Cyndaf*, meaning 'dusky hound', and in various river-names, e.g., *Tam* (later *Tâv*, modern *Taff*) and *Tamēsa*, *Tamēsis* ('dark stream' or 'darkly flowing'). Then follow *Caten*, *Neithon* (for Goidelic *Necton*), and *Run* (for Goidelic *Rōn*). *Ron* and *Necton* are Pictish royal names, and the latter almost certainly implies Christian parentage.<sup>1</sup> The birth of this particular *Necton* should be about 350: the first of the name in the royal

<sup>1</sup> It appears to mean 'born of a baptized one': see *Keltic Researches*, 60.

Pictish succession probably came to the throne about 460, and may have derived his name from the Necton before us. With this Necton's son 'Run' the table ends, apparently in the early fifth century, and never comes into visible connexion with the Cunedag and allied lines. Yet the Tehvant of X must almost certainly have had an ancestress descended from the Tehvant of *this* table, and the fact that Dumngual Hen had two grandsons<sup>1</sup> named Caurdaf (a later form of Caurtam) and Serfan (an earlier form of Serguan) puts an alliance with line V beyond doubt. This Caurdaf and Serfan had different fathers, and I suspect that their grandfather, Dumngual, had married a daughter of the Caurtam, and granddaughter of the Serguan, of XVI.

But there was also certainly an alliance between this line and the house of Gwynedd: probably king Cadvan married a daughter of it. For he had a son named Kynvelyn, who died before his father, killed at 'Catraeth'<sup>2</sup> in 596, and who left a son Tecvann. See, for the text, Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 93-6, and, for the translation, i, 412-414.

The explanation of the Pictish ending of Table XVI is very simple. The Pictish royal succession was matriarchal, the king reigning by right of his mother; his father might be a foreigner, and indeed so often was one that exogamy may have been a compulsory condition. But the heir apparent always bore, or took, a Pictish name: thus, the son of the Northumbrian Anfrid reigned as 'Brude'. No change of language was involved in an alliance between the descendants of Caratacus and the Pictish royal family: both would speak Goidelic. Probably the former had gone

<sup>1</sup> See the *Bonhed Gwyr o Gogled* (Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 454-5).

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, the battle of Raeth=Raith, in Fife (the Cath Ratha of Irish chronicles). All the writers about the name have failed to see this!

North, like the Cunedag family, in Roman military service against the Picts, and the marriage (if it were so<sup>1</sup>), of which Necton was the offspring, was contracted during a time of peace.

At the back of Tehvant (who was coeval with the Christian era) comes what Mr. Phillimore justly calls a 'marvellous list of the Roman emperors' (beginning in the fourth century), all connected with each other and with Tehvant by the inevitable *map*, 'son'! Yet this apparently ignorant and vainglorious forgery turns out to have a quite different and innocent origin, to reveal the source of this particular table, and to furnish an almost certain inference as to that of the remaining ones.

It has been said at the beginning of this paper that the 'Genealogies' occur only in the oldest MS. of the *Annales Cambriae*, in which they immediately follow those *Annales*. It has been said also that I have elsewhere shown the *Annales* to have been originally copies of the marginal entries on a 532-year paschal cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine contained in a book belonging to the church of Meneu (St. David's). It now turns out that Table XVI was copied from marginal entries on another paschal cycle belonging to the same church—but, instead of being the obsolete cycle of Victorius, it was the current cycle of Dionysius. And this is how the proof is obtained.

(i.) The list of emperors, as it stands, is not complete, but only a liberal selection. As far back as Gallus, the names are put in the genitive after *map*, but before him up to Octavianus in the nominative—an indication that they were originally in the nominative, had no *map* before

<sup>1</sup> See the anecdote in Dion Cassius, lxxvi, 16, 5, from which we find that the great Pictish ladies were polyandrous as late, at least, as 211.

them,<sup>1</sup> and were tacked on to the pedigree of Tehvant in two instalments, by two different scribes.

