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THE

CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN;

TRANSLATED FROM THE WELSH COPY ATTRIBUTED TO TYSILIO;

COLLATED WITH SEVERAL OTHER COPIES,

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH COPIOUS NOTES;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

ORIGINAL DISSERTATIONS

ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS, VIZ.

ON THE HISTORY AND EPISTLE
ATTRIBUTED TO GILDAS.

ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE BRUT.

ON THE PRIMARY POPULATION OF
BRITAIN.

ON THE LAWS OF DYFNWAL
MOELMYD,

AND

ON THE ANTIENIT BRITISH CHURCH.

BY THE REV. PETER ROBERTS, A. M.

AUTHOR OF AN HARMONY OF THE EPISTLES; LETTERS TO MR. VOLNEY, &c.

" De Gentis Antiquitate et Origine magis creditur ipsi genti, atque vicinis, quam remotis et externis."
MYRSILUS LESBIUS.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR E. WILLIAMS, 11, STRAND, BOOKSELLER TO THE DUKE
AND DUCHESS OF YORK.

1811.



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OF THE HISTORY AND STATE

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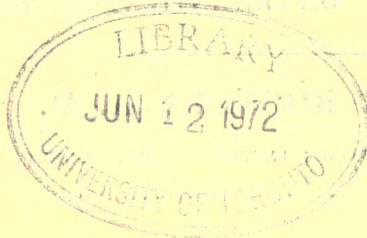
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DEDICATION.

TO SIR WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN, BART.

SIR,

THE first thought of a Dedication of the following Pages could not fail to turn to him, to whose valuable collection of Manuscripts they are much indebted, and in some measure owe their existence. To this I have to add motives still more powerful. The obligations you have conferred on me by continued kindness, and especially by an unsolicited offer of preferment, made in the most obliging manner, demand a public acknowledgement, and I am happy in seizing the occasion.

I will also confess that I feel much gratification in prefixing to an History of the Ancient Britons the name of one of their descendants, who, as the leader of his brave countrymen in arms, has been eminently distinguished for that spirit which has of old been the congenial honor of the appellation; and whose zeal for the welfare of Wales is evinced by his exertions for the improvement of its agriculture, and by his encouragement of its literature.

What judgement the world may pass on this attempt to extricate a portion of British History from obscurities in which it has

DEDICATION.

long been involved, it is not for me to anticipate. I can only say, that the truth alone has been invariably the object of my research, and that it is this which encourages me to offer the Volume to your notice and acceptance, as a testimony of the sincere gratitude, respect and esteem of,

SIR,

Your most obliged,

most obedient,

and humble Servant,

P. ROBERTS.

Wrexham,

December 1, 1810.

P R E F A C E.

RESARCHES into the history of the origin and progress of nations are in general allowed to be interesting, even as gratifying that natural curiosity which is in some degree implanted in the mind of every human being, and affording at least an innocent amusement in the leisure which can be spared from the employments and cares of necessary occupation. Were this all, the time given to such researches cannot be said to have been unprofitably expended. Whether it might have been less so in any other manner is a question which it would be difficult, if not impossible, for any individual to answer, as it regards another; or perhaps even the individual, who is led by choice to it, for himself.

Such researches are however of much more utility than as the gratification of mere curiosity. If the history of nations in a state of civilisation be the lesson of prudence to human conduct, and too frequently a very humiliating one, that of the earlier ages of society is a lesson of information that not only explains the origin of customs, manners, and laws, and progress of nations; but, by tracing backwards the progress and the language, leads to that point from which they all first emanated and diverged, and so to the elucidation of that truth,

which we know from another authority, that the whole human race are of one original stock.

Whether we compare the population, the manners, the science, or the face of the countries of Europe, at the present day, with what they were in the time of Julius Cæsar, of Herodotus, or of Moses, as far as we know them, we shall find this great truth confirmed.

It is sufficient here to throw out the idea as one which might be pursued with advantage in the study of general history, the subject of the present consideration being confined to a very moderate portion of the history of one of those nations, the traces of whose progress, as well as its distinct existence, have been preserved to a very considerable degree.

In a nation so situated, as to have had little intercourse with others, it is generally found that oral tradition transmits its history with much accuracy of the outline, though it be partially obscured otherwise, until either written tradition supersedes the oral, or a state of continual activity, introduced by trade and commerce, deprives it of that leisure for hearing and telling the tale of former ages, which the life of the warrior and the shepherd abundantly afford. But the introduction of the use of writing, however it may supersede the necessity of oral tradition, will not destroy it whilst there is leisure for it. When therefore, during such a period, the history of such a nation, written in its own language, is received by that nation as authentic, it is very difficult to believe that it is not so far so, as to be conformable in general to the real history. I say the real history, because that, as to it, oral tradition has frequently the advantage, as to facts generally so recorded. It is observable that the memories of those who can neither write nor read, are in general much more tenacious, much more precise, not merely as to prominent facts, but as to all the minute concomitant circumstances, than those of others. Among persons of this description, any variation from accuracy will be pointed out, and

perhaps reprobated, with all the jealousy of self-consequence, and all the importance of superior knowledge. It has also another advantage in respect to such historic facts. It scarcely comes within the power of an individual to pervert them grossly. That which has been heard by numbers, cannot be varied without risque, as every one is equally concerned to make the discovery, and they who have heard it before are able to make it.

Considering therefore the state of the time, not only in Wales, but in England also, when the History of Wales, which goes by the name of Geoffrey of Monmouth, was published in Welsh and in Latin, both by him and ¹ Walter the Archdeacon of Oxford; and the favorable reception it met with, which at first appears to have been very general; it seems scarcely possible to account for such a reception upon any other principle than that it was found to agree with received tradition in general, whether this tradition was oral or written.

¹ Pitts calls him Walter Calenius, and says that he was a very different person from Walter Mapes, though others have considered Calenius, and Mapes, as denoting the same person. The following is the account which Pitts gives of the life of Walter Calenius.

“Walter. Calenius, a Welshman by descent, and archdeacon of Oxford, was in his latter years intimately acquainted with Henry of Huntingdon: He was eloquent, well read in history, and celebrated by his contemporaries as an accomplished scholar, and especially for his study of antient writers, and diligent researches in order to discover their works. Leland says, that whilst he was making diligent enquiries for such writings in Armorica, he found an antient book written in the Welsh language, and brought it

with him to Britain; where, at the request of many of the nobility, and by the aid of Geoffrey of Monmouth, it was translated into Latin, as appears from the preface. As this history met with some opposition, amongst others who were its advocates, Ponticus Virunnius, an Italian, gained it no small degree of credit by publishing an epitome of it. Higden asserts that Walter himself added to the history, that of the times immediately succeeding, and continued it down to his own time, through a period of more than four hundred years, and called this addition, *Auctuarium Annalium Britonum* (*The Continuation of the British Annals.*) Some affirm, that this Walter was at length made Bishop of Exeter. He flourished A. D. 1120, in the time of Henry 1st. King of England.’

Notwithstanding this, the fate of poor Geoffrey has been singularly unpropitious. Though the principal circumstances found in his publication have been referred to as historic facts by other writers, esteemed of reputation, and even asserted by royal authority; though he referred to one of the most celebrated men of the age, who occupied the distinguished station of archdeacon in the University of Oxford, as the donor of the manuscript which he translated; though he dedicated the translation to a prince of high and admired literary abilities, whose character must be involved in the censure, were he to patronise a forgery; though the dignified station of Geoffrey himself would not only exempt him from all common motives to imposition, and the very tendency of the history itself, as opposite to the interests and objects of the English court, would be to raise the most formidable enmity against him, and must have done so, had not his statement as to his manuscript been true, still has he been as illiberally, as unmercifully, stigmatised as guilty of the forgery of a fabulous history.

At length however the elegant pen of Mr. Ellis has been, with equal justice and success, employed in vindication of the truth of the statement given by Geoffrey of the Ms. which he translated, and of the fidelity with which he translated it, as far as his intention was concerned. For the vindication of Geoffrey's character from such aspersions, I will beg leave to refer the reader to Mr. Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*.

Thus excused from entering any further on a vindication in these respects, it may still be allowable to notice the passage of Giraldus, which has been referred to by Mr. Ellis, and could not satisfactorily be accounted for, but by a collation of the Welsh Mss. with Geoffrey's translation.

Of the fidelity of Geoffrey's intention, I am free to acknowledge, that I have no reason to doubt: but of the competence of his abilities to the task he had undertaken, though they were very respectable

for the age he lived in, I am compelled to speak with some reserve. With the pedigrees of Wales he seems to have had but a very slender acquaintance, and hence has often fallen into errors as to proper names, that have much obscured the history; and, as errors of this kind, though probably owing to an ill-written, or injured Ms. were at once discoverable to a Welshman well skilled in genealogy, this very circumstance may, exclusive of his unhappy derivation of the word Wales, have been a motive to some of the Welsh to censure the translation, and to condemn it by the whimsical ordeal, the account of which is quoted from Giraldus by Mr. Ellis. A very remarkable passage to this purpose occurs in the Life of St. Guthlach, attributed by Gale to John of Wallingford. The words are these :

“ Ut Galfridus in translatione historiæ Britonum (licet ex *translatione* magis habeat auctoritatem quam ex *editore*) scribit.”

As Geoffrey writes in his translation of the history of the Britons, who is however more respected as a TRANSLATOR than as an EDITOR.

John of Wallingford died A. D. 1214. Whosoever was the author of the Life of Guthlach, had he written later than William of Newburgh, he would not probably have expressed his sentiments in this manner, for they seem to have been written soon after the publication of the history, when it was carefully read, and criticised with that kind of observation, which is very seldom exercised, but whilst the subject is novel. The observation, if I understand it right, marks that Geoffrey's *translation* was considered as elegant, but incorrect. That Geoffrey was anxious as to the elegance of his latinity, he has shewn in his letter to Robert of Gloucester, and the latinity may be considered as elegant for the times. But what is most important is, that the writer of the passage above quoted shews his opinion at least to have been, that what Geoffrey published was *a translation*.

As the mistakes of Geoffrey will be noticed in their proper places in the following translation, it is unnecessary to say more concerning

them at present, and we may therefore proceed to consider the objections which regard to the history itself.

To expect that a traditional history, relative to early or remote ages, should be perfectly free from any admixture of fabulous narrative would be to expect that which no such history, but the one of the Jews presents; and if this one does so, it must be remembered that it has been preserved pure by the intervention of the Divine Spirit. The objection therefore, if of any weight, ought to be extended to every similar instance, or withdrawn from this. And yet the other histories so obscured, are read with a discrimination, that admits them as sufficient vouchers for the series of ordinary facts received traditionally. This is all that can reasonably be desired; and this it is hoped may be granted.

Moreover, the progress of enquiry has shewn, that some circumstances related in antient history, which have long borne the appearance of improbability, or even of fable, to the historian himself, have eventually nevertheless proved to be true, either literally, or by implication; that is, as a fact disguised in a fabulous, or obscured, or allegorical representation. Herodotus did not believe that, beyond the Tropics, the sun appeared to pass the meridian to the north of the Zenith, and yet it is now the acknowledged fact. He tells us, he had heard that far to the north it rained *feathers*, and we who gave the epithet of *feathered* to *the snow*, can ascertain his interpretation of the expression to be correct. So also when this Chronicle tells us, that Bladud invented *balls*, which kept up a perpetual fire alive at Bath, we can understand that he discovered *the use of coal*, which abound in the neighbourhood of that place. The purport may be retained as valuable truth, though the mysterious covering, in which it was enveloped, be discarded.

As to the first part of the history, as far as it relates to Brutus, it is entitled fully to as much deference as the Roman tradition of Æneas,

and more will not, it is to be presumed, be much insisted upon. Some observations upon it will however be offered to the reader in the Appendix.

The objection to the account which this history gives of Arthur, may fairly be deemed to have originated in political considerations, and though made ostensibly to the whole of this part of the history, to have been intended more especially to discredit the prophecies of Merlin; the obvious tendency and real effect whereof, were to raise a most persevering and glorious resistance to the endeavours of the English kings to conquer Wales, a resistance to which it undoubtedly owes its present happiness. Had not this motive for decrying the history been so powerful, as it then was, Geoffrey would in all probability have been as loudly applauded, as he has been zealously calumniated; since that, notwithstanding every opposition, the history was eagerly read, the copies of it multiplied, and the subjects it afforded were decorated by the poet, sung by the minstrel, and studied as the lesson of chivalry by the warrior. In an age of legends, as in our age of novels, the wonderful was one of the most acceptable characteristics of narrative; though the readiness with which every thing extraordinary was then received as true, is more than compensated by the prompt incredulity of the moderns, as to whatever appears to be extraordinary beyond common experience.

It has been observed of the prophecy of Merlin, which Geoffrey has inserted in his translation, that it accords well with history down to the time of Henry the II. and then begins to be obscure, and hence I am inclined to think that, though part of it may be very antient, it was enlarged not very long before, and the whole attributed to Merlin, in order to give it credit. Some parts of it are quoted by Giraldus, being held authentic in his time. It merits no farther notice as to itself.

The last objection, and certainly the most important, if it were well founded, is the assertion of the supposed Gildas, that "if any Welsh writings ever existed, they were not to be found, they having either been burned, or carried away by the exiles." If this be a strong assertion, its full force has been assumed, and argued upon as true, by those who ought to have considered it more accurately before they ventured to avail themselves of it. If however, I shall be able to prove, and I trust that I shall be able to prove it satisfactorily, that the history and epistle attributed to Gildas, are *forgeries*; all the arguments founded on the assertion just quoted, will fall to the ground. For this proof I must refer to the Dissertation on the subject, as it requires more discussion than could conveniently be assigned to it within the limits of a prefatory introduction.

It remains to add a few words as to the history itself, and the translation now offered to the public.

In the letter to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, which Geoffrey of Monmouth has prefixed to his translation he states that his translation was made from a Ms. which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, had brought from Brittany, and he states it with perfect simplicity; as one who did not imagine there could be a doubt as to the fact. He is at no pains to prove it, further than a reference to the donor then living. He is highly gratified with the acquisition, and happy in the toil of a translation; his only anxiety appears to be, that the language of the translation should do him credit. These are not the feelings, or the objects of imposture. It appears also from the Welsh copies, that Walter himself had translated this history twice. First, from his Ms. into Latin, and a second time from *his own Latin translation* into Welsh. Why he did the latter is not said, and it therefore seems to furnish one of those incidental proofs of truth, that are the more valuable as they are merely such. We know from Geoffrey that Walter had given the original to him, who had probably taken it to Monmouth,

and it would in that case, be more convenient to Walter, to translate from his own copy, than to require the use of the original.

As to such a manuscript being found in Brittany, it is very easy to account for it. About the middle of the sixth century, a dreadful plague broke out in Britain, and mortality increased so widely, that a great number of the British clergy sought to escape it by flying into Brittany. Of this number were Sampson, afterwards Archbishop of Dole, and other learned men, who would not assuredly on such an occasion leave their books, which were the sources of their knowledge, and consolation, behind them; when they must have considered themselves as leaving Britain, perhaps never to see it more. Hence then it was very possible that such a manuscript as that of this history should have been found in Brittany, and more probable than that such a history should be found in Britain; nor does it seem impossible that, if the proper pains were taken, manuscripts of value, as to the common history of the Welsh and Britons, might yet be found there.

Who was the author of the history, can be only a matter of conjecture. That Geoffrey of Monmouth was not, is, I think, certain. In the dissertation on the history ascribed to Gildas, some arguments will be offered in favour of my opinion, that this history is the one which Gildas really wrote; and that the other was composed *in order to be substituted for this*. The reader of the dissertation will of course form his own opinion how far the arguments support the conjecture. Whosoever was the author, he appears to have recorded the received traditions of the Cymry with great simplicity of design, and of narration. To give as complete an enumeration of those who were deemed sovereigns of Britain, annexing to each name whatever was recorded of the person who bore it, is the object announced in the title; and it is seldom exceeded in the progress of his work. The model of his design was probably taken from the books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah, and that of his style from

Dares Phrygius; and therefore more information, however desirable, could not well be expected, than what was consistent with such a plan. A mistaken zeal for religion seems also to have confined this plan within more narrow limits than its own nature required. The idea of the author, unless his work has been mutilated, must have been perfectly inconsistent with any studious investigation of the forms, ceremonies, or institutions of the Druids, for he appears to have known little or nothing of them. Yet, as far as his plan extended, and his collections supplied him with materials, he appears to have composed his Chronicle with a sincere fidelity as to what he found recorded. Had he wished to impose tales of his own invention as history, the long list of names, which he has simply registered, would have afforded abundant opportunities. The bare notice of so many names is therefore an argument that he did not; neither does the style of his narration indicate an inventive mind, or strong powers of imagination; but rather that of a sedulous compiler, satisfied with a connected and regular disposition of various documents in chronological order. If he any where quits the style of simple narration for a moment, and ventures on an ornamental expression, he instantly returns to his habitual mode, as if conscious of temerity. Yet, though this characteristic trait, and it is such, does in some degree lessen the pleasure in the perusal, it is a most advantageous one to the reputation of the writer, as to his sincerity in stating occurrences according to the authorities he was possessed of, and the traditions he had learned, which is the first point of real moment in history.

It is much to be lamented, that he had not extended his plan to a regular history, so far at least as to have included the transactions of the Romans in this country, which, from the title of the work, I am inclined to think he did not. Otherwise it might be suspected that, as it has certainly in some instances been interpolated by the Romish clergy, it had in this respect been mutilated by them.

Some observations on the discrepancies or coincidences, in relating the same events, between our author and other ancient writers, will be found in the notes on the passages.

The motives for publishing a new translation of this Chronicle, were not merely that the one by Thompson is become scarce, but more properly the hopes that one more correct might be acceptable, as from the publication of the Welsh copies in the *Archæology of Wales* it might be expected, and was certainly facilitated. In addition to these copies the translator was so fortunate as to be able to collate them with an ancient Ms. belonging to Sir W. W. Wynn, and to obtain the use of a very complete Ms. which once belonged to the Abbey of Basingwerke, with the use of which he was favored by the late Thomas Griffiths, Esq. of Pen y Nant, in Denbighshire. These advantages were too valuable to be neglected, and the following translation was in consequence undertaken and accomplished; and as a Welsh translation of the history of the Trojan War, attributed to Dares Phrygius, is, in several of the most ancient Mss. containing the Chronicle, prefixed to the Chronicle, a translation from the Welsh copy, it was thought, might not be uninteresting to the reader, it is therefore in a similar manner prefixed to the translation of the Chronicle, with such notes as seemed necessary.

In translating the Chronicle, that copy, which is entitled *Brut Tysilio*, has been made the text, as being probably the earliest of any of those, which the translator had before him. This copy is taken from the Red Book of Hergest, which formerly belonged to Margam Abbey, and is that of the library of Jesus College, Oxford. The style of this copy is more simple than that of the other printed copies, and a few attempts at interpolation, evidently forced into this copy, are so connected in the others, as not to be at once discernible. The style of the copy entitled *Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur*, that is *the Chronicle of Gruffydd, the son of Arthur (Geoffrey of Monmouth)* is

somewhat labored, and the narrative is more diffuse. This copy agrees very closely with Geoffrey's translation. The Archaology gives also the various readings of two more copies marked A and B. The first from a Ms. in the Welsh schools, and the second from a Ms. belonging to Mr. Jones of Havod.

The copy of the Abbey of Basingwerke is said, in a note in the handwriting of that learned Welsh antiquary Mr. Vaughan of Hengwrt, to be in the handwriting of Guttyn Owain, a celebrated Poet and Genealogist, who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century. It is written in a good text hand, and contains Dares Phrygius, the Chronicle of the Kings of Britain, and the Chronicle of the Princes, better known as the history by Caradoc of Lancarfan, which is continued to the reign of Henry the VIth. It is from this copy, compared with two more at Wynnstay, and two Latin editions, that the translation of Dares is given. In this Ms. the former part of the Chronicle is more full than any other copy I have seen, and for this reason it has been thought better to subjoin the portion at length. The remainder agrees so very closely with the Welsh text copy to the translation, that it seems only to be another translation from the same original. It was therefore sufficient to note the variations as to the remainder.

Such a number of different copies is always of great benefit, and it is hoped it will be seen that it has been so to this translation; both as to correct readings, and supplying some things omitted in one copy from the others. Where any thing is supplied, it is included between inverted commas, and the authority noted at the bottom of the page, in which the above-mentioned copies are denoted respectively in order, by the letters B. T. B. G. A. B. and G. O.

Exclusive of the above copies of the Chronicle itself, the translator had also the use of a Ms. history of Wales, by the favor of J. Jones, Esq. of Coed y Glyn, in Denbighshire. This history is a compilation by Mr. Jones of Gelly Lyfdy, a gentleman who had

collected a great number of Welsh Mss. was well skilled in the Welsh language, and appears to have been a learned man in other respects. This Ms. is an extensive compilation from Welsh, English, and Latin authors; but as the authorities are sometimes omitted, references to it have been necessarily more reserved than they might otherwise have been. Such references to this Chronicle as occur in the notes to the translation, are distinguished by the letters J. G. L. and they are, unless otherwise specified, to be considered as on the authority of Mr. Jones himself, which is certainly that of one deeply read on the subject, and worthy of ample credit, for his sources of information, and faithful communication of it.

As the original is a plain and simple narrative, it was thought necessary that the translation should represent it as nearly as the abilities of the translator would enable him to make it do so. Of much ornament the subject was incapable, without departing from the simplicity of the original; and it is hoped that he has not been very liable to fall into the opposite extreme.

One advantage may perhaps be looked for from the present translation, viz. that the history will be regarded with more favor than it has been, when it is seen how much has been contended for and opposed, that had no real foundation in the history, but was the result of the mistakes or mistranslations of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Walter, or of the copyists. Those of Geoffrey were, I believe, not intentional, for when he calls a priest, *a Flamen*; a Roman general, *an Emperor*; and a Roman chieftain, *a Consul*; he probably made use of the most appropriate terms his nomenclature could furnish him with; and the same apology must be made for the use of the word *Earl* in its original signification of *Governor of a large District*, and of the word, *Knight*, as signifying *a Gentleman of some Military Rank*, in the translation.

The mistakes as to proper names have been of a much more injurious kind as to the credit of the history; since they have, in many instances, confused and perverted the chronology. These have been corrected in the present translation, and the chronology, as far as the collation of the copies, and other means within the reach of the translator permitted it, restored.

Whether it was owing to a peculiar pronunciation, rather limited as to variety of sounds, or to a superficial carelessness as to their mode of expressing words of foreign languages; the inaccuracy of Latin writers in this respect has been most injurious to Etymology. If a conjecture may be grounded on a few instances, though something be attributed to carelessness, more depended on a restricted power of expressing sounds, and hence the Romans were obliged, like the Chinese, sometimes to insert vowels, and sometimes to change the consonants. Hence Caswallon became Cassibelan, and Cynvelin, Cunobelin, to each of which the inflexional termination was added. The same misfortune to Etymology has also been continually increased by almost every writer who has thought it expedient to Latinize a name; and it must be confessed that Geoffrey of Monmouth has not been more successful than his predecessors. Some of his proper names are erroneous, by his own misconception, and the Welsh ones are in general so mangled, that without the aid of the Welsh copies, it would have been next to impossible, to have restored them. To obviate this evil as far as may be, as the names he has given are familiar to the generality of readers, the original names in their proper form are generally given in the text, with his expression, or a translation of them annexed in Italics, and in the Index the principal proper names will be found in both forms.

The division of the history into books is, in the present translation, such as appeared naturally to arise from the subjects of each. The Welsh copies in the Archæology have no divisions, and those

adopted by Geoffrey have nothing to recommend them to a preference.

The Notes were in a great measure the necessary consequence of undertaking the translation of a history so much injured, both in itself and in the public opinion, by not only the inaccuracies of Geoffrey and his faithful follower Thompson, but by obscurities induced by errors of copyists. To remove these errors as much as possible was an essential object, but it appeared also, that as the subject may, since the late revival of Welsh literature, be considered almost as a new one, something more might be allowed, whether as meeting objections, or adding to the information. In a Sketch of the Early History of the Britons, the author's wish was to lay something of the import of what had newly appeared in the Welsh language before the public, and the indulgence it has met with has his grateful acknowledgement. In the more advanced state of his acquaintance with the subject, having found much, that to his judgement appeared likely to contribute to historic knowledge, he has ventured to state it, partly in the notes he subjoined to the text, and more at length in the Appendix, in form of Dissertations.

On such subjects, the extent of what may be deemed necessary enquiry is so great, and particular authorities in the possession of one person, frequently so inaccessible to another, that it is very possible to be unable always to succeed in researches for them. In this respect if there be any deficiency it certainly is not owing to neglect.

In the first Dissertation, some part is necessarily conjectural, and the writer has thought himself justifiable in adopting such ideas, as upon his latest consideration have appeared preferable, wheresoever he may have varied from a former conjecture; and this he thinks it is due to the reader and to himself to state. How far he is justified in the conjectures he must leave to be decided by the arguments.

The extracts from the Law Triads will, it is presumed, be interesting, both by the internal proof of their antiquity, and the idea they afford of the original British Constitution.

It is also hoped that the Dissertation on the Antient British Church will be found to contain some new as well as useful information on the subject.

The additional notes were such as either were referred to the Appendix to avoid overloading the pages of the Text, or such as occurred after the former had been put to press.

After that a great part of this volume had been printed off, the translator finding that his materials for a continuation of his researches grew upon his hands, and that the subject of the antient Welsh Laws (notwithstanding what has been done by Wotton) the Welsh Romances, &c. still afford much curious information; he intends, God willing, to pursue these subjects in another volume; and therefore has, at the suggestion of a highly respected Friend, prefixed the title of *Collectanea Cambrica* to this volume, which from the variety of matter, it may properly bear.

The Translator begs leave here to acknowledge gratefully his obligations to those whose names have already been noticed as having favored him with the use of Mss. or Books, and particularly to Sir W. W. Wynne, for the liberal use of his valuable collection of Mss. and to Mr. C. W. Wynne, for much useful information. His acknowledgements are also due to The Rev. Dr. Myddleton, of Gwacynnog, for the use of some scarce books; and to Dr. Hamilton for access to the excellent library of St. Martin in Westminster.

How far the present publication may have attained the object, which has been rather to clear the way to truth, than as arrogating an opinion that it has in every instance been found, must now be left to the reader. Some important truths it is hoped are in a great

measure ascertained, and the probability of many disputed traditions established. Something will be allowed to the toil and difficulty of the undertaking, and the indulgence what he has already written has experienced, is once more earnestly solicited for his endeavours, by

THE TRANSLATOR.

(Faint, mostly illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. Some words like "Chronicle of the Kings of Britain" and "Appendix" are visible.)

C O N T E N T S.

Dares Phrygius.

Chronicle of the Kings of Britain.

Appendix—containing:

- I. Dissertation On the History and Epistle attributed to Gildas.
- II. ————— On the Authority of the Brut.
- III. ————— On the Primary Population of Britain.
- IV. ————— On the Laws of Dyfuwal Moelmu.
- V. ————— On the Antient British Church.
- VI. Additions to the Notes on the Brut.

Signification of the Abbreviations used as References in this Volume.

- B. T. *Brut Tyssilio.* The Welsh copy of the Chronicle from which the Translation is given.
- B. G. The Welsh copy in the Archialogy, entitled Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur.
- A. & B. The collations to the Brut so marked in the Archialogy.
- G. M. The Translation of the Brut by Geoffrey of Monmouth.
- Ms. G. O. *The Ms. of Guttyn Owain*, viz. The Book of Basingwerke.
- W. Ms. The Wynnstay Ms.
- I. G. L. The Welsh Ms. Chronicle, by Mr. Jones of Gelly Lyfdy.

Note.—That the insertions in the Chronicle taken from other copies are included in inverted commas; and the explanatory ones in brackets. The latter are also printed in *italics*.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

TO

DARES PHRYGIUS.

IT is generally allowed, upon the authority of Ælian and others, that there did once exist, (and Ælian says it did so in his time) a history of the Trojan War, written by Dares Phrygius. Of this history nothing now remains, except what may be collected from the following short narrative, if it may be considered as relating to it. To consider it as a history would be mistaking its intent. It is evidently no more than the *Argument*, or statement of the contents of some extensive work, and probably a poem on the War of Troy; and, if compared with the longer *Arguments* prefixed to the books of the Iliad, the resemblance will strongly appear. Such as this history is, however, it must be of considerable antiquity and estimation in its present *form*; though I do not say in the *language* of the Latin editions. The Welsh copy, from which it is translated, was written in the 15th century, and the accumulation of errors of the copyists, in the proper names especially, is such as indicates that the first translation into Welsh must long have preceded this copy. Joseph of Exeter, who appears to have understood the true nature of this tract, has made it the basis of his *Poem de Bello Trojano*; and it must therefore have been in some credit in the beginning of the 12th century. Farther back I am unable to trace it, except upon a supposition, founded upon some singular expressions in the latinity of the printed

editions, which induce me to believe their text, as we now have it, to be a retranslation into Latin, and from, I think, a Welsh copy, because the expressions are idiomatic in Welsh. In so short a tract many such cannot be expected: the following however are so, as found in the edition of Schmid: *Amsterdam, 1702, viz. architectum*, p. 148, for a *shipwright*, is a literal translation of the Welsh *Pensaer*, that is, *chief carpenter*. *Virosus* as an adjective from *vir*. Welsh *Gwrawl*, the same from *gwr*, a man. *Jurejurando astricto*, p. 175, Welsh *ymrhwymio arvolleu*, i. e. *to tie the obligations*.

These traces of idiom, few as they are, though I do not say they are decidedly from the Welsh, as it is possibly the old French might afford them, mark it as strongly as our daily translations from the French and German do, that they are so in almost every page. Upon the supposition I have made, it is no way surprising, that the latinity is so different from what might have been expected from the pen of Cornelius Nepos, and the objection, on that principle, is done away.

It is no way improbable that, attached as the Welsh nation was to the Trojan History, this outline of it should have been found among the Welsh writings carried off by the Monks, retranslated into Latin, and preserved, partly as not very favourable to the character of Æneas or the Trojans; and partly as connected with the ¹ poem

¹ This poem, though but little known, has many beautiful passages in it, and displays a genius which had it enjoyed the benefit of better models for imitation, might have produced a composition of much greater merit. Ovid, Statius, and Claudian he appears to have been acquainted with, but not with Virgil: hence his verse and expressions are frequently harsh, and it was probably never carefully revised by the author. Still it is a work of great merit for the age in which it was written.

The following lines which are found near the beginning of the poem have frequently been a subject of commendation, and they exhibit a lively portrait of a noble poetic ardour in a youthful mind.

Si nostris nil dulce novum, nil utile visum,
 Quod teneri pariunt anni; si secula tantum
 Aurea Saturni memorant, et nulla recentis
 Gratia virtutis; aude tamen ardua, pubes:
 Mento canescant alii, nos mente; capillo,
 Nos animo; facie, nos pectore. Tempora certe
 Virtutem non prima negant, non ultima donant.

of Joseph of Exeter. In character it agrees with that given of it in the letter of Cornelius Nepos. It tells a plain tale, and one which might be true; but it differs in many circumstances both from Homer and Dictys's Cretensis, the most material of which are the times of the deaths of Patroclus and Hector. It might be urged that Homer assumed these to suit his purpose, and Dictys copied Homer; but it would be idle to enter into any argumentation on the subject. I will therefore only add, that I hope Dares, in this translation, will appear less liable to objection than in the other editions hitherto published.

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DARES PHRYGIUS.

Translated from the Welsh Copy in the Book of Basingwerke.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF DARES, WHICH IS A FAITHFUL NARRATIVE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF TROY, AND OF THE ENGAGEMENTS BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND TROJANS.

¹CORNELIUS, to Sallust the Curly-headed, greeting. During the time when I was laboriously pursuing my studies at Athens, I met with a history of the transactions of the Greeks and Trojans, by Dares, a Greek, ²in his own hand writing; and conceiving that it gives an accurate account of the causes and circumstances of the events, without addition or diminution as to the truth, in order they might be found in his book, I have translated it into Latin, word for word, for the information of the reader, and also (as Dares is supposed to have written with the greatest regard to truth) for the purpose of recording the battles between the Greeks and Trojans. Dares himself lived at the time, was a person of rank, and concerned in the engagements from the first battle, until the Greeks subdued the Trojans and took Troy. He is therefore more worthy of credit than Homer, who was not born for many years after that time, and who, ³on his trial at Athens for having imagined and taught that the Gods engaged in battle with men, was adjudged to be insane. Here follows the history, according to my promise.

¹ Cornelius Nepos. *Latin copy.*

² The Latin copy, adds *ut titubus indicat*. But as the title might be copied as well as the book, nothing can be inferred from it.

³ Mad. Dacier thinks that the writer alluded merely to opinions entertained at

Athens, and particularly that of Plato. The Welsh translator understood it as of a real trial. Perizonius exclaims, *whoever heard of Homer's being tried?* To answer the question in its own stile, *who can prove he was not?*

DARES PHRYGIUS.

¹ PELIAS, ² King of the Peloponnesians, had a brother called Æson, and this Æson had a son called Jason, a young man of celebrity, who considered his subjects as though they had been his guests, and was in return greatly beloved by them. This general partiality to Jason, excited the fears of Pelias, that it might eventually prove injurious to himself, even to the loss of his kingdom; he therefore told Jason, that there was at Colchos, a golden fleece worthy of his seeking, and promised him every assistance for the enterprize. Jason therefore, being a man of courage, desirous of seeing various countries, and observing their manners and laws, and also conceiving that if he could obtain the golden fleece, it would render his fame the most conspicuous, determined to leave his uncle and go on the enterprize as soon as he should be provided with the means, and could collect associates.

