

ST. BRYCHAN, KING, CONFESSOR. ✓

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THIS great father of a saintly family is most difficult to treat of satisfactorily. He was not inaptly described by Skene as "the mysterious Brychan."¹ The short Latin tract generally known as the *Cognatio de Brychan* is almost our sole authority for his legend. There are two versions of it. The older one occurs in the *Cottonian Collection*, Vespasian A, xiv, entitled "De situ Brecheniauc," and was written in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, but evidently copied from a MS. probably a couple of centuries earlier. It has been printed by Rees in the *Cambro-British Saints*,² "with the greatest inaccuracy;"³ but a list of *Corrigenda* will be found in *Y Cymmrodor*.⁴ The other version also occurs in the *Cottonian Collection*, Domitian i (at the end), but differs widely from the previous one. This was written about 1650, but the copyist had before him a MS. of probably the thirteenth century, which he was not always able to read. It has been printed, with many inaccuracies, by Theophilus Jones in his *History of the County of Brecknock*.⁵ Both documents give the list of Brychan's children in nearly the same order.

According to the legend, there was a King Tewdrig of Garthmadrin, who came to live at a place called Bran Coyn, near Llanfaes. This was supposed by Theophilus Jones to be a field called Bryn Gwyn, near

¹ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i, p. 43.

² Pp. 272-275.

³ Mr. Egerton Phillimore, in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. vii, p. 106, further remarks that the original copyist clearly did not understand Welsh.

⁴ Vol. xiii, pp. 98-95.

⁵ Vol. i, pp. 342, 343.

Llanfaes, in the neighbourhood of Brecon. Tewdrig had a daughter named Marchell. He said to her: "The sharpness of the cold weather doth greatly affect thee; wherefore it is well to procure for thee a fur garment. I will send thee to Ireland, along with three hundred men, to Anlach, son of Coronac, King of that country, who will marry thee." Then Marchell departed with her retinue, and arrived at Lansemin on the first night, and there a hundred of the men died of cold. There are to-day two places called Glansefin, on the brook Sefin, near Llangadog, in Carmarthenshire.

On the second night she reached Metbrum, which has been supposed to be Meidrim, in Carmarthenshire, and there a second hundred died. The third night was spent at Porthmawr, a warmer place, by St. David's Head.¹ Thence she sailed, with the hundred men left, to Ireland, and arrived safely, along with her attendants, at the court of Anlach, who received her with dancing and joy, and made her his wife. Afterwards Marchell brought forth a son, who was called Brachan, later Brychan.² "And Anlach returned with Queen Marchell, and the boy Brychan," and several captains to Wales. Brychan was born at Benni, the ancient Bannium, near Brecon, and was sent to be fostered by one Drichan. "And in his seventh year, Drichan said to Brychan, 'Bring my lance to me.' And Drichan in the latter part of his life became blind; and whilst he lay watching, a certain boar came from the wood, and stood by the banks of the river Yscir; and there was a stag behind him in the river, and also a fish under the belly of the stag, which then portended that Brychan should be happy in abundance of wealth.

¹ Caerfarchell, near Solva, is supposed to take its name from her.

² The name Brocagni (= Broccagni) occurred on a stone, now lost, which is said to have been at Capel Mair, near Llandyssul, South Wales. We have here the early form of Brychan, in Irish Broccán (Prof. Rhys, *Welsh Philology*, p. 393). Brychan, as a common noun, means in Welsh a coarse kind of home-made cloth, a tartan or plaid, and is a derivative from the adjective *brych* (Irish, *brec*), variegated or speckled.

Likewise there was a beech-tree standing on the side of the aforesaid river, in which bees made honey, and Drichan said to his pupil Brychan, 'Lo, I give thee this tree full of bees and honey, and also of gold and silver; and may the grace of God, and His love, remain with thee here and hereafter'."

After that Anlach gave Brychan as hostage to the King of Powys; "and in process of time Brychan violated Banadlinet, the daughter of Benadel (the King), and she became pregnant, and brought forth a son named Cynog."¹

The *Cognatio* goes on to give the names of the wives and sons and daughters of Brychan, and adds that he was buried in Ynys Brychan, near Man (*Mannia*), apparently in Scotland.²

The grave of Anlach his father "is before the door of the Church of Llanspyddid," where there is also to be seen in the churchyard, on the south side of the church, a stone with crosses and circles, popularly called the "Cross of Brychan Brycheiniog."³ Llanspyddid is usually said to be dedicated to a reputed son of Brychan, St. Cadog.

The first difficulty we have to surmount is the identification of Brychan's father.

In *Cognatio* Vesp. he is given as Anlac and Anlach, the son of Coronac; in *Cognatio* Dom. as Aulach, the son of Gornuc; and in Jesus College (Oxon.) MS. 20 (first half of the fifteenth century), as Chormuc, the son of Eurbre the Goidel. The later genealogists generally have fallen into two mistakes as regards Brychan's father's name. One is to give his grandfather's name as that of his father,⁴ and the other to

¹ "Banhadlwedd, daughter of Banhadle of Banhadla in Powys," *Peniarth MS.* 127 (circa, 1510), *Myv. Arch.*, p. 421.

² In *Cognatio* Dom. he is said to have been buried "in Mynav in valle que dicitur vall Brchan" (*sic*).

³ Figured in Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliæ*, p. 70.

⁴ Korvmawc (*Peniarth MS.* 74), Korvniawc (*Peniarth MS.* 75), Korinwy (*Peniarth MS.* 137), all three of sixteenth century; Korinawg (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 270).

treat his grandfather's name as a mere epithet of his father, meaning "crowned" or "tonsured."¹ They describe him as "King of Ireland," and "King in Ireland."

Several theories have been proposed for the location of Anlach—

1. That Anlach or Aulach stands for Hua Lagh, sons of Lugh, a Leinster family.

2. That Anlach is Caelbadh, who had a son Braccan, and was King of Ulster for one year, and was slain in 358.

3. That Anlach stands for Amalgaidh (now pronounced Awley).

Amalgaidh was son of Fiachra of the Flowing Locks, brother of Dathi, who succeeded Niall of the Nine Hostages as King of Ireland in 405, whereupon Dathi surrendered to Amalgaidh the crown of Connaught. He reigned till 449, and had at the least three wives, and twenty-one sons are attributed to him besides daughters.