Between 'Constantini' and 'Galerii' an & has been lost: it may have been on the edge of the parchment and have got rubbed away. Caroci should be either Carini or Cari, and Titti is corrupted from Taciti. Between Auriliani and Valeriani has been inserted 'map Antun. du & cleopatre', doubtless by the same late editor—anxious to show his knowledge of Roman history—who has added 'mus' after the name of Decius! That Antun is not part of the original list is shown by the two Antonines, Caracalla and Pius, being called not Antun but Antonius. Alaximus, as Mr. Phillimore conjectured, is miscopied from Maximus, and Commodus is called Commodius—but, apart from these later corruptions and from its omissions, the list is practically correct, *except for the addition of three names which do not occur in Roman history and which give the clew as to what it really was.*

(ii.) Those three names are 'map Mapmau cannuf' inserted between Aurelian and Caracalla, 'Moebuf' between Severus and Commodus, and 'Adiuuanduf' between Antonius and Trajan. None of these are Roman names at all, but Adiuuandus is Latin, and is obviously (like Adiutus, another part of the same verb) a name of Christian invention, meaning one whom God would aid. The presumption is that the other two are Christian also, and this is strengthened by the fact that four of the Roman emperors have notes of Christian events put against them, and that no other events whatever are recorded. Under Diocletian is mentioned his persecution of the Christians, and the fact that in his time suffered

<sup>1</sup> The *map's*, indeed, were so recklessly put in that they were originally inserted also in various places before the words *magni, est, (per)secutus, (xp'ia)nos, passi, (bea)ti, and ih'u*!

the blessed martyrs Alban, Iulian, and 'Aron', with very many others: these names are the only ones given by Gildas, and indicate that the paragraph was written after his time, while the spelling Aron<sup>1</sup> is ground for believing that the name in question was not the biblical Aaron (as given in the existing late MSS. of Gildas), but the South Welsh name Araun (*Book of Llan Dâv*, 75, 172) or Arawn (in the *Mabinogi* of Pwyll, prince of Dyfed), representing Arānius—a name found in Algerian and Spanish inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> Under Nero is mentioned the passion of Peter and Paul, under Tiberius that of Jesus himself, and under Octavian the birth of Jesus.

The name 'Mapmaucannus', however, has a most remarkable tale to tell. The Map must almost certainly go out, for no one else in these tables bears a patronymic instead of a personal name, and doubtless in 'map Mapmaucannus' the first *map* was prefixed to an antecedent name, which a later copyist omitted because he was unable to read it.

Now Maucannus<sup>3</sup> is St. Mawgan, to whom there are two dedications in Cornwall,<sup>4</sup> but of whose life and date no tradition seems to be known. The original form of his name we shall arrive at later. But in the earliest life of St. David a monastery of Maucannus is mentioned, and in such a way as to bring it into the closest connexion with

<sup>1</sup> Baring-Gould and Fisher's *British Saints* (i, 103) mentions a Cae Aron near Caerleon, and a Cwm Aron in the parish of Llanfrechfa in the neighbourhood. Prof. Anwyl adds a Cwm A. in Radnorshire and (N)Antaron near Aberystwyth.

<sup>2</sup> For Algeria (Renier, 346), see the *Onomasticon* to Forcellini: for Spain, Holder under Arania and Aranus (*read* Aranius?).

<sup>3</sup> The same name is found in xxii, miswritten Maucanu, and in xxvii written Maucant.

<sup>4</sup> I do not add St. Maughan's in Monmouthshire, because, in his edition of the *Book of Llan Dâv*, Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans identifies that with a Lann Mocha and church of St. Machutus.

the Menevian saint. We are there told that (apparently at least thirty years) before David was born his father was informed by an angel in a dream that when he went hunting next day he would find near the river Theibi 'tria munera . . . que' custodienda filio ex te nascituro trans- mitte ad Maucanni monasterium quod nunc usque Depositum Monasterium vocatur'. Presumably this monastery was somewhere near the Teifi in South Cardigan, on the border of Pembrokeshire; but no one seems to have identified it, and even as early as the twelfth century it appears to have passed out of knowledge, since Giraldus Cambrensis, while copying the legend, leaves out the name.

Here then we have a monastery named after Maucannus in existence at so early a date (about 430) as to amply justify the belief that St. Mawgan belonged to that primitive period of British Christianity of which almost all records have perished; that, in fact, he lived when this table suggests, in the early third century. And the connexion of his monastery with the legend of David, taken with the Menevian origin of the immediately preceding *Annales Cambriae*, is presumptive evidence that the 'Genealogies' are copied from a St. David's book.