Hereupon Pelias sent for Argo, his chief shipwright, and directed him to build as complete a ship as possible, according to the wish of Jason. Meantime the report was spread over all Greece, that a ship was building in order to fetch the golden fleece from Colchos, in consequence whereof friends and strangers came to Jason, and promised to accompany him; and when the ship was ready they set sail, Jason being their chief. The name of this ship was Argo.

Pelias commanded that the ship should be provided with every thing necessary, and also recommended it strongly to Jason and his associates to accomplish their purpose, as it was foreseen that it would be for the honor of Greece.

¹ The Welsh copy erroneously reads *Peleus*.

² Pelias was grandson to Salmoneus, King of Elis, but at this time King of

Thessaly. Perhaps therefore we should read, *Pelias, the Peloponnesian, King of Thessaly*.

¹ It is unnecessary for me to recapitulate the names of those who went with Jason, as they may be found in the book called *Argo*.

When Jason reached Phrygia, and had come to anchor in the port of Simois, they went all on shore; but Laomedon, the King of Troy, when he was informed that a ship of amazing size, full of young men had arrived in the port of Simois, being alarmed by the intelligence, because of the danger that might result from the Greeks, should their ships frequent his harbour, sent to the Greeks to enjoin them to leave his territories, and to inform them that if they did not, he was prepared to expel them by force. This severity of Laomedon irritated Jason very much, because that he and his companions had neither done, nor intended to do, an injury. But as he was apprehensive that a refusal to depart would draw upon them a force which they might not be able to withstand, and they might be taken as captives; and also because his crew were not prepared for war, they weighed anchor and left the coast, and arrived at Colchos, from whence they brought home the golden fleece.

Hercules, who still cherished in his heart a violent resentment against Laomedon for the disgraceful reception which Jason and his friends had met with, now went to ² Sparta in Greece, to Castor and Pollux, in order to engage them, to go and avenge the insult and inhospitality of Laomedon, promising that he would be their leader if they would assent to his proposal, which they did in every respect.

¹ Another Welsh Ms. follows the Latin copy here, and adds, "Jason's friends promised to accompany him when the ship should be ready, and when it was so, Jason wrote to inform them of it."

² Through the ignorance of transcribers, the names, both proper and local, are in the Welsh copies so very difficult to decypher, that without the aid of the Latin history, they would be in many cases inexplicable.

Thus *Sparta* has been transformed into *Spiradi*; *Salamis* into *Lamina*; *Phthia* into *Ffiscia*; and *Bæotia* into *Poem* and *Boemia*, &c. The last of these is probably the origin of the mistake in our old writers, who have made Bohemia a maritime country, and from whom Shakespeare has, in the *Winter's Tale*, taken the mistake with the story.

From thence he went to the Isle of Salamis, to Telamon, to request his personal aid to avenge the insult; which Telamon promised, and that he would be ready when Hercules should summon him. From Salamis he went to Phthia, to Peleus, who consented in like manner to join in the enterprise. From thence he went to Pylos, to Nestor, and solicited him also to accompany him. And when Hercules had declared with indignant emotion that he would land his army in Phrygia, Nestor commended his intention, and promised to go. Hercules, thus assured that they were all disposed to his wish, prepared fifteen ships on his own part and engaged troops.

When the time appointed for the expedition was come, Hercules sent letters to the Kings who had promised to assist him, and when they were assembled, they sailed for Phrygia, and arrived at Sigeum by night, whereupon Hercules, Telamon, and Peleus landed their own troops, leaving Castor, Pollux, and Nestor, as a reserve at their ships. Laomedon sallying out at the head of a large number of men, directed his attack against those who were left behind, and in the mean time Hercules and his party attacked the town and citadel of Troy fiercely and valiantly. Intelligence was soon brought to Laomedon that the citadel was won, he therefore left Castor, Pollux and Nestor, and retreated towards Troy, and being met by Hercules was slain by him. As Telamon was the first, who entered the citadel, Hercules rewarded his valour by giving him ¹ Hesione, daughter of Laomedon; but all the sons of Laomedon, who were with their father, Hercules put to death. Priam however, the son of Laomedon, was at that time in Phrygia, whither his father had sent him at the head of an army. As to Hercules and his auxiliaries, they having collected a rich booty, disposed of it in their ships, and returned home, Telamon carrying Hesione with him.

¹ *Esonia*, the Ms.

Priam deeply afflicted when he heard of the destruction of his father, brethren, and other relatives, the plundering of the city, and the captivity of Hesione by the Greeks, in so disgraceful a manner, returned with Hecuba, his wife, and his sons and daughters to Troy.

The names of his sons were Hector, Alexander, Paris, Deiphobus, Helenus, Troilus and ¹Amphimachus. He had also three daughters, viz. Andromache, Cassandra, and Polixena. Priam had also other sons by his concubines, but none of his sons were princes, except those whom he had by wives of royal blood.

Priam soon after his return, caused the Walls of Troy to be rebuilt, and new ones to be raised, so as to be every way much stronger, and more extensive than before, and garrisoned it with the best troops amply, lest, as in Laomedon's case, it should be again surprised. He also built a temple, and consecrated an altar in it to Jupiter. His son Hector he sent to ²Pæonia, to engage warriors of note. The names of the gates of Troy were, ³the Antenorian, Dardanian, Iliac, Thymbrian, and Trojan. When he saw that the city and citadel were well fortified, and had awhile considered in what manner he could best avenge the death of his father, and the insult to himself; he sent for Antenor, and informed him, that he would send him on an embassy to Greece to those, who had commanded the expedition so injurious by plunder and slaughter, and the capture of his sister Hesione, to demand the restoration of Hesione. Antenor therefore by Priam's order set sail, and went to Magnesia, in Greece, to Peleus, who received him hospitably, and entertained him for three days, and on the fourth, Antenor declared the instructions given him

¹ Omitted in the Latin.

² In the Ms. *Eppenia*, in another *Poema*.

³ These names are given thus in the Ms. Antenoridas, Dardanides, Iliacides, Thym-

brians, and Troianas. The Ms. is here the most correct, for the Latin incorrectly adds, the *Scæan*, which was the same as the Dardanian.

by Priam to claim Hesione. Hereby Peleus was so far offended, as the claim implicated himself, that he commanded Antenor to leave his territories. Antenor did not delay his departure, but set sail and went to Salamis in Bæotia, to Telamon; to whom he again urged the claim, and represented the injustice of detaining a princess so long in captivity. Telamon's answer was, that he had not acted unjustly towards Priam; that his booty was his allotted share, which he would not give up; and concluded by desiring Antenor to leave his territories. Antenor then sailed to Achaia, and went to Castor and Pollux; and having stated the claim, they replied, that what they had done was not an injury, but in return for the injurious treatment they had received from Laomedon, and desired him to leave their territories. From thence Antenor sailed to Pylos, where having declared to Nestor the occasion of his coming, Nestor replied by a remonstrance, saying, How is it that you have the temerity of coming to the Greeks, who have been the first injured, with such a message? Antenor now considering the failure of the purpose of his voyage, and the insults he had received, returned home; and having informed Priam fully of both, and of the several answers he had received, urged him to follow up his claim by force of arms. Hereupon Priam immediately called in his sons and relatives to a conference, viz. Æneas, Antenor, Anchises, Ucalegon, ¹ Bucolion, Panthous, Lampus, and ² Polydamas, and all his sons by his concubines; and informed them of his having sent Antenor to the Greeks, to demand satisfaction for the death of his father, and the restoration of his sister, Hesione, and that they had slighted his embassy, and treated it with contumely. Their conduct said he is so shameful, that I think it just to send a force against the Greeks, to punish their arrogance, lest they should insult and despise us. To

¹ *Pignaleo*, the Ms. The name in the text is from the Latin.

² The name is added from another Ms.

this they all assented, and Priam advised his sons to take the command of the forces, and Hector, in particular, the chief command, which in propriety was due to him, he being the eldest, and the most conspicuous for courage and personal strength. Hector then declared his readiness to act according to the will of his father, and avenge the death of his grandfather, Laomedon; and that, for the injuries they had done to Troy, the Greeks should not escape his vengeance.

Notwithstanding all this, the Trojans were ¹ apprehensive, that the design could not be accomplished, as the Greeks had so many auxiliaries, and if the Europeans who were the most warlike nation then in the world, should encounter them, the Asiatics had neither spirit nor perseverance in war, and would therefore find it difficult to provide a fleet that should overpower them. But Alexander, Priam's son, arose and urged them to prepare a fleet against Greece, adding that he himself would, with his father's permission, take the command, relying upon an intimation from the Gods, that they should overcome their enemies, and return from Greece with glory. For on a certain day, when he was hunting on Mount Ida, the God ² Mercury brought the three goddesses, Juno, Minerva, and Venus to him, to judge of their beauty; and Venus promised, if he would decide that she was the fairest, and most beautiful, to give him the most beautiful woman in Greece, and thus induced, he had declared her the fairest.

This suggested a hope to Priam, that Venus would assist Alexander; and Deiphobus supported the plan by expressing his persuasion that they should rescue Hesione from the Greeks, if such a fleet as was proposed was sent. Helenus on the contrary prophesied, that the Greeks would come and subvert Troy, and that his father and brothers should fall by the hands of their enemies, if

¹ The Latin inconsistently attributes these fears to Hector

² *He saw the God Mercury in a dream,*
W. Ms. So also the Latin.

Alexander should bring with him a woman from Greece. Troilus, Priam's youngest son, and not inferior in valour to Hector, advised the preparation of the fleet, and that they should pay no attention to the predictions of Helenus; and it was generally agreed upon to send a fleet against Greece. Priam therefore gave orders to Alexander and Deiphobus to go to Pæonia to collect troops, with an injunction to be ready for the expedition, and concluded by exhorting his younger sons to obey the elder. Then ¹ "having called an assembly of the people" he descanted at length upon the manner in which the Greeks had insulted Troy; his having sent Antenor to Greece to demand Hesione, and reparation for the injury; their evil treatment of Antenor and sending him back with a direct refusal; wherefore added he, we will send Alexander to avenge it. He then commanded Antenor to relate the circumstances of his travels, and the insults he had received in Greece. Antenor therefore encouraged the people and his own friends to the war, by relating ² concisely what had happened to him in Greece.

Priam then asked if there were any one who disapproved of his intention. Whereupon Panthous privately told Priam, and hinted to those that were near him, what he had heard from his father, Euphorbus; which was, that if Alexander should bring with him a woman from Greece, it would be the ruin of Troy, and that it would be more their interest to abide in peace, than by an hazardous experiment to endanger the nation. But the advice of Panthous was rejected,

¹ Supplied from the Latin, as necessary to the sense. The Latin copy reads here, *Populum ad concionem venire jubet. Commonefacit filios ut majores natu minoribus imperarent. Monstravit quas injurias Græci Trojanis fecissent.* Here it is evident that the first sentence should follow the second, and that the recapitu-

lation of circumstances was made in an oration to the people. This slight change obviates the censure of Madame Dacier.

² The Latin copy has *Pancis demonstravit*, which has erroneously been in the Welsh translation made to signify *to a few*, &c.

and Priam was requested to declare his final determination, which he did by requiring the preparation of a fleet to go to Greece, and a force to go with it. The people also on their part declared, that all who were capable of service were to obey their king; whereupon Priam thanked them, broke up the assembly, and ordered the levies to be made.

When Cassandra, Priam's daughter, heard of her father's determination, she began to declare what would be the consequence of his sending a fleet to Greece. Nevertheless at the appointed time the ships having on board the ¹ noblemen and approved warriors, whom Alexander and Deiphobus had collected in Pæonia, and being ready to put to sea, Priam gave orders to do so without delay, and gave the command to Alexander. He also ordered Æneas, Deiphobus, and Polydamas, to accompany him; and that they should ² bring back Hesione, and exact a reparation for the injury done to the Trojans. If however they could not obtain this, they were to send him information of it, to the end that he might send a sufficient force to avenge himself upon the Greeks.

The ships now sailed, Alexander taking with him Antenor, who was well skilled in navigation; and as they drew near to the Isle Cythera, Menclaus, who was on a voyage to Pylos, to visit Nestor, passed by them, wondering whither so noble a fleet could be bound; and whilst they were in sight of each other, each party endeavoured to form conjectures as to the destination of the other, of which they were mutually ignorant. Castor and Pollux also had at this time gone to see Clytemnestra, and had taken with them their niece Hermione. Alex-

¹ The Welsh translator here seems to have given the idea of an army, according to his own observation. The Latin has simply *Milites*.

² According to the Latin copy they were first to address themselves to Castor and Pollux.

ander landed at Cythera on the day of the festival of Venus, and sacrificed to ¹ her in a temple there dedicated to her, as Dione.

When the ceremony was ended, the islanders, astonished, demanded who, and whence they were? they answered, that they were going on an embassy from Priam, King of Troy, to Castor and Pollux.

In the sequel, after Alexander's arrival at Cythera, Helen, the wife of Menelans, consented to go with him to Troy; and with this intention took a walk on the shore, under the pretext of performing sacred rites at a temple, dedicated to Apollo and Dione, having given Alexander notice to come thither by sea, to meet her, which her beauty induced him to do. From thence she introduced him to the castle, wherein she dwelt, and their conversation increased their mutual passion. In the mean time Paris gave a signal to a party of his crew, whom he had stationed near the temple, to advance and carry off Helen, which they did, and not against her will, and also carried off other women with her. When therefore they, who were in the castle, saw their Lady Helen borne away, they arose in arms to rescue her, but were overpowered by the numbers of the party of Alexander, which being victorious plundered the temple and brought many captives to the ships. They then sailed back and came to Tenedos, where Alexander soothed by his conversation the regret which Helen pretended to feel for what had passed, and this the more easily, as she wished to remain with him.

¹ Madame Dacier is surprised, as well she might be, that Paris should sacrifice to *Diana*. It shews that she took little pains as an editor, when so small an alteration would have made the passage consistent, and even a reference to Joseph of Exeter would have saved her the trouble of a conjecture. The Welsh copy says nothing of Argos, but attributes the temple and festival to *Juno*; the Latin attributes the temple to *Venus*. As Juno is in one instance read for Venus, there can be no doubt but that it is so in both, and I have therefore ventured to do so.

When Menelaus and Nestor heard of what had happened, they sent to Agamemnon to meet them at Sparta, and also to the Greeks to come and advise them as to the insult they had received.

In the mean time, Alexander went to Priam, and related what had been done, whereat Priam rejoiced, hoping thereby to recover Hesione, and reparation for the losses of the Trojans. Moreover he caressed Helen, and gave her in marriage to Alexander. But when Cassandra heard it, she began to prophecy, and to recal to their minds her former predictions, and was therefore imprisoned by her father.

Menelaus, after his return to Sparta in conjunction with Agamemnon, who had come thither to console him, sent all over Greece to call upon every one to revenge the insult they had received from the Trojans; and these are the names of the chiefs who came to them, viz. Achilles, Patroclus, Euryalus, Tlepolemus, and Diomedes. And when they were assembled at Sparta, they resolved to take vengeance upon the Trojans, and sent to them a denunciation of war. They also sent to collect forces throughout Greece, and appointed the rendezvous at the port of Athens, from whence they were to sail for Troy, and avenge their injuries, and then elected Agamemnon to be chief in the command of the expedition. Whilst these proceedings were going on, Castor and Pollux, who had learned that their sister had been carried off, sailed in pursuit of her. But as they cleared the coast of Lesbos, a great storm arose, and they were seen no more. However, after this it was said, that they were made immortal. Ships were indeed sent to Lesbos to enquire for them, but nothing could be heard concerning them. Dares Phrygius, who wrote this history, says, that he was in the cavalry in all the engagements between the Greeks and Trojans from first to last, and affirms that some persons, afterwards slain in those engagements, and also he himself had seen them during the

truces; for he knew them by sight, as to their persons and features. Both Castor and Pollux had auburn hair, and resembled one another. Their eyes were large, their countenances fair and regular, and in person they were slender; and Helen resembled them. She was fair and ¹ delicate in form, of an elegant make; had a mole between her eye brows, and a small mouth.

Priam the king of Troy was tall and robust; of a fair complexion, and mild in speech.

Hector had a ² lisp in his speech, curly hair, fair complexion, a turn in his eyes, long limbs, a dignified presence, and handsome beard. His disposition was warlike, affectionate to his countrymen, and generally benevolent; he was beloved, and worthy of being so.

Deiphobus and Helenus resembled their father in person; but in disposition they were unlike, for Deiphobus was rash, whereas, Helenus was mild, and a man of wisdom, and a prophet.

Troilus was large and well featured; in the strength of his age, resolute and active.

Alexander was fair, tall, and resolute; had good eyes, fine auburn hair, and a handsome mouth; spoke readily and well, and was ambitious of power.

¹ Literally *like a woman* Shakespeare who seems to have read some very literal translation of Dares, probably took Slender's discriminating observation on Anne Page, that *she spoke small like a woman*, from this passage.

² Was it from hence that Shakespeare took the idea of making Hotspur *thick in speech*? Perhaps it will be allowed me here to point out the original of Fluellin's remark that, "there is a river in Macedon, and a river in Monmouth, and there are salmons in both." The classical reader

will be amused to find it in an author of no less reputation than Xenophon, who describing the site on which he had built a temple to Diana, and comparing it with that of her temple at Ephesus, says,

Και εν Εφεσω, δε παρα του της Εφεσιας Αρτεμιδος νεων, Σελληνους ποταμος παραρει και ιχθυες η εν αμφότεροις εισι, και κογχαυ. Anabasis, Lib. 5.

At Ephesus also, near the temple of the Ephesian Diana, there is a river SELLENUS running by it; and THERE ARE SHELL-FISH, AND OTHER FISH IN BOTH.

Æneas was red haired, and square set, a good speaker, resolute and prudent, and had black and large eyes.

Antenor was tall, slender, and hairy, and had keen penetrating eyes.

Hecuba was large and tall in person. She was comely, just, and benevolent.

Andromache, Priam's daughter, was tall, fair and comely, had bright eyes, and was discreet and modest.

Cassandra, Priam's daughter, was of middle size, had a round face, fair complexion, sparkling eyes, and was a prophetess.

Polixena, Priam's daughter, was fair and stately. Her neck was long, her eyes handsome, and she had thick flaxen hair. Her figure was elegant, her fingers long and small; her limbs delicate, and her feet agreed with the rest of her figure. In temper she was liberal and beneficent.

Agamemnon was fair complexioned, large, compact, and majestic in person. He was also ¹ (eloquent, prudent and) powerful.

Menelaus was of the middle size, red haired, of good countenance, and comely in person.

Achilles was deep chested, had a well formed mouth, large manly limbs, a curly head, and fair skin; was ardent in battle, of a presence animated and liberal, and had bushy and long hair.

Patroclus was of a fair complexion, had large blue eyes, and was correct, modest, and liberal.

Ajax (*Oileus*) was rather of a square make, strong limbed, tall, and resolute, and was fond of a jest.

¹ Supplied from the Latin.

(*Ajax*) Telamonius was compact in person, an intelligent speaker, had a curly head, and was stern and severe towards his enemies.

Ulysses was fair spoken, but crafty, and had a ¹ smile on his lips; he was of the middle size, and was insinuating and sagacious.

Diomedes was a comely, resolute, square-set man; spirited in battle; talkative, hot headed, ill-disposed and crafty.

Nestor was a large man, had an aquiline nose, was tall and broad shouldered; had a clear complexion; and was a sage and safe adviser.

Neoptolemus had a tall, martial figure, and had a lisp in his speech, also a large face, and broad round shoulders; eyes moderately large, and large limbs.

Protesilaus was fair complexioned, had a mild countenance, was firm-fleshed, courageous, and swift-footed.

Palamedes was very slender and tall, had a healthy look, was slow, large, strong, and of a reserved temper.

Machaon was of a large make, and resolute. He was of serious, correct, and benevolent manners.

² Meriones was red-haired, of the middle size, strong limbed and manly; but ill disposed, cruel, and passionate.

³ Briseis was a fair little woman; with flaxen hair, eye-brows meeting, fine interesting eyes, well spoken and modest.

When the Greeks had made every necessary preparation for their fleet, they made Athens the place of rendezvous.

¹ The original words do not mean a simper, or the natural smile of benevolence, but that of artifice, or malignity.

² *Medion*, the Ms. The correction is from the Latin.

³ *Criseis*, Ditto. The Latin copy says she was tall.

The ¹ names of the chiefs, and the number of ships each brought were these:

Agamemnon, from Mycene	—	—	300
Menelaus, from Sparta	—	—	60
² Arcesilaus and Prothenor, from Bœotia	—	—	50
³ Ascalaphus and Jalmenus, from Orchomenos	—	—	30
⁴ Epistrophus and Schedius, from Phocis	—	—	40
Nestor from Pylos	—	—	80
Thoas, from Ætolia	—	—	40
⁵ <i>Peneus</i> , from <i>Ham</i>	—	—	53
Ajax Oileus, from Locri	—	—	37
Antiphus, Phidippus and ⁶ Thoas, from Calydræ	—	—	30
Idomeneus and Meriones from Crete	—	—	80
Ulysses from Ithaca	—	—	40
⁷ Eumelus from Pheræ	—	—	10
Protesilaus and Podarces, from Phylaca	—	—	40
Podalirius and ⁸ Machaon, from Œchalia	—	—	32
Achilles and Patroclus, from ⁹ Phthia	—	—	50
¹⁰ Tlepolemus, from Rhodes	—	—	10
Euripylus, from ¹¹ Ormenium	—	—	40
Antiphus and Amphimachus, from ¹² Elis	—	—	12
Polybetes and Leontes, from Larissa	—	—	60
Diomedes, Euryalus, and Sthenelus, from Argos	—	—	80
¹³ Philoctetes, from Melibœa	—	—	12
¹⁴ Gouneus from Cyphos	—	—	21

¹ The proper names in this list, except those in Italics, have all been corrected by the aid of the readings of Madam Dacier, and references to Homer, and Pindar/Thebanus. But as it may amuse the reader to see how names may be mangled by copyists, and as the very errors are much too gross to have been the effect of less than many transcripts, they are here subjoined.

² *Archelaus* and *Phrytenor*. ³ *Ascalopus*, and *Alan* from *Darmen*. ⁴ *Epiprophus* *Ascedius*, from *Voadem*. ⁵ Of this I can only say that the name of *Phineus* occurs in the catalogue of Pin. Theb. ⁶ *Hoas* from *Chalcedonia*. ⁷ *Emalius* from *Pyscis*. ⁸ *Magidon* from *Colaphis*. ⁹ *Picia*. ¹⁰ *Telapotemus* from *Rodo*. ¹¹ *Gormelon*. ¹² *Inden*. ¹³ *Pilotetes* of *Libia*. ¹⁴ *Dimcus*

¹⁵ Prothous, from Magnesia	—	—	—	40
Agapenor, from Arcadia	—	—	—	40
¹⁶ Eirentus, from Pylos	—	—	—	22
Mnestheus, from Athens	—	—	—	50
¹⁷ The number of the Greek chiefs was 47, and that of ships in all 1394.				

As soon as they had all arrived at Athens, Agamemnon assembled the chiefs in council, where he applauded their zeal, and urged them to hasten to avenge their wrongs. He then advised and pressed them in the first place to send to Delphos, in order to consult Apollo, and supplicate his favor. This was assented to, and Achilles and Patroclus were chosen to command the party destined to go thither.

Priam also, on his part, having being informed that the enemy was ready to sail, sent even to the extremities of Phrygia to collect forces, and at length assembled them to his wish.

When Achilles and Patroclus arrived at Delphos, Achilles went to the temple, and from the ¹ door of the temple he received the answer, that he should live ² years, and that in the ³ year, Troy should be taken.

Achilles then offered sacrifices to the Gods, as he had been desired to do, and whilst he was thus engaged, Calchas, the son of

of Cyprys. ¹⁵ *Pretelius*. ¹⁶ An old edition of Dares (Basle A. D. 1537) reads here *Creneus* from *Pylos*.

¹⁷ Ajax Telamonius with his 40 ships, are omitted in the Welsh Ms. and evidently others, as the number of chiefs mentioned is only 40, and that of the ships 1319. The Latin editions make the latter number only 1140. *Dictys Cretensis* makes it 1253, and *Homer* 1186.

¹ The Latin copy here more properly reads "ex adytis" from the sanctuary, and I am inclined to believe that the original meaning of the Welsh word *drws*,

a door, was that of an obstacle to passage from *di*, a negative particle, and *rhws* an open place. Hence it will properly signify the inclosed part of the temple here, though I have given its usual signification.

². ³. The Ms. has been erased in both these places, and the spaces left vacant. In another Ms. the former part of this answer is omitted, and that latter deficiency supplied by the word *ten*. The Latin reads "Græcos victores, decimoque anno Trojam capturos." *That the Greeks should be victorious, and take Troy in the tenth year.*

¹Thestor, came with offerings to Delphos in favor of the Phrygians. This man at the temple turned against the Trojans, and ² of his own foreknowledge advised them (*the Greeks*) not to leave the country of Troy until they should have conquered it. In consequence hereof, Achilles and Calchas departed from the temple, and consulted together, and encouraging their party returned to Athens, where Achilles informed the council of the Greeks of the result of his voyage.

This account gave great joy to the Greeks; Calchas was received with congratulations, and now, after having been hitherto prevented by a storm, they put to sea.

Calchas hereupon, according to the ³ omens, advised them to go first to Aulis, and there sacrifice to Diana, which being done, he desired them to put to sea again, and appoint Philoctetes to superintend their course and navigation, as he had already been at Troy in the ship Argo.

The fleet made the land near a ⁴ castle belonging to the aged king Priam, which the Greeks took and plundered; and then attacked that of Tenedos, where they put all to the sword, and Agamemnon divided the spoils.

After this a council of the chiefs was held, in which it was determined to send an embassy to Priam, in order to demand a restoration

¹ Nestor, Ms. This account of Calchas, if it be admitted, gives an additional reason for the displeasure of Agamemnon against Calchas, and for the favor of Achilles. For here it appears that Achilles had taken Calchas under his protection.

² The original word signifies *any thing used in divination*.

³ The Latin copies attribute the conduct of Calchas to an injunction of the

oracle. That of Madam Dacier has only the injunction to *return* to Aulis, where they had not yet been. The older copy of Basle represents the Greeks after they were baffled by the storm, as commanded "ut revertantur, & in Aulidem proficiscantur," to *return and go to Aulis*.

⁴ The Castle of Leibius (Lesbos) Ms. Al. Vide Iliad I. v. 129.

of the noble Helen, and of the plunder which Alexander Paris had carried off, and Diomedes and Ulysses, being appointed chiefs of the embassy, set out to go to Priam.

Achilles meanwhile taking Telephus with him, went to plunder ¹ Mysia, the king of which was Teuthras. And whilst they were ravaging the country, Teuthras came out with his power to oppose them, but his forces were routed, and he himself was wounded by Achilles. As he fell ² Telephus held his shield over him, and prevented Achilles from killing him outright, because he recollected that when he himself was young, and had been left by his father, Hercules, in that country, Teuthras had been as a friend and a foster-father to him; and also that Hercules had slain King Diomedes, who was

¹ *Mœsia*. J. Iscanus. This part of the history is differently related by Dictys Cretensis, and others.

² Heu parce exclamat: procul hæc, fortissime gentis Myrmidonum, avertant Superi probra. Tunc bis illum

Percuties hostem? Quisquis vel sensit Achillem, Sufficiat cecidisse semel: tua fulmina passus, Alterius non mortis eget. Cur torva minaris? Nos tegimus, meruitque tamen. Sed dicere longum, Quæ mecum gessit, patris memor: hinc mihi lapsum

Erigere, & gladios tutari cura timentem,
Et tardum venisse pudet.

J. Iscanus. Lib. 4.

The following description of the sculptured ornaments on a monument, raised by Telephus to the memory of Teuthras, probably was the original from whence Shakespeare's description of the seven ages was taken.

Prima ducis facies nascenti vagit in ære,
Sidoniis variata togis, cunaliis in altum
Surgit honos, trepidæ circum nutrixque,
parensque

Alternò teneros demulcent ubere fletus.
Proxima lascivis inhians discursibus ætas,
Nunc labente pilâ, nunc se volvente, fatigat
Buxo, nunc arcu: credas curvata coire.

Cornua, & excussam nervo stridere sagittam.
Tertia magnanimi loquitur primordia regis
Accingens pictura virum; regale verendas
Accendit diadema comas; sublimie sedentem
Fulcit ebur, sceptroque manum radiante super-
bit.

Ipsè novâ vultum pictus lanugine regni,
Maturum dispensat opus; belloque, togâque
Alterius, rerum vario poscente meatu,
Commodat aut fremitus armis, aut otia paci.

In serum perducta senem, pars ultima canos
Colligit, and raris sulcantur tempora rugis,
Progressos testata dies. Procul exitus ævi
Mars longé et Lachesi stamen vitale ministrat.
Nondum fessa soror; at fato major Erÿnnis
Præcipitat festina ducem. Tres ære propinquo
Hærent, iratâ Peleides fronte, precanti
Telephus, exanimi Teuthras. Pallere videres
Ora, genas; aurumque mori.

J. Iscanus, Lib. 4.

at war with Teuthras, and had granted the peaceable possession of the kingdom to Teuthras; and therefore entrusted Telephus to his care. Teuthras however perceived that his wound was mortal, and therefore bequeathed his kingdom to Telephus, and made him king; and when Teuthras was dead, Telephus buried him honourably.

Achilles then desired Telephus to remain in his newly acquired kingdom, and to guard and maintain it; and observed, that it would be of no less advantage to the Greeks, that he should from thence send them supplies of wine and wheat, than if he should go against Troy in person.

From thence Achilles departed with rich booty, and went to the castle of Tenedos, where having informed Agamemnon of his progress, he was highly praised by him for it.

The embassy had in the mean time gone to Priam, to whom Ulysses delivered the terms proposed by Agamemnon, which was, that he should restore Helen and the spoils, and indemnify the Greeks, if he wished for peace. This Priam refused to do, alledging the injuries he had received by the destruction of his castles, and the death of his father; the carrying off Hesione, the ravaging of his territory, and the slaughter of his dependants. He also complained that when he had sent Antenor to endeavour to obtain compensation for the insult and injury, he was sent back contemptuously by the Greeks, peaceable terms were refused, and war declared. In consequence the embassy was ordered to leave his territories, and it accordingly returned with the answer to Tenedos.

Here follow the ¹ names of the auxiliaries of Priam in his war against the Greeks, and these were the chiefs who brought their forces with them.

¹ The names in this catalogue are still more corrupted than in the preceding, but the same authorities as before, I subjoin the whole list as it stands in the Ms.

¹ From Zeleia, Pandarus, Amphion, and Adrastus; from Colophon, Mopsus; from Caria, Nastes and Amphimachus; from Lycia, Sarpedon and Glaucus; from Ciconia, Euphemus; from Larissa, Hippothous and Copesus; from Zizonia, Remus; from Thrace, Peirus and Acamas; from Pæonia, Pyræchmes and *Therapes*; from Phrygia, Ascanius, Xanthippus and Meseres; from *Boeith*, *Samas*, *Simaris*, *Efortennus*; from *Locria*, Epistrophilus, and Boetius; from Paphlagonia, Pylcemenes; from Ethiopia, Perses and Memnon; from Thrace Rhesus and Archilochus; from Adrastia, Adrastus and Amphius; from Alizonia, Epistrophus.

These were the auxiliaries, and Priam appointed Hector to command in chief, under whom were, as seconds in command, Alexander, Deiphobus, Troilus, Eneas, and Memnon.

Now whilst Agamemnon was considering and arranging the plan of war, Palamedes the son of Nauplius, came from ² Gozenus, with thirty sail carrying auxiliaries for Agamemnon, to whom he made it his apology for not having been at the rendezvous at Athens, that he had been prevented by sickness, and had come as soon as he was able. Having expressed their obligation to him, the council requested

¹ " From *Zaila*, *Andarus*, *Pandrasus*,
 " *Ampon*, and *Drastus*; from *Colophonia*,
 " *Melius*, *Caius*, *Amphimachus*, and *Nes-*
 " *tes*; from *Licia*, *Sarpedon*, and *Glau-*
 " *cus*; from *Eliconia*, *Cuperenius*; from
 " *Larissa*, *Ipatus* and *Tuphesus*; from
 " *Saxonia*, *Remus*; from *Thrace*, *Pilrus*
 " and *Alcamus*; from *Boemia*, *Proteme-*
 " *sus* and *Therapes*; from *Phrygia*,
 " *Ascanius*, *Exantibus* and *Meseres*;
 " from *Boeith*, *Samas*, *Simaris*, and
 " *Efortenus*; from *Locrin*, *Epistrophilus*
 " and *Boetius*; from *Baclama*, *Phille-*
 " *menes*; from *Ethiopia*, *Perses* and
 " *Memnon*; from *Thrace*, *Esasus* and
 " *Artilochus*; from *Agræscia*, *Adrastus*

" and *Amphibus*; from *Lazonia*, *Epis-*
 " *trophus*."

Though this catalogue is of little consequence in itself, yet it furnishes some useful inferences, viz. that as Mss. were copied from the sounds of the words, by the reading of a second person, hence the sound may frequently lead to the true reading; and that as the more familiar words were frequently substituted for others less so, the less familiar is generally the truest reading.

² *Gosima*, Ms. al. *Cormus*, the Latin copies. What place is intended by any of these I know not. Palamedes came from Eubœa.

him to join them, and not to make a distinct attack upon the enemy. Palamedes therefore advised them to make the attack by night, conceiving that thus an impression might with more ease be made upon the enemy, to which the whole council agreed, and at the suggestion of Agamemnon, they sent to Mysia, and to ¹ every confederate place to collect their ships.