4. That the "Chormuc, son of Eurbre the Goidel, of Ireland," whose son Brychan is said to have been, in the Jesus College MS., is Cormac Caoch, son of Cairbre, younger son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, son of Eochaidh by Carthan Casduff, daughter of the King of Britain.

Cormac's wife, Marchell, was sole daughter of Tewdrig by an Irishwoman, a daughter of Eochaidh Muigh-medhuin. This is the identification proposed by Mr. Henry F. J. Vaughan in *Y Cymmrodor*.²

Shearman, in his *Loca Patriciana* (Geneal. Table VIII), gives a pedigree of Brychan from Caelbadh, King of Ulster. He makes Caelbadh father of Braccan, who is father of Braccanoc, the husband of Marchell, daughter

¹ Anllech corvnawc (*Peniarth MS.* 127, circa 1510); Anllech Goronawc (*Iolo MSS.*, pp. 118, 140; *Myv. Arch.*, p. 418); Aflech Goronawg (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 78); Enllech Goronawc (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 111); Afallach ap Coriuwc (*Peniarth MS.* 132); Enllech ab Hydwn (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 109); Anlach, son of Urbf (*Vita S. Cadoci*).

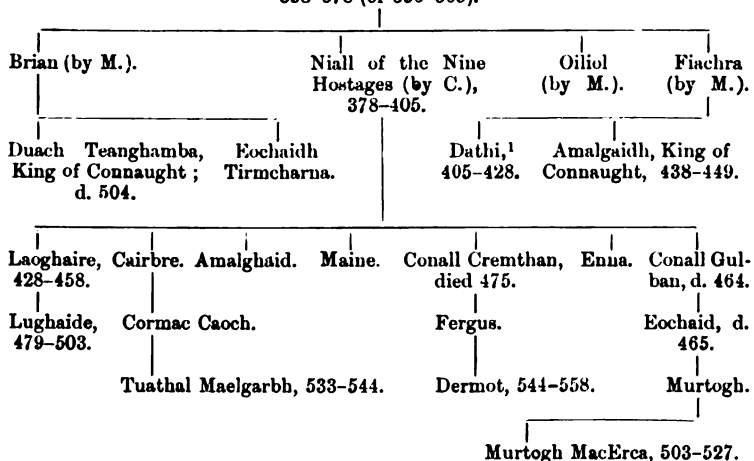
² Vol. x, p. 86.

of Tewdyr ap Tudwall ; and Braccanoc and Marchell are parents of Brychan, who marries Dwyuwas or Dina, daughter of the King of Powys. As his authority he refers to the Naemsenchas, *Leabhar Breac*. The Bollandists, relying on Shearman, have adopted this pedigree. But the Naemsenchas in the *Leabhar Breac* gives no such pedigree, which seems to have been entirely drawn out of Mr. Shearman's imagination. Nor does Duald MacFirbiss, in his great work on genealogies, the *Leabhar Genealach*, give any countenance to this derivation of Brychan. It must be dismissed into the limbo of fantastic pedigrees.

The conjecture of Mr. Vaughan is unsupported by Irish authorities. The pedigree was as follows :—

Eochaidh Muighmedhuin = Mongfinn and Carina (a Saxon).

358-378 (or 356-365).



Duald MacFirbiss says, in his *Leabhar Genealach*,² "Cairbre, son of Nial, left 10 sons :—Cormac *Caoch* (the blind). . . . This Cormac *Caoch* had two sons, viz. : Ainmire and Tuathal *Maolgarbh*, King of Eire."

The first of the proposed identifications is the most

¹ Dathi was father of Oilíol Molt, 459-478.

² P. 167.

satisfactory. Marchell crossed from Porthmawr to Leinster; and it is precisely in Leinster that several of the children of Brychan have left their names as founders.

That a migration should take place from Ulster or from Connaught to South Wales is improbable. The set from Ulster was to Alba, and in Connaught the Milesians obtained as much land as they required, by exterminating or expelling the native Tuatha Dé Danann.

The name of Brychan, or Braccan, is somewhat suspicious, signifying the "Speckled" or "Tartan-clothed;" and it looks much as though he to whom it was applied was an eponym for that clan of the Irish Goidels who certainly did invade and occupy Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Brecknock. We know that these invasions and colonisations were frequent, and that for a time Britain was subject to the Irish Goidels, and obliged to pay tax to them. It was after the reign of Dathi, who died in 428, that the Irish hold upon Britain came to an end, or was gradually relaxed.

Rees conjectured¹ that Brychan's father was captain of one of these Irish invading bands, a supposition that is supported by a passage in the *Iolo MSS.*,² wherein three invasions (*gormesion*) of Wales by the Irish are mentioned, one of which "was that of Aflech Goronawg, who took possession of Garth Mathrin by invasion; but, having married Marchell, the daughter of Tewdrig, King of that country, he won the good will of the inhabitants, and obtained it as his dominion in virtue of the marriage; and there his tribe still remains, intermixed with the Welsh."

Garthmadrin, according to the *Iolo MSS.*,³ had at one time been part of the district called Morganwg, but was severed in Brychan's time. His grandfather, "Tewdrig the Blessed," is there described as being "King of Morganwg, Gwent, and Garthmadrin."⁴

¹ *Welsh Saints*, p. 112.

² P. 78.

³ P. 111.

⁴ P. 118; cf. pp. 140, 147.

Old Brycheiniog was commensurate with the present county of Brecknock, less the Hundred of Buallt or BUILT.¹ The name Garthmadrin gave way to one derived from its new regulus, who was called Brychan Brycheiniog, with which compare Rhufon Rhufoniog and other similar formations. In the *Book of Llandav* the district is called *regio Brachani*, and the people *Brachanii*.²

The Goidel invasion came probably from one of the harbours of Pembrokeshire or Carmarthenshire, and the Irish made their way up the valley of the Towy. Perhaps to them may be attributed the stone camp at Garn Goch, on an isolated rock commanding the river. Beneath it lies Llys Brychan. Then, pushing up to Llandovery, where the old Roman town of Loventium lay in ruins, they struck the Roman paved road, the Via Julia, that led over the pass of Mynydd Myddfai, above the River Gwydderig, to the Roman camp of the Pigwn; and so tramping on upon the road straight as a bow-line, looked down on the broad, richly-wooded basin of the Usk. Crossing the little stream Nant Bran, they halted in the walled city of Bannium, with its stone gateways still standing, among the ruins of Roman villas and baths, and made that their headquarters. Here it was that Brychan was born; and a little further down the Usk, at Llanspyddid, before the doorway of the church, Anlach was buried.