It is clear to me that the names of the Roman emperors were originally written on the margin of a double Dionysian paschal cycle of 1,064 years. Dionysius dated his cycles from the Annunciation, and this list begins with the Nativity. Its defective state between Tiberius and Antoninus Pius, with the displacement of Nero, may be due to the loss of one or more leaves, and the misbinding of another. After Constans the Tehvant genealogy was also copied on the same margins, or, at any

<sup>1</sup> *I.e., quae.* In Rees's *Cambro-British Saints* it is mistaken for the conjunction.

rate, on those of the leaves following. As a result, the transcriber of the genealogies found the list of emperors down to Constans immediately at the back of Tehvant, and mistook them for that king's ancestors.

As regards the book in which this double Dionysian cycle was contained, it might have been a Kalendar and book of paschal and other chronological calculations—like the Winchester MS. of the year 867 in the Bodleian (*MS. Digby 63*), which contains a similar double cycle defective at the beginning. Or it might have been a Psalter—like *MS. Douce 296*, in the Bodleian, executed about 1023 for Peterborough, but not improbably at Winchester (and certainly a product of the Winchester school)—which contains a paschal table calculated from 836. Or it might have been a Sacramentary. But the probability seems to be that it would be the same book whence the *Annales Cambriae* are transcribed, and the copy of Victorius's cycle upon which these *Annales* were first written was apparently made in 509. We have no examples of paschal cycles so early as that, and I do not know in what books they were then written. The Dionysian cycle would not have been added till after 767,<sup>1</sup> and, if it was written in the 509 book, additional leaves were doubtless inserted—a process the more easy since it was common for manuscripts to be merely stitched together without any 'binding', the place of which was served by leaving the outside pages of parchment blank.

And now for the personalities of Maucannus, Moebus, and Adiuvandus.

Moebus I cannot identify, and can only say that the form is that of the endless names of saints with the honorific Irish prefix Mo or M' ('My'), or the corresponding

<sup>1</sup> The Dionysian rule was not adopted in Wales before 768.



Welsh prefix My or M', as Mochua for St. Cua, Maedoc for St. Aedoc. I fully expect to find eventually that it is corrupted from a Latin base.

Maucannus and Adiuvandus, however, are the early missionaries whose names by the twelfth century had become Faganus and Diuvanus.<sup>1</sup> They were then associated with the mission from Pope Eleutherus to King Lucius—who reigned not in Britain but in Edessa!<sup>2</sup> They are, all the same, no part of the early story of that mission as told in the Roman Pontifical, or later in Bede, or later still in the *Historia Brittonum* and Nennius, but were simply foisted into it because, as the earliest British missionaries known, they were supposed to belong to it.

As a matter of fact, they were not even contemporaries—Adiuvandus flourishing<sup>3</sup> before 139 and Maucannus (properly Pacandus?) after 210.

Let me now explain how Adiuvandus became Diuvanus, and Pacandus became Maucannus.

<sup>1</sup> There being no distinguishing stroke over *i* before the eleventh century, *diuuanus* admits of many corruptions. Diuvanus is one of the forms given by Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Ant.*, 54): the best Bodleian MS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth has *duuianū* for the accusative. Forms with an *r* at beginning, like Diruvianus (!) are due to *i* having been accidentally omitted, and then inserted above the line—supralinear *i* being a recognised abbreviation for *ir* or *ri*.

<sup>2</sup> I owe the knowledge of this to Sir J. Rhŷs—see Harnack in *Sitzungsberichte d. k. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 19 Mai, 1904: he shows that the mission must have been from Eleutherus to Britium of the Edessenes, between 174 and 179, when Lucius Aelius Septimius Megas Abgarus IX was king at Britium.

<sup>3</sup> We do not know the exact chronological meaning of the insertions—whether they indicate the obits of these saints, or their arrival as missionaries, or their founding particular monasteries. But on the latest possible interpretations the dates cannot be after those stated. As to that of Maucannus, owing to the apparent loss of a leaf of the cycle at this point, we do not know if he belonged to the reign of Trajan or to that of Antoninus Pius.

The *A* in *Adiuvandus* was dropped either because it was an unstressed syllable at the beginning of a word (as, in popular Welsh, *Dolig*, 'Christmas', = *Nadolig*, *Natalicium*), or because in the ablative *Adiuando* it was mistaken for the Latin preposition *a*.<sup>1</sup> And *-nd*<sup>2</sup> regularly becomes in Welsh *-nn*, and then *n*—e.g., *land-* passed through *lann* into *lan*, *Llan*. Hence the stem *diuvand* would become *diuvan* in Welsh, from which twelfth century writers would assume Latin *Diuvanus*.