When these were assembled ² under Ida, orders were given that they should be ready to obey any signal, notice, or summons that should be given, and the signal being given, they all sailed and beset the coast off Troy. Protesilaus led to the attack, and was slaying or putting to flight all opposers, when Hector came out against him, slew many, and threw the rest into confusion. The battle now raged furiously on both sides, and Achilles advancing made so great a slaughter, that Hector retreated, and the Trojans fled; and Achilles pursued them till the darkness put an end to the contest.

Agamemnon therefore landed his forces, that they might pitch their tents, and form an encampment; and on the next day Hector drew out his forces to encamp without the city, and Agamemnon led his forces against them, and with a loud shout called to them to fight fiercely, and the bravest men were the first that fell.

Hector slew Patroclus, and as he was preparing to despoil him of his armour, Meriones and his forces came up, and in their contest for it, Hector attacked and killed Meriones, and whilst he was stripping off his armour, Mnestheus with an ³ additional force

¹ The Latin copies say that Agamemnon sent to collect supplies for the ships, whereas the Welsh seems to intimate, that the Greeks had formed alliances in the neighbourhood of the Troad, and that their fleet was at this time dispersed in divisions on, or near the Trojan coast.

The Ms. reads to *Esida*, which I presume is by mistake for *is Ida*, i. e. below Ida, and have therefore so translated it. The Latin omits it entirely.

³ The word in the Ms. here translated *an additional force*, is *suppetias*, whether the Welsh translator has mistaken it for

came up and wounded Hector in the thigh; who, wounded as he was, slew great numbers. Nor would he have ceased till he had completely put the Greeks to flight, had he not encountered Ajax the son of Telamon. For, when they met, Hector recognized their relationship, the mother of Ajax being Hesione, the sister of Priam, for which reason Hector forbid the ships to be set on fire. Both entered into a friendly communication, and separated as friends and kinsmen.

On the following day the Greeks sent to Priam to beg a ¹ truce, to bury their dead, which was granted. Achilles sorely bewailed Patroclus, and the Trojans bewailed their friends. Agamemnon buried Protesilaus, and those of his followers, who were slain, honourably; and Achilles made a pompous funeral for Patroclus.

Whilst the truce lasted, Palamedes could not desist from plots and treachery. He represented it, as what he felt a disgrace, that one of so little capacity as Agamemnon should lord it in chief over the forces, and declaimed publicly on sieges and fortifications; encampments at night, making signals, ² accurate measures, and exercising the troops. Having thus unjustly raised a general belief, that the charges were true, the opinion became general, that Agamemnon was unworthy of the command in chief; especially considering how few they were who had appointed him to it when at Athens; whereas they

a proper name, or the word was in use in its proper signification when this translation was made, I know not. It may have been the latter; for *pedestrie* was used to signify *the infantry* long after the Romans left Britain, and other military terms of theirs may have been retained. That many common Latin words were so is certain.

¹ It appears in the sequel that this truce lasted two years, and another afterwards for three. Madame Dacier is very much displeas'd that Dares should have mentioned them, and complains that, *Nihil*

intentatum reliquit Dares, ut expeditionis Trojanæ decennium expleat. But surely this was suffering her partiality to Homer to carry her too far, when it induces her to blame Dares for increasing the probability of the war of Troy, even upon her own statement, and that by circumstances which must probably have occurred, and are necessary to probability.

² Instead of *difa* which is the reading of the Ms. and is certainly wrong, as it makes no sense. I read *difai*, that is *accurate*.

ought to have waited till a full council of all, who were chiefs and leaders of strength and importance, should have been assembled.

At length after two years, during which these contentions for priority had repeatedly occurred, the war began again. Agamemnon, Diomed, Achilles, and Menelaus led out their forces; and against them came Hector, Troilus, and Æneas. A great battle was fought, and some of the most valiant, fell on both sides. In this conflict Hector killed Boetes, Artilocus, (*l. Archilocus*) and Prothenor, and many other warriors who were not chiefs. At length night put an end to the contest.

Agamemnon assembled a council of the chiefs during that night, and directed them to set their forces in array on the morrow, and above all to make it their principal object to kill Hector, who had slain so many of their chiefs.

On the morrow, Hector, Æneas, and Alexander, brought out their forces from the city, and thereupon the Greeks advanced in regular order against them. A great battle was fought and many fell on each side. Hector slew these chiefs, ¹ Archelaus, Leopennor and Leopodemus. Menelaus now attacked Alexander, and when Alexander perceived that Menelaus ² was pressing upon him, he let fly an arrow at him, and hit him in the thigh, the pain whereof excited him to press on the more keenly, his troops keeping pace with him. Hector therefore seeing his brother pressed, came up, and Æneas with him, and both protecting him with their shields, brought him into the town, and soon after night put an end to the battle.

¹ The other Ms. reads *Archilocus* and *Protenor*. The Latin copy assigns the deaths of Boetes, Archilocus and Prothenor to this battle instead of the preceding.

² *Menelans* and *Ajax*, Ms. al. and the Latin copy.

The following day Achilles and Diomed headed the Greeks; and Hector and Æneas came against them, and it was a severe battle on both sides. Hector on this day killed the following chiefs, Orcho-
menus, Palamon, Epistrophus, Schedius, Elpenor, Dorius, ¹ Poliennus. Æneas killed Amphimachus and ² Metus. Achilles also on his part, slew Euphemus, ³ Appotus, Pileus, and ⁴ Osterius. Diomedes killed Xanthippus and ⁵ Menestres; so the night separated them.

When therefore Agamemnon perceived that he was losing the bravest of his chiefs, he consulted anxiously with his friends, by what means they might rid themselves of Hector, who was their destruction. He also exhorted the army to fight keenly and bravely, as he was in daily expectation of reinforcements. ⁶

The following day he ordered out the whole of the forces to battle, and Hector and the Trojans came against them. The battle was with great loss on both sides, and continued for four-score days successively; and Agamemnon seeing that so great a number of his men were falling daily, sent Diomed and Ulysses to Priam to beg a truce of three years, in order to bury their dead, take care of the wounded, and repair the ships. And as the ambassadors, who were armed, were going by night to Priam, one Dolon, a Trojan, met them, and demanded who they were, and where they were going armed in the night towards the citadel? His first intent was to have them secured and to apprise Hector, but when they told him that they were the

¹ *Polixenus*, Ms. al. and the Latin copy.

² *Nerus*, Ms. al. Ditto.

³ *Hippotes*, Ditto.

⁴ *Asterius*, Ditto.

⁵ *Mestes*, Ditto.

⁶ *From Mysia*. The Latin copies.

J. Iscanus closes the relation of this day's battle with the following beautifully poetic description.

*Ipsæ nec hybernis nivibus, nec grandine verna,
Nec riguo pastus, Simois, Thaumantidos arcu,
Majores miratur aquas; & sanguine raptis,
Dissimilis redit in pelagus. Venientia Triton
Funera & expallens horret Thetis; omnia lustrat
Omnibus incumbit, centenaque millia volvit,
Et non inventum toties lucratur Achillem.*

Lib. 5.

bearers of a message from Agamemnon to Priam, he suffered them to proceed.

When they came before Priam, and had declared their message, he called a council of his chiefs, and having informed them that Agamemnon requested a truce of three years, Hector said the term was too long. Priam however required their several opinions, and all advised him to grant the three years truce, with the exception of Hector, who much preferred war to a truce.

During this interval (*of the truce*) the Trojans strengthened the fortifications of the city, and each party buried their dead honorably.

At length the three years expiring, the truce ended. Hector, Troilus, Æneas, and Memnon led their forces out; and against them came Agamemnon, Menelans, Achilles and Diomed, and the battle was a severe one on both sides. Hector in the first onset killed all who opposed him, and of the chiefs he slew Philippus, Antiphus and Meriones. On the other part Achilles slew¹ Lycaon and Euphorbus, and multitudes fell on either part, the conflict being continued for thirty days.

Priam therefore, seeing that so many of his men had fallen, sent to Agamemnon to ask a truce for six months, which Agamemnon, with the consent of his council, granted.

At the end of the truce the two armies came into the field and fought, making a great slaughter, for¹ ten days. Many of the bravest chiefs fell, and many died of their wounds. Agamemnon therefore sent to Priam to ask a truce for thirty days, in order to bury their dead, which Priam granted.

At the end of this term, Andromache the wife of Hector learned, by a dream, that Hector ought not go out to the war on that day,

¹ *Twelve days*, Ms. al. and the Latin copy.

and therefore informed her husband of what she had seen in her dream. To which he answered, that they were the idle fears of a woman, that induced her to think or speak in such a manner, and that they should not deter him from the field. Andromache then sent to intreat Priam to prevent Hector from entering into the battle that day. Priam therefore ordered Troilus, Æneas, Helenus, Alexander, and Memnon, to draw up the forces for the field.

As soon as Hector knew this, he remonstrated with his wife, reproved her severely, and commanded his armour to be brought, and put on. Perceiving that he could not be restrained, Andromache with her hair dishevelled, fell on her knees to oppose him, and laid her only son in his way at his feet. Notwithstanding this, he burst from them to go to the field. She then commanded the gates to be shut, and went to the tower where Priam was, told him her dream, and the efforts she had in vain made to prevent his going to battle, though she had been on her knees before him, and had laid her son in his way at his feet. Priam instantly went to seek Hector, and prevailed with him to remain at home that day, much against his inclination.

As soon as Agamemnon, Diomed, Achilles, Ajax, and Locrinus, (*l. Ajax Locrius*) perceived that Hector was not in the field, they were daring and fearless, and encouraged their troops to fight more boldly, for as Hector was not engaged, they might gain the advantage. The Greeks therefore fought with more spirit, many of the Trojan chiefs were slain, and the Trojans were routed. Hereupon when Hector heard the confused clamour of the battle, and the distress of the Trojans, he rushed out to the battle, in defiance of all obstruction.

The moment he appeared, he inspired the Trojans with vigour, and turned them upon the Greeks, himself killing all that opposed

him. Of the chiefs before he paused, he slew¹ Diomenes, wounded² Hiphilus, and slew also³ Leontheus, so that by the valour of Hector the Greeks were worsted.

Achilles now seeing the number of chiefs and privates that fell by the hand of Hector, resolved if possible, to come upon him by surprize, as well knowing that, if Hector were not slain, the Greeks must suffer still more severely; for though great numbers fell on each side, the greater part did so through the valour of Hector. About this time Hector slew Polibetes, one of the bravest of the Greeks, and whilst he was stripping off his armour, Achilles advanced with his troops against Hector. The battle was now hotter than ever, war-shouts arose from both sides, and Hector wounded Achilles in the thigh; though it was said by some, that the skin of Achilles was so hard, that no weapon would have more effect on it than on the hardest defensive armour. Achilles, though in pain, watched and followed Hector. It so happened that Hector during the battle espied a helmet of great value lying among the dead bodies, and as he stooped to take it up, Achilles from behind wounded him through an opening in his armour, and so killed him. When Hector was slain, the Trojans fell back and fled, and many were slain e'er they could reach the gate; but still Memnon, on the part of Troy, made a vigorous stand against the Greeks, and both parties renewed the battle fiercely till the night separated them. During the night the Trojans bewailed Hector.

On the next day Memnon led out the Trojans, and Agamemnon his forces, but proposed and advised a truce for two months to bury

¹ *Idomedes*, Ms. al. *Idumeus*, the Latin Ed. Basle. *Ejoneus*, Dacier. *Hydomenes*, J. Iscanus.

Basle. *Iphinous*, Lat. Dacier. *Hyfidus*, J. Iscanus.

² *Ipotus*, Ms. al. *Hiphilus*, Lat. Ed.

³ *Leontheus*, Lat. ed. B. *Leontcus*, Lat. Dacier. *Leontius*, J. Iscanus.

the dead. Messengers were sent into the city, and the truce of two months was granted. Priam then ordered that Hector should be buried with due honours, before the gate; and that the solemnities should be magnificent.

During the truce, Palamedes was incessant in his endeavours to obtain the chief command for himself, so that Agamemnon determined to refer it to the council of the Greeks, and declared that he would with pleasure abide by its decision, whomsoever it should think proper to appoint; that he had never been ambitious of the command; that he would be equally content if it were transferred to another, as if it were vested in himself; and that he could well dispense with the advantage whilst he retained his own kingdom of Mycene. He concluded by requesting whosoever was desirous of it to take it.

Palamedes, in reply, said he was willing to accept of it, and through the folly of some of the chiefs it was given to him, for which he expressed his gratitude. Achilles however ridiculed the change of commanders.

When the truce expired, Palamedes put on his armour, and arranged and harangued the army. On the other part, Deiphobus, the son of Priam came out and did the like. The battle was well fought on both sides. Sarpedon, a Lycian, broke in upon the Greeks, put many to flight, and killed others; and encountering ¹ Tlepolemus, a Greek, after a long contest, in which both were wounded severely, Tlepolemus was slain. Sarpedon then attacked ² Perses, the son of Admestes, and after a long contest slew him; after which he retired from the battle, being severely wounded.

The engagement was continued for many days, and many chiefs fell, especially of the Greeks. However the Trojans sent to beg a

¹ *Neoptolon*, the Ms. The correction is from the Latin copies.

² This is evidently a different person, from the Perses already mentioned.

truce, that they might bury the dead, and attend to the wounded, which Palamedes agreed to for a year. Accordingly each party buried their dead, and took care of the wounded, and an intercourse on both sides was free to either camp.

Palamedes now sent Agamemnon to ¹ Desidas, and with him Amcanus (*l. Athamas*) and Demophoon (who were chosen by Agamemnon to accompany him) to procure supplies granted by Telephus, from Mysia. When there, they informed Telephus (who was much displeased to hear it) of the restless temper of Palamedes, and the change of commanders. Agamemnon however declared himself satisfied, and that he had given his consent to the change.

Palamedes in the mean time, repaired the shipping, strengthened his castles (*f. towers*) and inclosed them by walls. The Trojans also, repaired the losses of their troops, and strengthened their fortifications by ditches and additional walls.

When a year had elapsed after the death of Hector, and upon the same day of the year, on which he was slain, Priam and Hecuba, with their daughter Polyxena, and all the Trojans, assembled at the tomb of Hector to perform obsequies, and at this time Achilles saw Polyxena bewailing her brother, and set his affections so strongly upon her that he wholly devoted himself to his passion for her. On this account he became the more uneasy that the command had been transferred from Agamemnon to Palamedes, and sent a confidential ² servant of his own to Troy, to Hecuba, to request her daughter Polyxena in marriage,

¹ To the *Teclusi* of Lesbos, whom Agamemnon had before engaged to bring wheat and other supplies granted by Telephus from Mysia, Ms. Al. This is certainly more satisfactory than to read *Thesidas* with Madame Dacier. Of the *Teclusi*,

if the name be properly written, I know nothing. From the sequel the place appears to have been a port of Mysia, unless Telephus be supposed to have come to Lesbos.

² *Phrygius*. The Latin copies.

adding, that if this were granted, he would engage to withdraw himself and friends from the war, and that, should he do so, the rest of the chiefs would also withdraw themselves.

This message being delivered, Hecuba replied, that she consented to the proposal if Priam would admit of it; and desired the messenger to return, till she should have consulted him. The messenger therefore returned with this answer, which was very pleasing to Achilles, and in the mean time Agamemnon also returned with abundant supplies.

When Hecuba had told Priam of the message from Achilles, he replied that it could not be: Not, said he, that the alliance is not a favorable one, but that though we should give her to him, and he should depart, the rest will carry on the war, and I do not therefore approve of giving my daughter to my enemy. Also he added that if Achilles wished it, he should make a lasting peace between them, and that their forces might be withdrawn. If therefore he would make such a peace, he would willingly give him his daughter.

Accordingly, when the messenger from Achilles came again to Hecuba, she disclosed to him what Priam had said; and Achilles being informed of it, went among the troops and complained that all Greece and Europe were enslaved to a war of so long a duration; that for the sake of a single woman, Helen, so many thousands had fallen, such dangers had been encountered, and their liberty lost; and that it was time to make peace, and return home with the forces.

At this time, as the year had closed and the truce ended, Palamedes arranged his forces for battle, and Deiphobus, on the opposite part, his. Achilles therefore was enraged, and did not go out to the battle.

Palamedes however encountering Deiphobus, slew him, and cut off his head, and the battle was so severe on both sides, that multitudes

fell; Palamedes still leading on the van, and encouraging his troops. Sarpedon, ¹ *a man of whom Priam* — then met him, and was killed by him, and Palamedes retired to the main body with joy. But whilst he was exulting, Alexander Paris wounded him mortally with an arrow. The Greeks were now much disheartened by the loss of their commander. The Trojans rushed upon them, and the Greeks suddenly turned their backs and fled to their castles, whither the Trojans pursued them, and set fire to their ships, which Achilles suffered them to do, pretending ignorance of it. But Ajax, the son of Telamon defended the Greeks ably, and rallied them to fight, till night put an end to the battle.

When the Greeks returned to their camp, they lamented the loss of Palamedes, because he was wise, just, merciful, and benevolent. The Trojans also bewailed Sarpedon, and Deiphobus.

Then Nestor, who was the oldest of the Greeks, arose, and called the chiefs to a council by night, and advised them to elect, a commander in chief, whom they would, though he presumed there would be little disagreement as to Agamemnon. He reminded them that whilst Agamemnon had the command ¹ all had been free from difficulty, and the events prosperous with the army. Yet if any more eligible proposal were made, it should have his ready concurrence. All however concurred with Nestor, and Agamemnon was chosen.

The next day the Trojans having sallied forth in high spirits, Agamemnon led his army against them. And after the battle had lasted for a great part of the day, the armies separated; and again when

¹ The sentence beginning with the words *has any reference to them appears in the* in Italics is incomplete in the Mss. and other copies.

² All acquisition of supplies, Ms. al.

the day was near its close, ¹ Troilus attacked the Greeks, and after a great slaughter drove them to their encampments.

On the following day the Trojan army came out, and Agamemnon led his against it. The battle was severe on both sides, and when it was over it appeared, that Troilus had slain many of the Greek chiefs. Thus the battle was continued for seven days, and then Agamemnon begged a truce for two months.

This being granted, Agamemnon buried Palamedes with funeral honours; he also buried the other chiefs and warriors. During the truce he sent Nestor, Ulysses and Diomed, to intreat Achilles to come into the field of battle. But this Achilles refused to do, having promised to Hecuba, as his exculpation, that from thence forward, he would no more appear in the battle; such was his passion for Polyxena. He therefore gave the messengers a harsh reception, and remonstrated that it was necessary to make a durable peace; that it was not just so many evils should be incurred for the sake of one woman, that for too long a time they had been sacrificing their liberty, and leaving their kingdoms exposed to disorder; and that for his part he wished for peace, and would not go to battle.

When this answer had been communicated to Agamemnon, and he found that those who had gone to Achilles could no way prevail with him, he assembled all the chiefs to council, that they might consider what was to be done; and all were requested to give their opinions.

Menelaus first spoke, and advised his brother to head the troops, and to have no apprehension though Achilles had refused his assistance;

¹ Jam magis ardentem tenues consumere
pugnas,
In populum tædet; * vulgari tela cruore
Immensus violare pudor; nec paupere fraudat
Plebem animâ: furit in jugulos regumque
ducumque, &c. J. Isanus, lib. 6.

"I cannot strike at wretched Kernes,
Whose arms are hired to bear their staves."
Shakespeare.

* Troilum.

that he would rouse Achilles to the battle, and also that there was no reason for fear, though he did not come. He also reminded them that the Trojans had no one who resembled Hector in force and valour, and were enfeebled by his death.

But Diomed and Ulysses replied, that Troilus was not inferior to Hector; so that the opinion of Menelaus was rejected, and the war would have been prevented for the future, had not Calchas declared that, according to the oracle, they must go to battle, and intreated the Greeks not to fear though the Trojans had been successful.

When the truce ended, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Ulysses, and Diomed led the forces to the field, and the Trojans came out against them; the battle was bravely fought, each party exerting itself to the utmost. Troilus wounded Menelaus, slew many, and drove the Greeks to their camp; and night ended the battle.

The next day Troilus and Alexander led out their forces, and the Greeks came out against them. Both the armies fought fiercely, Troilus wounded Agamemnon and Diomed, and the Greeks were worsted.

The battle lasted many days, with great slaughter, and Agamemnon perceiving that he was daily unsuccessful in battle, sent to Priam to beg a truce for seven months; but when Troilus and the Trojans heard it, they opposed so long a truce, and insisted upon being suffered to attack the Greeks and burn their ships. Priam however granted a truce of six months. Agamemnon therefore ordered, that the dead should be honorably interred, and remedies be applied to the wounds of Menelaus and Diomed. The Trojans also did the like as to their friends.

During this truce, Agamemnon and Nestor, by the advice of the council, went to request Achilles to appear in battle. This he at first refused to do, insisting upon the necessity of a peace, though he acknowledged that he found it difficult to refuse a request made by Agamemnon. He therefore promised, that when the truce should

end, he would send his troops, but must be excused going in person, as he had, for his own part, determined wholly to keep out of the field. For this concession Agamemnon expressed his acknowledgements.

The truce being ended, the Trojans brought their forces out of the city, and the Greeks led theirs against them. Achilles also marshalled his cavalry, and sent it in good order to Agamemnon, and a severe and furious battle ensued. Troilus in the van slew many of the Greeks, routed the troops of Achilles, and broke into the main body of the Greeks with great slaughter. Ajax, the son of Telamon, made able resistance, but at length night ended the battle, and the Trojans returned to the city.

The next day Agamemnon led the Greeks and the troops of Achilles to the field; and Troilus the Trojans, who were in high spirits. The armies fought, and great numbers were slain on both sides. Troilus slew many of the troops of Achilles, and routed the remainder. Agamemnon therefore seeing so many of his troops slain, sent to Priam to ask a truce for thirty days, which being granted, both sides buried their dead.

This truce ending, Troilus led out the Trojans, and Agamemnon, with his chiefs, the Greeks against them, and the contest was great on both sides. On the second day Troilus made an attack with great slaughter, and put the Greeks to flight. And when Achilles heard that Troilus was slaughtering his troops, and bearing hard on the Greeks, he put on his armour, and went to the battle; and being encountered by Troilus was wounded severely by him, and left the field. This was on the sixth day, upon which also they fought until night put an end to the battle.

On the seventh day Achilles afflicted as he was, that he could not go to the field, marshalled his troops, and directed them to make a violent assault, and if possible to kill Troilus. And when a great

part of the day was over, Troilus appeared, fighting with great bravery, on horseback, and the Greeks with a great cry flying before him were met by the troops of Achilles, who reproached them loudly, and called on them to join in the attack upon Troilus. Troilus hereupon slew many of them; but in the heat of action, his horse, being sorely wounded, fell. At this time Achilles having perceived the rout of the Greeks, and the slaughter Troilus was making of them, had, notwithstanding his wound, armed himself and come into the battle, and renewed the attack, and thus Achilles slew Troilus. But as he was about to despoil him of his armour, Memnon came up and rescued the body, and also wounded Achilles severely, so that he endeavoured to withdraw from the battle. But Memnon pursued him, slaying many in the pursuit, and Achilles therefore finding himself hard pressed, stood and opposed him bravely. As the former wounds of Achilles had been healed, there was soon a severe contest between him and Memnon, but Achilles having been wounded severely by him, roused himself, and by many wounds killed ¹ Memnon, the Prince of Persia, and then withdrew wounded from the field. This was the second time that Memnon had wounded Achilles.

¹ The first part of the following description of the funeral obsequies of Memnon is as poetical as the second is whimsical.

Crastina luctificos mœsto temone jugales
 Vix aurora movet; nunquam tam prodiga roris,
 Tam largè satiavit agros; stupet ebria tellus
 Hos imbres non passa prius; sic ubere fletu
 Natum quæsta parens. Huic adgemit axis
 uterque,
 Lux pallens, laceræ nubes, et saucia cœli
 Forma, nec Idalio spirat decor integer astro.
 Tithonum superesse piget, poscensque sepul-
 chrum,
 Odit victuram per sæcula longa cicadam.

Legerat in tumulos Nabathææ messis odores
 Ambitiosa parens, natoque suprema parabat
 Funera, mox volucrum famulantibus astitit alis
 Exequias factura phalanx. Avis unica Phœnix
 Et Progne non una venit. Cavat* ardea rostro
 Marmoreum fossore solum, luscinia planat,
 Psittacus inscribit âpices. Philomela precatur,
 Plangit Olor, Turtur tinnit, Junonius ales
 Lustrales sparsurus aquas properabat; at, omni
 Dura Phrygi, revocat motas Saturnia pennas.
 Forte Jovi referens Telchinum tela redibat
 Rex avium; at viso cunctatur funere, fulmen
 Deponens, aliasque faces, incensaque thura,
 Corripit, & sacris solatur odoribus aras.

Lib. 6.

* Who shall dig his grave? I says the owl, &c.

Memnon being thus slain by Achilles, the Trojans, thrown into confusion, fled into the city, and shut the gates; and night put an end to the contest.

The following day Priam sent to Agamemnon to beg a truce of thirty days, which was granted, and during this interval Priam buried Troilus with great pomp. Other chiefs also on either side were buried honourably.

During this period, Hecuba formed a rash plan to destroy Achilles by treachery, in order to alleviate her own grief for the slaughter of her sons Hector and Troilus, and of Memnon, Prince of Persia. She therefore sent for her son Alexander; and intreated him to avenge his brothers, and his fellow soldiers, on Achilles; for which, said she, I will give you the opportunity, by inviting him hither, as it were to marry Polyxena, and to bring on a peace, as it was before proposed. The place of meeting shall be in the Temple of Apollo¹ which stands before the gate, and there the plot shall take effect. To this she added, that, could she live to see Achilles dead, her wish would be fulfilled.

Paris therefore undertook the business, and appointed men of strength and courage to lie in ambush in the temple, giving them a signal.

Hecuba also went to inform Achilles, that Priam had consented to allow him an interview with Polyxena; whereat he was greatly rejoiced, as he was much enamoured; and promised to be in the temple the next day. Accordingly the next day, Achilles accompanied by Antilochus, the son of Nestor, came in the evening to the temple; and when they were in a place convenient for the purpose, they who were in the ambush shot their arrows at them, and then fell upon them with the sword, Alexander calling upon them to kill them. Achilles and

¹ The Thymbrian Apollo. The Latin at Thymbre the Temple, &c.

Antilochus therefore, wrapping their cloaks around their left arms, fought desperately sword in hand, and slew many of the Trojans. But Alexander gave them severe wounds, nor did he cease till both Achilles and Antilochus were slain by a treachery devoid equally of valour, and military conduct.

The wish of Alexander was to have thrown the bodies out to the birds of prey; but Helenus on the contrary, suggested to Priam that they ought to be restored to their friends, which was done. Agamemnon therefore ordered them to be buried with great honour and magnificent ceremonies, and when they were to be buried, Agamemnon requested Priam to allow them time for celebrating the funeral games.

These being performed, Agamemnon called a council of the chiefs, and recommended it to them to deliberate as to the best measures to be pursued, and that they should also intreat the counsel and favour of the Gods. The Greeks having instantly sent to consult them, the answer was, that after the death of Achilles, the accomplishment of their intent depended upon his offspring.

This being declared, Ajax the son of Telamon observed, that Neoptolemus being the son of Achilles, ought of right succeed to his dominions, and that it would be best to invite him to the army, to avenge his father's death, and be a second Achilles to them. This advice was adopted by Agamemnon and all the rest; and Menelaus was sent to Scyros, to Lycomedes, the grandfather of Neoptolemus to request that he would send troops, and Neoptolemus at their head, which he consented to do.

When the truce was at an end, Agamemnon drew out his forces and encouraged them to the battle, the Trojans also came out against them, and the contest began. Ajax the son of Telamon was in the van, but without armour.

Many violent attacks were made on both sides, many were slain; many fell by pressure and fatigue; and Alexander after having slain many others with his bow, wounded Ajax with an arrow, in his side, which was exposed by his being unarmed. When Ajax felt that he was wounded by his cousin Alexander, he assailed and pursued him till he killed him, and then returned to the camp, where, the arrow being extracted, he died. The body of Alexander was taken to Troy.

Alexander being slain, Diomed fell furiously on the enemy; the Trojans first gave way, then fled into the city, and closed the gates, Diomed having pursued them quite to the walls. Agamemnon afterwards by night brought his forces up to the citadel, stationed them round the city, and laid close siege to it.

On the following day, Priam buried Alexander within the city, and Helen made the most affecting lamentations over him, to whom she had been so truly attached, so that even Priam and Hecuba pitied her, and embraced her as tenderly as though she had been their own daughter, considering also that she had given up her own kindred because of her affection for their son.

The next day Agamemnon drew up his forces before the gate, and ordered them to attack the city. Priam kept his forces within the city, and commanded them not to go out, but to fortify the city, and await the arrival of Penthesilea, Queen of Amazonia, who was bringing troops to assist them.

It was not long till Penthesilea arrived, and she then led out her troops against Agamemnon, and a severe battle ensued; which continued¹ so, till the Greeks were driven within their lines. Here a powerful resistance was made by Diomed; and this alone prevented

¹ Several days. The Latin copies.

Penthesilea from destroying their towers, and burning their ships, the consequence whereof would have been the dispersion of the army.

When the engagements ceased, Agamemnon kept his forces within their fortifications, and Penthesilea who went daily into the field insulted the Greeks, and challenged them to the field. But Agamemnon thought it best to restrain them, and not appear in the field till his brother Menelaus and Neoptolemus should bring reinforcements.

When Neoptolemus arrived, which he soon did, he put on his father's armour, and went to his grave; where he gave a great cry of lamentation for him. Penthesilea in the mean time armed, came into the field. Neoptolemus led the Greeks out against her, and the battle bore hard upon her. Penthesilea conducted the engagements with great bravery, and the armies fought front to front with great slaughter for many days. During this time Penthesilea wounded Neoptolemus, and he enraged by the wound attacked her furiously and cut off her head. The Trojans seeing this, fled into the city, and the Greeks surrounded it so as to prevent their coming out.

Affairs being in this situation, Antenor, Polydamas, and Æneas, went and besought Priam to take speedy measures for peace. Priam therefore called a council, and when they who were of it requested to know his determination, he desired their several opinions on this subject.

Antenor hereupon reminded them, that by the death of the valiant Hector, Troilus, and other sons of Priam, and of the other valiant chieftains, their affairs were desperate; whereas the Greeks had many chieftains, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Neoptolemus (who was not inferior to his father Achilles.) Diomed, Ajax of Locris, Nestor and Ulysses; men of gravity, wisdom, and skill, surviving to act against Troy. Antenor's advice therefore was to restore Helen, and moreover make

a compensation for what Alexander had taken as spoils, that so there might be a durable peace.

Much having, in like manner, been urged in favor of peace, at length Amphimacus, a son of Priam, a valiant youth, began to chide Antenor, and those who proposed peace; and told them that it would be far more becoming to give a manly support to the continuation of the war, till one of the parties engaged should have a decided superiority, than to look to a peace, which could only be their shame.

When Amphimacus had done speaking, Æneas arose, and exerted all his powers in favor of peace. Polydamas did the same, and when he ceased, Priam arose; and looking sternly at Antenor and Æneas, upbraided them, inasmuch as they two had been the authors of the war between Greece and Troy; for Antenor, after that Priam had sent him to Greece, and he had returned disgraced, had advised a war with Greece: and Æneas afterwards had been the principal encourager of Alexander to go to Greece, and had himself gone with him, and joined in carrying off Helen, and plundering that country. Priam therefore said, "Be assured that I will not join in their wish for a peace."¹ Having so said, he left the council, and took Amphimacus with him into his chamber, where he told him that he feared those who were so earnest for peace, would betray the citadel, and also that many of the troops might join them; and therefore they ought to be put to death. Were this done they might be able to protect themselves, and overcome the Greeks. He therefore commanded Amphimacus to have armed men in readiness, but so as not to give suspicion; for that on the morrow he would make a pretext of a

¹ He then commanded them to be all ready instantly, upon a signal, to sally out at the gates, saying that he was resolved to conquer or die. *Hating, &c.*
The Latin copy.

sacrifice to the Gods to be performed in the highest tower, and invite them thither, when Amphimæus with a number of men might fall on and kill them. To this plan Amphimæus advised a stedfast adherence, and promised to act accordingly.

Upon the same day, Antenor, Polydamas, Ucalegon, Amphidamas, and Dolon assembled secretly, and mutually expressed their astonishment at the folly and obstinacy of the king, when he and his chiefs were blockaded, in preferring death to a peace. Antenor then declared that he had formed a plan, which, if agreeable to them, would be for their advantage, and that provided they would not discover it, he would lay it before them, and then, if they approved of it, they might follow it. This being promised, and the plan agreed to, Antenor sent a message to Æneas, to let him know that ¹as their country was going to ruin, and the king betraying them, they and their friends ought to take care of themselves. He then added, we must send to Agamemnon, one of our party, who may not be suspected, and to Priam we must not appear to have noted the displeasure in which he left the council.

This council then immediately dispatched Polydamas (as least liable to suspicion) in secrecy to Agamemnon, to inform him, that though they had advised their king to peace, he had taken a resolution to the contrary. The bearer of the message went accordingly to the station of the Greeks, where he soon found Agamemnon and delivered the message which he had in charge from his friends. Agamemnon hereupon assembled his chiefs to a secret council by night, laid before them what Polydamas had said, and asked their advice how to act. The general opinion was that the traitor Polydamas should find credit with them. But Ulysses and Nestor said it was difficult to place

¹ *That they ought to betray their country, and take care of themselves.* The Latin copies.

such confidence in him, and Neoptolemus said he would by no means agree to it without such a token from Polydamas, as would admit Sinon, a person in Neoptolemus's confidence, to Æneas, Anchises, and Antenor. Sinon then, with such token went to the city. At this time ¹ Amphimachus had not yet received the keys of the city gates, neither was it meant he should have them from those in whose possession they were, until a signal, not by words, should have been agreed on by Æneas, Anchises, and Antenor, to be communicated to the Greeks.