These Irish invaders had entered on a fair land, well watered, the rocks of old red sandstone, crumbling down into the richest soil conceivable; and here they were well content to settle, and to bring into subjection

¹ In the beginning of the ninth century, Buallt and Gwrtheyrnion (in modern Radnorshire) formed a kingdom by themselves (see *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, p. 203).

² Pp. 219, 256. In a *Bonedd y Saint* (which contains a list of his children) in the late eighteenth-century MS. known as *Y Piser Hir*, pp. 294-296, in the Swansea Public Library, Brychan, we are told, was "Lord of Brecknock, Earl of Chester, and Baron of Stafford!"

the natives, who probably offered little resistance. To the South shot up the purple Brecknock Beacons; away to the East the range of the Black Mountains, abruptly dying down, and forming a mighty portal through which, many centuries later, the Normans would pour and make Brecon their own.

To the North were only wooded hills, stretching away to the Epynt range: a fair enclosed land, some twelve miles across, a happy valley as that of Rasselas, to all appearance, but one to be battled for from generation to generation: so rich, so lovely, that it was coveted by all who looked upon it.

That Anlach was a Christian we must suppose, but of a rude quality. His wife was one, certainly, and his son Brychan was brought up in the Christian faith.

Within the walls of Bannium, now Y Gaer, on a hot summer, the grass burns up over the foundations of a villa, and reveals the plan, with atrium and semi-circular tablinum opening out of it, and chambers to which access was obtained from the atrium. It was the most notable building in Bannium—perhaps in the fifth century not wholly ruinous. And in it Anlach may well have dwelt; and in one of those chambers now under the sod, Brychan, who was to give his name to all that country, may well also have been born.

Of the life of Brychan we know nothing, save only what has been already related: how he was instructed by the Christian sage Drichan, and how he was sent hostage to the King of Powys.

The following represent the principal printed Welsh lists of Brychan's children. There are, needless to say, more still in various MSS.

1. The *Cognatio* of Cott., Vesp. A., xiv (late twelfth or early thirteenth century): eleven sons and twenty-five daughters.
2. The *Cognatio* of Cott., Dom. i (*circa* 1650): thirteen sons and twenty-four daughters.

3. Jesus College, Oxford, MS. 20, known as *Llyfr Llewelyn Offeiriad* (first half of the fifteenth century): eleven sons and twenty-four daughters.
4. The *Achau* compiled by Lewis Dwnn, a Welsh herald, temp. Queen Elizabeth, printed in the *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, vol. ii, p. 14, 1846, edited by Sir S. R. Meyrick: fourteen sons and twenty-two daughters.
5. *Myvyrian Archaeology*, p. 419, from an Anglesey MS., written in 1579: twenty-three sons and twenty-five daughters.
6. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 111, from a Coychurch MS., written circa 1670: twenty-four sons and twenty-six daughters.
7. *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 119-121, from a Llansannor MS.: twenty-five sons and twenty-six daughters.
8. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 140, from a Cardiff MS.: twenty-five sons and twenty-eight daughters.

To these must be added :—

9. The list given by Nicolas Roscarrock, the friend of Camden, in his MS. *Lives of the Saints*, now in the University Library, Cambridge. He was assisted by Edward Powell, a Welsh priest, who had in his possession a number of Welsh pedigrees and calendars. Thirty-two sons and thirty-one daughters—sixty-three in all—the most liberal allowance given him, we believe, in any list extant.
10. The list in the tract on “the Mothers of the Saints” in Ireland, attributed to Oengus the Culdee: twelve sons in all.
11. The list given by William of Worcester: twenty-four children.
12. The list given by Leland: also twenty-four children.

Giraldus Cambrensis, who speaks of Brychan as “a powerful and noble personage,” says that “the British histories testified that he had four-and-twenty daughters, all of whom, dedicated from their youth to religious observances, happily ended their lives in sanctity.¹ No doubt Fuller had this passage before him when he wrote, in his *Worthies*, of Brychan :—

¹ *Itin. Kamb.*, Bk. I, chap. ii.

“This King had four-and-twenty daughters, a jolly number; and all of them saints, a greater happiness.”¹ He had, of course, no other conception of saintship than that of the Latin Church.

Caw, the founder of one of the Three Saintly Clans, is also credited with having been the father of a numerous family—twenty-six sons and five daughters; but some of his sons followed a warlike life.

The following is an alphabetical list of Brychan’s children, as given in the *Cognatio* of Cott., Vesp. A, xiv, by much our earliest authority, with identifications from the later lists:—

Sons:

1. Arthen.
2. Berwin (Berwyn, Gerwyn).
3. Clytguin (Cledwyn).
4. Chybluier (Cyffefyr or Cyffewyr); son of Dingad in the Jesus MS.
5. Kynauc (Cynog).
6. Kynon (Cynon); son of Arthen in *Cogn. Dom.*
7. Dynigat (Dingad).
8. Papay (Pabiali).
9. Paschen (Pasgen); son of Dingad in *Cogn. Dom.*, and the Jesus MS.
10. Rein (Rhun or Rhun Dremrudd).
11. Rydoch or Iudoc (Cadog).

Married daughters:

1. Aranwen (Arianwen), wife of Iorwerth Hirflawd, King of Powys.
2. Kehingayr (Rhiengar), mother of St. Cynidr.
3. Gladis (Gwladus), wife of Gwynllyw Filwr, and mother of St. Catwg or Cadog.
4. Guaur (Gwawr), wife of Elidr Lydanwyn, and mother of Llywarch Hen.
5. Gurycon Godheu (Gwrgon), wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd.
6. Hunyd (Nefydd), wife of Tudwal Befr.
7. Luan (Lleian), wife of Gafran, and mother of Aidan or Aeddán Fradog.
8. Marchel (Mechell), wife of Gwrin Farfdrweh of Meirionydd.