The lost original form of *Fagan*, *Maucannus*, or *Mawgan*'s name was apparently *Pacandus*.<sup>3</sup> This would regularly produce (P)*aucann*, (P)*awgan*, but the long *ā* of the Latin, being unstressed, might be shortened in common use and so give (P)*agan* (cf. *Nadolig* for *Nātalicium*). The *M-* forms are due to the addition of the honorific prefix (Goidelic) *Mo*, (Kymric) *My* (obsolete) and *Fy*. The *F-* or *Ph-* forms (*Phaganus*) apparently arise from the syntactic mutation of *P-* before the latter was dropped.

In Table XVII [C]uhelm, as Mr. Phillimore proposes, should be *Cuhelin*. The *h* is apparently used only to separate the vowels, as it is not found in the instances of this name in the *Book of Llan Dāv*. Is *Llyn Cwellin*, in *Caernarvonshire*, named from this particular person? Prof. Anwyl thinks the *ll* for *l* not very probable.

<sup>1</sup> Till at least the end of the eleventh century it was common to write prepositions as parts of the nouns they governed, so that we might have 'brittones conversi sunt apacando et adiuuando' taken as = b. c. s. a *Pacando et a Diuuando*.

<sup>2</sup> A remnant of the final dental, though degraded to *t*, is preserved in the *Maucant* of xxvii, if that is not derived from a Lat. *Pacantius*. And Prof. Anwyl equates *Meugant*—the name of a much later saint. Geoffrey of Monmouth has the name *Maugantius* (vi, 18).

<sup>3</sup> I once thought *Facundus*, and had so explained it in proof: but I do not at all like the fact that no form gives a trace of the first *u*. *Pacandus* (= 'easy to be appeased') would be a quite intelligible name, and there are several instances of *Pacatus* as such.

Iouanaul (Lat. Iuvenalis) is, apparently, twelve generations later than Cunedag. A Iovenali was buried at Penprŷs in the Lleyn peninsula, but his tombstone (now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford) can hardly be later than the sixth century. Very likely both were of the same family.

In Tables XX and XXXI, note the Goidelic *Ædan*, also found as *Aidan* in the *Book of Llan Dŵv*.

In Table XXII I cannot agree with Mr. Phillimore that *this* Cattegirn is described by Nennius as a son of Vortigern. That Catell's son should be named Cattegirn, and his grandson Pascent, is quite consistent with the fact that these were the names of two sons of Catell's former master, Vortigern. Cattegirn is again given as Catell's son at the end of XXIII.

In XXIV I suspected Ecrin, father of Ermic—no such name as Ecrin being found in the *Book of Llan Dŵv*, though there is an Erbic (only another form of Ermic) who was son of *Elfin*. But Prof. Anwyl pointed to Egryn in place-names, and Baring-Gould and Fisher's *British Saints* (ii, 415) has an Egryn descended from Catell Durnluc (xxvii) and Catman (i).

At the end of XXV Glast<sup>1</sup> is the man from whom, ultimately, the name of Glastonbury is derived. Our Glaston-bury is corrupted from the A.S. Glastinga-burh (dat. Glastinga-byrig), the fort of the descendants of

<sup>1</sup> Glast itself is an older form of Welsh and Irish *glas*, O. Ir. *glass*—a colour-name, like Gwyn and Lloyd. It is very singular that the two Irish ogam-inscriptions which contain the gen. Glasiconas 'Gray hound', should have Glasi-, not Glasti-, or even Glassi-. Both are in Goidelic. There is ground for reading *is* = earlier *ist*, 'is', in the Goidelic calendar of Coligny (first century)—see *Keltic Researches*, 124-5—so that *-st* may have become *-s* in one dialect much sooner than in others. Or the language of the inscriptions in question may be an imperfect attempt at reproducing archaic forms.

Glast. In Latin Glastonia the *-onia* is a mere conventional abbreviation, as in Oxonia for Oxenafurda, Exonia for Exanceaster, and Seftonia for Sceaftesburh.