Their answer having been brought to Agamemnon, the Greeks unanimously assented to the plot, and pledges were mutually given; that is to say, that Æneas, Ucalegon, Polydamas, and Dolon, should execute the treachery, and that the Greeks should preserve the lives and properties of their relations and dependants. The pledges being confirmed, and the whole business arranged and determined, Polydamas directed the Greeks to bring their troops to the Scæan gate, where there was the image of ² a horse's head, for that Æneas and Antenor would be stationed there to assist them, and open the gates, and shew a light as the signal to direct them to the king's palace and the citadel, by the readiest way.

When this execrable plan was arranged, Polydamas returned to the city, acquainted his accomplices Antenor, Æneas, and all others concerned in it, with the particulars, and directed them to admit the Greeks by the Scæan gate, and hold out a light to direct them.

¹ *Amphimachus had not given the keys to the keepers, and Sinon therefore having given the token, and received a satisfactory answer from Æneas and Anchises, brought it to Agememnon. The Latin copy.*

² *The Welsh copy has here Peon march. Though the word Peon may have been written for Pen. i. e. head, in which case*

the above translation agrees with the other copies, I still suspect it to be intended to convey a different signification now lost. Perhaps the Horse Peon, or that the words should be written *Peuawon-farch*, that is, a prancing horse, such as are represented on old British Coins.

At night accordingly, Antenor and Æneas opened the gate, displayed the light, and prepared the means of flight for themselves and their friends; and by the time they had so done, the Greeks arrived. Neoptolemus rushed to the King's chamber, slew the Trojans he found there, and pursued Priam himself to an altar of ¹ Jupiter, and there cut off his head. Hecuba and Polyxena fled to Æneas, who took them to his father, and Anchises concealed them with Andromache and Cassandra, in a temple of the goddess Minerva.

The Greeks ravaged and plundered the towers, and the city, during the night, and when it was day, Agamemnon summoned the chiefs to the Temple of Minerva, to return thanksgivings to the goddess, and to applaud the troops. He then ordered the plunder to be brought into the midst and divided, and asked whether it pleased them that the faith they had pledged should be kept with Æneas, and the rest who had betrayed the city. To this the whole army assented, and to the restoration of all that belonged to them.

Antenor then having obtained the permission of Agamemnon to address a few words to the Greeks, acknowledged his own obligations to all present, and put them in mind that Helenus and Cassandra had constantly been averse to the war; that it was in consequence of

¹ *Jupiter Herceus.* The Latin copy, Ed. Basle.

The description of the death of Priam, by Joseph of Exeter, gives a dignity to Priam, and a savage nobleness of mind to Pyrrhus, not to be found in Virgil's description of it.

Fugerat amplexus aras, et templa Tonantis
Infelix Priamus, nec enim fiducia dextræ.
Cesserat ira metu; magno tamen arduus ore

*Non prece, non lachrymis, non vultu supplice,
rogem*

*Dedecorat. Cui Pyrrhus atrox, reddisne Pelasgis,
Spartanas reddisne nurus? Au prælia mavis,
Et nondum bellare times? Cur stringis eburnos,
Diis invise, deos? Læsisisti numina sponte;
Cogor in exemplum. Cecidit pater, hostia
Phæbo,*

*Tuque Jovi, dixit; indignatusque jacentis
Cæde frui, trepidum, prensis a vertice canis,
Erigit in vulnus, gladiumque in viscera condit.*

Lib. 6.

the advice of Helenus that the body of Achilles had been restored for burial, and that he was a prophet.

Hereupon, by the advice of his council, Agamemnon set Helenus and Cassandra free; and Helenus having obtained his own liberty, petitioned for that of his mother Hecuba, and his sister Andromache, alledging that he had ever found them affectionate to him.

Agamemnon having with the consent of his council, granted this also, it was agreed by all to make a league with them and theirs.

He then divided the spoils equally, and to the general satisfaction; made due sacrifices and oblations to the gods; and appointed a set time for the return of the Greeks homeward.

But, when they were to sail, a violent storm arose, which prevented them for some days, and Calchas, by divination, declared the cause to be, that the infernal deity was not propitiated. Whereupon Neoptolemus recollected, that Polyxena had not been found in the city, and that it was for her sake his father had lost his life. Of this he complained to Agamemnon, and besought the army that Antenor should be required to produce her. Antenor therefore went to Æneas to make a strict search, in order to hasten the departure of the Greeks. Polyxena was found concealed, brought to Agamemnon, and by him delivered to Neoptolemus, who led her to her father's grave, and there beheaded her.

Agamemnon, now enraged at Æneas for the concealment of Polyxena, compelled him and his friends to leave the country. Æneas therefore departed for Italy in those very ships, in which Alexander Paris had gone to Greece, to carry off Helen. The number of ships was ¹twenty-eight,* and the number of persons, including old and young, and the women married and unmarried was 88,000.†

*22
†3300

* If the proper names have suffered much, the numbers have suffered still more, from the copyists. Those in the

margin are from the edition of Madame Dacier, excepting those from the W. Ms.

Shortly after the departure of Agamemnon, Helen was brought home to her husband and sovereign Menelaus.

Helenus the son of Priam, his mother Hecuba, and his two sisters, Cassandra and Andromache, went from Troy to another kingdom; and with them 2,300* of their followers.

The number of those who remained with Antenor was 3,200.†

* 3,200 W.Ms.
1,200 W.Ms.
† 2,500

Thus far is what Dares the Phrygian has written; and he remained with Antenor.

The war between Greece and Troy lasted ¹ ten years, seven months, and twelve days.

The number of the Greeks who fell, was according to Dares, 600,076;‡ that of the Trojans, at the time when they were betrayed †80,600 W.Ms. 300,027,§ and in the town and citadel 7,270. §278,000

Here endeth the History by Dares.

¹ Ten years, eight months, twelve days. Latin copy.

Shortly after the departure of Agassiz, Helen was brought
 home to her husband and sovereign. Helen
 Helen the son of Helen, his mother Helen, and in two
 Helen, Cassius and Andronicus, went from Troy to another land
 down; and with them 2,000 of their followers.

* 2,000 W.M.
 1,500 W.M.
 † 2,000

The number of those who remained with Agassiz was 2,000.
 Thus far it is what Helen the Pheasant has written; and he remained

with Helen.
 The war between Helen and Troy lasted ten years, seven
 months, and twelve days.
 The number of the Greeks who fell was according to Helen
 600,000; that of the Trojans 200,000; and in the end Helen

* 600,000 W.M.
 † 200,000

and in the end Helen

and in the end Helen

and in the end Helen

and in the end Helen

and in the end Helen

and in the end Helen

and in the end Helen

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THE BRUT;

OR

CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN.

¹ This Book is called ² THE BRUT; that is to say, The History of the
³ Kings of Britain, from the first to the last.

*Præfatory Epistle from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Robert,
Earl of Gloucester.*

HAVING, in the course of various reading and meditations, taken up the subject of the History of the Kings of Britain, I was much surprised to find that neither ⁴ Gildas, nor Bede, though they have written copiously concerning them, have taken any notice of those kings, who lived before the incarnation of Our Lord, or even of Arthur; or many more, who succeeded since that event; although their actions certainly merit eternal celebrity, and are by many

¹ This title is taken from the book of Basingwerke Abbey.

² *Brut*, originally the same as the French word, *Bruit*, is used here as synonymous to the English word *Chronicles*.

³ *Kings*, this word is used throughout this Chronicle to signify, not simply *Kings*, but *Kings paramount* of Britain, to whom all the other Kings of Britain were in certain respects subject. The *King* in this sense was the only one who wore a crown of gold; the seat of his sovereignty was in London, and he had the power of calling out the whole force of the kingdom in case of necessity, commanding it in chief, and punishing in-

fractions of the peace by any of the lesser kings. This power, or more properly the claim to it, ceased with Cadwaladr, and he is therefore considered as the last of the *Kings*, in the paramount sense of the word. An inferior King is, in the Welsh, stiled not *Brenin*, that is, *King*, but *Twysóg*, that is, *Prince*; and hence the successors of Cadwaladr are called *Princes*.

⁴ This was a very natural cause of surprise to the good Bishop, and the unaffected simplicity with which he mentions it might well have deserved a more exalted opinion of his integrity, than it has found. The cause of his surprise is considered fully in the Dissertation on Gildas.

which God is worshipped, according to the Christian tradition, by companies of men and women. To conclude, it is inhabited by five different nations, Britons, Saxons, Romans, Picts, and Scots. Of these the Britons formerly, and prior to the rest, possessed the country from sea to sea, until by the divine vengeance, because of their pride, they gave place to the Pictish and Saxon invaders. In what manner and whence they came will more fully appear in what follows.

as appears even at present from the church of Llandaff, and the Monastery of Eweny. So great was the hatred of the Welsh to the Church of Rome, that its monks were obliged to take these precautions.

Other copies read Normans instead of Romans, but the latter is probably the original reading, and if so, the original copy must have been written in, or nearly in, the sixth century, when there were Romans existing as a distinct people in Britain.

THE CHRONICLE
OF THE KINGS OF BRITAIN.

Book the First. History of Brutus.

ENEAS¹ Whiteshield. After that the city (*of Troy*) had been taken, Eneas and Ascanius his son, fled by sea to Italy, (the Roman territory,) where Latinus, at that time king of Italy, received them with honour.

*The former part of the Chronicle of the Kings of Britain,
translated from the Welsh copy of Guttyn Owain, formerly
the Book of Basingwerke Abbey.*

ÆNEAS Whiteshield. After the war of Troy, and the destruction of that city, Æneas came from thence by sea to Italy, bringing with him Ascanius, his son by Creusa, the daughter of Priam, king of the Trojans. His fleet consisted of eight and twenty of the ships, in which Alexander Paris had sailed to Greece to carry off the celebrated Helen. The number of those who accompanied him of either sex, and all ages, was 88,000.

¹ All the copies I have seen mark this distinction, the intent whereof was probably to signify that his armorial bearings were (as they must have been) unknown. It may however be fairly presumed from hence, that the writer had not read Virgil, if he had, it can scarcely be doubted, but

that the Poet's description of the shield, wrought by Vulcan for Æneas, would have been made an authority for a splendid bearing, and also that the number of ships, which according to Virgil was *twenty only*, would have been adhered to.

And after that Eneas had fought with, and killed Turnus, king of the Rutulians, Ascanius married Lavinia, daughter to Latinus; and upon the death of Eneas acquired great power; and having become a king, built a city on the river Tiber.

Having coasted along various countries, they at length landed in Italy (the Roman territory) of which Latinus was at that time king. Latinus having descried them, sent to enquire who and what they were; and, an answer being returned, that they requested permission to land and purchase necessaries, and that no injury should be done by them to any of his subjects, they were permitted to go on shore; and Æneas and his principal friends were invited by Latinus to his castle, where he entertained them honourably.

Here Æneas saw Lavinia, daughter of Latinus, (whose beauty was allowed by every beholder to be unrivalled) and became deeply enamoured. He therefore in a conference with the king, solicited that she might be given him as a wife in dower; and when the king informed him that he had already promised her to Turnus, Æneas requested that the affair might be left to be settled between Turnus and himself; to which Latinus, who had conceived a great regard for Æneas, agreed.

Turnus informed of what had passed, commenced hostilities against Latinus, and Æneas led forth his own troops to oppose him. When the two armies were in sight of each other, Turnus sent a challenge to Æneas to decide the contest in single combat; and as they alone were immediately concerned, he proposed, that the armies should be merely spectators, and

* This distinction was, according to an usage of plurality of wives, which does not seem wholly to have been abolished by Christianity in the time of Howel Dda, as several of his laws refer to it. The wife in dower, in case of separation by divorce, at the will of the husband, before the end of *seven years*, could claim her dowry and paraphernalia; and in case of the death of the husband, half of his move-

ables, including the corn. In the case of the death of the husband, the wife, *not in dowry*, could not claim the half of the corn. The children of both appear to have been considered as legitimate; and hence, in latter times, the children of concubines appear to have been considered not as illegitimate, but as the children of wives not in dowry, and to have inherited accordingly.

Here was born his son Silvius, who afterwards proved to be of a licentious disposition, in consequence whereof the niece ² “of Lavinia,” became pregnant by him. And when Ascanius heard that she was so, he enquired of the diviners concerning it, who answered, that she should be delivered of a son, who would cause the death of his father

Lavinia espouse the conquerer. Æneas with great joy accepted the challenge. They fought bravely, till their spears were shivered in their hands, and their swords broken at the hilts, (to use the proverbial expression of the Roman history) and it become a contest of body to body. But, as God is the arbiter of events, Æneas prevailed, and slew Turnus, after which, he received the pledges of allegiance from the army of Turnus, seized himself of his estates, and took Lavinia as his wife in dower.

During five years he reigned conjointly with Latinus, and then, Latinus dying, Æneas succeeded to the whole sovereignty, and built a city, which he called Lavinium. By Lavinia he had a son who was named Silvius, and, having reigned four years after the death of Latinus, died.

Upon the demise of Æneas, Lavinia found herself unequal to the sovereignty, her son Silvius was therefore given in ward to Ascanius, and Ascanius became regent till Silvius should be of age. Ascanius conducted himself toward Lavinia with an affection truly filial; he also built a city on the Tiber, which he called Alba Longa, and ³ transferred thither the heathen gods of Lavinium. The gods however returned by night to Lavinium, and were again transferred to Alba Longa.

Ascanius had by a lawful wife, a son, to whom, out of affection for his brother, he gave the same name, Silvius; and sent him, as soon as he was able to walk, to Lavinia's palace for his education. This Silvius had there a son, by a niece of Lavinia's, concerning whom, the soothsayers

¹ The Welsh copy has *Sylhys*, and Ms. A. *Silius*.

² G. M. &c.

³ Literally *sent for their rod of surrender*. The ancient mode of surrendering land, in Wales, being by delivery of a rod in open court.

and mother, and who after long travels should rise to great honour. Nor were they mistaken.

The mother died in child bed. Thus he slew his mother. The child was a son, was named Brutus, and put to nurse. And when he was fifteen years old, he one day attended his father to the chase; and, a large deer being roused, in shooting at the deer, lodged his arrow in his father's breast. Thus he slew his father also.

When Silvius died, the Italians considering him, who had been so fatal to both his parents, as unworthy to be their king, banished him from their country.

being consulted, answered, that it would be his fate to destroy his father and mother; but that at length he should attain to a conspicuous sovereignty. Nor were they mistaken.

Ascanius reigned in Italy thirty-three years, and at his death, left the sovereignty to his brother Silvius. Silvius however did not neglect his nephew, who bore his own name; but gave him a considerable share of his possessions.

At the birth of the nephew's son, abovementioned, the mother died suddenly, the child was therefore put to nurse, and called Brutus. And when he was fifteen years of age, he being on a visit to his father, it so happened, as they were engaged in the chase in a forest, the father standing under one tree, and the son under another, that the deer passed between them, and the son, having let fly an arrow at the deer, it rebounded from the deer's back, and pierced the father's breast, so that he died of the wound.

The sages, therefore, of the country of the Romans, considering the unfortunate event to have been so unintentional, merely banished Brutus from their country.

¹ Where any thing of intention appeared, he who slew another must have been put to death. Exile was therefore a favor, so far as it was an exculpation as to intent,

and appears in the early ages to have been the general law in such cases, as the classical reader will easily recollect.

He therefore went to Greece, where he became acquainted with the posterity of Helenus, Priam's son, at that time in a state of slavery under Pandrasus, a King of Greece. For this family had, after the destruction of Troy, been brought thither by Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, who, to revenge the death of his father, reduced them to slavery, in which they long continued to be held. With them, having learned that they were allied by kindred to him, Brutus took up his abode. Thus he became generally known, and as generally acceptable to the chiefs of the country. Excelling in person, in liberality, in warlike deeds, he was the wisest amongst the wise, and the most valiant amongst the valiant. What he obtained he shared with such associates and friends as would accept of it; whether it were gold or silver, or horses or dress. Hence his worth was celebrated throughout Greece; and all of the Trojan race, within its limits, flocked to him, and intreated that he would be their Prince, and rescue them from slavery. This, they affirmed, he might do with ease, their whole number amounting to seven thousand fit for war, exclusive of others. They also urged ¹ "that Assaracus would assist them," whose father was

Hereupon Brutus went to Greece, where he devoted himself to a military life, and deeds of arms, so that his fame was spread over these countries. For he was liberal and wise; of a fair complexion, comely in person, and of a strong make. In manner he was spirited, lively, and courteous, ready to share his advantages with others, and consequently much beloved.

Here, having visited the descendants of Helenus, whom Pyrrhus the son of Achilles had long before brought from Troy in vengeance for his father's death, they, noting the prosperous conduct of Brutus, complained to him of their painful captivity under the Greek king ² Pandrasus, and

¹ Omitted in this copy, and supplied from the others.

² Helenus was placed by Pyrrhus in Epirus, this Pandrasus (*Qu. an Πανδρασος.*)

should therefore according to this history, have been a king of Epirus, which will appear hereafter to be a material circumstance to it.

a Greek, and his mother a Trojan, and himself the most noble youth in Greece. 'He relies upon us,' said they, 'at present, and expects our best aid, as the people of this country, in conjunction with a brother of his by the father's side (for his mother was a Greek,) are carrying on a great war against him, because of three castles bequeathed to him by his father. These the Greeks wish to deprive him of, because his mother was a Trojan, and therefore assist his brother against him.'

Brutus, thus addressed, and having learned how numerous their force was, and that the castles were strong and ready to receive them, thought he could do no less than accept the proposal, and be their prince. Having therefore assumed the command, he garrisoned the castle strongly, and stored them with arms and provisions. And when this was accomplished, he, with Assaracus and their followers, taking

solicited his assistance to deliver them from it. Brutus affected by their attachment to himself, felt deeply for their calamities, and their state of slavery, to which death itself had been preferable; and having deliberated with them on the subject, they communicated their design to Assaracus.

The mother of this Assaracus was a Trojan; but his father was of Greek descent; and at his father's death, Assaracus, who was an illegitimate son, became possessed of three castles, bequeathed to him by his father, which his brother, who was a legitimate son by a Greek wife, endeavoured to deprive him of.

Brutus and Assaracus therefore in consultation, examined what forces they should be able to reckon upon, and found that, exclusive of women and children, they had seven hundred fit for war. These they assembled, and it was determined by the whole assembly, to appoint Brutus to the chief command; and to fortify and garrison the three castles, and store them with arms and provisions.

whatever they had of value with them, retired to the wild and woody part of the country; from whence Brutus sent a message to Pandrasus to this effect.

‘ Brutus, Prince of the remnant of the Trojan race, to Pendrassus, King of Greece. This is to represent that it would be no honour to you to retain persons, known to be royal race, in a slavery, from which their noble descent alone should protect them; and that they, rather than endure it, prefer living in deserts, and on the sustenance these may afford, to captivity, were it a luxurious one. Let not this offend you, or excite you to compulsion; but pardon it, as the natural and just effort of every captive to regain his liberty and his former character. Their petition is, that they may be permitted to abide free

When this was done, Brutus and Assaracus, at the head of their forces, took refuge in the wastes and forests, and sent a letter to Pandrasus to the following purport.

‘ Brutus and the residue of the Trojans, to Pandrasus, king of Greece, greeting. As it would be disgraceful to the Dardanians, to submit to be governed in a manner unworthy of their noble descent, they have elected a chief, and retired to the forests, preferring even a savage life, with liberty, were it upon the simple produce of the earth, to even a luxuriously dieted slavery. This being so, it may add to the dignity of your government, and therefore deserve not your displeasure or chastisement, but your pardon; since it is the common wish of every captive to regain his former estimation. Let your compassion therefore excite you graciously and liberally to grant them the freedom they have lost, and to permit them either to remain in the

‘ As the *purport* of the letter, or more probably *message*, is given, this letter is to be attributed to the historian himself, excepting as to the purport. The Welsh word may signify either a written or a verbal message.

in the wilds, to which they have retired; or to depart to other countries, where they may abide in freedom.²

Pandrasus, in astonishment at the reception of such a message, convoked his council, by whose advice he collected a great force, and went to the wilds in pursuit of them. And as he passed a Spartan castle, Brutus, with three thousand men, fell suddenly upon, and routed him; for his troops being unprepared, soon fled. Pandrasus with his army now retreated beyond river ¹ Acheron, in which many

forests, they have occupied, as a resource from slavery; or, if this does not meet with your approbation, suffer them in amity to depart, and seek their freedom in other countries.²

Pandrasus, when he understood the purport of the letter, expressed his astonishment that they had the presumption so to address him; and instantly collected his forces in the hope of destroying them by an unexpected attack. Arriving at the river Acheron, irritated as he was, he passed the river. Brutus perceiving it, and that the opportunity was so favourable, at the head of his

¹ In this copy, *Ystalon*, in Ms. A. *Ascalon*, Ms. GO. Geoffrey of Monmouth; and others read it *Akalon*. The *Acheron* is a name of a river of Thesprotia in Epirus, and I confess that, had I not known, otherwise than from this history, that Helenus had settled in Epirus, I should have been as much at a loss for the proper name as Geoffrey himself. All the other copies that I have seen, add, that this battle was near the castle, called *the Spartan Castle*. Now it is to be observed, that the time this battle, according to this history, was fought about eighty years after the taking of Troy. For Æneas is said to have reigned nine years in Italy, Ascanius forty-three, and his grandson Brutus to have

been fifteen years old when he was banished. This alone makes a sum of sixty-seven years: allowing therefore for the time necessary for Æneas to have arrived in Italy, and for that necessary to the acquisition of same by Brutus, the time of this battle will coincide nearly with that of the expulsion of the Achæans from the Peloponessus by the Heraclidæ, which is said to have happened about eighty years after the destruction of Troy. It is therefore not impossible, that near, or on the site of, Pandosia, some of the exiles from Sparta might have settled and fortified themselves, by the usual mode of building a castle, on the Acheron.

of his men were drowned, by reason of their haste, so that not more than a third of them escaped. Thus Brutus was victorious.

But Antigonus, grieved for the event, assembled his followers, set them in order of battle, and preferring a glorious death, to a life of shame, attacked the Trojans, animating his troops both by his words and example, though not with success; for his troops were hastily and ill armed; whereas those of Brutus were completely equipped. Brutus was therefore again victorious, and took Antigonus, the king's brother, prisoner. He then strengthened the garrison of the castle of Assaracus with six hundred men, and retired with the rest of his army to his abode in the wilds.

In the mean time, Pandrasus, distressed by the late flight of his army, and the captivity of his brother, having re-assembled the remnant of his army, presented himself early the next morning before the castle, imagining that Brutus was there; and that his brother, and the rest of the prisoners, were there also. He therefore divided his army into three parts; one whereof, and that the greatest, was stationed before the gates to prevent all egress. The second was directed to cut off the supply of water to the castle; and the third to prepare weapons and engines for its destruction. In these respects the king's

troops, fell upon the main body as a lion in his fury on a flock of sheep, and made great slaughter. Of those who were not slain, a great part were driven into the river and drowned.

Antigonus, the brother of Pandrasus, seeing the discomfiture of his brother, endeavoured by retreat to save those who were under his command. He was however taken, and with him, his friend Anacletus; the rest were slain.

When it was late in the evening, Pandrasus made enquiry as to his scattered forces, and pitched his tents for the night, more grieved for the

orders were zealously obeyed; and at night, a body of picked men was chosen for the attack, and those who were weary were suffered to take repose, lest Brutus and his army should come upon them by surprise a second time.

The attack was well sustained by the garrison, who by their arrows and wildfire, and other means of war, drove the assailants from the walls. And when the engines were brought to the walls, they forced the engineers to desist by throwing wildfire and boiling water on them. The garrison, when it was almost worn out with this toil, and still more by hunger and thirst, and want of rest, sent to desire Brutus to come immediately to their aid, lest they should be obliged to surrender, which troubled him much, as his power was not sufficiently strong to give battle to the enemy in the field.

In this difficult situation he formed a plan to surprise them by night, kill the centinels, and fall on them when they were asleep. But, neither could he expect to succeed in this, without the assistance of some Greeks. He therefore took ¹ Anacletus, one of the friends

loss of Antigonus, than that of his army. The following day it was resolved to attack the castle of Assaracus, upon the supposition that the prisoners were there. When the attack of the castle had been carried on for three days, and the garrison had with great bravery and toil sustained it, they sent to intreat Brutus to come to their aid, as they were no longer able to oppose the force without.

Brutus thus informed, took Anacletus apart, and asked him which he would prefer; whether his own life with liberty, or that of the troops of

¹ This name (*Anacletus*) I suspect to have been one of Geoffrey's many errors, in reading the abridgements of names in his manuscript; and that the original name

was *Antiochus*, and written *Ants.* in his copy. About Geoffrey's time, the name of *Anacletus*, the Anti-pope, was familiar, and therefore readily substituted.

of Antigonus, apart; then drawing his sword, and laying hold of him firmly, said; 'Young man, you have now to chuse life, or death. For instant death awaits you, unless you will faithfully perform what I require. My intent is to attack the Greeks by night, and you are to misinform them so, that my access may be free. Go then to the centinels, and tell them, that you and Antigonus have made your escape, and that you left him in a woody glen, he not being able, because of the weight of his chains, to come further; and desire them to go with you to bear him forward. By this means my wish will be fulfilled.'

Anacletus, terrified by the threats of Brutus, swore to perform this faithfully, provided Antigonus was suffered to accompany him. They accordingly departed to go to the Greeks; and when Anacletus approached the centinels, they surrounded him, and demanded, whether

Antigonus, at the expence of his own? To which he replied, his own. Then said Brutus, you are to act as I shall enjoin you. When Anacletus having sworn and pledged himself to perform exactly, Brutus said, 'You are then, at night to go to the camp of Pandrasus, and when seized by the centinels, inform them that having with Antigonus escaped from confinement, you had carried him to a woody glen, where unable because of the weight of his fetters, to bear him farther, you had left him. Then request their aid; and if they be inclined to awaken and call in others to assist them, say it is needless, as they alone will be sufficient.' Thus they will be completely in my power.'

Accordingly Anacletus went as Brutus had directed, and having led the centinels into the glen, called out as if to Antigonus, and Brutus and his party, then rushing out upon them, left not one alive. From thence

^a B. G.

he had not some treacherous intent: to which he replied, ' I have none such. I come to require your aid to bring hither Antigonus, whom I have enabled to escape from prison, and having borne him on my back to the glen below, have left him in the thicket there.' But, as some of the centinels still apprehended treachery, one of them said that he knew Anacletus, and that his word might be relied on. The centinels therefore united together, and went to the appointed place, where Brutus fell upon them, and left not one alive. The troops of Brutus then went in regular order into the midst of the enemy's camp, observing a strict silence till Brutus and his party had reached the king's tent, where he sounded a horn, and the slaughter of the sleeping enemy began. The groans of the dying now awoke the rest, who fled in all directions. The garrison also, apprised of what was doing, came out to join in the battle. Brutus himself having entered the royal tent, thought it best to take the king alive. Thus the night passed, and when it was day Brutus called his army together, gave them the plunder to divide as they pleased, and then entered the castle, where he confined the king, and added to the number of the garrison, and the store of arms.

he marched immediately for the castle of Assaracus, where Pandrasus and his army lay, and gave orders, that none should begin the attack, till his horn was heard to sound; and that then they should storm the camp. Brutus, therefore, having made his way to the king's tents, sounded his horn, then broke into the tent, and seized Pandrasus. The others fell upon the camp, and carried slaughter through it till the break of day, at which time the garrison sallied out, slaying all before them without mercy, whilst they, who attempted to escape by flight, were dashed to pieces down the precipices. Thus Brutus was victorious, and his enemies met with their fated death. The following day the number of the slain appeared astonishing; Brutus therefore returned public thanks to his troops on the occasion.

Having thus obtained the victory, Brutus called a council to deliberate concerning the king, who being a prisoner, might be willing to grant any terms to regain his liberty. The opinion of the council was, that it would be better to accept a ransom, than that they should continue to dwell amongst their foes. At length, after a long debate, ¹ Membyr, a man of great prudence, stood up, and silence being proclaimed, spoke thus. ‘ My noble brethren, how long will you hesitate as to that which is the surest object for your future welfare, that is, security to yourselves and your posterity, by leaving this country? For should Pandrasus, as his ransom, grant you a portion of Greece for a settlement, never will you be at peace. Never will they forget the transaction of the night past, or to seek an occasion of avenging it on you, or your posterity. My advice therefore is, that you (*Brutus*) marry the king’s eldest daughter ² Inogen; and that providing ships, money, wine and wheat, and all other necessaries,

After this a consultation was held, as to the mode of proceeding with respect to Pandrasus. By some it was proposed to settle in the wastes and forests, which they had taken possession of; by others, to take possession of a third of the kingdom. At length one, who was eminent for his wisdom, observed, that it would be hopeless to think, that the two parties could ever dwell peaceably together in the same territories; that the recollection of the slaughter of their ancestors would long excite a spirit of revenge, and of diligence in seeking opportunities for it, and induce frequent wars; that it

¹ As in the sequel *Imbert* is also in some copies written *Mymbert*, I suspect this name which is variously written *Mempricius*, *Mempricius*, and *Membyr*, to be a Greek name, and originally Εμπεριος; and am the more inclined to think so as some copies omit the name entirely, and give only the characteristic notice of his being a man of sagacity, or experience, which corresponds with the Greek word, and also because the other names are Greek.

² This name variously written as it is, whether Enogen, Ygnogen, or Ignoge, is certainly intended for a Greek name. Hence I conjecture that it may be either εκγονη (*Ecgone*) a daughter, or --- igone, the termination of some such name as *Erigone*, or *Antigone*; and that, the former part having been illegible in Geoffrey’s Ms. he formed a name, as well as he could out of the remainder.

we should go whither the Deity may send us, to seek in some other country a refuge from slavery.' This opinion was approved unanimously, and Pandrasus was sent for to the council, Brutus in the mean time declaring, that the king's life should depend on his compliance with the proposal.

When the king arrived, a seat higher than the rest was given him, and he answered thus to their proposal.

'The infernal gods have placed me, and my brother Antigonus in your power; and therefore, to save mine and my brother's life, I agree. Nor can I incur blame, if I give my beloved daughter to yonder youth, for I know he is descended from Æneas and Anchises, and his fame, and his late conduct prove it. Who, but himself, could have liberated the Trojans from the power of so many princes? Who else, with so inferior a force, could have opposed the king of Greece in battle, and defeated and taken him prisoner? I will therefore give him my daughter Inogen; and moreover gold, silver, and precious jewels, and wine, and wheat, and ships, and whatever else may be

would be no way extraordinary, if two parts out of three should subdue the proposed third, and thus their state be worse than ever. He therefore advised, that, as they had been victorious, Brutus their chief, should take Inogen, the daughter of Pandrasus in marriage, that they should furnish themselves with gold and silver, corn, horses, arms, and shipping; and go as Providence should direct them, to settle in another country, where they might hope for permanent tranquillity.

This advice prevailed, Pandrasus was therefore brought into the council, where Brutus and his principal associates having seated him honorably, demanded, whether he would give Inogen, as wife in dower to Brutus. Pandrasus replied, that there was no one whom he would prefer to Brutus, as son-in-law, and that if this had been the object of their hostilities, it might have been obtained without them, and a dowry with her, had Brutus asked

necessary; nay, if you desire it, a third of my kingdom, and will remain your prisoner till my promise is fulfilled.

Messengers were then sent to every part of Greece, to collect all the ships to one harbour. The number collected was three hundred and twenty-four, and these having been stored, as above mentioned, with all necessaries, the king was set at liberty.

When Inogen was on board, she stood on the lowest deck, enfolded in the arms of Brutus, weeping and lamenting her departure; whilst Brutus soothed her, till at length weary with grief, she fell asleep.

For two days and a night they sailed with a fair wind, and came to ¹ Legetta, then a desert isle, having been laid waste by pirates. Here Brutus sent three hundred armed men on shore to reconnoitre; who, meeting with no inhabitant, passed the day in the chase of various game, and at night took shelter in the ruins of an

it. When the council farther required shipping and stores, to go and settle where Providence should guide them, Pandrasus offered to endow Inogen with half of his kingdom, if they would remain there, but to this they would not agree.

When all was in readiness for their departure, Brutus and his friends went on board their ships. Inogen, who went with them, was inconsolable, nor could her tears be restrained whilst in sight of the land; and when she could no longer perceive it, overcome with sorrow and fatigue, she fell into a profound sleep.

The number of the ships, that sailed with them from Greece was three hundred and twenty-four, having on board men of tried valour, and being amply provided with gold and silver, horses, wine, and wheat. Thus they

¹ *Legesty*, B. G. *Leogecia*, G. M. The place intended here is probably Leucadia.

old temple of Diana, in which those who desired to consult her, received (*oracular*) answers.

The next morning, they returned, loaded with game to the ships, and having told Brutus what they had seen, they advised him to go and sacrifice to the goddess in that temple, and to enquire where he should find a settlement.