¹ Vol. iii, p 514, ed. 1840.

9. Meleri (Eleri), wife of Ceredig, and grandmother of St. David.
10. Nyuein (Nefyn), wife of Cynfarch Gul, and mother of Urien Rheged.
11. Tutglid (in quite the later lists Tudful and Tanglwst are confounded with her), wife of Cyngen, and mother of Brochwel Ysgythrog.

Daughters not mentioned as being married :

12. Belyau (possibly Felis of the Jesus MS., and Tydiu of the other lists).
13. Bethan (unidentified).
14. Kein (Ceinwen).
15. Keneython (Cyneiddon).
16. Kerdych (Ceindrych).
17. Clydei (Clydai).
18. Duyn (Dwynwen).
19. Eiliueth (Eluned).
20. Goleu (Goleuddydd).
21. Guen (Gwen).
22. Ilud (the Llud of the Jesus MS.).
23. Tibyei (Tybie).
24. Tudeuel (Tudfil).
25. Tudhistil (Tangwystl, otherwise called Tanglwst).

We now give them as they occur in the various later lists :—

Sons :

1. Arthen. Attlien in the Jesus MS.
2. Cadog. He is the Rydoch or Iudoc in *Cogn. Vesp.* ; Ridoc in *Cogn. Dom.* ; Reidoc in the Jesus MS. ; Radoc in the *Achau* (No. 4).
3. Cai.
4. Cledwyn or Clydwyn.
5. Clydog or Cledog. The son of Clydwyn according to the *Cognatio*.
6. Cyflefyr or Cyflewyr.
7. Cynbryd.
8. Cynfran.
9. Cynin. No doubt Cunin Cof, the son of Brychan's daughter Hunyð (Nefydd), by Tudwal Befr.

10. Cynog. By Banadlined, daughter of a King of Powys.
11. Cynou, in the Jesus MS. *Cogn. Vesp.*, has "Kynon qui sanctus est in occidentali parte predicte Mannie;" *Cogn. Dom.*, "Run ipse sanctus ycallet (*sic*) in Manan;" the Jesus MS., "Runan yssyd yny (lle) a elwir Manaw."
12. Dingad.
13. Dogfan, Dogwan, or Doewan.
14. Dyfnan. Probably the Dustnon of *Acharu*.
15. Dyfrig. By Eurbrawst (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 119). He must not be taken for the well-known Dubricius or Dyfrig, who as we know from his *Vita* was the son of Efrddyl or Eurddil, the daughter of Pepiau or Peipiau, King of Erging, but his father's name is not mentioned.
16. Gerwyn or Berwyn.
17. Hychan.
18. Llecheu.
19. Mathaiarn. Marthaerun in *Cogn. Dom.*; Marcharairjun or Marcharanhun in the Jesus MS.; and Matheyryn in *Acharu*.
20. Nefydd.
21. Nefei. Possibly the Dedyu or Dettu, given in the *Cognatio* as son of Clydwyn. In *Iolo MSS.*, p. 119, he is said to have been a son by Proistri, his Spanish wife.
22. Pabiali. Papai in the Jesus MS. Son by Proistri (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 119).
23. Pasgen. Son probably by Proistri (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 119).
24. Rhaint or Rhain.
25. Rhawin.
26. Rhun or Rhun Dremrudd. Drem Dremrud in the Jesus MS.; Rhevn in *Acharu*. Succeeded his father as King, according to *Cogn. Dom.*
27. Syredigon. In *Achau* only.
28. a Valath (*sic*). In *Achau* only.

Daughters:

1. Anna. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 140, only.
2. Arianwen. The Wrgrgen of the Jesus MS. is a misscript for this saint's name.
3. Bechan. *Cogn. Dom.*; the Bethan of *Cogn. Vesp.*; in none of the other lists.
4. Ceindrych. Kerdech in *Cogn. Dom.* and the Jesus MS.
5. Ceinwen.
6. Cenedlon.
7. Clydai.
8. Cymorth or Corth.

9. Cyneiddon. Only in *Cogn. Dom.* as Koneidon, and the Jesus MS. as Ryneidon.
10. Dwynwen.
11. Eleri (properly Meleri, unrubricated). Meleri in *Cogn. Dom.* and the Jesus MS; Elen in *Achau*. Daughter by Eurbrawst (*Lewis Dwnn*, vol. ii, p. 64).
12. Eluned, Elined, or Elyned. As Eliweet in *Achau*. The Almedha of Giraldus Cambrensis.
13. Enfail. Of Merthyr Enfail. Her name has probably been evolved out of the Merthir Euineil of *Cogn. Vesp.*, a misscript for Tutuul, *i.e.*, the Tudful of Merthyr Tydfil.
14. Goleu. Only in *Cogn. Dom.* as Gloyv, and *Achau* as Gole. The same as Goleuddydd.
15. Goleuddydd.
16. Gwawr.
17. Gwawrddydd.
18. Gwen.
19. Gwenddydd.
20. Gwenfrewi. Only in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 140, and *Achau*.
21. Gwladus.
22. Gwrgon. Grucon Guedu in *Cogn. Dom.*, and Grugon in the Jesus MS.
23. Hawystl.
24. Lleian.
25. Lludd. In the Jesus MS. only.
26. Mechell. As Marchell in *Cogn. Dom.*, the Jesus MS., and *Achau*.
27. Nefydd. In *Myv. Arch.*, p. 419; Hunyd in *Cogn. Vesp.*; Nunidis in *Cogn. Dom.*; Goleuddydd in the Jesus MS.
28. Nefyn. The Nyuen of *Cogn. Dom.*
29. Rhiengar or Rhiengan. Keyngair in *Cogn. Dom.*, Kingar in the Jesus MS., and Kyngar in *Achau*.
30. Tanglwst or Tangwystl. Taghwystyl in the Jesus MS.; probably the Tutbistyl of *Cogn. Dom.*
31. Tudfyl. The Tuglit of *Cogn. Dom.*, and Gutuyll of the Jesus MS.
32. Tybieu or Tybie.
33. Tydiu or Tydeu.