The oldest recorded Welsh names of Glastonbury, or, perhaps, one should say the monastery of Glastonbury, are Yneswitrin and Yneswitherim, in Hearne's text (pp. 48, 97) of the twelfth century writer William of Malmesbury's treatise on the antiquity of Glastonbury.<sup>1</sup> Witherim, of course, can equally be written Witherī = Witherin, and, when I mentioned this form to Sir John Rhys, he at once said that it might represent Victorinus. Yneswitrin and Yneswitherin, in fact, are equivalent to Insula Victorini, though *-witrin* is doctored to suit the 'glass' derivation. 'Insula', I think, probably means not an isle in the geographical sense, but an isolated dwelling (see what I have said in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, vi, 449), and I take Insula Victorini to = Monastery of Victorinus.

Not only is Victorinus a common ecclesiastical name in early times, but there were at least two Welsh churches bearing its Welsh form. One is mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dáv* (320, 7) as Lanwytheryn or Ecclesia Gueithirin (228): it is Llan Vetherin in Monmouthshire. The other is the church of Gwytherin in Denbighshire, said to have been founded by Gwytherin ab Dingad (Rice Rees, *Essay*

<sup>1</sup> See the very elaborate and valuable paper by W. W. Newell in *Publications of the Modern Language Assoc. of America*, xviii (N.S. xi), no. 4, pp. 459-512. Mr. Newell has unluckily been misled by an artificial appearance of identity of meaning in *glas-* and *witrin*, into saying that 'it cannot be doubted that the British name is in reality a translation . . . of the Saxon appellation' (p. 493). Philology has its snares of coincidence: the Port of so many Hampshire names was probably a real man, and not invented out of port; while the *Wightgar* (a good Jutish name) from whom *Wightgáresburh* (our Carisbrooke) is called has been quite erroneously regarded as mythical because he invaded the Isle of *Wight* (*Vectis*, *Wiht*).

on the *Welsh Saints*, 275). If that Dingad be the Dinacat of Table XVII (of which name it is only another form) then the Gwytherin in question was the great-grandson of a man who came into North Wales at the end of the fourth century, and he himself may be put late in the fifth.

Glast's name points to his being either of earlier date than 547 or else a Goidel. For Gildas, writing about 548,<sup>1</sup> addresses one of the kings as Cuneglase—not Cune-glaste or even Cuneglasse—so that in Welsh the *-st* had already become *-s*. On the other hand, the modern Fergus retained its original *-st* as late as the ninth century in Pictish Vurgust.<sup>2</sup>

Sir J. Rhŷs has, indeed, noted (*Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, 333) that the name Glast is found in the Redon cartulary, as that of a benefactor of the period 990-992. I do not hesitate to say that that is a mere antiquarian revival, intended to recall the founder of Glastonbury; as if an Englishman, nowadays, wishing to recall the great king of Wessex, were to name his son not Alfred but Ælfred. We have only to look at the time when this Glast lived. If he was a man of about 35 to 45 he was born when the monastery of Glastonbury was in its chief pride under Dunstan. If he was about 55 to 60, he was born when a crowd of Bretons were actually living in Wessex during the occupation of their own country by Norman invaders, and when Glastonbury would be their natural Mecca: he may even have been born there!

The note following Glast's name and containing the names of *Glastenic* and *loyt coyt* is, of course, corrupt, but

<sup>1</sup> See my letter in *The Academy* of Nov. 2, 1895. The *Annales Cambriae* do not say that Mailcun died in 547, but they put against that year a plague in which they say he died—a plague which may very well have lasted a year or two.

<sup>2</sup> The *-st* also lingers to this day in 'Llanrwst'.

clearly shows that either Glast or some one or more of his descendants came to or from Letocetum, our Lichfield. And here we find a parallel account in William of Malmesbury which must be summarized.

William mentions all the persons in this table, but mistakes them for brothers—an evidence that here also the *map's* are not original. He says that Cuneda was their *proavus*, which should strictly mean 'great-grandfather', but also = merely 'ancestor'. He calls the first *Ludnerth*, but, although the initial has not been painted in in the Harleian MS., *Ludnerth* is certain: see for this name the *Red Book of Hergest*, ii, 261. For Catmor he has *Cathmor* (where the *th*, if correct, would be Goidelic), for Moriutned *Morvined*, for Morhen *Morehel*, for Botan *Boten*, for Morgen *Morgent*, for Mormayl *Mortineil*, and for Glast *Glasteing*—which is obviously only a variant of the *glastenic* in the note attached to Glast's name in the Harleian MS.