This advice Brutus acquiesced in, and taking Geryon, a diviner, with him, and every thing necessary for the purpose, went towards the temple. When he approached near to it, he put a chaplet of vine-leaves on his head, and so advanced to the door of the temple: for it was the custom of the times, of old to sacrifice to three gods, viz. Jupiter, Mercury, and Diana. He then drew near to the altar,

sailed, and made the land of a desolate country called Lygesti, which had in former times been inhabited. Here many went on shore to explore the country, and finding it well wooded, and abounding with game, they exercised themselves in the chase. In the course of their pursuit they discovered an old temple of Diana, wherein sacrifices had formerly been made to that goddess,² "and in which there was a statue that answered all enquiries."

And as they were returning to the ships, they slew a white hind, which they brought with them, and presented to Brutus: also, when they had informed him as to the nature of the country, they requested that he would not proceed farther until he should have sacrificed to the goddess.

Brutus therefore selected Gerio the soothsayer, and twelve men of advanced age to attend him with whatever was requisite for this purpose. As soon as he arrived near the temple, standing before the door, he put a chaplet of laurel on his head, according to the ceremonial, and lighted three fires to the three gods, viz. Jupiter, Mercury and Diana, and offered a distinct sacrifice

² The original word *Ynys* signifies properly *an island*, and is always so translated by G.M. It is however frequently used in

a more general sense, for *a country or a province*.

² B. G.

bearing in his right hand a vessel full of wine, and in his left a horn filled with the blood of a white hind; and raising his eyes to the image addressed it thus:

‘Mighty goddess of the chace and guardian of the boar of the forest, thou who art privileged to range over the celestial and infernal mansions, say in what land shall I seek a permanent abode, and I will ever reverence thee, and build a temple there to thine honour?’

This he repeated nine times, and went four times around the altar: he then poured the wine into the mouth of (*the image of*) the goddess, and laid himself down on the skin of the white hind.

This being performed, Brutus took in his right hand a vessel of sacrifice, filled with a mixture of wine with the blood of the white hind, and raising it on high in the presence of the goddess, thus addressed her.

‘O mighty goddess of the stupendous forests, who art also privileged to range the ethereal mansions of those of earth and hell! say, what land it is thy pleasure that we should inhabit; name thou the sure abode where we shall honour thee eternally, and I will there consecrate temples, and attendant choirs of virgins to thy service?’

This invocation he repeated nine times, went four times around the altar, and poured out the wine that was in his hand on the fires. He then extended

* The reader would scarcely excuse the omission of the beautiful Latin verses, in which this prayer and the answer are expressed in G. M's. version; which he, I suspect, took from Gildas's Poems; and Ponticus Virunnius says, were translated by one of the name of Gildas from the Greek. Neither would the English reader excuse the omission of the translation into English.

Diva potens nemorum, terror sylvestribus apris;
Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos,

Infernasque domos; terrestria jura resolve,
Et dic, quas terras nos habitare velis?
Dic certam sedem, quâ te venerabor in ævum,
Quâ tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris?

Goddess of woods! tremendous in the chace
To mountain boars, and all the savage race!
Wide o'er the ethereal walks extends thy sway,
And o'er th' infernal mansions void of day.
On thy third realm look down, unfold our fate,
And say, what region is our destined seat;
Where shall we next thy lasting temples raise,
And choirs of virgins celebrate thy praise?

And about the third hour of the night, the sweetest hour of sleep, he thought he saw the goddess, and heard her say thus to him.

‘ Brutus, there lies in the west, beyond the realms of Gaul, an island surrounded by the waters of the ocean, once inhabited by giants, but now a desert; thither go thou, for it is fated to be a second Troy to thee and thy posterity; and from thee shall kings descend, who shall subdue the whole world to their power.’

the skin of the white hind before the altar, and lay down upon it; where, he having fallen into a deep sleep for a third of the night, Diana appeared to him in a vision, and thus addressed him.

‘ Brutus, there lies in the west, and beyond Gaul, an island once inhabited by a warlike race, but now a waste, with a population of no more than eight hundred. This island shall be the proper settlement for thee and thine associates. Its name is Albion, that is, the White Island.’

▪ Brute sub occasum solis, trans Gallica regna,
 Insula in oceano est undique clausa mari:
 Insula in oceano est habitata gigantibus olim,
 Nunc deserta quidem; gentibus apta tuis,
 Hanc pete: namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis
 Sic fiet natio altera Troja tuis.
 Sic de prole tuâ reges nascentur: et ipsis
 Totius terræ subditus orbis erit.

Brutus! there lies beyond the Gallic bounds,
 An island, which the western sea surrounds;
 By giants one possessed; now few remain
 To bar thy entrance, or obstruct thy reign.
 To reach that happy coast thy sails employ,
 There fate decrees to raise a second Troy;
 And found an empire in thy royal line,
 Which time shall ne'er destroy, nor bounds
 confine.

It would be very idle to imagine, that these verses, or their translation as above, were intended to express more than the purport of the oracle, viz. *that the adventurers were to seek an island beyond the most western part of the continent.* The latter, the Poet, from his own conception of it, calls Gallica Regna, and the translator, Gaul. Thus considered, the oracle is such as would naturally have been given to so numerous a body of adventurers, in order to be completely freed from them, by sending them to western islands, of which there was some knowledge at a very early period.

The ceremonial rites of the sacrifice are worthy of particular notice, for a propriety which G. M. could, I believe, scarcely have had information enough to give them.

Brutus awaking after the vision, was at a loss how to consider it, '1 whether as a dream, or as the direction of the goddess as to the place where he should find an abode; he therefore told it to his friends, who were delighted to hear it, and urged him to hasten on board.' With great joy they returned to their ships, and set sail; and on the 2 ninth day made the coast of Africa near the 3 altars of the Philistines.⁴ ' From hence they sailed by the 5 salt-lake, and the coast between 6 Ruscadan and 7 Azara,' where they had a desperate engagement with pirates. These however they conquered, and Brutus enriched his friends with the spoils.

From hence, ' passing the river Malva,' they sailed to the Mauritania, where want of provisions obliged them to land, which they did, and plundered the whole country.

Brutus, when he awoke, communicated this answer to his friends. Whereupon, with grateful thanks to the goddess, they all embarked and set sail, and after they had been at sea for thirty days, they arrived on the coast of Africa, and passed near the altars of the Philistines. And when they were sailing between Ruscadan, and the mountain of Azara, they encountered pirates, whom Brutus beat off. They then came to the river Malva, and from thence to Mauritania, which they despoiled from sea to sea.

¹ Ms. B.

² Thirty days B. G. Ms. B. and G. M.

³ The *Aræ Philenorum*, were nearly under the same meridian as Leucadia; and the course to them almost directly south. Though some copies of Geoffrey read *Philistæorum*, there can be little doubt as to the signification, as the *Lacus Salinamum* follows them in the line of course. Sallust says that they were erected when Carthage ruled over the greatest part of Africa, and

therefore probably before the first Punic war. As to the time when this voyage was undertaken, if a real one, see the appendix.

⁴ B. G. Ms. B. and G. M.

⁵ The *Lacus Salinarum*, where there were large quantities of salt made.

⁶ *Ruscadan*, B. G. *Ruscicada*, G. M. The Ruscicade of D'Anville.

⁷ Possibly the *Promontorium Metagonium*, which is near the river *Asarath*.

From hence they went to the ¹ Pillars of Hercules, where the sea monsters, called mermaids, attacked them, and were near sinking their ships. They came next into the Tyrrhene sea; on the shore whereof they found clans of Trojan exiles, who with Antenor had fled thither. At this time Corineus was their Prince, a man of unmatched strength and courage, for in battle a giant was as a mere infant in his hands. The two parties soon became acquainted; Corineus attached himself as vassal to Brutus, and in every contest with an enemy proved to be his surest aid. From hence they sailed to ² Aquitain, and having cast anchor in the part of Lingyrys, (*the Loire*) passed seven days in reconnoitring the country.

From hence they came to the Pillars of Hercules, where they were exceedingly terrified by mermaids, who by their songs lulled those who listened to them to sleep, and, when they slept, seized on their vessels and endeavoured to sink them. The adventurers therefore stopped their ears with wax, and after a hard contest escaped from them. From hence they sailed into the bay of the Tyrrhene sea, on the coast whereof they found four clans of Trojans, who long before had fled with Antenor, after the destruction of Troy; and whom, after mutual enquiries, they recognised, having known them before. Corineus their chief, who was a man of the utmost valour, attached himself to Brutus, and from thenceforth they were inseparable friends. Here they united their forces, set sail together, and came to Angyw, and from thence to the mouth of the Loire, where for a whole week they remained.

¹ The original has GOGOFU, *caves*, by an evident mistake for GOLOFNAU, *pillars*.

² Aquitain, B. T. and G. M. *Gwasgwyn*, or Gascony, Ms. B. *Angyw*, B. G. All these names seem intended to signify one and the same country, the inhabitants whereof are in the sequel called Gascons. This copy asserts, that the voyagers passed

by it before they entered the Loire. In this copy it is directly asserted, that they did so, and most of the others admit of the same construction. If this then be allowed the word Angyw, in which the g is pronounced hard, must be referred to the portion *Angou*, of the names *Angouleme* and *Angou-mois*. In the Gaelic, *An go*, sig-

The king of this country was called Goffar Ffichdi, (*Goffar the Pict*); and he, as soon as he was informed of their arrival, sent to know whether their intent was war or peace. As the messengers were on their way to the ships, they perceived Corineus busy in the chase; and demanding by whose permission he hunted in the royal forest, were answered, that he desired no one's permission, but would hunt wherever he thought proper. One of the messengers therefore, whose name was Mymbert, drew his bow, and shot at Corineus; but he having avoided the arrow, immediately seized on Mymbert, plucked the bow out of his hand, and beat out his brains with it. The other messenger, though defended by a guard, escaped with difficulty, and informed Goffar of the manner in which Mymbert was slain.

Here Goffar, king of Poictou, having heard of their landing, sent his commands to them to depart instantly; and, in case of a refusal, a threat of compulsion. The messengers, having learned that Corineus was hunting in the forest and killing the game, wished to seize and imprison him; and when he refused to submit, one of them, by name 'Imbert, shot an arrow at him, which Corineus evaded, and before a second could be shot, he struck Imbert to the ground, and dashed out his brains with his own bow. The rest of those who were sent, seeing this, fled, and returned to inform Goffar of what had happened.

nifies the *sea*, and *Tan*, a *country*. Hence *An-go-tan*, may signify the *sea country*, and be the origin of the name *Aquitain*.

Pliny notes that Aquitain had once the name of *Armorica*, '*Aquitania*, *Aremorica ante dicta*,' &c. *Lib. iv. C. 17.* and *Armorica* is a Welsh name, with a Latin termination, viz *Ar-y-mor*, i. e. the sea coast. Of this name *An-go-tan* is, if my conjecture be right, simply a translation into the Gael, and the Cymry must have possessed the country before them. That

the Gael did once inhabit it, may be inferred from the names *Burdegala*, i. e. *Bourg-de-gæl*; *Cadillac* (a town on the Garonne) i. e. *Gaoidhealtachd*; *Diconn*, i. e. *Dia Fionns*, the god of the well. *Belemnus*, i. e. *Bal-Amhuin*, the god of the river; and perhaps *Nehalenna*, is *An Aillean*, in the Genitive *Na h'aillean*, the beautiful (*goddess*.)

¹ This name is not, even now, uncommon in France.

Goffar therefore collected a great force, in order to punish Corineus for killing his messenger; and Brutus, being told of his intent, arranged his ships in the strongest manner, placed the women and children out of the reach of danger, and landed with all his men at arms to march against Goffar. The engagement was a hard fought one, and Corineus ashamed that the Gascons could stand it, and were not routed by the Trojans, called his own men to him, and embodying them in the right wing, fell upon the enemy, and carried destruction with him wherever he went; nor did he cease till the enemy fled, not leaving one alive behind him; for they were confounded, seeing him with a double axe cleave down every one he attacked: and oft he cried out, 'whither are ye flying, ye cowards? stand and fight with Corineus: are ye not ashamed to fly from one man? though ye may well fly, for giants would do the same.' As he was thus speaking, Earl Siward, with an hundred men at arms, turned back, and Corineus with his axe,

Goffar, enraged by this intelligence, collected his whole force, came suddenly upon Brutus, and summoned him to surrender himself and followers as prisoners of war; they having hunted in his forest without permission, and killed his subjects. If they refused, he was prepared to compel them. To this, Brutus, after a consultation with his friends, replied, that they would not yield. Goffar therefore prepared for battle, and Brutus to oppose him.

The leader of the vanguard of Goffar's army was ¹ Siward, the superintendant of his household, and the most noted of the Gauls for personal strength. Against him advanced Corineus with his forces, and a severe engagement ensued, in which Siward was slain. Corineus in the confusion of close engagement lost his sword; but seizing on a two edged battle-axe, which by chance he found, he dealt his blows around with irresistible force, and put to flight three hundred horsemen, who conceived it to be an attack by the

¹ *Subardus* G. M. in some copies; *Suhardus* in others.

attacked and cleaved him down, and then exerted his force with it on all sides, every blow inflicting a mortal wound. Brutus seeing him pressed, brought up troops to his aid; the battle was renewed on both sides with great slaughter, and at length Goffar and his army were compelled to fly.

The king now went to his countrymen in Gaul, to solicit aid to avenge himself upon the Trojans. For at this time the country was governed by twelve kings of similar power and privilege, and with a similar form of government, and Carwed was paramount sovereign over them. These kings received Goffar with great kindness, and readily promised to assist him to expel the foreigners.

main body, so great was the slaughter. Seeing this, he called out to them, and reproached them for flying from a single man; whereupon they rallied, and renewed the attack; but it was without success.

Goffar himself withdrawing secretly from his army, hastened to apprise twelve compeers of Gaul that his territory was invaded, and seized by foreigners, and to implore their aid. All these cheerfully and readily promised succours to Goffar, and Brutus being informed of it, built a fort, that he might be secure from a sudden attack, where ¹ Cæsar, as he himself testifies, did afterwards build a city,

¹ The manuscript, from which this translation is given, has *Homer*, instead of *Cæsar*, in this place, and also G. M. The other copies, viz. B. T. and B. G. have it not; and here it is a reading so absurd as to apologize, it is to be hoped, fully for the insertion of the latter in the text; at least when it is considered that Tours was called *Cæsarodunum*, or *Cæsar's fort*. In the printed Welsh copies this reference to *Cæsar* or *Omyr*, as the Ms. before me

has it, is omitted. It is most probable, that neither the author of the history, nor even G. M. had ever seen Cæsar's commentaries; and that some copyist, not well able to make out the name in his copy, and recollecting that Homer had written upon the Trojan war, substituted a name familiar to him, for one which was too much obliterated to be ascertained from the resemblance of the initials C and O.

Brutus in the mean time distributed the spoils of the dead amongst his followers; and again arranging his men, marched into the country, and plundered it; slew the people, and burned the cities, and brought all the gold and silver, and whatever else could be brought to the ships. Thus he proceeded through Gascony, and from thence to a city now called Tyrri (*Tours*). Having in this place found a situation proper for encampment, he raised a strong inclosure around the encampment, in order if necessity should require it, to sustain an assault, (as he feared that Goffar and the other kings might come in great force), and waited for him there.

When Goffar heard that they were there, he rested neither day nor night till he came within view of them. Then, seeing how they had fortified themselves, he exclaimed, 'what a disgraceful fate is this, to see a foreign enemy encamped in my kingdom! To arms then, and seize on them as sheep in a fold, and let us distribute them as prisoners and slaves throughout the country, to appease our indignation.'

The enemy then in twelve divisions advanced upon the Trojans, and Brutus when he saw it, having armed himself and his men, went out fearless to meet him, and warned his men to advance

This circumstance irritated Goffar still more than all he had previously suffered, and therefore all the force of France was collected to expel Brutus from the country.

And when he had led them on to the place where the Trojans were, Brutus advanced to meet them. The two armies engaged with wild shouts, and great fury, and the battle was severe and bloody. At length, as the day was declining, Brutus, overpowered by numbers, was obliged to retreat into the fort.

During the following night Corineus lodged an ambush of three thousand men in a glen, which was thickly wooded; and when, on the next day, Brutus was engaged with the army of the Gallic compeers, and though fighting

according to occasion, and not otherwise. By these means they routed Goffar and his forces in the first attack, and slew two thousand of them. The army of Goffar was at this time ten-fold of that of Brutus, and more were continually coming in. He therefore attacked the Trojans a second time, and with great slaughter drove them into their fortification; and having gained this advantage, invested it, with the intention of subduing them by the severest of all deaths, famine.

That night, Brutus in a consultation with Corineus, advised him to go quietly from the camp, and lodge in a neighbouring wood, and when he himself should attack the enemy, rise, and with a great shout fall upon the rear of the Gauls. Corineus therefore, taking with him three thousand men at arms, did accordingly.

On the next day Brutus drew up his men in good order, and attacked the Gauls, who opposed them in turn with much ardour, so that thousands fell on both sides. In this engagement there was a youth called Tyrri, nephew to Brutus; and, excepting Corineus, the man of greatest prowess in battle. This youth slew ¹ six hundred men with his own hand; but was killed by the French, and buried

valiantly, giving ground to its superior strength; Corineus and his ambush sallied out, attacked the rear of the Gauls, who were routed with great slaughter, and fled in all directions.

¹ It would be very idle to expect that the precise number killed by a chieftain in battle, should be ascertained. A good round number therefore, sufficiently serves the purposes of vanity or eulogium. The advantage of personal strength was however of very great importance to a chief, both in the early ages, and those of chivalry. The chiefs only appear in general to have worn tolerably complete armour of brass or iron, which the light weapons

of the common soldier could not penetrate; whereas the common soldier's armour would make no resistance to the ponderous weapons of the chief, who wielded them in security, and paused only from fatigue, unless encountering another chief. There is therefore not much of the marvellous in the assertion, that a chief, in such times, slew great numbers. I do not recollect that Homer ever represents a chief as wounded by any but a chief.

there. From his name the place is still called Tyrri, (*Tours*). Corineus, whilst the battle was going on, came unexpectedly upon the rear of the Gauls, which Brutus perceiving, rallied his own men; and so loud was the shout on the part where Corineus was, that the Gauls, supposing the number to be much greater, were dispirited, and gave way and fled; the Trojans, eager to console Brutus for the loss of his nephew, pursued them till they obtained the victory.

But, by these means, the number of the followers of Brutus, were daily lessened, whilst that of the Gauls increased; he therefore thought it best, to return to the ships with the credit of a victory, whilst the greater part were well.

They therefore departed in search of the island indicated by the goddess, taking with them the booty they had collected.

They set sail with a fair wind, and came to land at ¹Talrus. The country they came to was Alban, (*Albion*) that is in Welsh Y WEN YNYS, (*the White Island*), at that time uninhabited, save by a few giants; but pleasant in itself, as having fine rivers, abounding

In this battle, Turnus, a nephew of Brutus, was slain; a young man whose personal strength exceeded that of any other Trojan there, except Corineus, and who had, before he fell, killed six hundred with his own hand. He was buried there, and the place bears his name to this day.

Brutus now, though victorious, was apprehensive that delay might be attended with a greater loss of his followers, and therefore resolved to proceed in quest of the place designated by the oracular vision.

He therefore embarked them, and sailed westward, and came to land on the coast of Totness. Having sent persons to explore the nature of the country, and received a satisfactory account of it, he brought the ships to

* If this word be correctly given, it may be considered as a Phœnician name, derived from תל נשווא *Tel neshua*, i. e. *tumulus elevatus*.

with fish, and being well wooded. Brutus and his followers were therefore well pleased with its appearance; and as the giants fled to the mountains, he and his chiefs apportioned the island amongst themselves, and began to till the ground, and to build houses; and in a short time gave to the island an appearance of having been long inhabited.

Brutus now insisted, that the island should take its name from him, and the people be called Britons, so that his claim might be perpetuated; and from that time also, the language was called British.

shore; and where he disembarked, he built an altar to the goddess Diana, who in his vision had appeared to him. Whilst Brutus was thus engaged in religious duties, Corineus went toward Cornwall, in search of giants, whom he had heard of as living there. The giants, in the mean time, having taken another road to seek Brutus and his party, fell upon, and slew many of them. Brutus, who at this time was sacrificing, did not interrupt the ceremony; but, as soon as it was over, engaged with them, and slew them all except 'Gogmagog, whom he ordered to be spared, that he might

¹ This name is also most probably from the mint of G. M. Though I have little doubt, but that the original was *Cawr-Madog*, i. e. *the giant or great warrior Madog*; which is the more probable, as Ponticus Virunnius writes the name *Goermagog*:

Et mirum fuit de illa ætate, in quâ fuerunt viri maximi (sed plurimi in Britannia) Gigantes nomine et viribus, qui tunc erant staturâ gigantes, ut scribit Homerus, inter quos erat quidam gigas nomine *Goermagog*.
Ponticus Virunnius in Bruto.

The tradition concerning these giants, leads to a knowledge of what they really were. This tradition describes them as the offspring of the daughters of Dioclesianus and evil spirits. In copying which,

the writers, who knew nothing of *Danaus*, supposing it to be a contraction, have substituted a name more familiar. The daughters of *Danaus* are said to have been banished to the country of the Cimmerians which was fabulously represented as the realm of Pluto, &c. Hence then the import of this very antient tradition is, that these giants were of Cimmerian origin, that is, Cymry; and though their stature is exaggerated, yet it will be remembered, that the stature of the antient Britons was thought gigantic by the Romans.

The above interpretation of the name *Gogmagog* may also lead to the explanation of it as given to a hill near Cambridge, called *Gogmagog Hill*. It probably means the hill of *Cawr Madog*, that is of a chieftain of the name of *Madog*.

He also settled Corineus, who had the first choice, in Cornwall, as he desired, because the giants were most numerous in that part, and he was eager to combat with them. There was also with them a kind of monster called Gogmagog, twelve cubits high, whose strength is said to have been such, that he could tear up the largest oak by the roots, as any person of ordinary size would pluck up a twig of hazel. And hence it so happened that, Brutus being engaged in a war, during a festival in commemoration of his landing, Gogmagog, with twelve more of the giants, fell upon the Britons, and made a great slaughter of them. But the Britons, assembling in great force, renewed the battle, and slew all their foes, except Gogmagog, who was spared by the command of Brutus, that Corineus, who had so much wished it, might engage with him.

wrestle with Corineus, as this giant was twelve cubits high, four broad, and of great strength. When Corineus returned, Brutus informed him what had passed. Corineus readily agreed to the trial of strength, and the giant was therefore brought to the top of a flat and high rock near the sea side.

* This circumstance, as to the custom itself, of making the strongest prisoners fight, is interesting as traditional. A similar custom prevailed among the Mexican Indians; and probably such a custom was the origin of the Gladiatorial exhibitions among the Romans. From this circumstance of the giant's being thrown from a rock, it may perhaps be inferred, that the use of the Cromlech was for such exhibitions, and that he who threw the other down was the victor. I am the more inclined to believe this conjecture right, as even in the fiction of popular tales, there are generally allusions to truth. Here the giant is brought to the summit of a flat and high rock to wrestle. Such is the form of the Cromlech. *They are* (says

Rowland) *generally large rude flattish stones.* To the etymology of the name, from *Crom* or *Cromm*, he very justly objects. If I am right in my conjecture of the use of the Cromlech, the true etymology must be *Grym-lech*, *the stone of strength*, i. e. on which the strength was tried, and for such a purpose they formed a kind of stage.

Having mentioned the name of Rowland, (a name highly respectable in itself) I beg leave here to observe, that the medal of our Saviour, which he notices, is of no authority or great antiquity. Such medals were struck at Jerusalem, and presented to the Christians who visited the holy sepulchre. See Wagenseil, *Sota* p. 579, where a similar impression is given.

When Corineus saw the monster, advancing towards him, he rejoiced greatly, and laying aside his armour, challenged him to wrestle. They soon met face to face, seized hold on, and insulted each other, so that the spectators¹ ---- to gain breath. The giant pressed Corineus so as to break three of his ribs on the right side, and one on the left, which so enraged Corineus, that, summoning all his strength, he raised the giant on his shoulder, and running to the summit of a high rock, threw him over it into the sea. In the fall the giant was dashed to pieces, and the sea was so discolored by his blood as to continue tinged with it for a long time. The place is even now called the Giant's Leap, or Gogmagog's Leap.

In the first onset, Corineus having seized on both the giant's wrists, the latter seized him by the middle, and, by the hug, broke one rib on the right side, and two on the left; then raised him up, and threw him on his knees. Corineus now roused, and furious, attacked the giant, and pressed him so, by a hug, that he became livid; then raising him on his shoulder, he carried him to a rock that overhung the sea, and threw him down the precipice, whereby he was dashed to pieces before he fell into the water; and, when he did, the waves were discoloured with his blood. The place, where he was precipitated, is to this day called the Giant's Leap.

Brutus came into this island² in the year 1200, after the Deluge.

¹ An omission in this copy, which is not supplied by any of the others.

² Though pedigrees have necessarily been preserved, and descents noted with great accuracy in Wales; yet dates, farther than the name of the king or prince living at the time, when any particular circumstance took place, are scarcely to be found. Consequently the Chronology of this History

was evidently formed by summing up in a retrograde order, the years assigned by tradition to the reign of each prince; and even so, it is erroneous throughout, as to the principle on which it goes. It states the second invasion, by Julius Cæsar, to have happened twenty-five years only, instead of fifty-three, before the birth of Christ. This error of the author does not

After this, when the allotted portions of the island were settled, Brutus wished to build a city, and went along the coast in search of a proper situation, till he came to the Thames; and, having found one on this river, he built a city, and called it, Troia Newydd, (*New Troy*) a name it long retained; but which was afterwards corrupted into Troynovant, ¹ “and afterwards changed into Caer-Ludd,” (*Lud's Town*) by Ludd the son of Beli the Great, and brother of the Casswallon (*Cassibelan*) who fought with Julius Cæsar. For this Ludd, when he became king, fortified it strongly by various contrivances, and annexed lands to it; but the change of the name and the abolishing

Brutus now thought proper to suppress the old name of Albion, and call the country after his own name; as a testimony to future ages, that he had originally caused it to be inhabited. It was therefore called Britain, and the inhabitants Britons from thenceforth.

To Corineus he gave the country he had explored, which Corineus called, in allusion to his own name, ² Cornwall, and the inhabitants Cornavians.

Brutus also, and his own followers, having chosen a situation on the magnificent river, the Thames, built a city, to which they gave the name of New Troy; a name which it preserved to the time of Ludd ap Beli ap Mynogan. ³ “For Ludd, during his reign, fortified the city strongly with walls and towers, and called it, after his own name, Caer-Ludd; though this was warmly opposed

affect either the facts, or the order of the facts. It is merely an error of the author's system applied to the facts.

The principle he has adopted appears to be this. He says that Cymbeline began to reign P. D. 2246, and that in his reign Christ was born. But as he reckons the years of Cymbeline's reign, by the years from our Saviour's birth, it is to be inferred, that he places this event in the first year of Cymbeline; and consequently that he

dates the arrival of Brutus according to his own system, B. C. 1046; but allowing for his fundamental error, B. C. 1074.

¹ Another omission, supplied from the other copies.

² In the Welsh, Cernyw and Cornaviaid. The name of Corineus, is in the Welsh written Ceryn. See also Gir. Camb. Descrip. Camb. ch. i.

³ B. G. and G. M. and B. T. the latter omitting what is said of Gildas.

that of Troy, caused a disagreement between him and his brother Niniaw. At last it was called London by the Saxons.

When Brutus had finished the building of the city, and had fortified it with walls and towers, and dedicated it, he made laws to be observed by its inhabitants, for the preservation of peace, and gave it prerogative and privilege.

About this time, Eli was priest in Judea, and the ark of the covenant was in the possession of the Philistines. In Troy, a son of Hector's who had expelled Antenor and his family, was king; and, in Italy, Silvius, the son of Ascanius, and grandson of Æneas; and the uncle of Brutus reigned the third king after Latinus.

Brutus had, by his wife Inogen, three sons, viz. Locrinus, Camber, and Albanactus; and died in the twenty-fourth year after his arrival in the island.

by his brother Niniaw, who wished the ancient name to be retained. But as Gildas has been copious on the subject of this dissention, conscious of my own inferiority to that ' learned and eloquent man, I pursue it no farther."

Here Brutus solemnized his marriage with Inogen, and had by her three sons; Locrinus, Camber, and Albanactus; and after a peaceable reign of twenty-four years, he died, and was buried honorably in the city he had founded.

¹ This reference to so early a part of Welsh History, to be found in the writings of the real Gildas, is directly in opposition to that, which is asserted by the spurious Gildas, of the total loss of Welsh historic records.

last of Troy, caused a disagreement between him and his brother
 Hector, who had been called London by the Britons.
 When Hector had reached the building of the city, and had let
 them in with walls and towers, and dedicated it to the gods, to be
 observed by his subjects, for the preservation of peace, and gave
 it the name of London.
 About this time he was king in India, and the ark of the
 covenant was in the possession of the Philistines. In Troy, a son
 of Hector, who had married Antenor and his family, was king; and
 in Britain, the son of Aescius, and grandson of Aescius, and
 the uncle of Arthur, reigned the third king after Iudith.
 About this time, his wife bore him a son, who was called
 Arthur, and he in the third year of his reign, founded
 the island.

by his brother Iudith, who wished to have the crown of
 Gildas has been copied on the subject of the British
 over inferiority to that, named and of which Iudith had written.
 This Iudith explained his name, which was Arthur, and had
 three sons: Iudith, Gildas, and Arthur. Arthur was born
 of twenty-four years, he and his brother Iudith were
 founded.

This reference to an early king of the Britons
 which it refers to be found in the history of the British
 of the first Gildas is directly the same as mentioned

BOOK THE SECOND.

*History of the Kings of Britain, from the Death of Brutus
to the Invasion by the Romans.*

WHEN Brutus was dead, his sons ¹ partitioned the island amongst themselves; Locrinus as eldest son, took, as his share, the middle portion, and therefore this part was called Loegr, in reference to his name. The portion beyond the Severn fell to the lot of Camber, and from his name received that of Cambria. The third portion, which extends northwards from the Humber to ² Penrhyn Bladon, and is now called Scotland, was taken by Albanactus, and from his name called Albany. Thus they all reigned at one and the same time.

Some time after this partition had taken place ³ Hymyr (*Humber*) king of the Huns, with a large fleet invaded Albany, defeated Albanactus, and compelled his subjects to fly to Locrinus for protection.

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, who certainly was not partial to Geoffrey of Monmouth, mentions this tradition almost in the same words, which sufficiently proves, that Geoffrey was not the inventor of it. The tradition is certainly very ancient, though it is erroneous as to the etymology; its proper intent will be considered in the appendix.

² This name I have not found in any other copy, and it is some proof of the antiquity of this. It signifies the *promon-*

tory of Bladon, perhaps *Blatum Bulgium*, or *Bulness*.

³ There is a district in the province of Groningen called Hunsingo, on the river Hunse. I therefore presume that this was the country of the Huns mentioned in the text, and that they were in reality Cimbri, as the names Umber, Humber, Cumber and Cimber are originally the same, as also Hymr and Kymr. The name of the chief may be more properly that of the clan.

Locrinus therefore called in Camber to his aid; and, at the head of all the forces they could raise in the dominions of both, they attacked and defeated the enemy. Humber himself was drowned in the river, which from that time has borne his name. After the victory, Locrinus distributed the spoils of the dead, and the booty found in the ships, amongst his army.

In one of these ships he found three young women of singular beauty, one of whom, by name ¹ Esyllt, was daughter to a king of Germany, and had been carried off by Hymyr when he had plundered that country. Her complexion was fairer than the purest snow, the plumage of the swan, or the bone of the sea-horse; and Locrinus instantly enamoured of her charms took her as his wife, ² 'but not as wife in dower,' a conduct which, as soon as it reached the ears of Corineus, put him into a rage, as Locrinus had promised to marry his daughter. Thus provoked, Corineus hastened to Locrinus, and shaking his axe over his head exclaimed, 'Is it thus the wounds which I received in wars against foreigners, the enemies of your father, are to be recompensed; by your desertion of my daughter, and your illegal marriage with another? This shall never be whilst my arm can wield this axe, beneath which, many a giant has fallen.' So saying, he brandished the axe, as if with the intention of striking him, but their friends prevented it, and prevailed on them to agree, Locrinus marrying the daughter of Corineus.

Notwithstanding this marriage, the attachment of Locrinus to Esyllt continued undiminished, and having formed a secret residence, ³ 'under ground,' for her in London; he there entrusted her to the care of

¹ The Estrildis of G. M. but in all the Welsh copies written as above Esyllt. This name may be merely an abbreviation of *Esylydd*, i. e. a woman of Esyll, or the country on the Yssel; which, from the

very indefinite use of the name Germany by our author, I am inclined to believe is its true meaning.

² Ms. G. O.

³ B. G. Ms. B. &c.

persons in his confidence. As he feared Corineus, he did not dare to visit her openly, and therefore excused his absence, when he did visit her, under the pretext of private sacrifice. But at the end of seven years, which had passed in this manner, Corineus died, and Locrinus immediately forsook Gwendoleu, and produced Epyllt in public, and made her the partner of his bed and throne. Gwendoleu deeply affected by the insult, retired to Cornwall, where she raised an army against Locrinus. Their forces met near the river Vyrran, and a severe engagement ensued, in which Locrinus was slain by an arrow, which pierced his forehead.

Gwendoleu now took the sovereignty of the island into her own hands, and ordered Epyllt, and her daughter ¹ Hafren, to be drowned in a river, from thenceforth called Hafren (Severn) as it will be called to the last day, in memory of this daughter of Locrinus. Gwendoleu reigned twelve years after the death of Locrinus, (who had himself reigned for ² so many when he died), and then, as her son Madoc was of age to reign, gave up the government to him, and withdrew to her government in Cornwall, ³ “which was her dowry,” for the remainder of her life.