Nicolas Roscarrock, in his MS. *Lives of the Saints*, on the authority of MSS. possessed by Edward Powell, priest, gives another list as follows :—

Sons :

1. Cenawcus, Martyr. The Cynog of the *Cognatio*.
2. Cladwin, and (3) Cledwin, "whoe conquered South Wales, and had a great saint to his son, named Clydocus." He duplicates Cledwyn, the Clytguin of *Cogn. Vesp.*
4. Cifliver. The Chybliuer or Cyflewyr of the other lists.
5. Berwin. This is Berwyn or Gerwyn, the son of Brynach Wyddel and grandson of Brychan.
6. Maethiarn. Occurs in *Cogn. Dom.* A saint of Cardigan-shire.
7. Cinan. The Cynon of *Cogn. Vesp.*, and son of Arthen in *Cogn. Dom.*
8. Kembrit. The Cynbryd of the later lists. A martyr at Bwlch Cynbryd, Llanddulas.
9. Cimfram. In the later lists Cynfran, founder of Llysfaen, Denbighshire.
10. Hichan. In the later lists. The saint of Llanychan in the Vale of Clwyd.
11. Diffrig. In the later lists.
12. Cain, a Martyr. This is the Cai of the *Iolo MSS.* pedigrees.
13. Allecheu. The Llecheu of the later lists. Of Llanllecheu in Ewyas.
14. Dingad. *Cogn. Vesp.* He was father of Pasgen according to *Cogn. Dom.*
15. Cadocus, the Rydoch of *Cogn. Vesp.*
16. Rawn or Rohun. The Rein of *Cogn. Vesp.*, otherwise called Rhun Dremrudd. Succeeded his father as King. See also 25.
17. Arthen. (*Cogn. Vesp.*). Father of Cynon.
18. Difnan. In the later lists. Founder of Llanddyfnan in Anglesey.
19. Anewi. Possibly Neffeï.
20. Paball. In *Cogn. Vesp.* and *Dom. Papay*; in the later lists Pabiali.
21. Ridorch, and (22) Rodorch, the same duplicated, the Rydoch of *Cogn. Vesp.*
23. Caradocus. This is Caradog Freichfras, great-grandson of Brychan, by his granddaughter Gwen of Talgarth.
24. Helim, the Helye or Helic of Leland and William of Worcester.
25. Run. The same as Rawn, No. 16.
26. Japan. Not recorded elsewhere.

27. Doguan. The Dogfan of the later lists. A martyr at Merthyr Dogfan, in Pembrokeshire; founder of Llanrhaidr yn Mochnant.
28. Auallach. A mistake of Roscarrock, who has inserted the father of Brychan among his sons.
29. Lhoiau. Possibly the Llecheu of the later lists.
30. Pashen. Paschen in *Cogn. Vesp.* Son of Dingad, according to *Cogn. Dom.*
31. Idia. Not found elsewhere.
32. Io. The Iona or Ioannes of Leland and William of Worcester.

Daughters :

1. Gladus, *i.e.*, Gwladys, in all lists. Wife of Gwynllyw and mother of Catwg.
2. Gwawr. In all lists. Wife of Elidr Lydanwyn and mother of Llywarch Hen.
3. Eleri. The Meleri of *Cogn.*, but Eleri in later lists; wife of Ceredig.
4. Arianwen. In all lists.
5. Triduael. The Tudeuel of *Cogn. Vesp.* Martyr at Merthyr Tydfil.
6. Winifred, "called in some coppies Gurgon." The Gwenfrewi of one list of Brychan's daughters, in which Gwrgon also occurs (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 140).
7. Cindreth, "of some Mechel," *i.e.*, Marchell or Mechell, wife of Gwrin Farfdrwch (*Cogn. Vesp.*). Her name, however, matches Ceindrych of the later lists.
8. Newin, *i.e.*, Nyuein or Nefyn, wife of Cynfarch Gul, and mother of Urien Rheged.
9. Neuidh, the Hunyd or Nunidis of *Cogn.*, wife of Tudwal Befr, and mother of Cynin.
10. Gleian, *i.e.*, Luan or Lleian, wife of Gafran, and mother of Aeddan Fradog.
11. Macella. See 7.
12. Roscarrock omits this name; was probably unable to read it.
13. Gweadhdyb, "in some coppies Gwardhydh, the mother of Kenedir." The Gwenddydd of the later list. The mother of Cynidr was Ceingair (Rhiengar).
14. Goliudhed. The Goleu or Goleuddydd of the other lists.
15. Meldrada, "mother of Cifinn," not identified.
16. Keingir, "mother of St. Kenedar." The Ceingair (Rhiengar) of the other lists.

17. Gwen, "mother of Sannan, the wife of Malgo Venedoticus." Gwen of Talgarth was granddaughter of Brychan, and wife of Llyr Merini. *Cogn. Vesp.* gives Sannan as daughter of Tudglid, wife of Cyngen.
18. Cenelin. The Cyneiddon or Cenedlon of the lists.
19. Clodfaith, probably Clydai. Clodfaith occurs once in the Welsh lists (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 426), where she is confused with Gwen of Talgarth.
20. Hawistle, and (30) Hudwistle, reduplications of Hawystl or Tangwystl and Tutbistyl (*Cogn. Dom.*).
21. Towner. A blunder for Gwen.
22. Tibies, *i.e.*, Tybieu. Martyr at Llandebie.
23. Enuael. The Enfael of the later lists. Probably a mistake for Tudful (Tydfil).
24. Elinedh, "whom Giraldus calleth Almedha."
25. Elida, the Ilud of *Cogn. Vesp.* and Llud of the Jesus MS. She is called Juliana by Leland and William of Worcester.
26. Tideu. The Tydeu or Tydieu of the later lists.
27. Diganwen, and (28) Dwinwen, "July 13," are Dwynwen. January 25th is Festival of St. Dwynwen; July 13th, of St. Dogfan or Doewan.
29. Conoin, no other than Cœnwen, or Cain, the celebrated S. Keyne.
30. See 20.
31. Malken. Probably Mechell or Marchell.

There is a "Life of St. Ninnocha," or Gwengastle, a saint of Brittany, contained in the *Cartulary of Quimperlé*, that states she was a daughter of Brychan, and that her mother's name was Meneduc:—

"Quidam vir nobilis fuit in Combronensia regione, Brochan nomine, ex genere Gurthierni, rex honorabilis valde in totam Britanniam . . . Ipse Brochanus accepit uxorem ex genere Scottorum, filiam Constantini regis, ex stirpe Juliani Caesaris, Meneduc nomine."