But Glast actually was great-grandson to Cunedag according to *MS. Jesus Coll.* 20 (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 90), which gives [M]euruc as son of Elaed, son of Elud, son of Glas, son of Elnu, son of Docuael, son of Cuneda wledic. And I have no serious doubt that this legend of the sow only slightly veils a most interesting piece of history, which I will now unveil.

Cunedag swooped down from the North 146 years before the reign of Mailcun (*Historia Brittonum*, § 62), who died about 548 (see my note on p. 99), and, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth's data, was (before he became over-king) reigning in Gwynedd at least as early as one of the years 542-4. So that Cunedag may safely be said to have arrived in the Midland zone *circa* 390-400. He was then a middle-aged man, to say the least, for he had with him the son of his dead eldest son. Of the nine sons of Cunedag, Docmail was youngest but one, and, if we suppose

that Cunedag died in 410, we cannot place Docmail's death less than forty or Glast's less than one hundred years later—say *circa* 510. Now Arthur did not fight the battle of the Badon hill till 516 (*Annales Cambriae*), and it was his twelfth against the Saxons. According to the Breton tradition of Geoffrey, it was preceded immediately by the battle of the wood of Caledon, and that by a battle at Kaerluidcoit, *i.e.*, Letocetum, Lichfield, which the Saxons were then besieging. According to the eighth century *Historia Brittonum*, there were four battles between that of the Badon hill and that of the wood of Celidon, and the latter was immediately preceded by one on the river Bassas, which again was preceded by one in Lincolnshire (*in regione Linnuis*); Kaerluidcoit is not mentioned, but Bassas may have been the name of Hammerwich Water, which runs below Lichfield, and no fewer than three Staffordshire Basford's testify to the existence of the stem of the Welsh *bas* (= 'shallow') in ancient river-names in that county. So that we have definite reason for believing that within the limits reasonably assignable to Glast's life the city of his habitation was attacked by the Saxons. He and his family may have resolved to migrate to securer regions, or he may have inherited a principality in the South-West by marriage, or have been invited thither. He would follow the Ikniel or Rykniel way from Letocetum till it joined the Foss, follow the Foss to Bath, and thence take the right-hand road to Wells and Glastonbury.

The mythical character of the sow part of the story is obvious.' Mr. Newell observes (p. 476): 'The pursuit of

<sup>1</sup> That a sow with a young litter, or about to litter, should travel the distance between Lichfield and Glastonbury *at all*; that she should, as she presumably would, pass through the cities of Cirencester and Bath without being stopped; and that her owner should be unable to

a lost sow, attended by wonderful adventures, was a commonplace of Old-Welsh literature. The pigs and apple-tree are introduced after Virgil, who makes Aeneas determine the site of Alba Longa in a similar manner.' I may add that in the case of Glastonbury the legend may have arisen out of a wish to explain the name of Sow<sup>y</sup>' (whence Leland's Sowey Water), a possession of Glastonbury, which, I suppose, must be represented by the modern Southway on the Wells road. But in the rest of the story there is absolutely nothing incredible—nor do I see what ground there could have been to *invent* it, or out of what mythical elements it could have been developed, if untrue.

A striking feature in this table is that seven out of its twelve personal names contain the word *mor*, 'great'. Morhen, if rightly spelt, must be Mor Hen, 'Mor the Old'. But William of Malmesbury has Morehel, and *b* with an imperfectly-closed loop is so easily mistaken for *l* that I suspect Morheb, a name found in the *Book of Llan Dáv*.

According to William, Glasteing followed his sow 'per mediterraneos Anglos, secus villam quæ dicitur Escebtiorne' to Wellis, and from Wellis through the wayless and watery way (*sic*) which is called *Sugewege*, that is, *Sow's way*, till he found the sow suckling its young under an apple-tree by the church at Glastonbury. 'Escebtiorne' has not been identified, nor can I find any Anglo-Saxon derivation for it. Consequently, I cannot doubt that the

overtake her till she had got to Glastonbury—all these things are beyond reasonable belief. That Glast and his family might have determined to settle wherever the sow littered is not so incredible, but I prefer to account for this part of the legend as I have done above.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot get any very early form of this name, the forms in the earliest alleged Glastonbury charters being clearly modernized. But I take Sow<sup>y</sup> to mean an isle formed by a stream called the Sow(e)—a name borne by two English rivers, one in Staffordshire, one in Warwickshire, while (Prof. Anwyl) a *Huch* flows through Llanberis.