Madoc married and had two sons, Membyr and Macl, and died after a quiet reign of ⁴ twelve years.

¹ The Severn is in Welsh called Hafren, which by the prefix *s*, not uncommon in proper names, in various languages, has been converted into Sabrina by the Romans. This prefix seems to be the article, but it is difficult to ascertain its origin. As to the name *Hafren* itself, I conceive it to have been originally *Hafran*, from *HAF* the south, and *RHAN* a division. Somersetshire and Wilts in general are by the

Welsh called *Gwlad yr Haf*, or the country of the summer, i. e. the southern country. Hence *Afon* or *Avon yr Hafran* will signify the river of the southern division as being one limit of it.

² Gwendoleu reigned fifteen, and Locrinus ten, B. G. G. M. and Ms. B.

³ B. G. &c.

⁴ Forty B. G. G. M. and Ms. B.

His sons, each being eager for the sole sovereignty, entered into a contest for it, and Membyr having invited his brother Mael to a conference, as for the purpose of a peaceable termination of it, assassinated him. Thus possessed of the sovereignty, Membyr became so tyrannical, that he cut off the men of rank, lest they should aspire to the government; and forsaking his wife, the mother of ¹ Efroc the Great, by a perversion of the law of nature addicted himself to the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah. At length, in the twentieth year of his reign, as he was one day engaged in the chase, in a woody glen, and at a distance from his company, he was devoured by wolves.

Upon the death of Membyr, Efroc his son succeeded him, and reigned ² thirty years. This was the first of the kings, who with a fleet attacked Gaul, since Brutus had done so. There he ravaged the country with fire and sword, and returned victorious, and rich in booty; having burned the cities there, and levelled the castles to the ground. He also founded the city called after his name, Efroc, (York) during the time when David reigned at Jerusalem; and built the ³ Caer Efroc (*Alcluyd*) opposite to Albany, and the castle of the mountain ⁴ Angned, now called Morynion Castle on the hill of Dolur, (*Pain*.)

¹ This name is written Efroc or Eyrawe, and is the same as the Ebraucus of G. M. and the Ebrancus of others.

² The other copies say thirty-nine.

³ Here again the most antient name is preserved. In the other copies the more modern one of Alcluyd only is found. The proper signification of *Alcluyd* is the *Clan*, or perhaps *the district of the Clyde*. It cannot, as Camden thought it could, signify the same as *ar Cluyd*, that is, *on the Clyde*.

⁴ Of this name I can make nothing. Morynion Castle has been translated Maiden Castle, and as far as the sound of the name Morynion, which might easily be confounded with Morwynion rightly. But I think the name of Maiden Castle, has,

in respect to the several castles bearing the name, been given only in consequence of such a translation from approximation of sound where the original meaning was forgotten; and that the word Morynion originally signified Morini, or *people on the coast*; and therefore, if this conjecture be right, these were castles belonging to such Morini. I. G. L. says, that Edinburgh was called Maiden Castle; there was another on Stanemoor in Westmorland, but he supposes the one referred to in the text to be Warwick.

I suspect a similar mistake as to the original reading of the word *Dolur*, and that it was Dol-hir, that is, *the long glen*, but can say no more.

Efroc had by his twenty wives, twenty sons and thirty daughters, and reigned ¹ forty years.

These were the names of his sons, Brutus Greenshield (the eldest.) § Gilius, Rhun Moryd Bleiddyn, Iago, § Calan, Cynar, Ysbladden, Gwryl, Dardan, Eidiol, Ivor, § Gwychyr, § Goronwy, Hector, § Cyhelin, § Rhad, Assaracus, Howel. ² “ The names of the daughters were Gloywgain, Inogen, Eudaws, Gwenlliant, Gwawrddydd, Angharad, Gwendoley, Tangwystyl, Gorgon, Meddlan, Methhael, Efrar, Maelfre, Camreda, Ragan, Gwael, Ertus, Nest, Cein, Stadud, Efren, Blaengein, Afallach, Angaes, Galaes, (the most beautiful women of that age in Britain or Gaul) Gweyrfil, Perweur, Eurdrech, Edra, Anor, Stadyalt, Egron.”

These sons and daughters were sent by their father to Italy, where Silvius Albanus, who had succeeded to Silvius Latinus, reigned at this time. There the daughters were given in marriage to persons of rank, and of Trojan extraction; and the sons, under the command

¹ The number of years Efroc reigned, were a little before stated in this copy to be *thirty*, and here they are said to be *forty*. The error seems to be an omission as to the former number, as the other copies read thirty-nine in both places. Such variations in numerals frequently occur in old Mss. and are probably to be attributed to the mode of copying, which seems to have been that one person read, and as he read another wrote; so that the correctness of a copy depended on both.

² Instead of the six names to which this mark § is prefixed, the following are given in B. G. viz. Mareddydd, Seisyllt, Geraint, Bodlan, Rhys, Cynga. It also reads Asser, probably for Assaracus. Some of the variations may have arisen from the confounding epithets with names. But here it is of very little consequence. It may to those, who are unacquainted with the old British customs, seem strange, that so many names

should be thus recorded; but it is perfectly conformable to those customs of the Britons and of other nations, in which the pedigree was of importance. In Britain great care was necessarily taken of them, as property, and the aid and protection of clanship depended on them. It was, by the statute of Gruffyth ap Cynan, and by the old laws, the province of the Bard to record them, and even not long ago a copy of verses presented to the patron, seldom, if ever, failed to display the poet's knowledge and celebration of the patron's pedigree. And here it may be right to observe, that the family books of pedigrees are by no means bare lists of names, but have frequently, indeed generally, family and other anecdotes of the times recorded, with the names to which they are related.

² Omitted in the copy B. T. and supplied from B. G.

of Assaracus, went from thence with their fleet to ¹ Germany, where by the aid of Silvius Albanus they gained possession of the country, and settled there.

But Brutus Greenshield remained with his father, and having reigned after his father's death, ten years, was succeeded by his own son ² Leon the Great, a just and upright king, who gave freedom to the constitution of the kingdom. He built Chester in the North, about the time when Solomon was building the Temple of Jerusalem; and the queen of the South went thither to hear his wisdom. Leon reigned fifteen years, and in his latter days was very infirm, and as he was unable to attend to business, a civil war arose in consequence "between the clans."

³ Rhun Paladr-fras (*Rhun of the thick shaft*) the son of Leon, succeeding his father, reigned forty-one years. By him the troubles of the kingdom were suppressed, and tranquility restored. He also built Canterbury and Winchester, and ⁴ the city on the mount of

¹ Here, as unhappily in most other places, the translator has used the name familiar to himself, and it will hereafter appear that he has done it erroneously.

² "Other chronicles say, that Leon had a brother called Leil," I. G. L. Also, instead of the name of Leon, which is given in all the Welsh copies of Brut I have seen, G. M. has Leil; and he also calls the city in the north Carlisle. There seems then to be an omission in the text, which ought to be thus supplied, "He built Chester, and his brother Leil built a city in the north called *Caer-leil*;" for Chester is to this day known by the name of *Caer-Leon-gawr* (*the city of Leon the Great*) and so far confirms the history.

³ No proper name in the whole course of this history, has been so mangled as this, by the copyists. It here exists in a regular and intelligible form, and does so in all

the Welsh copies; whilst in all the Latin copies it is corrupted into the unmeaning and ridiculous name immortalised by Butler in his *Hudibras*. The name is in some pedigrees read contractedly Rhudd-p-bras, and probably hence the error arose. But this error, as well as the preceding, shews that there were different copies of the Brut extant, and that Geoffrey was not well read in Welsh pedigrees, or history; or he could not have committed it. I believe he knew but little of either.

⁴ In a note upon Camden, and in a Ms. copy of an essay, by Mr. Vaughan, on the Triads, it is said, that "the inhabitants of Shaftsbury had a tradition that there stood an old city upon the place called the Castle Green, and by some *Polebury*, whereby, in the west side of the old chapel of St. John, standeth a Roman inscription; which plainly proveth the

the Shaft,¹ “in English called Shaftsbury,” where the eagle prophesied the fate of Britain,² “whilst the city was building.” About this time Solomon finished the building of the Temple of Jerusalem.

Blaidydy, the son of Rhun,³ came next to the throne, and reigned twenty years. He built Caervaddon, (*Bath*) and formed there a warm unguent to be a perpetual remedy for the diseased. Moreover,

“name and antiquity of the place to be far more ancient than Alfred.” Together with this tradition, which is of weight; the Welsh name, which is applied as an epithet to Rhun, confirms it. But what this *Shaft* was, the christian author either did not know, or did not chuse to explain: I believe it was a round tower of the same kind as those in Ireland, as it is a sense of which, the Welsh word *Paladr* with propriety admits, and moreover that it was a receptacle of the sacred fire, and that the word *Eryr* (translated eagle) is a corruption of *Airur* (the irradiator) and that hence the prophetic strains of the priests of the tower have been said to be delivered by an eagle; which rested on a tower. This last circumstance is noted in some verses attributed to Gildas, and which are quoted by Fordun as his. They were certainly written by one acquainted with the Welsh Brut, as they refer to a tradition not to be found in the Latin copies. As they appear in Fordun they are incorrect; as they were also in a very antient Ms. at Wynstay, not of a later date, as far as I can judge, than the fourteenth century, in which I found them; but from a collation of both I have endeavoured to restore them to their original form; they are these:

Bruti posteritas Albanis associata
Anglica regna premet peste, labore, nece,
Regnabunt Britones Albanæ gentis amici

Cum scotis Britones propria regna regent
Antiquum nomen insula tota feret,
Ut profert Aquila veteri de turre locuta.

In Camden's edition of Fordun, page 634, the last of the above lines has *terrâ*, and the Wynstay Ms. has *thure* instead of *turre*. The correction was suggested by the reference to a tower already stated.

¹ Now called *Septon*, B. G. and Ms. B.

² Geoffrey of Monmouth has given a very sufficient reason for not translating from his Welsh Ms. the prophecy of the eagle, viz. that he did not believe it genuine. The same reason will excuse me for a similar omission. As this prophecy appears in the Welsh Mss. it seems to be a former part of that attributed to Merlin; and it may be worthy of notice, that many of the popular English prophecies, such as Nixon's, &c. are translations or imitations of Merlin's.

³ G. M.

⁴ From this expression it should seem, that the mud of the Bath waters was used as an unguent, in the time of the writer, unless it be a mistake of his. There is a tradition that Bladud discovered the virtues of the waters, by their effect on his pigs. This is no way improbable: the virtues of the waters of Bareges are said by the peasantry of the neighbourhood, to have been discovered by observing, that some of their sheep, when wounded by the wolves, went and stood in the waters; and were healed much sooner than by any other means. And as *Bacddfan* or *Baeddán* signifies *the place of the boar*, there may be an allusion to the circumstance of the discovery of Bladud in *Baddon*, the Welsh name of Bath; and I think there is.

by sacrificing to the ¹enchantress called Minerva, he kindled an extinguishable fire there; which, when it appeared to burn out, ²rekindled in balls of fire. This was done about the time, when, ³in consequence of the prophet's (*Elijah's*) prayer, there was no rain for three years and ⁴six months. Blaiddyd was also active in scientific pursuits; he was the first who introduced the ⁵magic art into Britain, nor did he cease in such studies untill essaying to fly with a pair of wings, which he had invented, he fell down on a temple of Apollo in London, and was dashed to pieces.

¹ *Dewines*. The other copies read *Duwics* (a goddess). The name Minerva seems to be of Cimbric origin, for *y fun arcau*, pronounced *y vin arcau*, signifies the maiden of arms, and it would be difficult to find so appropriate a derivation otherwise.

² This is evidently the discovery of the use of coals, which abound in the neighbourhood of Bath; and the narrative appears to indicate that the sacrifice was the means of the discovery, which it might very well be, if by any chance coals had been used in the construction of the altar.

³ James, ch. 5.

⁴ The original reads *seven*, but erroneously and singly in the error.

⁵ The original has *Nigromans*, i. e. *Necromancy*. But it is evidently used as a general name for Magic, to which the populace have always been ready to attribute whatever effect of art or science exceeded their comprehension. It is remarkable with what tenacity tales of wonder of this kind, and the names connected with them, are traditionally retained. Friar Bacon's brazen head has been celebrated by thousands, and is yet the subject of popular admiration in the cottage and the nursery. If then this, which is now con-

sidered as so simple an invention, should in an age of some degree of learning, have given birth to so permanent and general a tradition; the more valuable and extraordinary discoveries of Bladud may well have produced a similar effect. But there is also another authority for the truth of the history, which has been noticed by Mr. Vaughan, of Heugwrt, in his essay on the Welsh Triads. This is a coin, from which an engraving is given by Camden, Tab. I. fig. 12. On the obverse is a head, the figure is continued to the shoulders, and on these are wings. The legend on this side is VLATOS. On the reverse is the figure of somewhat like an Unicorn, and the legend ATEVLA. That the head and the legend around it relate to Bladud, I agree with Mr. Vaughan. The inscription on the reverse he considers as intended for *Addola*, or as it would in old writings appear *Adola*. But in this, he is I think mistaken; I am persuaded it is meant for *Addef-lla*, literally a gift of promise, which would have been written formerly *Adefla* or *Atevla*, and that it is an *ex voto*, a coin or medal, stamped so in grateful commemoration of some signal benefit received by the use of the waters, and probably by a Roman.

The next, who reigned, was Lear, the son of Blaiddyd, and during forty years he maintained the public tranquility by his spirited exertions. He built a city on the river Soar, called in Welsh, *Caer-Lyr*, and in English, *Leicester*. He had three daughters, ² *Goronilla*, *Ragaw*, and *Cordalia*, whom he fondly loved, and more especially *Cordalia*, the youngest: and finding his spirits fail, as he grew old, he conceived the design of dividing his kingdom into three parts, and giving one of them to each of his daughters; and also of putting their affection to proof, and thence deciding on which of them to bestow the largest share.

With this intent he asked his eldest daughter how great was the love she bore him? To which she replied, with the most solemn asseveration, that she loved him more than her own soul. Then, said he, 'Since thou lovest me more than thou lovest any other, I will bestow thee on the man of thy choice, and with thee a third of my realm.'

The second daughter, in reply to the same question, answered, in like manner, that he was more dear to her than all this earth could give; and delighted by her answer, he gave her also a third of his dominions.

But *Cordalia*, indignant at the deceit and falsehood of her sisters, determined to answer with moderation. When therefore the same question was addressed to her, she replied, My lord and father, there may be some who affect an attachment they do not feel. My love however shall be such as a daughter owes in duty to a father. It shall be proportionate to its motive,² "and love is in general proportioned to the wealth, the health, and the power of the person beloved."

¹ Thus these three names are found in the Welsh copies, and they are therefore left so. The first is a derivative from *coron* (a crown) the second perhaps from *rheg* (a gift) and, if the proper form be *Rhegan*, a diminutive. Of the origin of the third, I am ignorant.

² Ms. G. O. in which the sense of this passage is presented in a much more intelligible and consistent form than in the other copies.

When Lear heard this reply, conceiving it strictly to express her sentiments, he suddenly flew into passion and exclaimed, ‘ Such then be henceforth my love for thee, since such is thine for my old age. No share of Britain shall be thine, thy sisters shall have all: and though I say not, that I will not give thee in marriage, should the occasion occur, because thou art a daughter of mine, yet neither wealth nor honour shall attend thee; for though I have preferred thee to thy sisters, thou lovest me not.’

Thus determined, he, by the advice of his nobles, gave his two other daughters in marriage; the eldest to ¹ the Prince of Cornwall, and the second to ² the Prince of the North, and divided his kingdom between them.

Sometime after this had taken place, it so happened, that ³ Aganippus, king of Gaul, heard of the great merits and beauty of Cordalia highly extolled, and sent a proposal of marriage. To which her father’s answer was, that it had his consent, but that, having given up his whole dominions to his two other daughters, he had no dowry to give with her. But this reply no way affected the mind of Aganippus. For now, assured of her beauty, he was the more attached to her, and answered that, sufficiently provided as he was with wealth, his only remaining wish was, a noble alliance, by which he might hope for heirs to inherit it. The marriage was therefore speedily solemnised. The other Princes also took possession of their territories, which Lear had so long governed firmly; and Maglawn, the Prince of Albany, took Lear, attended by forty knights, that he might feel no mortification, home with him.

But in three months Goronilla became weary of the number of knights, as throwing her house and servants into confusion, and told

¹ *Einion*. See the sequel. This is the Henunius of G. M.

² *Maglawn*. See the sequel.

³ See the appendix.

her father that, as ten might suffice, he should dismiss the rest. Whereupon Lear in a rage left Maglawn, and went to the Prince of Cornwall, by whom he was honourably received.

But towards the end of the year, a dissention arose between the attendants of both parties, and they fought; and on this account Ragaw, displeased with her father, insisted that he should dismiss all his knights but five. Greatly distressed as Lear now was, he departed, and went once more to his eldest daughter, in the hope that she had forgotten her resentment. But she angrily told him, that he should not reside with her, unless he dismissed all his knights in his service but one; adding that an old man had no need of such parade; wherefore, unable to prevail farther with her, he remained there attended by one knight only.

And now meditating on his former greatness, he fell into a great depression of spirits. At one time he would think of going over to his daughter who was in Gaul; but again this thought was checked by the recollection of his unkindness to her. At length, unable to bear with the insolence of his two other daughters, he put to sea for Gaul. And when he was on board, and saw but three knights with him, he burst into tears, and thus bewailed his misfortunes.

‘ To what will my fate reduce me! alas, how much more severe is the remembrance of greatness lost, than a life of poverty that has never looked to honours. The time has been, when an army followed my steps to besiege towns and fortresses, and was enriched by the spoils of the enemy; now, they who were once at my feet, have in my poverty forsaken me. Oh! that the hour of revenge would come. Too true, my Cordalia, were thy words, that affection is in proportion to the power of the person beloved. Whilst I had wherewithall to give, all loved me; but with my power to give, they are all fled. How then for shame shall I be able to see thee, with whom, though

far superior to thy sisters, I have taken offence. I have given them my dominions, and they have driven me as a fugitive from them.’

In this manner he continued to lament his misfortunes from time to time, until he arrived at the city ¹“Carytia,” where his daughter resided. When he sent to greet his daughter, and inform her of his being there, Cordalia thus informed, immediately sent her father a large sum of money, and requested that he would go to a neighbouring city; and when there, represent himself as indisposed, and taking medicines for his recovery, and in the mean time provide habiliments proper for a king: she also desired that he should procure ² forty knights as a retinue, and furnish them with horses, arms, and suitable apparel; and when all was ready, to send a message to announce his arrival to his son-in-law and his daughter. These instructions were accordingly observed, and Aganippus, as soon as he heard of Lear’s arrival, went, attended by his court to meet him, and entertained him with all the respect due to a king.

Aganippus soon afterwards levied a large force throughout Gaul, and more especially of cavalry, and Lear and Cordalia came at the head of it to Britain, engaged with and defeated Lear’s sons-in-law, and thus he recovered his kingdom. Lear survived the event not more than three years, and nearly at the same time Aganippus died also.

Cordalia now took the sovereignty of Britain into her own hands. Lear was buried in a cavern formed ³below the River Soar at Leicester,

¹ B. G. and G. M. All the other copies I have seen, that from which the text is taken included, read *Paris* instead of this ancient name, which is at once a proof of its own correctness, and of the injury done to the history by the translators, who have substituted names familiar to them, according to their own ideas of their propriety. Carytia is evidently an abridge-

ment of *Caer-Ytia* or *Caer-Itia*, the *Portus Itius* of Caesar, that is *Witsan*; which, the translators, as it is stated to be a royal residence, concluded must be *Paris*. The introduction of the ancient name into the text, needs I hope, no further apology.

² Sixty, B. G. and Ms. B.

³ See the appendix.

and which had been magnificently constructed in honour of the God Bifrons. ¹ Here likewise all the artificers of the kingdom were assembled annually, to work at what trade soever they were to pursue, to the end of the year from that time.

The tranquility of the kingdom under Cordalia's government was at the end of five years disturbed by her two nephews, Morgan the son of Maglawn, Prince of Albany; and Cynedda, the son of Einion, Prince of Cornwall, who objected to the government under a woman, as disgraceful, and raised an insurrection against her. This was followed by a battle in which Cordalia was taken, and being imprisoned, she in despair put an end to her own life.

The nephews now divided the dominion of the island between themselves, Morgan taking the territory to the north of the Humber, and Cynedda the southern part. But at the end of the second year, Morgan, naturally turbulent, and now impatient that Cynedda had the sovereignty, and a double portion of territory, complained loudly of it as an injury to himself, who as son of the eldest of Lear's daughters, he said, had a better right. He then began to ravage Cynedda's territories, but Cynedda soon advanced against him with a strong force, routed him and pursued him from place to place, till they came to Maesmawr, in Glanmorgan, where Morgan was slain in a battle, nearly on the spot on which the monastery of Morgan now stands, and there he was buried.

Cynedda thus possessed of the sovereignty, died after a happy and tranquil reign of thirteen years; and on the eleventh of the calends of May following, Romulus and Remus began to build Rome.

Rhiwallon the son of Cynedda reigned next, and being young and of a mild disposition, had a peaceable reign. In his time it

¹ See the appendix.

rained blood for three days, which was followed by a great mortality,¹ “caused by the numerous insects, which fell in the form of² grubs with the rain, and by some other kind of pestilence.”

After Rhiwallon there reigned successively,

Gorwst the son of Rhiwallon,

Saisyllt,

Iago, nephew of Gorwst,

Cynfarch, son of Saisyllt,

³ Gwrifyw dygn (*or the persevering.*)

This Gwrifyw had two sons,⁴ Fervex and Porrex; who, when their father declined in years and health, became contentious for the sovereignty, and Porrex in his resentment laid a plot to assassinate his brother. Fervex, as soon as he discovered this design, went to Siward, king of Gaul, and having obtained forces from him, returned and defeated his brother in battle, and slew him, and the greatest part of his army. But their mother⁵ “Widon,” enraged at the death of her son, entering Porrex’s chamber by night, by the assistance of her women, murdered him in his sleep, and cut the body in pieces.

The kingdom was, after this transaction, for a considerable time exposed to troubles and civil wars, in which many endeavoured to gain

¹ B. G. Mss. B. and G. O. and G. M.

² This is conformable to experience, for Linnæus discovered that red animalcula were the cause of such a colour of rain.

³ G. M. combining the name, and the epithet has made out the strange name *Gorbodugo*.

⁴ These names are also read Ferrex and Porrex, and from the termination *rex* in both, I should think it merely the Latin word annexed, and continued by a blunder of the copyists.

⁵ Widon, B. G. Widen, G. M. Gwen or Bidena, I. G. L. “When the partizans of her son, who were near at hand, had heard and seen that this horrible deed was done, they took her and put her in a sack, and threw her alive into the Tain, (Thames) where she was drowned. The two sons thus having died without issue (after five years spent in ambitious broils) with them, according to most authors, ended the direct line of Brutus.” I. G. L.

the sovereignty; and the result of which was, that the island was divided into five kingdoms, under so many kings, who again were by turns at variance.

At length, but very long afterwards, a young man arose called Dyfnwall Moelmyd, the son of ¹ Clydno, Earl of Cornwall, and superior to any of the kings of Britain of his time in person and courage; and he having succeeded by his father's death to his possessions, engaged with and slew ² Pymed the king of Loegria. And when this was made known to ³ Nydaws, king of Cambria, and ⁴ Theodore king of Scotland, they joined their forces, and began to ravage the territories of Dyfnwal; who therefore at the head of thirty thousand men came up with them, and gave them battle. For a great part of the day the event was doubtful, and then Dyfnwal perceiving it rather to turn against him, selected sixty of his bravest men, and disguising them and himself in the dress and armour of the slain of the enemy, with no more than these sixty penetrated first to the station of Nydaws and slew him, and then to that of Pymed whom he also slew. When this was effected, he resumed his own dress, lest his own soldiers should kill him; and renewing the engagement, gained a complete victory; after which, he seized on their territories, destroyed their castles, and reduced all Britain under his own power from sea to sea.

⁵ "Tranquility being thus established" he caused a crown of gold to be made and wore it on his head. He also restored the old form

¹ In some old books he is called Dyfnfarth, the son of Prydain, *Triad* 38, page 67, of the Archiology. In the Pedigree of the Penrhyn family, Dyfnwal is said to be the son of Cyrdon, son of Dyfnfarth ap Prydain. See *sketch of the early History of the Britons*.

² Pymmer, B. G. Mss. A. and G. O. Ymner, G. M. There is no knowing which

it ought to be, when such a name occurs only in one passage.

³ *Nydawc*, B. G. and Ms. G. O. *Nidyawc*, Ms. B. *Rudancus* G. M.

⁴ *Stater*, B. G. and Ms. B. *Staterius*, G. M. and *Yscadyr*, Ms. G. O.

⁵ B. G.

of government, and established the laws, known by the name of the ¹laws of Dyfnwal Moelmyd (which the Saxons still observe;) and gave privileges of refuge to the temples and cities, and to the ²roads leading to the courts of justice, so that every one who fled to them, should find sanctuary there, in whatsoever he had offended; and go whither he would without the permission of his adversaries. He also made many other regulations, which ³Gildas has written of, but too numerous to treat of here; such as the guardianship of the security of the roads leading to the principal towns, and the ⁴granting great roads to the

¹ See the appendix.

² "If a man who killed another by mischance, or did any other evil unintentionally, could make his escape to a temple, a city of refuge, or even to a plough at work, he was safe from personal injury, and free from that time to go where he would." I. G. L.

Hic primus sibi fecit diadema ex auro. Hic fecit leges Mulmicias quæ adhuc servantur in Angliâ. Hic statuit, ut templa & strætæ, ipsæ quoque civitates, & aratra colonorum, ad se fugientes tuerentur. Huic successit Belinus. Hic vias publicas quatuor struxit, & leges, quas postea rex Aluredus scripsit, quas Gildas refert. Hic postea cum Brenno fratre Romam incendunt, sicut Orosius refert.
Gervas, Tilb. p. 35. Ed. Helmstadt, A.D. 1667.

He first made himself a crown of gold; it was he who made the Molmutian laws, which are still observed in England: he enjoined, that temples, public roads, and cities themselves, and the farmer's ploughs should protect those who fled to them. He was succeeded by Belinus, who made four public roads, and made the laws which king Alfred afterwards wrote out; viz. those which Gildas mentions. He and his brother Brennus burned Rome, according to Orosius.

Whether I. G. L. took his account of Dyfnwal's laws from Gervase, or not, I am unable to say. In the following extract another anecdote is given respecting an emendation of these laws by Edward the Confessor.

"Leges etiam quos Aluredus primo de Britannicâ in Anglicam transtulerat linguam emendavit (Edwardus). Similitèr quas Canutus statuerat ad stimulum correxerit." *Godefridus Westmonasteriensis*. Ms. B. Museum Vesp. D. 4.

He revised the laws which Alfred had first translated from the Welsh into English, and carefully corrected those of Canute.

³ Gildas the son of Caw, Ms. G. O. The very simple manner in which Gildas is noticed in the text, is a strong ground of presumption that he was the author of this history.

⁴ Were these great roads military roads originally, and their use confined to military expeditions? or did Dyfnwall originally make great roads, and grant a public use of them? The words of the Welsh text, which are literally translated above, may admit of either sense. "Dyfnwall began the great roads which were completed by his son Beli." I. G. L.

temples and cities to the commonalty, so that in his time theft and violence were suppressed. He died after a reign of ¹ forty years, from the time when he made and wore the crown of gold; and was buried in London in a ² temple "of Concord," which he himself had built there.

After the death of Dyfnwal, his sons Beli and Bran began a violent contest for the sovereignty, which was appeased "after much disturbance" by the sage counsels of the nobles; and it was agreed, that the kingdom should be divided between the brothers, so that Beli, as eldest son, should have Loegria, and the whole of Wales, and the sovereignty; because that, ³ according to the old law of Troy, the eldest son inherited the whole estate of his father; and that Bran should have all to the north of the Humber, subject however to the sovereignty of his brother.

This arrangement was confirmed, and peace thus made between Beli and Bran; and for five years the tranquility was uninterrupted. But at the end of that time, Bran was excited to a rupture with his brother by the suggestions of those who wished to create disturbances. They represented it to him as a weakness, to yield a superiority to his brother, whose equal he was by birth, as being of the same father

¹ *Twenty-seven years*, Ms. G. O.

² Ms. G. O. G. M. and B. *Of peace*, B. G. "It stood where Blackwall now stands. He also built Malmsbury and "Caer-Odor (Bristol) so called because "it stands on a small river called Odor," I. G. L. The name Malmsbury or Moel-mud's Burg countenances the tradition. Camden on the authority of the *Eulogium Historiarum* adds, that Dyfnwal built also Lacock and Tetbury, and that the ancient name of Malmsbury was *Caer Bladon*, but I believe this to be a mistake.

³ This remarkable observation, and the reasoning upon it, indicate two interesting circumstances. 1st. That gavel-kind was the original custom of Britain; and 2d. That it was not the custom of the nation, from which the colony, said to have been conducted by Brutus, came to Britain. And hence it may be inferred, that this colony had now nearly emerged in the original race of the Britons.

and mother, and therefore equal in rights. ¹“Moreover,” said they, “you have been more engaged in feuds and wars than he; and, when ¹Edwetro, prince of ²Marien, invaded your country, you expelled him from it. Break off, then, this disgraceful convention with your brother. Go to the king of ³Llychlyn, and marry his daughter, and so you will obtain a power to recover your rights.”

Bran thus impelled, took his departure for Llychlyn, to marry ⁴“Elsing,” the king’s daughter. This conduct gave great offence and sorrow to Beli, who considered it as unworthy of his brother, that without any intimation of the purpose, he should seek aid by such means against him. Beli therefore crossed the Humber with a large army, seized the towns and castles, and garrisoned them with his own men. And when Bran heard of it, he set sail with a great force, which he had collected in Llychlyn. But, as he was proceeding towards Britain with a fair wind, he was encountered by ⁵Gwychlan, king of Denmark, who had pursued him for the sake of the princess, which being perceived by Bran, he prepared his ships for an engagement, and a severe battle ensued, during which the king of Denmark having grappled with the ships, in which Bran’s wife was, drew it into the midst of his own fleet. Presently afterwards a storm arose, and dispersed both fleets. ⁶“At length after five days, during which, the king of Denmark and the lady had been severely driven about by the tempest; they were thrown on the northern coast of Britain,” where

¹ Thelf, B. G. Chelf, Prince of Morgan. A. Eheulphus, G. M.

² Moryan, B. G. *Morgan*, A. probably the Morini.

³ The name Llychlyn comprehends Norway and Sweden.

⁴ B. G. *Esling*, Ms. G. O. The name in the text has been preferred, because it is a constituent part of the names *Helsingia* and *Helsingburgh*.

⁵ This name is truly Cimbric, i. e. Welsh, and signifies *Fair city*. Whence it may be inferred, that the Cimbri or Cymry were at this time in Denmark. The other copies read *Gwythlaeh* or *Guthlach*.

⁶ An omission in the original, supplied from G. M.

they were seized by the country people, and brought to Beli, who was there ¹“on a promontary of the coast” awaiting his brother’s arrival. With the king of Denmark’s ships, there were also three of Bran’s fleet, a circumstance which gave Beli great pleasure, as it seemed to be a beginning of retribution to his brother. In a few days more, Bran, having collected his scattered ships, landed on the northern coast; and, having learned that Beli had seized on his territories, sent to require that his wife should be set at liberty, and his territories restored, or that he would ravage the island from sea to sea; and put Beli to death whenever he could lay hold of him. To this message Beli replied in the negative, both as to the lady and the territories, and then, with all the warriors he could collect, went against his brother, and came up with him in a place called the forest of ²Calatyr, where they engaged furiously; for both were men of acknowledged valour, and the ranks fell as the corn in harvest beneath the hand of the reaper. In the conclusion, the Britons were victorious, and the remnant of the men of Llychlyn fled wounded to their ships; for fifteen thousand of them were slain, and none escaped without a wound. Bran himself with difficulty reached one of his ships, in which he sailed for Gaul. The rest sought for safety wherever they could find it.

Beli, after this victory, assembled a council of all his nobles at York, in order to consider what measures should be pursued with respect to the king of Denmark, who had sent to him a proposal of submission in fealty to him, and an annual tribute, as the ransom of himself and the lady, to whom he was attached. This proposal was accepted by Beli, with the approbation of his council; and the king

¹ The original word is *Marbenn*, B. G. Which though it signifies a promontary in general seems here rather to denote some particular head land, and perhaps the Marven of Ossian.

² Gaultres Forest, in Yorkshire. Camden.

of Denmark and the lady were set at liberty; hostages having been given for the performance of the conditions.

When this was done, Beli without obstruction took possession of the whole island, and then confirmed the laws which had been made, ¹ "by his father;" enjoined a general cessation of hostilities, which was proclaimed throughout Britain, and more especially in the temples and cities. And to these he gave the most ample privileges they ever had.

At this time there was a contention as to roads, the limits whereof were not ascertained; and he therefore assembled ² all the masons of Britain, and commanded them to make the roads of stone and mortar, according to law. One of these passing through the chief cities which lay immediately in the line, went from ³ Penrhyn in Cornwall, to ⁴ Penrhyn Bladon in the North, which is the extent of the isle of Britain.

The other crossed the island, that is to say, from Mynyw (*St. David's*) proceeding along the coast, and to ⁵ Port-Hamon, that is Northampton. He also commanded two other roads to be made intersecting these, passing as the others did through several cities, and terminating at each end in the angular extremities of the island.

¹ So the other copies.