The "Life" was written in 1130, but is of little value. It teems with blunders. The *regio Combronensia* is probably Cambria, and not Cumbria or Cumberland, as Mr. Egerton Phillimore supposes.¹ The Gurthiern to whom Brochan is akin is described in the "Life" of that saint, in the same *Cartulary*, as son of Bonus,

¹ *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xi, p. 100.

son of Glou (Glywys), and traced it back to Outham (Eudaf ?), son of Maximian (Macsen Wledig).

The wife from the Scots, or Irish, is a daughter of Constantine. The writer of the "Life" lived in the twelfth century, when it was forgotten that Scot signified Irish: and, as he knew that there had been a Constantine of Scotland, he made Brychan marry a daughter of the King of Alba of that name. In the "Life," St. Patrick sends Germanus to the court of Brochan, but he is also visited by St. Columcill from Hy. The Germanus who did go to Wales died Bishop of Man in 474 (not he of Auxerre, who died 448), and St. Columcill in 598. Brychan can hardly have lived later than 500; consequently, we have here a pretty confusion. Brychan's wife Meneduc, and his daughter Gwengastle, or Ninnocha, are unknown to the Welsh.

These various lists by no means exhaust the number of children attributed to Brychan by the Welsh, *e.g.*, in the Calendar printed in *Y Greal*¹ four more are mentioned: two sons, Gwynan and Gwynws; and two daughters, Callwen and Gwenfyl.²

Brychan is said to have had three wives. In *Cogn. Vesp.* their names are given as Prawst,³ Rhibrast, and Proistri; and in *Cogn. Dom.* as Eurbrast, Rhybrast, and Proestri. The last-named is elsewhere given as Peresgri and Prosori.⁴ It is stated in the *Iolo MSS.*,⁵ that Rhybrast, his first wife, was his cousin, being the daughter of Meurig ab Tewdrig. Eurbrast was "a daughter of a prince of Cornwall"

¹ P. 288 (1806). There are several copies of it, differing slightly.

² Among other names and forms occurring in *Peniarth MSS.* 74, 75, and 178, are the following: Sons—Avallach, Kaian, Kain, Heilin, Lloyan, Llonio, Pabal, Rydderch; Daughters—Keindec, Clodfaith, Goleuedd, Gwenllian, Tudwystl. In the Calendars in *Peniarth MS.* 187 and *Llyfer Plygain*, 1618, against November 2nd, we have another daughter, Gwenrhiw.

³ Another Prawst was wife of Einion Yrth, the son of Cunedda. Another compound, Onbrast, occurs.

⁴ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 418; *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 118, 119.

⁵ P. 147; on p. 119 she is said to have been Eurbrast.

by "an emperor of Rome."¹ Proistri, his third wife, was a Spaniard.²

According to Welsh hagiology, Brychan's family forms one of the Three Saintly Clans of Britain, the other two being those of Cunedda and Caw. The most powerful and influential of the three was Cunedda's, and Brychan's next. His was the most Goidelic. One of the *Triads* credits him with having "given his children and grandchildren a liberal education, so that they might be able to show the Faith in Christ to the Nation of the Welsh, wherever they were without the Faith."³ This *Triad* has been adduced to show how the names of some of the grandchildren have crept into the lists. "The sons of Brychan were Saints in the Còrau of Garmon and Illtyd; and they afterwards formed a Còr with Bishop Dyfrig in the Wig on the Wye,"⁴ that is, Hentland, in Herefordshire, the foundation of which is ascribed to Brychan.⁵ Brynach the Goidel, who married his daughter Cymorth, or Corth, is said to have come over with him to this Island, and to have been his confessor (*periglaur*).⁶

Welsh tradition does not strictly confine Brychan's children to Wales. We are told that Neffeï, Pabiali, and Pasgen, his sons by his Spanish wife, went to Spain. Cadog was buried in France, and Dyfnan in Ireland. Berwyn, or Gerwyn, founded a church in Cornwall. Nefydd was a Bishop in the North, and Cynon went to Manaw.

Mr. Copeland Borlase is too sweeping when he says that the children of Brychan were merely natives of the country over which Brychan once ruled, and that they might be regarded in much the same way as when we speak of the Children of Israel;⁷ and we believe the *Cognatio de Brychan* to be too early and trustworthy

¹ Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, vol. ii, p. 64.

² *Iolo MSS.*, p. 119.

³ *Myv. Arch.*, p. 402.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁷ *Age of the Saints*, p. 147.

⁴ *Iolo MSS.*, p. 120.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 140.

a document to enable us to quite dismiss the whole family as a "mythical progeny."¹ Drayton, whilst not denying the existence of twenty-four daughters to Brychan, says that they all underwent metamorphosis by becoming so many rivers. He is very probably incorporating some tradition, now lost. He says:—

"For Brechan was a Prince once fortunate and great
 (Who, dying, lent his name to that his nobler seat)
 With twice twelve daughters blest, by one and onely wife :
 Who for their beauties rare, and sanctitie of life,
 To Rivers were transform'd ; whose pureness doth declare
 How excellent they were, by beeing what they are :
 Who dying virgins all, and Rivers now by Fate,
 To tell their former loue to the vnmarried state,
 To Seuerne shape their course, which now their forme doth
 beare ;
 Ere shee was made a flood, a virgine as they were.
 And from the Irish seas with feare they still doe fie :
 So much they yet delight in mayden companie."²

It cannot be believed that the reputed children of Brychan were all really his. Welsh hagiology, as in the case of Cunedda and Caw, designates them his *gwelygordd*, a term which means in the Welsh Laws a tribe derived from one common ancestor ; and in the Welsh Tribal System the *gwely* was the family-group, embracing sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons. Some of those reputed to be sons of Brychan are known to have been grandchildren ; and allowance must also be made for duplications, of which there are clearly some, as also for blunders on the part of copyists. This will considerably reduce the number of his progeny, as they appear in, especially, the later lists.