first half of it represents the Welsh *escob*, 'bishop', and the second half a derivative of that *tigerno-* stem which gives the name Tierney in Irish, and *teyrn*, 'lord', in Welsh. I take it to mean 'bishop's lordship'. And, as Lichfield was the seat of a bishopric, and so well fits the starting-place of a journey 'per mediterraneos Anglos', I regard 'Esebtiorne' as either a gloss on the name 'loyt coyt' or a misunderstood extract from some Welsh account.

William's 'Glasteing' is quite clearly from a misunderstood text. I agree with Mr. Phillimore's suggestion—which occurred to me independently—that the impossible 'unum funt' is corrupted from 'unde eft', and I believe that the original ran 'Glast (unde est Glastenig) qui venit [ab urbe] quae uocatur Loytcoyt'. Glastenig I take to be simply Anglo-Saxon for 'Glast's isle', represented in charters by Glasteneia. Hearne's text, 56-8, also has Glasteia.

William's statement that the supposed twelve brothers were descendants of Cuneda may, perhaps, be due to the fact that the following table actually is one of Cunedag's descendants. He, or the authority he followed, may have had before them a copy of these 'genealogies' in which they mistook the two tables for a single one.

Roman names are represented in XXVI by Seissil (Goidelic for Sextillus? now Cecil!)<sup>1</sup> and Serguil (Servilius); and in XXVII by Pascent(ius). In this last the son and grandson of Catell obviously receive their names from the sons, Cattedgirn and Pascent, of his former master Vortigern (see *Historia Brittonum*, § 35).

In XXVIII Fernmail is Goidelic: in Welsh the *F* would have been *Gu*. Teudubric is to be compared with Teudebur in V, and looks as if borrowed from a Teutonic Theode-

<sup>1</sup> I owe Cecil to Sir J. Rhys: the founder of the Cecil family was a favourite of Henry VII, and, being named David, was probably from South Wales. Prof. Anwyl suggests Saxillus.

bright: but *-bricht*-forms are not as early as the date required, nor is the name found in the *Book of Llan Dáv*. I believe it to be a scribal error for Teudiric, due to a confusion between that name and Teuduber: Teudiric and Teudric are found in the *Book of Llan Dáv*, and I believe them to represent the Teutonic Theoderic.

In XXX Grippi[ud], modern Gruffydd, Griffith, is interesting, because the *Grammatica Celtica*, after citing instances of TT and CC, 'infectae aspiratione', says 'Combinationis PP transgressae in aspirationem exemplum ignoro' (Z<sup>2</sup>, 151).

I have now to preface my chart with a few words of caution. First, that I have assumed that those who want to use it have access to Mr. Phillimore's text, and that, therefore, it is needless to reproduce that in extreme minutiae—such as *loudogu* for *Loudogu* and *Guid gen* for *Guidgen*. Second, that my added dates are taken either from the *Annales Cambriae* or from the *Brut y Tywysogion*. Third, that I have made a few slight additions in italics from other sources in order to show connexions which would not otherwise be visible. Fourth, that some of the names may be corrupt: I have not had the time to investigate all those with which I was unacquainted, and of which I did not perceive the derivation. Fifth, that nothing approaching a satisfactory final chart is possible until not only all other Welsh genealogies relating to the same period have been collated, but until<sup>1</sup> all the person-names in the *Book of Llan Dáv* have been independently tabulated, and, as far as possible, dated. But what has been here done will be better than nothing, and will materially aid future workers in the same field.

<sup>1</sup> I have urged this work on a young Welsh student who, I hope, will carry it through.

*ing list of Roman Emperors is  
of the genealogy: see pp. 93-4.*

**Tehvant (16)**  
(**'Teuhant'**)

**Cinbelin (16)**

**Caratauc (16)**

**Guidgen (16)**

**Lou Hen (16)**  
(**'Louhen'**)

**Cinis Scaplaut (16)**

**Decion (16)**

**Catel (16)**

**Catleú (16)**

**Letan (16)**

**Serguan (16)**

**Caurtam (16)**

**Caten (16)**

**Neithon (16)**