² This very general expression will appear more rational, if it may be supposed that it indicates that there were companies of artificers under the appellation of *Masons of Britain*, &c. This seems to have been the case.

³ From the Cornish, see B. G. G. M. and B.

⁴ Caithness, B. G. G. M. and B. Totness, but corrected by a later hand into Catness, G. O. The original text from which the translation is given, is the only copy I know of, that retains the name of Penrhyn Bladon. It adds, that it was at the north-

ern extremity of the island, from which the writers of the other copies probably fixed on Caithness. Notwithstanding this, the similarity of the name *Bladon* to *Blatum*, induces me to believe, that the *Blatum* *Bulgium*, or *Bulness*, is the promontory intended by the author, and that the translator may have mistaken some expression, signifying *lengthwise for the whole length* of the island.

⁵ Where this Port-Hamon lay is doubtful. There seems to have been two sea ports of this name; one on the eastern coast, perhaps Yarmouth, and the other Southampton.

When ¹these roads were completed, he ordered them to be made sacred, and conferred upon them a privilege of refuge, so that whoever could escape to any of them was to be free from impediments, whatever wrong he might have done. ²“ But for a perfect knowledge of these roads, let the inquisitive reader consult the translation (from the Welsh into Latin) of the laws of Dyfnwal Moelmyd, by Gildas, the son of Caw, which king Alfred translated afterwards into the Saxon tongue.”

Whilst Beli now continued to reign in peace, his brother Bran, who had fled to Gaul, was grievously distressed by the utter loss of his territory, his being exiled from his own country, and the uncertainty as to the course which it would be eligible to pursue. In this anxiety he went, attended by twelve knights, and laid his situation before a prince of Gaul, and having met with an absolute refusal of assistance from him, he immediately applied to ³Seguin, the Prince of ⁴Burgundy, who received him kindly; and pleased with his society,

* I. G. L. but upon what authority I know not, describes the course of these roads thus. “ 1. The Fosse way, from Totness, through Devon and Somerset, to Tutbury, Cotswold, near Coventry, to Leicester, over the wilds to Newark and Lincoln, and then to the sea. 2. Watling Street, from Dover, north-west to the sea of Ewerydd. 3. Ermin, or Ernim Street, from St. David’s to Yarmouth in Norfolk. 4. Ciceneldys, which goes by Wickham, Worcester, Birmingham and Litchfield, near Derby, then to York and Tynemouth.”

Here I beg leave to observe, that though the name of Watling Street has been supposed to signify *Guitheling* Street, or the road to Ireland, and this etymology has been generally acquiesced in; there is another which is more simple, and which I therefore venture to propose. I believe the

origin of the word *Watling* to be *Waith-lleng*, literally *the work of the corps of troops*, or perhaps *of the legion*, and therefore a military way. The word *lleng*, signifies properly *a division of an army*, and is also used to signify *a legion*; but it is a word originally Welsh.

² This reference in the copies, which are evidently of a later date than the original of the translation, affords a presumption that the tracts referred to were extant in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s time, and possibly they may still exist in some of the libraries of Italy.

³ G. B. B. and G. O. Seginus, G. M. The name Seguin is, I believe, still known as a French name.

⁴ Chief of the Allobroges, G. M. As the name Burgwin is retained in the Welsh Mss. and seems to be a corruption introduced by the familiarity of the copyist,

became so much his friend as to honour him more highly than any one else in his palace.

This distinction he acquired by his superior excellence¹ "in the sports of the field," and on every other occasion he displayed it equally in war or peace, and gained so much honour and applause, that the Prince had a paternal affection for him. In person Bran was handsome, tall but slender, noble in manner, and of a quick and sagacious spirit; and so far did the prince's regard for him prevail, that he gave him his only daughter in marriage, and settled the succession to Burgundy upon him, in case he himself should have no other child; or, in case he should, he promised to assist Bran to recover his British

with the name of Burgundy. I am inclined to think that the Brigantii, who were on the borders of the BRIGANTINUS LACUS (*Lake of Constance*) are intended here; and that they were the original stock of the Brigantes, because this tribe was settled within the territories assigned to Bran; and it would be a probable consequence of the peace with his brother, that he should wish to settle as many as possible of those, who had attended him on such an expedition, in his own dominions.

In calling the borderers on the lake of Constance, Brigantie, I have followed Cluver, who in his map, terms them so. Whether Brigantes or Brigantie, the name is of the same origin, and probably denotes colonies of the same nation. As many attempts have been made to explain the name, the following explanation of it may not be unacceptable to the reader, as being satisfactory and on good authority

"En España este nombre *Briga* es dición Cantabra, que los primeros padres, pobladores de España, nuestros progenidores solian poner a las grandas poblaciones; y assi en su proprio lenguaje natural solian, en los tiempos antiguos, llamar a las poblaciones de dos universales nom-

bres; al pueblo ercido llamaron *Briga*, y al meno *Iria*." De Goribay, Comp. Hist. p. 84. Ed. Barcelona, 1628.

In Spain this name BRIGA is a Biscayan word, which the first settlers in Spain, our progenitors used to denote populous settlements. Moreover in antient times, they made use of two general terms in their own language in this respect; the increased population they called BRIGA, and the lesser IRIA.

Hence also the Duke of Bragaza, was *Dux Brigantinus* and Braganza, Bregentz and Brigantes are originally from the same word *Briga*. There is an apparent connection between this word and the Welsh word BRIG, an extreme ramification, but the Biscayan language is so very distinct from every other of the hundred given in Chamberlayne's Translations of the Oratio Dominica, that the connection between these two words cannot be insisted upon. It may be of more consequence to observe, that from the name Brigantes it may be inferred, that this nation was once a great one, and one of the first western emigrations.

¹ G. B. G. O. and G. M.

territory, in which promise he was joined by one of the Princes of Gaul. Thus Bran married her, and the princes of the country yielded obedience to him, and he became the governor of a part of the country granted to him on the occasion.

In about a year from this time, the Prince died, and then Bran restored to several princes, who were attached to him, territories, which the Prince had taken from their predecessors, and thus bound them to his interests by his liberality. He also entertained the Burgundians in general with unrestricted hospitality, which was the most grateful compliment they could receive.

Having thus secured their attachment, he began to meditate vengeance against his brother for the injuries he had done to him; and relying on the general promises of support which he had received, he, without delay, began to levy a large force, and went and made a league with the Gauls, that his army might be permitted to go through their country to Britain, ¹“which was agreed to upon condition of their passing through it without doing injury.” Having succeeded in this respect, and provided vessels on the coast of ²Flanders, to transport his troops, he with them set sail with a fair wind and came to Britain.

Here he was soon met by his brother Beli, who having been informed of the approach of the fleet, had collected a strong force to repel the invaders. But, when the armies of the two brothers were about to engage, ³Tonwen, their mother, rushed in between the lines, and though trembling with apprehension, yet anxious to see her long absent son, she hastened to the station of Bran, and there embracing him tenderly, she thus with many sighs and tears addressed him.

“Respect these breasts which have nourished you, my son, and the womb that for nine months have borne you, and, for the sake

¹ The other copies.

² Neustria, G. M.

³ Tanwen. B.

of him in heaven that formed you, be reconciled to your brother; let your resentment cease, for it was not his fault, that caused your loss of territory; neither has it been a loss but an advantage to yourself. If you lost a small portion of this kingdom, subject them to him, you are now his equal, and have even by that circumstance risen to the greater dignity of Prince of Burgundy. Remember, he did not begin the quarrel, it was yourself; when, in marrying the daughter of the king of Llychlyn, you sought the means of dispossessing him.'

By such words, and by her tears, Bran was so much affected, that he turned his thoughts wholly to peace, in conformity to his mother's wishes; and laying aside his helmet, he went unarmed to seek his brother; and Beli, as soon as he perceived it, laid aside his armour also, and came forward and embraced his brother. A reconciliation immediately followed; their armies threw down their arms, and applauded the reconciliation, and both parties went together to London, where the brothers held a council of the nobles, by whose advice an expedition to France for the purpose of conquest was resolved upon.

And when they had resided in London for one year, they sailed towards Gaul, and began to plunder the country, and soon after, in a pitched battle, overcome a general levy of the Gauls, which had been raised to oppose them, took the king prisoner, and obliged them to become their vassals. They then destroyed all their strong fortresses, and within a year completed the subjection of the whole kingdom. From thence they led on their armies towards Rome, subduing the coun-

* The difference of customs and even of moral possibilities in uncivilised and civilised states is so great, that expeditions, such as the abovementioned, have sometimes been considered, as too extravagant to be credited; yet it is no way more so, than that of the Helvetii, mentioned by Cæsar. The motive in both appears to have been the acquisition of wealth and power, and a more fertile country. In the narrative of the Welsh writer, there is a circumstance, which, though not noticed as such, affords an argument of credibility. This is the residence of Bran amongst the Brigantii of the Alps, where it was easy to acquire a knowledge of Italy sufficient to excite the desire of settling in it; and near which the Gauls are known

tries of Italy, and destroying the forts, as they went on, till they arrived at Rome.

At that time there were two princes to whose superintendence the government of Rome was committed; ¹ Gabius and Porsenna, and these princes (perceiving that none of the nations had been able to withstand the valour of Beli and Bran) with the concurrence of the Roman Senators, made peace with them by the payment of a large sum of money, and a promise of an annual tribute, and gave ² "twenty-four persons of the best families as" hostages for the performance of this condition.

From Rome the brothers then turned their arms against ³ Germany, but scarcely had their contest with the Germans begun, ere the Romans

to have several cities, of which Bergamo and Verona indicate that some, at least, of the Gauls passed into Italy through the Tyrolese country. And, if the state of population in France and Italy at the time, be considered such as that of the Indian possessions in America at the present day, and the manners nearly those of the Indians, the expedition under Beli and Bran will appear suitable to the spirit of the times, and its credibility supported by the circumstance referred to, by which alone the conception of the object can be satisfactorily accounted for.

¹ G. M. donominates Gabius and Porsenna, *consuls* using this title, probably in a very indefinite sense for *chiefs*; for such is the import of the word in the Welsh copies. The taking of Rome, according to this history, was in the time of Porsenna. According to the Roman historians in general, Porsenna and the Tarquins gave up their designs against Rome, and retired from it; and yet even Livy finds it difficult to reconcile this with the Roman phrase of *selling king Porsenna's goods*, used at auctions. This phrase certainly implies, that Porsenna did take, and did

govern Rome, and probably conjointly with one of the Tarquins, as the restoration of that family was the object of his taking up arms. Gabii belonged to the Tarquins, and hence any of that family may have had the name of Gabius. If this were so, the writer of the Brut discovers two facts hitherto unknown: 1st. That Porsenna, and one of the Tarquins did reign jointly in Rome; and 2d. That Rome was taken in their time by Brennus, previous to the acknowledged capture of it by the Gauls in the time of Camillus.

² G. O.

³ It is evident from the context, that the army of the people, here called Germans, was not at a greater distance than seven days march from Rome, when Bran set out to go thither, which if even thirty miles were allowed to a day's march, would be only 210 miles. Diodorus Siculus, speaks of the *Germans* as a Celtic nation. Καλιος ος λεγομενοι Γερμανοι. It is therefore not improbable that our author may have considered these appellations as synonymous, and adopted that which was the most familiar.

broke the league, and sent assistance to the Germans. This conduct greatly irritated Beli and Bran, as the force which came from Rome was large, and they were so placed by it between two armies, as to require serious deliberation how to act. The brothers therefore, having considered the subject together, agreed, that Beli and the Britons should remain where they were, to oppose the Germans; and Bran with his troops go towards Rome. The Romans having learned this, left the Germans, and endeavoured to gain Rome before Bran. But Beli, having gained intelligence of their plan, led his army by night in the hope of intercepting them, and lay in ambush in a woody glen, on the way through which they were to pass. The Romans arrived there next day, and, to their terror and dismay, perceived the glittering of arms through the trees, which made them imagine that Bran was there with his Burgundians. Beli did not give them time to put on their armour, but fell upon them and put them to flight; nor did he cease the pursuit till night compelled him. After this victory he proceeded to join his brother, which he did on the third day after that Bran had appeared before Rome.

They now with their united forces assailed that city, but though in several severe battles, they had worsted the Romans, and had erected a gallows in view of the city, on which they threatened to hang the hostages; the Romans still resisted them by every device in their power. Beli therefore in wrath ordered the four and twenty hostages, who were men of the highest dignity in the city, to be hanged. Soon after this had happened, intelligence reached the other Romans, that the two princes had re-assembled their scattered troops, and as they were coming to the relief of the city, they intreated it might not be surrendered. The Romans in the city thus encouraged, marshalled their troops, and came into the field, and gave battle; and the army under the princes came by surprise on the rear of their enemies nearly at the same time, and made great havoc. And now Beli and Bran grieved

and enraged by the slaughter of their fellow soldiers, rallied their men, and animating them to the fight, beat the Romans back, and after an immense slaughter of them gained the victory. Gabius was killed, Porsenna taken prisoner, and Rome taken; and Beli and Bran distributed the treasure found there to their followers.

² Bran after this victory, remained as emperor at Rome, and with excessive rigour forced the Romans to obey him, as the Roman history shews. But I decline saying any thing more of them here, as it would be too laborious to give the whole.

Beli returned from thence to Britain, which he ruled in peace for the remainder of his life. Where the cities were in decay he repaired them; and also built some new ones. Of this number was a city on the river Uske, afterwards, though now long ago, the See of the Archbishop of Demetia. When the Romans were in the island, it was called Caer Llion, the city of the Legions, as it was usually their winter quarters. Beli also built a magnificent gate in London, on the margin of the Thames, and which is yet called Belinsgate. Over this he raised a high tower, and below near it he made a dock for the security of shipping. He also reinforced his father's laws every where, and pursued a course of unvaried justice; neither has there ever been, before or since, more wealth diffused amongst the general body of the nation. In fine, when the day of his departure from this world was come, his body was burned, and the ashes were put in a vessel of gold curiously wrought, which was then deposited on the top of the abovementioned tower.

¹ *Gabius and Porsenna were both slain, B. G. and B.*

² It is worthy of notice, as what must have been the consequence of Bran's remaining in Italy, that the Welsh historians takes no farther notice of his fate, or that

of his adherents, than a reference to Roman writers. The simplicity of the acknowledgement, that British tradition afforded no farther information on the subject, is a good argument, that it afforded the rest of this history in general.

Gwrgant, surnamed ¹ Varv-Trweh (Grim-beard) son to Beli, succeeded to the sovereignty at his father's death. In character he was mild but firm, and like his father inclined to peace, and observant of justice. But, if another began a war against him, he followed it up with skill and vigour, till the enemy was reduced to submission. When the king of ² Denmark attempted to shake off the tribute, which he had paid to Beli, Gwrgant setting sail with a fleet, came suddenly upon him, and in a fierce engagement with the inhabitants of Denmark, slew the king, and made the people submit to him, as they had done to his father. On his return, as he was passing through the Orkney isles, he came up with thirty ships, which were full of men and women; and finding them there, he seized their chief, whose name was ³ Bartholome. Hereupon this chief prayed his protection, telling him that they ⁴ "were called ⁵ Barclenses," had been driven from Spain, and were roving on the seas to find a place of settlement; and that he therefore intreated Gwrgant to grant them permission to abide in some

¹ *Gurguntius Brabtruc*, G. M. See also Gir. Cam. Top. Hib. lib. 2. chap. 8.

² The original has Dacia, by which Denmark is always intended. Did the Romans pronounce the *ce* and *ci* as the Italians do? If they did, and I am inclined to think so, though I cannot here enter on the argument, they would pronounce *Daci*, as we do *Datchi* and the names *Daci*, *Datchi*, *Dutch*, *Teutsch* will denote the same nation. The name may therefore be more appropriate, than it has generally been thought.

³ *Partholan*, G. O. *Partholym*, B. G. *Partholoim*, G. M. *Eirnemal*, J. G. L. who adds. "He had this name from a river of Spain called Eirinnal, on the banks of which they had lived. This chief related to the king the whole of their adventures, from the time they had been driven from Israel (*Palestine*) their original country, and the manner and circumstances in which their ances-

tors dwelt, in a retired part of Spain, near the river Eirnia, from whence the Spaniards drove them to sea to seek another abode."

The name *Eirnia*, more properly *Yrunna*, in the *Basque* language signifies a city. Bartholome or Bartholym perhaps signifies Bar-Tolemon, for which see the remarks on the history of Brutus, in the Appendix. Nennius says, that all the ships but one were wrecked near a tower of glass, which they attempted to attack. I once thought that, by this tower of glass, an *ice-island* was meant. But as the Erse word *Guidhuighoir*, which signifies *prayer*, resembles *Gwydyr*, the Welsh word for *glass*, it is more probable, that it was a *tower of prayer* or *temple*, which, as then usual, served as a light-house for mariners.

⁴ G. M.

⁵ This should certainly be *Basquelenses*, i. e. *Basques*, or *Biscayners*.

part of the island, as they had then been at sea for a year and a half. Gwrgant having thus learned whence they were, and what was their purpose, directed them with his good will to go to Ireland, which at that time lay waste and uninhabited. Thither therefore they went, and there they settled, and peopled the country; and their descendants are to this day in Ireland.

Some time after this event, Gwrgant died, and was buried at Carleon on Uske, which city he had strengthened greatly, by adding new fortifications after his father's death.

¹ Cyhelin the son of Gwrgant, succeeded to the sovereignty, and was uniformly prudent and mild in his conduct through life. His wife Marsia also, ² "was a lady of noble rank, good sense, and" well informed in science. For, ³ "exclusive of many other instances of a sagacity and genius, which were till then unknown;" she drew up the laws known to the Britons, by the name of the *Marsian Laws*, and which king Alfred afterwards translated ⁴ from the Welsh into English, and called *Merchen-lage*, (*Mercian-lage*.)

When Cyhelin died, the sovereignty remained in the hands of his wife, and of Saissyllt his son, at that time under age, being only seven years old; the government was therefore vested in both conjointly, because of his mother's wisdom; and at her death Saissyllt became sole sovereign.

¹ Guithelin, G. M.

² B. G.

³ B. G.

⁴ They were probably translated from the Welsh, by Asserius, for the use of Alfred, and Alfred may thus have written them in English. Our historian seems to mark, that he knew of no Latin translation of them, and so attributes the direct translation from the Welsh to Alfred. This G. M. knew could not be, and has omitted the words *from the Welsh*.

Post hunc (Gurguit) Guithelmus regnavit; cujus uxor Marcia leges Marcias instituit; quas vulgus Marchenlage nominat. Gerv. Til. p. 36.

A Welsh poet of the 15th century, thus celebrates her learning:

Marsia gynt, Gymraes gall,
Or dwy iaith a roe deall.

Lewis o'r Glynn.

Marsia, the learned Cambrian of old times, understood the two languages well. What the two languages were, to which the poet refers, I could not discover; but I presume they were those of Loegria and Cambria.

Saisyllt was succeeded by his son Cynvarch; Cynvarch by his brother Daned; and Daned by his son Moryd.

Moryd, who was the son of Daned,¹ "by Tangwystl," a concubine, would have merited a high commendation, had not his passions been so violent, as to be unrestrained even from murder in his rage; for he was comely in person, liberal in conferring favors, and of unequalled valour in battle. In his time² "the king of"³ Morien made a descent with a large force in the north, and began to ravage it. Moryd led an army against him, and having distinguished himself by feats of valour, gained a complete victory; after which he left none of the enemy alive. For he commanded those, that remained after the battle, to be brought to him successively, and put to death first and then⁴ flayed. Then, after a short intermission, he ordered the rest to be flayed alive and then burned.

At last a calamity arose to mock and put an end to his violence; for a⁵ terrible and insatiable animal came out of the Irish sea, which devoured man and beast wherever it went. A report concerning this monster was brought to Moryd, and he thereupon set out to encounter it, and did so, but unhappily for himself: for when he had expended all his weapons vainly in the attack, the monster seized and swallowed him at a morsel.

Moryd left⁶ five sons, one of whom,⁷ "the eldest," Gorviniaw, was his successor in the sovereignty, and a truly just and good man.

¹ G. M.

² All the other copies.

³ Probably the Morini.

⁴ By the word *flaying*, I imagine that *scalping* should be understood, as it was a custom of the northern nations of old. The burning of the bodies was probably such as has been often described. Both these customs seem to have been unknown to the writer, and his account is consequently indistinct.

⁵ If one could suppose that, by any ac-

cident, a crocodile or alligator could have come on a coast so far north, the description given above would induce a belief, that this monster was of the same species.

⁶ The original word is *trimaib* (*three sons*) but the sequel shews there were more, and as *Gorviniaw*, (or *Gorboniawn*) *Arthal* (or *Arthur*), *Elidr*, *Owain*, and *Peredur*, are enumerated by the other copies, I have substituted this number, which also agrees with the context.

⁷ The other copies.

Gorviniaw repaired the temples in every city, and built new ones; throughout his reign gold and silver were abundant, he encouraged the farmers to cultivate the ground, and protected them from oppression by their lords, or the officers of the lords; and also by his liberality, ¹ “in money, steed, and arms” ² to the young men, “whose strength and spirit made them fit for warfare;” he left them without excuse for rapine or injustice. Gorviniaw died ³ “after a reign of fifteen years,” and was buried in London.

His brother ⁴ Arthal succeeded, a man wholly different from Gorviniaw, for he depressed the lawful nobility, raised the mean to honour, and plundered the wealthy and the just by extortion; so that the men of property rose against and dethroned him, and placed the crown on the head of his brother Elidr, afterwards surnamed *The Compassionate*, because of the compassion he displayed for his brother. For when Elidr had reigned five years, having one day gone out to hunt in the forest of Caladyr, (*Gaultree*) he unexpectedly met his brother Arthal, who had in vain been seeking aid in various countries for the recovery of his crown, and now, impatient of poverty, had returned to Britain attended only by twelve knights, to visit his friends. Elidr, when he saw his brother, hastened to embrace him, and wept in pity for his deposition and his sorrows; and took him to ⁵ Alcluyd, where he secreted him in a private apart-

¹ The other copies. This is conformable to the custom of the Cymry in later times, and to that of the ancient Germans:

“Exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam.” *Tucitus* de moribus Ger: Cap. 14.

² B. G. G. O. *who were in distress*, B.

³ G. O. He built Cambridge and Grantam, I. G. L.

⁴ Arthgallo, G. M.

⁵ *Al-Cluyd*, i. e. the city of the *Clyde-tribe*. Camden erroneously supposed, that this name should be written *Ar-Cluyd*, i. e. *on the Cluyd*. Bede's translation of it intimates that it was originally *All-Cluyd*, i. e. *the Hill of Clyde*, which might be admitted, if the name in the text were not always given by the Welsh writers as above, and the pronunciation of it perfectly incompatible with Bede's derivation.

ment. Having so done, Elidr feigned indisposition, and sent messengers to request all the princes to visit him. When they came to Alcluyd, he ordered the porter to admit one only at a time, as if Elidr was unable to bear the society of more, because of a pain in his head. This apology was generally received, and as the princes came into Elidr's presence, he ordered his attendants to behead every one of them, who refused to renew his allegiance to Arthal; and thus, partly by stipulations of agreement, and partly by threats, he reconciled them to his brother, and then went with him to York, where with his own hands he set the crown on Arthal's head, and hence acquired the surname of *The Compassionate*.

Arthal after this transaction reigned ten years, and during this time, having abandoned his former evil habits, he respected the nobility, kept the commonalty in check, left every one in possession of his property, and maintained the course of justice. He was buried at ¹ Carlisle.

Elidr was now raised a second time to his sovereignty, wherefore ² "in the third year of his reign," his two younger brothers ³ Owain and Peredur, at the head of a large army, attacked and defeated him, took him prisoner, and put him in confinement in London ⁴ "in a tower." They then divided the country between them, so that Owain had all to the west of the Humber, viz. Loegria, Wales, and Cornwall; and Peredur, all from the Humber to the north country, and the whole of ⁵ the north country also. Owain died at the end of seven

¹ Caer Lyr, (Leicester). The other copies.

² G. O.

³ *Iugeyn*, B. G. *Ywein*, B. *Vigenius*, G. M. The two first of these names differ only in the orthography, being otherwise the same as Owain.

⁴ B. G. G. O. and G. M.

⁵ Albany, B. G. "Guido de Columna says, that neither Owain nor Peredur did reign." I. G. L.

years, and then the whole kingdom came into the possession of Peredur, who preserved it in so much tranquility, that his brothers were unthought of. But, Peredur dying¹ “after a reign of eight years,” Elidr was taken out of prison, and a third time made king, and died after a quiet reign “of twenty one years.”

Elidr's son ²Gorviniaw, succeeded him, and imitated the just and upright conduct of his father.

He was succeeded by Morgan, the son of Arthal, who had a tranquil reign;³ “and in consequence of a good education, a beneficial one to his kingdom; but he died just as he had completed the first year of it.”

Einion, the brother of Morgan, succeeded; but so little did he resemble his brother in principles or conduct; that, in the sixth year of his reign, his subjects deposed him because of his violence and injustice, and made ⁴Eidwal, the son of Owain, king in his stead; who, warned by the fate of Einion, was careful in the observance of justice.

After Eidwal there reigned successively, Rhun, the son of Peredur; Geraint, the son of Elidr; Cadell, the son of Geraint; Coel, Porex and Cheryn. Then Cheryn's three sons, Silgnius, Eidal and Andras, in order; then Urien, the son of Andras; Elvryd, Clydoc, Clydno, Gorwst, Meiriawn, Blaiddyd, Caff, Owain, Saissyllt, Blegoryd, Arthmael, brother to Blegoryd, Eidol, Rhydion, Rhydderch, Sawl Ben-uchel, Pirr, Capeir, then his son Manogan, a just and benevolent

¹ Rhys the son of Gorviniaw (or Gorbionian) succeeded Elidr, and resembled his uncle, &c. The other copies. He reigned two years, G. O. probably the name of Rhys was either omitted, or illegible in the copy, from which B. T. was taken.

² The other copies.

³ Ydwal, B. G. Idwallo, G. M.

⁴ Capor, cui Cligut, cui Eli filius ejus. Gerv. Tilb. p. 37.

character; then ¹ Beli Mawr (*Beli the Great*) the son of Manogan succeeded and reigned over Britain for forty years.

Beli had four sons, viz. Lludd, Llefelys, Caswallon and Nyniaw; of whom Lludd, who was the eldest, succeeded to the sovereignty on the death of his father. Making London his principal residence, he completely built up the walls, built magnificent houses in the city, and set out extensive grounds around it ² "for agriculture and pasturage." Having thus made it superior to any other known city, he gave it the name of Caer-Ludd, (*Lud's Town.*) It was at a later period, called ³ Caer-Lundain, and, since the arrival of the foreigners, London.

Llefelys, to whom, because of his prudence and eloquence, Beli was more attached, than to either of the other brothers, having heard that the king of Gaul had died, leaving only a daughter to inherit his kingdom, thought of requesting her in marriage, of the Gallic

¹ *Heli*, G. M. who omits the name of Manogan entirely. This omission, and the error as to the name of Beli, to which Welsh pedigrees were continually traced, prove decisively, that Geoffrey's knowledge of the Welsh traditional history must have been very limited, and also that his copy was but an indifferent one. Mynogau's name occurs in a very ancient Welsh poem.

A mi 'r yth iolaf Buddig Feli Ap. Mynogan, Rhygeidwei deithi ynys fel Feli.

I will praise the victorious Beli, son of king Mynogan, who will defend the liberties of Beli's honey island.

Also by Nennius, Beli is represented as having seized on all the islands of the Bay of Biscay. "Belinus-filius Minocani, qui occupavit omnes insulas Tyrhenni maris." *Beli, son of Mynogan, who took pos-*

session of all the islands of the Tyrrhene sea, viz. the Bay of Biscay.

² G. O. These grounds surrounding the city seem to have been appropriated in the same manner as the Pomœrium of the Romans.

³ This name is derived, as I presume, from LLIANT, a *strand*, and Dain, the old name of the *Thames*. Caer Lundain therefore signifies *the city on the strand of the Thames*; which, notwithstanding the assertion of our author, I believe to have been the original name. That Lludd wished to call it after his own name, and that it was so called for some time, is however confirmed by its being so not unfrequently by Welsh writers. This history says, that there was a dissention concerning this change of the name, between Lludd and Nyniaw. The other copies add, "*and later still, Londres,*" to the names of London.

princes, and consulted his brother on the subject. ¹ "By him" Llefelys "was furnished with ships and attendants, and" soon obtained the princess in marriage, and her dominions in dower with her, which during his life, he governed so well, as to be greatly beloved.

A considerable time after this marriage, three² calamities, such as had never hitherto been known, fell upon Britain. The first of these was that of the Coranians, who had such intelligence, that not a word could make an impression on the air but they knew it, and therefore it was impossible to effect any thing against them.

The second was a shriek, that was heard over every hearth in Britain on the night of every May-day; and so struck man and beast to the heart, that the men lost their strength, the women miscarried, the youth of either sex became senseless, and the beasts and trees unproductive.

The third was, that whatever store of provisions were brought together, in any of the great houses of Britain, the whole disappeared, so as never after to be found, saving what was used on the first night.

The cause of the first of the calamities was apparent; but the causes of the other two were sought in vain; and Lludd therefore, having ineffectually exerted his utmost care and prudence, and being

¹ An omission in the original is here necessarily supplied from the other copies.

² As this account of these three calamities is found in all the Welsh copies, it appears singular, that Geoffrey of Monmouth should have omitted it in his translation. It is however but doing him justice to believe, that he did so for the same reason that he intended in his first edition, to omit the prophecies of Merlin, and pro-

bably would have wholly omitted them, had he not, as he says, been *obliged* to publish them to gratify the then Bishop of Lincoln and other friends; viz. to avoid *censure*. This he evidently apprehended for translating the prophecies, and might in those times probably have had more to fear for translating this strange tradition, given as it is, with all the fanciful and grotesque decoration of popular narrative.

greatly distressed by the existence of such calamities in his kingdom, determined to go and consult his brother concerning them. For this purpose he embarked and sailed to Gaul,¹ where his brother received him in the most affectionate manner; and having learned the occasion of his arrival, ordered a long tube to be made, through which they might so converse, that the air should not convey the sound to the Coranians.

By this means they began to communicate their secret thoughts, but soon found that neither could hear any thing, but confused and indistinct sounds; whereby Llefelys perceived that a Demon had lodged himself in the tube, he therefore ordered it to be washed with wine, and then their words became perfectly distinct and intelligible.

Llefelys then gave Lludd worms of some particular kind, which he desired him, on his return, to bruise and put in cold water, and then to assemble the people indiscriminately, both Britons and Coranians, and sprinkle them all with that water, and that such would be its efficacy, as to kill all the Coranians without doing any injury to the Britons.

The second plague, said he, arises from a contest between the dragon of your island, and the dragon of a foreign nation, which, on the night of May-day endeavours to conquer her, and the shriek you hear, is given by your dragon in her rage and distress; which you may thus be assured of.

Find by admeasurement, in length and breadth, the center of the island, and there let a pit be dug in the earth, and let a large

¹ According to B. G. Llefelis, apprised of the approach of ships to his coast, put to sea with his own ships to meet him, but when he found that his brother was coming towards him, went forward to meet him in a single ship, and their conversation passed at sea.

vessel of the best mead, that can be procured, be set in the pit, and the mouth of the vessel be covered with a linen cloth. Do you keep watch by it, and you will hear their conflict in the air. And when they are weary with contending, they will, in the form of two pigs, fall on the linen cloth, and drink the mead, and drawing the cloth with them to the bottom of the vessel, fall asleep. When they are in that state, fold the cloth around them, and ¹ bury them deep in the earth in the most secure part of the kingdom; and, whilst they remain there, no calamity from abroad shall afflict the island.

A powerful magician is the cause of the third calamity. For he by charms and spells throws every one into a profound sleep, and then carries off the provisions.

To remedy this evil, you must yourself watch your time, and defend your stores; and to avoid sleeping, have a vessel of cold water near you, and when drowsiness comes on, go into the water; ² “and when he appears, avenge yourself upon him.”

¹ This idea of burying the cause or emblem of the calamity is similar to that of the Indians in burying the War-hatchett, and appears to have been an ancient superstition amongst the Britons, which continued even in times of Christianity. The following Triad commemorates three instances of it, and shews the importance attached to it. “There were three concealments and discoveries of Britain. 1st. That of the head of Saint Bran ap Llyr, which Owen the son of Maximus the Great, buried in the White-hill in London; and whilst it remained there no calamity could befall Britain. 2d. The bones of Saint Vortipor, the son of Vortigern, which were buried at the chief entrances into the city, with the same fatality attached to them. 3d. The Dragons buried by Lludd, the son of Beli,

in the city Pharan (*Dinas Emrys*) in the mountains of Snowdon. These three concealments were laid under the protection of God and his attributes, and with imprecations against the person who should discover them.”

“Vortigern discovered the dragons to avenge himself on the Cymry for their disaffection to him, and then invited the Saxons as allies against the Picts. He also discovered the bones of his son Vortipor, because of his affection for Rowena. And Arthur discovered the head of St. Bran, from pique, because he could not have absolute power over Britain. And after these three discoveries, calamity prevailed over the Britons.”

Archæology, vol. II. p. 66. Triad 53.

² G. O.

Lludd, thus instructed, returned home, called all the people together, and having sprinkled the water on them in general, the Coranians died, and the Britons remained uninjured.

He then immediately ordered the island to be measured in length and breadth, and the center was found to be in Oxford, where he then ordered a pit to be dug according to the instructions of Llefelys; and every thing occurred as it had been foretold. When the pigs fell asleep, Lludd wrapped them up in the cloth, and laid them in a stone chest, and buried them deep in the earth at ¹Dinas Emrys; and from that time this terrible calamity ceased.