In any enumeration, however, of the children of Brychan, it must be borne in mind that there were several persons of the name known to Celtic hagiology. A King Brychan, with many children, who all, or nearly all, became saints, figures in Cornish, Breton, and Irish, as well as Welsh, hagiology. Mr. Egerton Phillimore

¹ Prof. Hugh Williams, *Gildas*, p. 27.

² *Polyolbion*, Second Part, p. 57, ed. 1622.

has endeavoured to show¹ that the best authenticated children in the Welsh lists are pretty clearly the children of at least two distinct Brychans: one belonging to Breconshire, the other to what is now Southern Scotland. The Breton Brychan he traces to Scotland,² and thinks that he admits of being plausibly identified with one of the Brychans who together made up the composite Brychan of Welsh hagiology. The names of his children are mostly not preserved to us; but Mr. Phillimore assigns to him the children who are in the *Cognatio* said to be connected with Cumbria or its neighbourhood. These are (1) his sons Cynon, Rhun, and Arthen, and his daughter Bethan, or Bechan, all said to be commemorated or buried in Mannia or Manaw (no doubt Manaw Gododin, stretching all along both sides of the Forth below Stirling); and (2) his four daughters who are said to have married Northern princes, viz., Gwrygon, Gwawr, Nyfain, and Lluan. The statement respecting Brychan's burial, he thinks, must needs also refer to a Northern, not to a strictly Welsh, Brychan. To this it might be added that there is some evidence of a Brycheiniog also in, apparently, Southern Scotland.³

The tract on the "Mothers of the Saints" in Ireland, attributed to Oengus the Culdee, but actually by MacFirbiss, says of Cynog, whom it calls Canoc: "Dina was his mother, daughter of a Saxon King. She was the mother of ten sons of Bracan, King of Britain, son of Bracha Meoc: to wit, St. Mogoróc of Struthuir; St. Mochonóc the Pilgrim of Cill-Mucraisse and of Gelinnia, in the region of Delbhna Eathra; Dirad of Edardruim; Duban of Rinn-dubhain alithir; Carennia of Cill-Chairinne; Cairpre the Pilgrim of Cill-Cairpre,

¹ *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xi, pp. 100, 101, 125. The Brychan ab Gwynon mentioned in the note in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 606, is a misreading for Bricon, son of Guincon (*Book of Llandav*, p. 203).

² The only authority for this is the *Vita Sæ Ninnocheæ*; but it does not state this, and is a most unreliable document. See what has already been said thereon.

³ Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, vol. ii, p. 150.

Isiol Farannan ; Iust in Slemnach Albanïæ ; Elloc of Cill-Moelloc juxta Loch Garman ; Pianus of Cill-Phian in Ossory ; Coeman the Pilgrim in Cill-Coemain in regione Gesille and elsewhere. And she was also the mother of Mobeoc of Gleann Geirf ; for he also was the son of Brachan, son of Bracha Meoc."¹

We will now give the list of the sons and daughters of Brychan who were reputed to have settled in East Cornwall.

William of Worcester, in 1478, visited Cornwall, and extracted the following from the "Acts of St. Nectan," in a MS. he saw on St. Michael's Mount. It has been printed by Nasmith, but not correctly. We have been able to collate it with the original MS. preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and we give the revised extract :—²

"Brokanus in partibus Walliarum regulus, fide et morum &c. per Gladewysam uxorem ejus genuit 24 filios et filias, et hiis nominibus vocabantur: (1) Nectanus, (2) Johannes, (3) Endelient, (4) Menefrede, (5) Delyan, (6) Tetha, (7) Maben, (8) Wentu, (9) Wensent, (10) Marwenna, (11) Wenna, (12) Juliana, (13) Yse, (14) Morwenna, (15) Wynip, (16) Kerhuder, (17) Cleder, (18) Kery, (19) Jona, (20) Helye, (21) Canauc, (22) Kenheuder, (23) Adwen, (24) Tamalanc. Omnes isti filii et filię postea fuerunt Sancti et Martires vel Confessores, et in Devonia, vel Cornubia, hereticam vitam ducentes ; sicut enim inter omnes quorum vitę meritis et virtutum miraculis Cornubiensis vel Devoniensis irradiatus ecclesia, beatus Nectanus primo genitus

¹ Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.*, vol. i, p. 311. Of these the *Martyrology of Donegal* gives "Dubhan, son of Brachan, King of Britain, by Din, daughter of the King of Saxon-land," and "Moghorog, son of Brachan, King of Britain, son of Brachaineoc by Dina, who was also mother of nine other saints." Shearman got his Brachaineoc from this. But the martyrologist misunderstood the title Brychan Brycheiniog for Brychan, son of Brycheiniog, instead of Prince of that territory.

² William of Worcester wrote a most atrocious hand, and scribbled in his note-book as he saw anything that struck him. He probably intended to have made a fair copy, but never did this. Nicolas Roscarrock had a transcript sent him from the MS. of such portions as concerned the Cornish Saints, and we are able to check off our reading of the names by the reading sent to him.

fuit, ita cæteris omnibus honestate vitæ major fuit, et prodigiorum choruscitate excellentior extitit.

“ Fuit in ultimis Walliarum partibus vir dignitate regulus, fide et morum honestate præclarus, nomine Brokannus, a quo provincia ipsa nomen sortita nuncupatur Brokannok usque in præsentem diem ; hic itaque Brokannus, antequam ex uxore suâ Gladewysâ filium vel filiam genuisset, in Hiberniam profectus est, uxorem suam et omnia sua relinquens ; timuerat enim ne si cum uxore suâ remaneret, generationem ex eâ procrearet, quâ impediretur ne libere Domino servire potuisset. Mansit igitur in Hiberniâ 24 annis, bonis operibus intendens ; postea autem visitare patriam suam volens, rediit in Walliam, ubi uxorem suam adhuc viventem invenit. Post aliquantulum autem temporis sicut Deus preordinaverat, licet ipse homo non proposuisset, uxorem suam cognovit, ex quâ postea 24 filios et filias genuit. Videns Dei virtutem cui nemo resistere potest, ait, ‘ Jam Deus in me vindicavit quod contra dispositionem voluntatis ejus venire frustra disposui ; quia enim 24 annis ab uxore meâ ne sobolem procrearem illicite effugi, dedit mihi pro quolibet anno illicite continentie sobolem unam quia jam 24 filios et filias post 24 annos ab eâdem uxore suscepi.’ Prædicti autem 24 filii et filie, quos prædictus Brokanus ex uxore Gladewysa genuit his nominibus vocabantur, Nectanus et cætera.”

Gwladys was not the name of any wife ascribed to Brychan in the Welsh accounts, but she was his daughter, and the most eminent of all. She became the wife of Gwynllyw Filwr, and mother of St. Catwg. The account given by William of Worcester supplies an omission in the Welsh *Cognatio*. It shows us that Brychan did visit Ireland, though probably for a very different reason from that assigned by the monkish writer. He went either to assert his rights in Ireland, or to collect more Irishmen to surround him, and to extend his kingdom in Wales.

Leland, in his *Collectanea* (vol. iv, p. 153), gives a list of the children of Brychan from a legend of St. Nectan, which he found at Hartland. His list is this : (1) Nectan, (2) Joannes, (3) Endelient, (4) Menfre, (5) Dilic, (6) Tedda, (7) Maben, (8) Weneu, (9) Wensent, (10) Merewenna, (11) Wenna, (12) Juliana, (13) Yse, (14) Morwenna, (15) Wymp, (16) Wenheder, (17) Cleder, (18) Keri, (19) Jona, (20) Kanauc, (21) Ker-

hender (Kenheuder), (22) Adwen, (23) Helic, (24) Tamllanc.

We will now concern ourselves only with those children or grandchildren of Brychan who are named in the lists of William of Worcester and Leland, both of which we have quoted.

We will take the latter list as our basis :—

1. Nectan is the Saint of Hartland. He is not included in the Welsh lists.
2. Joannes and (19) Jona are clearly the same. This is the Ive of St. Ive; his settlement there is in connection with those of his cousins, St. Cleer (Clether) and St. Keyne.
3. Endelient. This is misprinted or miswritten by Nasmith in his William of Worcester list as Sudbrent. She is Cenedlon in the Welsh lists. Her foundation is St. Endelion.
4. Menfre or Menefrida, the foundress of St. Minver, is probably Mwynfriw, and may be Mwynen, the daughter of Brynach the Goidel, and Cymorth or Corth, the daughter of Brychan.
5. Dilic is given by William of Worcester as Delyan, and is possibly the same as (3) Endelion.
6. Tedda in William of Worcester. Tetha is St. Teath, pronounced Teth. She is actually St. Itha, but may be Tydieu.
7. Maben is St. Mabenna of St. Mabyn, also unknown to the Welsh.
8. Weneu or Wentu is the same as (11) Wenna. This is Gwen. Gwen of Talgarth was a daughter or granddaughter of Brychan, who married Llyr Merini, and was the mother of Caradog Freichfras, who certainly was in Cornwall, in the Callington district.
9. Wensent cannot now be traced; probably same as (8) and (11); Wen-sant, or St. Wenu.
10. Merewenna and (14) Morwenna are doubtless the same, patroness of Marhamchurch and of Morwenstow. Not known to the Welsh.
11. (See 8 and 9).
12. Juliana is the Juliot of North Cornwall; her name probably occurs as Ilud in the *Cognatio*.

13. Yse, clearly the patron of St. Issey. This is no doubt a mistake of the legend writer. The Episcopal Registers gave St. Itha as patroness of St. Issey, and she was an Irish saint. Her cult may have been introduced by the Brychan family.
14. (See 10).
15. Wymp is St. Wenappa, the Gwenabwy or Gwenafwy of the Welsh lists, a daughter of Caw. Patroness of Gwennap (see 16).
16. Wenheder is the same as Wenappa (see 15).
17. Cleder is possibly Clydog, who was grandson of Brychan and son of Clydwyn. He is St. Clether in Cornwall, probably also St. Cleer.
18. Keri is clearly intended for Curig, patron of Egloskerry. His ancestry is unknown, but as he settled in the Brecon colony he was reckoned as a son of Brychan.
19. (See 2).
20. Kanauc. By this Leland means Cynog. He was Brychan's illegitimate son by the daughter of the Prince of Powys. He was killed at Merthyr Cynog, in Brecknockshire. Probably patron of St. Pinnock.
21. Kerhender in William of Worcester is Nasmith's misreading for Kenheuder, *i.e.*, Cynidr, St. Enoder, who was the son of one of Brychan's daughters.
22. Adwen or St. Athewenna is probably Dwyn or Dwynwen, a virgin, daughter of Brychan.
23. Helic or Helye. The patron of Egloshayle is intended.
24. Tam lanc is given by William of Worcester as Tamalanc. The patroness of Talland is St. Elen. This may be the Elined or Almedha of the Welsh lists, and the MSS. may have had "Elena cujus ecclesia in Tam lanc," and both transcribers may have committed the same careless blunder of taking the name of the place for that of the patron. Talland = (Sain)tEline(d), as Awdry became Tawdry.

We have accordingly been able to account for about seventeen persons out of the twenty-four names.

Nicolas Roscarrock gives April 6th as the day of St. Brychan. The saint is represented in fifteenth-century glass, with a lap full of children, at St. Neot, Cornwall.



St. Brychan, from Stained Glass Window in Church of St. Neot, Cornwall.

In the *Iolo MSS.*¹ he is said to have founded the church of Gwenfo or Wenvoe, now dedicated to St. Mary, in Glamorganshire.

There is a place called Llys Brychan (his Court), near the site of the ruined church of Llangunnock, or Llangynog, near Llansoy, Monmouthshire, and also another under Garn Goch, in Carmarthenshire, as already mentioned.

Dafydd ab Gwilym, the contemporary of Chaucer, in his well-known poem addressed to St. Dwynwen, implores her to grant him his request "for the sake of the soul of Brychan Yrth with the mighty arms."²

We fear that we have been able to throw but little light on a peculiarly obscure topic, but it may be of some avail to have collected together all that is recorded relative to this most shadowy but prolific father of a saintly family.

¹ P. 221.

² *Poems*, Ed. 1789, p. 156. The epithet *Gyrth* seems to mean "touched" or "stricken"; cf. Einion Yrth, son of Cunedda, whose name occurs as Enniaun Girt in the very early pedigrees in *Harleian MS.* 3859.