After this he ordered a well-furnished table to be laid out, and when it was so, a large vessel of water to be set near it, and then took his station to watch it. And as the night advanced far on, sounds the most melodious were heard, which inclined him so much to sleep, that he was obliged frequently to go into the water to prevent it. At last he perceived a ² man of huge stature, and in armour, enter with a large basket, in which he put all the viands. But, as he was about to depart with them, Lludd came forward and prevented him; and told him it should now be trial of strength between them, whether such depredations should any more be committed by him. A furious combat immediately began, in which Lludd was at last victorious, and the Magician cried for quarter, and promised a compensation

¹ Near Snowdon.

² In a Welsh prophetic poem of the 14th century by Robin Ddu, who was the Lilly of his time, this circumstance is alluded to, as a prophetic one unfulfilled. He says

Rhaid yw aros y rhediad,
A'r lu i ddyfod i'r wlad;
A'r gwr, o flaen y gerwin,
O gudd i yfed y gwin.

We must wait the accomplishment (of the prediction) until an army land to invade us, and the man from his invisible station appears before the large vessel to drink the wine.

for the losses he had occasioned, and faithful service to the king for the future. These terms were accepted; and thus Lludd put an end to the ¹ three calamities.

¹ Though it may be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to explain the whole of this legendary tale, yet it is worthy of notice, as a proof that such tales were usual amongst the ancient Britons, and that like those of the Troubadours, which were probably imitations of them, they related to circumstances, which having been obscured by time, were assumed as the subject, and embellished by fanciful ornaments, and more especially such as were afforded by the ideas of magical powers. In this tale some of the circumstances may be explained from other documents.

The Coranians are said to have come from the country of Pwyl, and settled on the eastern coast of Britain, near the Humber, in the time of Lludd, and afterwards to have joined the Romans and the Saxons against the Britons. *Triads* 41st, page 10th; 7th, page 58th, and 15th, p. 60, of the *Welsh Archæology*.

They seem also to have been the Coritani of the Roman writers, and to have given the name of *Pwyl* or *Pool* to several districts in Britain, viz. Welsh Pool, Pool in Cheshire and in Dorsetshire, and perhaps to Liverpool, which is opposite the Pool in Cheshire. The German word *Liefiern* signifies to transport goods, and hence probably *Liefiern* or *Lieferung-Pool*, that is the *Pool* for transporting goods. Where the original Pwyl was, will be considered in the Appendix.

It appears from the *Triads* above quoted, that these Coranians were not however destroyed by the water said in this tale to have been sprinkled on them. But there appears, I think, in this legendary circumstance, a reference to a Druidical rite of excommunication; and I suspect that the original Welsh word *pryfed*, which

signifies *worms*, is a corruption of some word in another language, perhaps the Gaelic, signifying a *spell* or *charm*, in consequence whereof the effect was expected to follow.

2d. The battles of the dragons were favorite subjects of the Welsh prophecies, and it would be needless to notice the one introduced here, but that the mention made of May-day is too singular to be passed over. The Welsh names of May-day, and of the 1st of November, are significant of the summer and winter solstices; and it is certain that they were so considered by the custom of lighting the fires called *Coelcerthi*, on the eves of these days. They were therefore the traditional, and not the real solstices at this time (for they were really so about the time of the first dispersion) unless the months were moveable. It was then about the time of the summer solstice, that these appalling shrieks are said to have been heard. When therefore it is recollected, that Cæsar, in his first expedition to Gaul, set out from Rome in April, this account of the shrieks may be resolved into the terror arising from reports annually from Gaul about that time, and communicated to the multitudes assembled to perform religious rites. Moreover, as Oxford is said to have been the *central place* in Britain, it was probably the $\Theta\mu\phi\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, or situation of a great *oracular temple*, and seems at that time to have been the residence of the learned Druids, by this reference to it, for what was evidently a means of quieting the public mind by a superstitious deception.

3d. The third calamity is said, in *Triad* 11th, page 59, to have been in reality a secret conspiracy; but this *Triad* refers its suppression to the time of Beli the father of Lludd.

“ The remainder of his reign was tanquil,” and when he died, he was buried near the gate called in Welsh, *Porth Lludd*, and in English, Ludgate. He left two sons, ¹ Avarwy and Teneuvan; but as they were both under age, Caswallon, their uncle, was made king.

¹ Avarwy would in Latin be written Avarogeus, which in old Mss. might be easily mistaken and read Androgeus, and appears to have been so as early as the time of Bede. I once thought he might

have been the Mandubratius of Caesar, but upon farther consideration, think that Mandubratius was a different person, though probably an adherent to Avarwy.

BOOK THE THIRD.

*History of Britain, from the Invasion by the Romans
to that by the Saxons.*

CASWALLON, having with general approbation assumed the sovereignty, determined to pursue a line of just and equitable conduct, and though king, so far was he from doing ought to the prejudice of his nephews, that he gave each a portion of his territories; to Avarwy, London, and the ¹ Earldom of Kent; and to Teneuvan, Cornwall: but both to be subject to himself, as paramount sovereign.

At this time ² Julius Cæsar, the Roman emperor, carried on a victorious war against various countries, and having conquered Gaul, and from thence, ³ “when he was on the coast of the sea of ⁴ Ruten,”

¹ The word *Earl* is originally Welsh. IARLL, a governor, from IAR, over, and properly signifies the superintendent of a district.

² According to the Roman historians, B. G. Ms. B. and G. M. This expression can relate only to their having recorded Cæsar's actions, for, if it were applied to the narration which follows, it would not be true, as to any Roman History now known to exist.

³ B. G. Ms. G. O. and G. M.

⁴ Rwyten, G. O. Ruteni, G. M. If the letter *R*. be merely the article prefixed, as

it certainly may, the name should be written Yr Wyten, or if a vowel precede it, 'R Wyten, and without the article will be Wyten, or the little *Wyt*, which I presume to be the same as *Itius*, or *Wytan*. Nennius says, that the Isle of Thanet was called *Ruithina*, it may therefore have been the greater *Wyt*. Possibly the straits of Dover may have been called the sea of *Rwyten*, as the Welsh expression admits of this construction, and therefore in the translation, the two senses of which it is capable, are preserved.

seen Britain, "towards the west," he made enquiries as to the opposite country and its inhabitants. And when he received the information as to both; this nation, said he, is of the same origin as we Romans; ¹ Both are of the Trojan race; for we are derived from Æneas, who settled in Rome, and whose great grandson Brutus, settled in Britain. As Brutus subdued the country, I imagine it will not be a hard task to me to make it subject to the Senate of Rome, since they inhabit an island, and know nothing of war or arms. Accordingly he then sent a message to Caswallon requiring a peaceable submission of Britain to Rome, and the payment of a tribute, to prevent the shedding of the blood of those who were allied by the descents from their common ancestor Priam.

Caswallon, indignant at such a message, ² "peremptorily refused to comply with it, and wished him to know that, as Brutus and his family had from country to country come and settled in Britain to avoid slavery, and found freedom here; so therefore they would now maintain it against all who should attempt to violate it." Caswallon therefore wrote as follows:

³ "Caswallon to Cæsar, the Roman general: Be it known to you, that I am astonished in learning that the excessive avarice of the Romans cannot even suffer the inhabitants of an island, remote as this, and surrounded by a perilous sea, to live in peace; but would levy a tribute on us, who have hitherto lived in freedom. Cæsar,

¹ The claiming of kindred attributed to Cæsar, is by no means out of character, for he himself observes, that *the Ædui had very frequently been denominated by the Senate, fratres & consanguineos, brothers and relations.* De Bello, Gal. Lib. 1, C. 33, which is confirmed by Strabo, Lib. 4; and Tacitus. Annal. Lib. 11. Cæsar says, that Divitiacus, king of Ædui, governed a part of Britain also, Lib. 2, C. 4, so

that there seems to have been some connection between the two countries, sufficient for the same allegation as to their origin.

² Ms. G. O.

³ This letter, as it is called, as here given is in the most simple form in which it occurs. The substance is the same in all the copies, but somewhat varied or amplified according to the ideas of the writers.

it is the more disgraceful to yourself, as we acknowledge in Æneas, a common ancestor. Lay then aside your thoughts of enslaving us. Be assured that, in defence of our freedom and our country, we will maintain the contest till death, rather than suffer you to oppress Britain, if as you announce to us, you should come hither."

Cæsar, as soon as possible after he had read the answer of Caswallon, prepared his ships, set sail, and came to the ¹ confluence of the Thames, near which he landed. And Caswallon to oppose him, came attended by Nyniaw, his brother; Avarwy, his nephew, and Earl of London; ² Teneuvan, Earl of Cornwall; ³ Caradoc, king of Albany; ⁴ Gwerthhac, king of Gwynedd, (*N. Wales;*) ⁵ Rhuddhael, king of Dyfed, (*South Wales;*) and ⁶ Beli, the master of the palace and all their forces. When they reached the Castle of ⁷ Dorahel, they found the enemy encamped on the shore. An immediate attack was resolved on, and the carnage was great on both sides. Nyniaw, having encountered Cæsar himself, ⁸ "rejoiced in the opportunity of engaging with one of whose fame he had heard so much," and

¹ The *Aber* of the Thames. This word signifies the place where a river falls into the sea, or a lesser river into a greater. The place here meant may therefore signify either the mouth of the Medway or of the Thames.

² The original has *Trahayant*, but erroneously as *Teneufau*, was said above to be Earl of Cornwall, and is so in all the copies.

³ Creidu, B. G. and B. Cridius, G. M.

⁴ Gwerthaid, B. G. and G. M.

⁵ Brithhael, B. T. B. G. B. and G. M. From this and a few more notices, it should seem that North and South Wales were in general distinct principalities, subject however to the lord paramount.

⁶ Ms. G. O. See an account of this office in the laws of Howel Dda. Nennius calls him *Proconsul regis*, Chap. 14, but confounds him with Beli the Great.

⁷ Dorahel. A vestige of this name appears to subsist in that of Durolenum or Leneham in the isle of Thanet, and not very far from Chilham, where, according to Camden's idea, founded on the tradition of the place, Julius Cæsar encamped, and near which, Laberius was slain. G. M. omits this name, but it is found in B. T. and as *Dorahel* in B. G. Nennius, according to Abp. Usher's copy, says it was *apud Dolobellum*, which the Abp. corrects by reading *Dorobernium*.

⁸ Ms. G. O.

“¹ Cæsar enraged by the length of the conflict,” aimed with all his might at the head of Nyniaw a blow, which Nyniaw received on his shield; and the sword stuck so fast in the shield, that in the drift of the combat Cæsar could not disengage it. When Nyniaw was possessed of this sword, none could withstand him; and having met with ² Labienus, an officer of rank, he slew him. In this battle the greater part of the Romans were slain,³ “so that one might have walked over the carcasses for thirty⁴ land-lengths without touching the ground.” Cæsar himself fled with disgrace, and with much difficulty; and when the people of Gaul heard it reported, that he had suffered a defeat, they rose against him in the hope of shaking off his power, and expelling him; for they had heard that the ships of Caswallon were pursuing him. But Cæsar, by distributing a profusion of money amongst the chiefs, and liberating all the captives, prevailed on the Gauls to remain quiet.

Caswallon after the victory returned to London, and with him his associated chieftains, in order to give thanks to the gods for their success. On the fifteenth day following, Nyniaw died of the wound in his head, and was buried near the northern gate, and with him the sword, which was called the ⁵ Ruddy Death, because the wound

¹ Ms. G. O.

² Labienus. Cæsar mentions no other of this name than T. Labienus, and he admits the loss of Laberius in the second invasion. But he is so delicate on the subject of his own losses, or misadventures, that his silence alone is no sufficient reason for changing the name in the text above, which may very well have been that of a relative of T. Labienus.

³ Ms. G. O.

⁴ *Land-lengths*, or Hydes of Land. The word *Hyde* is of Welsh origin, from

HYD, a measure of length. Hence Hyd-tir, a land-length, or the *Hyde of land*. No other copy notices this circumstance that I know of.

⁵ *The blue or green death*, Ms. B. Crocea Mors, G. M. translated by Thomson, the *yellow death*. If, as it should seem, the Britons had no such swords, the celebrity of Cæsar's will appear to be very natural. It must have been such an acquisition to Nyniaw, as a British sword of this day would be to an Indian chief, who had previously seen no such weapon.

made by it was mortal. At this time Cæsar began to build the fort of ¹Odina, lest the Gauls should a second time repel him.

²Two years after this event, the fort being now built, Cæsar collected a force with the intention of avenging himself for his repulse

¹ *Odna*, B. G. and G. M. *Odna*, Ms. G. O. *Dodres*; Gerv. *Tilb*. The last reading points immediately to the *Tour d'Ordre*; *Turris Ordans*, or *Ordensis*, of Boulogne, said to have been built for a light-house by Caligula; and probably on the site of the fort, or rampart, constructed by Cæsar, when pressed by the Morini, in the year previous to the first invasion of Britain, according to his account.

Vide Com. De Bello Gal. lib. 3. c. 29.

² *Before the end of two years*, Ms. B. Nennius says, *after three years*. According to Cæsar, it was in the year following, and therefore it seems probable, that the original reading of the British history was *before the end of the second year*. At least it should be so to reconcile both; but as all the writers who have followed the British historian, have made more than one year to elapse between the first and second invasion, I have not disturbed the text.

In this history, and in the accounts of Cæsar's invasions, as given by Nennius; Bede, Giraldus Cambrensis, and the author of *Flores Historiarum*, the general circumstances of the narrative are the same, even to the names of Androgeus and Lubicens. These accounts of the British historians differ so widely in several respects from that given by Cæsar himself in his *Commentaries*, as to prove decisively that they are not of Roman, but of British origin; and had the writers of the Church of Rome known of the *Commentaries*, this part of the history would in all probability have been destroyed; but fortunately we still have it, and a proof by its being

extant, that the Britons had historic records at least so far back.

The differences between the British and Roman narratives are such as probably would have been found between the Carthaginian and Roman histories of the Punic Wars, had the former ever appeared. But if the former ever existed, Roman policy would have done all in its power to suppress whatever reflected on the Roman perfidy.

That Cæsar himself was not entirely free from this species of policy has been asserted by Suetonius on the authority of Asinius Pollio, who went so far as to say * *Commentarios suos parum integrâ fide composuisse, that his Commentaries were written with little attention to truth*. But the generality and the asperity of this censure forbid its being taken in its utmost latitude, unless upon better authority than a sarcasm, and the *Commentaries* have much the appearance of relating the facts which they do give with a regard for truth. Still it is certain, that however correct he may be esteemed, and perhaps justly in what he does record, he does not in all cases record the *whole* truth. In the seventh book he tells us, that Lutetius Cadureus, who had been active against the Romans, was overpowered, and taken out of the way; but says not a word of Drapes, the associate of Cadureus, who had intercepted the supplies and baggage of the Romans. The knowledge of this loss we owe to the writer of the eighth book. Even from his own narrative it may justly be inferred, that he was beaten

* Suetonius in Vita J. Cæsaris.

from Britain; and Caswallon, apprised of it, set iron stakes of the thickness of a man's thigh, in the channel of the Thames, so that Cæsar's ships striking unawares upon them, sunk; and thousands of the men were drowned. Those, who could gain the land, were attacked vigorously by Caswallon at the head of all the British youth, and after a hard battle were overcome, and Cæsar, compelled to fly, returned to the Wash of Moran, and from thence to the fort of Odina, which he had built through precaution.

back from beyond the Rhine, though he claims a victory. That he had been beaten in Britain at one time, the well known line *Territa quæsitis*, &c. (which G. M. quotes so admirably mal-apropos,) sufficiently proves. And even from his own account of the first expedition, it is most probable that he was so.

* In Cæsar's narrative of his second invasion, he has, if the British historian be correct, so connected the events of two distinct invasions, by wholly omitting his having been defeated, and forced to return to France, and, induced by the treachery of some of the Britons, made a second attempt with more success, as to make the whole seem to be the transactions of one and the same invasion. As the whole passed in one and the same year, it was both very possible to be done, and consistent with his policy to do so. But if I mistake not, there are some circumstances mentioned by him which tend to prove that the British historian is right. He acknowledges that when he had, as he says, forced the passage of the river, notwithstanding the stakes, and was in pursuit of Cassibelan; he was still so harassed that he could not permit any of his troops

to go far from the main body; and yet we are told, that *at this very time* the Trinobantes send proposals of their submission to him, and also accidentally as it were, it occurs to him to mention, that their Prince Mandubratius had gone over to Gaul to him, through fear of Cassibelan; but at what time he did so is omitted.

It is very improbable that the Trinobantes should have made such a proposal at such a time, even had Mandubratius been with Cæsar on the Continent, when his ships were shattered by the storm, as he admits, and himself in difficulties otherwise. It is I think much more probable, that the account given by the British writer is true, as it gives more natural and sufficient reasons for Cæsar's ultimate success, than he has thought proper to state, and in giving them more fully has only revealed what he would naturally endeavour to suppress.

† Nennius gives the British name *Cethilon* or *Cethiloeium*, properly *Coetholion* from *Coethawl*, a stake. *Esseda* is also properly an ancient British word *Ysedd*, i. e. the seat. These modes of carrying on war indicate a degree of knowledge somewhat higher than what is generally attributed to the Britons of these times

* *Relinquebatur ut neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi Cæsar pateretur, & tantum in agris vastandis, incendiisque faciendis hostibus noceretur, quantum*

labore atque itinere legionarii milites efficere poterant. Interim Trinobantes, pollicentur, sese ei dedituros. De Bello, Gal: Lib. 2d.

Caswallon, after his victory, invited all the chiefs to London, where he celebrated it with sacrifices to the gods, and sumptuous feasts. Thirty-two thousand animals of various kinds were slaughtered on the occasion,¹ “and a part of these having been offered to the Gods, the remainder was eaten, and constituted the feast. Such was the custom of those times.” The festivities continued night and day, and were heightened by sports and pastimes. In the course of these it chanced that Hirlas, nephew to the king, having engaged Cyhelin, the nephew of Avarwy, in tilting, slew him. This circumstance threw the whole court into confusion. The king himself was enraged, and insisted that Cyhelin should be tried by his own court. But Avarwy, fearing how the king might decide, opposed it, alledging that ² London was the proper place of trial for any offence committed on the island, and to this he would consent. The king however was determined to have Cyhelin in his own power, and Avarwy aware of his intent, left the court, and withdrew to his ³ own territory, taking Cyhelin with him.

When Caswallon was informed of this proceeding, he ⁴ “complained loudly to the remaining chiefs, that Avarwy should without permission have left his court, and taken the murderer of his nephew with him, and” set out at the head of his troops to ravage his territory. Avarwy, thus attacked, solicited an accommodation with the king, but it was in vain. His next object therefore was to resist Caswallon, and for this purpose he sent to intreat Cæsar to come to his assistance, promising at the same time his aid to Cæsar to subdue the island. ⁵ “But

¹ Ms. G. O.

² London was at this time in the territory of Avarwy, whose court of judicature consequently was there also, and his plea was just upon the principle laid down also in the laws of Howel Dda, viz. that a cause

ought not to be tried in the court of the plaintiff; though Caswallon, as sovereign paramount could hold a court there also.

³ Probably to the Isle of Thanet.

⁴ Ms. G. O.

⁵ Ms. B.

as Cæsar and his council did not think fit to come to Britain on the mere professions of Avarwy; this prince¹ sent ² Cynan, his son, and thirty-two sons of chieftains as hostages. Cæsar therefore prepared his ships, and came and landed at the Port of³ Rwydon, where he was received by Avarwy with great respect.

Caswallon was, at this time, ⁴ attacking London; but, as soon as he had intelligence of Cæsar's landing, he set his forces in order, and marched against him. When he had reached a woody glen near Canterbury, he discovered the Romans encamped, and began to skirmish with them in a spirited manner. A severely contested engagement followed, by which the Britons were forced to retreat to a ⁵ high hill, where they made an advantageous stand against the enemy, and slew great numbers of them. The Romans therefore desisted from the attack of so strong a position, and determined to force them to a surrender, by inclosing the hill, and cutting off their provisions.

Caswallon, ⁶ "with his troops, having remained thus inclosed for two days and nights without sustenance, and with no other prospect than that of a bitter death," sent to intreat Avarwy to make his peace

¹ A letter, as from Avarwy, is inserted here in Ms. G. O. as also in G. M. but as it is not in B. T. and evidently an interpolation, it is omitted.

² *Secva*, G. M. contrary to all the Welsh copies.

³ *Rwydun*, B. G. *Dozyr*, Ms. B. *Rwytur*, Ms. G. O. This last has a near semblance to *Rutupia*, and as the *n* and *v* are often substituted by errors of copyists, may be nearly right. *Rwydun* is the *Isle of Thanet*. See above.

⁴ This intimates that, after ravaging the lands of Avarwy, Caswallon on his return to London was opposed by the inhabitants.

⁵ According to Cæsar's account, this hill must have been on the western side of the Medway, and not far from it. That he mistook the Medway for the Thames is certain, from his giving *the distance of the river from the sea*, which could not apply to any part of the Thames that he could have known, but does so with great propriety to the Medway.

"Cæsar was nearly losing the day when Avarwy, coming up with 15,000 men, fell on Caswallon's rear, and thus turned the event of the battle." I. G. L.

⁶ B. G. &c.

with Cæsar. Avarwy¹ “was much surprised by the message, and observed, that he, who was a lamb in time of war, should not be a lion in time of peace towards his friends. But notwithstanding this, he” proposed it to Cæsar, and said, that as he had willingly been the means of reducing the island, so it was his wish that Caswallon should continue to be king, and in consideration thereof pay a tribute to the Roman senate. And when he found that Cæsar opposed it, he added that, in promising his assistance for the reduction of the island, he had not meant it for its destruction. That, for the injuries he had suffered, he could have compensation, without annihilating his countrymen, neither would he consent to their ruin. Cæsar therefore, finding him so determined, agreed to a peace upon condition that Britain should pay an annual tribute of² three thousand pounds of gold and silver. Peace being concluded they all went together to London, where³ they passed the winter. The following summer Avarwy went to Rome with Cæsar, who went thither to oppose Pompey, at that time the head of the state. Caswallon remained in Britain, where having reigned seven years more in peace, in all twenty-three, he died and was buried at York.

Teneuvan, the son of Lludd, and Earl of Cornwall,⁴ “a good and valiant man,” succeeded,⁵ (because that Avarwy was gone to Rome)⁶ and having reigned peaceably for fifteen years, died, and was succeeded by Cynvelin (*Cunobeline*) his son.

¹ B. G. &c.

² B. G. &c.

³ This must be a mistake, and can relate only to Caswallon and Avarwy, as Cæsar returned to Gaul, and passed the winter there. Avarwy however may have passed

the winter in Britain, and joined Cæsar afterwards.

⁴ B. G.

⁵ B. G.

⁶ Ms. G. O

Cynvelin, having been educated by Julius Cæsar, was attached to the Romans, and so much so, that, ¹ “ though it was in his power,” he did not withhold the tribute.

From the Book of Basingwerke Abbey.

² In the time of this king, our Lord Jesus Christ was born; and on the night of his birth, the statue of the Romans of most perfect workmanship, which was in Rome, fell down; and which, it was said, was not to fall, unless a man were born of a virgin. On the same day also, a golden circle appeared to surround the sun; and the learned men and diviners being consulted, said, that a king was born whose power would be eternal. Augustus Cæsar, otherwise called Octavius, governed Rome at this time, and Herod Antipater, who cruelly put the children to death, in the hope of killing Jesus Christ, was governor of Judea.

About the fourth year after the birth of Christ, John the Evangelist was born.

In the fifth year Jesus came from Egypt to Galilee, and made seven basons for lakes out of the dust, and brought water into them from the Jordan, and from the lakes back to that river.

In the sixth year, Herod the cruel, slew Maria (*Mariamne*) his wife; and his three sons, Alexander, Aristobulus, and Antipater, died of a loath-

¹ B. G. &c.

² The passage included in brackets, I have found only in Ms. G. O. It is inserted here merely as a relation of circumstances collected by the writer, and received as true in his time. The two first are probably a misapplication of facts that happened some years before. Suetonius says, that when Augustus returned from Apollonia, immediately after the death of Cæsar, the

Sun appeared surrounded by a circle of rainbow hues, and that almost immediately afterwards, the statue of Julia, Cæsar's daughter, was struck by lightning. (p. 260, Ed. Var.) These circumstances were interpreted as favourable presages to Augustus, and the idea of the birth of one, who was to rule the world, about that time general, made him to be considered as the probable object. See Enderbic.

Cynvelin died, after a reign of twelve years, leaving two sons, Gwydyr and ¹ Gweyrydd. Gwydyr succeeding his father in the sovereignty, as soon as he found himself established firmly in it, withheld the tribute from the Romans. When the Romans were informed that he refused to pay the tribute, they sent Claudius Cæsar to Britain,

some disease, that arose in boils, filled with worms, between the skin and the flesh.

In the seventh year, Jesus went to Israel.

In the eighth year, flourished Sallust, ¹ Terence, Horace, and some of the wisest of the wise.

9th. Virgil spoke of the incarnation of Christ, and the regeneration of the children of heaven.

10th. Gwydr, the son of Cynvelin was born.

11th. Gweryd, the second son was born.

12th. Jesus was found in the temple, hearing and answering the wise men.

13th. Augustus Cæsar died.

14th. Tiberius became emperor of Rome.

15th. Herod Antipas was made lord of the fourth part of Galilee.

16th. Ovid was exiled to Pontus.

17th. Pilate of Pontus was made procurator of Judea.

30th. John, the son of Zacharias preached concerning baptism, and baptised Jesus in the Jordan, after that he had fasted forty days and nights in the Wilderness, where the Devil tempted him.

31st. Jesus Christ fed 5000 with five loaves and two fishes, on the wedding night, when he turned water into wine.

¹ G. M. has with his usual incorrectness supposed that this prince was the Arviragus of Juvenal, though the latter was in the time of Domitian, successfully engaged, as it should seem against the Romans, for the hope of his failure is all that the expression of the poet intimates.

² This must be Terentius Varro.

with a great force; and when this general had landed, he attacked Caer ¹ Peris, but being unable to take it by assault, he blocked up the gates by walls built with stone and mortar, in order to reduce it by famine. This having reached the ears of Gwydyr, he collected a large force, with which he hasted to Caer Peris, and fell upon the besiegers, and by his own personal achievements, distinguished himself far beyond all others. Whilst Gwydyr thus spread slaughter around

32d. John the Baptist was imprisoned, and beheaded at the desire of Herodias.

33d. Jesus Christ suffered, and came back from death to life, and ascended into Heaven.

34th. James, the son of Alpheus, was made Bishop in Jerusalem by the Apostles, and ² Peter fixed his See in Antioch.

35th. Stephen was stoned, and Paul converted on his way to Damascus. Cassius the wise, died of hunger and nakedness.

36th. Persius the wise, was born, and Herod Agrippa, the nephew of Herodias, was seized and imprisoned in Rome by Tiberius.

37th. Tiberius the emperor died, and Caius, (*Caligula*) became emperor, who set Agrippa free, made him of his council, and gave him three parts of Judea, with the title of king.

39th. Caius required to be worshiped as a God, and commanded Petronius, king of Assyria (*Syria*) to make an image of him, and set it up in Jerusalem to be worshiped by the Jews; which Petronius durst not do for fear of the Jews.

40th. Matthew the Evangelist wrote his Gospel in ³ Judea.

43d. Cynvelin died, after a reign of twelve years.

¹ Port-chester, perhaps built by the Bericus, mentioned by Dion Cassius, who having, because of seditious conduct, been driven out of Britain, went to Rome, and persuaded Claudius to undertake the invasion of the island.

² The writer, who flourished in the 15th century, was certainly no Roman catholic.

³ The Ms. reads *India* but *Judea*, is certainly the proper reading.

him, one ¹ Hamon, to whom the appellation of the Assassin has, from the circumstance been given, and who from the British hostages had learned their language, laid aside his own armour, and put on that of the Britons, and thus accoutred, insinuated himself among the British troops, and having watched his opportunity, killed the British king. This done, he made his escape during the tumult, joined his own party, and resumed his own armour. As soon as Gweirydd knew of his brother's death, he put on the armour his brother had worn, and thus continued the battle strenuously, and routed the Romans. ² "Claudius with one part of the army fled to their ships, and" Hamon and the other and greater part of them fled, and were pursued by Gweirydd to a place thence called the Port of Hamon, as it is called to this day; and there Hamon was killed. Gweirydd then went on to Caer Peris, where Claudius had renewed the siege. As soon as the Britons, who were within the fort, perceived the approach of their countrymen, they sallied out against the enemy. But so great was the power of the Romans, that they were able to take the fort, and Gweirydd, after a bloody engagement was obliged to retreat to Winchester. Hither Claudius followed him, hoping to blockade him in it. But Gweirydd, aware of his inten-

¹ Jeulius Haymo, B. G. Lilius Hamo, Ms. B. Gervase of Tilbury, who most certainly did not copy Geoffrey of Monmouth's book, and probably never heard of it, has preserved the following curious tradition respecting this traitor.

"Cassibelan was succeeded by Tenuancius, the brother of Androgeus; his son Cabellinus (Cymbeline); his son Gundarius; and his brother Arturagus, who in the same battle (in which his brother was killed) slew Amon, by whose advice Claudius had made war, and in reference to whom Amtonia, Northamptonia and Southamptonia were so called, as having been Hamon's northern and southern residences."

As *Amon* might easily be read for *Anton* in old Mss. there can be little doubt but that the true name here is *Laelius Antonius*. The Port of Hamon is said above (page 52) to be Northampton; and had I seen Gerv. Tilb. before that page had been printed off, it would have cleared up the difficulty, and proved the explanation to be correct. The Northampton is then the *North Antona*, that is, the river Neu, and it appears that there was once a port somewhere on it, and that the scene of battle on this occasion was near it. I suspect that this Caer Peris was also on this coast.

² Ms. B.

tion, determined to oppose him in the field. This determination, and the resistance he had already met with, induced Claudius to send proposals of peace, which were accepted. A peace was therefore concluded, and to confirm it, Claudius promised to give his daughter to Gweyrydd in marriage. After this arrangement, the Romans assisted by the Britons, took possession of the Orkney¹ Isles, and others near them, and when the winter was over, the² young lady, who was of uncommon beauty, came from Rome, and was married to Gweyrydd.³ Claudius also built a city on the Severn, which from his name was called *Claudii castra* (Gloucester) on the boundary between Wales and England.⁴

In these times Christ suffered at Jerusalem; the apostle Peter established his See at Antioch, and came from thence to Rome to dwell there as Bishop; and having written a Gospel, he sent Mark the Evangelist to Egypt to preach it there.

¹ Isle, G. O. The Orcades, formerly one island, called Orc, are in the Triads said to have been formed into a number of isles by a great inroad of the ocean.

² G. M. has given to this lady the name of *Genuissa*. In B. G. it is *Genuylles*. In the W. Ms. it is *Generys*, and in I. G. L. *Gwenisa*. The latter of these is the Welsh reading of the Roman name *Venusia*. If this was her name perhaps the treacherous *Venusius* was her son.

From the general character of Claudius it may without much risk of a mistake be presumed, that when he came to Britain, it was with considerable confidence of acquiring the credit of a victory previously assured. And the shortness of his stay in Britain, proves that little was left for him to do, or that he did not wish to expose himself much. The repeated and continued resistance of the Britons to the Roman power does not admit of the former supposition; and according to the latter, it may have been very possible, that he should

have offered a lady, under the name of daughter by adoption, to the British Prince, in order to secure such a peace as might enable him to appear in Rome without disgrace.

³ Claudius constrictit Claerdon. Claergon, hoc est Gloucestream.

Gerv. Tilb. p. 38.

Others say, that Gloyw wlad Iydan, (*Claudius of the extensive country*) a son, (probably by adoption,) of Claudius Caesar, built it, B. G. But Neunius attributes it, (cap. 53) to Gloyw, or Gloni, ancestor of Vortigern in the fourth degree.

⁴ Here a most material leaf is unhappily wanting in the Ms. G. O. and as it is the only leaf that is so, and appears to have been so very long ago, it may justly be suspected that Guttyn Owain had on it written something that opposed the claims of the church of Rome, which displeased the monks of Basingwerke, and that it was therefore destroyed.

At his convenient time Claudius returned to Rome, and left Gweyrydd in possession of the sovereignty of Britain.¹

After the departure of Claudius, Gweyrydd, elevated the more by confidence and ambition, having refused to pay the tribute to

¹ The account which Dion Cassius gives of Togodumnus and Cataratacus (as he names them) the sons of Cymbeline, has induced the belief that the same persons are meant, who are in this history called Gwydyr and Gweyrydd. But the Welsh triads and pedigrees shew that Caractacus, or, as Dio calls him, Cataratacus, was not, by descent, the son of Cymbeline, but of Bran ap Llyr. Whether he was so by marriage, or that the Romans, knowing Cymbeline had two sons, mistook him for one of them, can now be only a matter of conjecture. However this be, our historian appears to have known nothing of Caractacus, or of Boadicea, his narrative is, in this part, confined to the transaction of the sovereign.

In this narrative, when compared with the few particulars transmitted by the historians of Rome, and some allowance being made for variations, such as will generally be found in relations of the same facts, by different writers of the same country, and still more so by those of opposite parties; there will be found little to object to, if it be admitted that, Gweyrydd being the sovereign, Caractacus had the principal command under him in the army, and that, as was very natural, a great part of what was done by Plantius, was attributed to Claudius. The first stand made by the Britons will then have been at Portchester, the second at Winchester, from whence they retreated to some place, not mentioned by our author, where they made a third and a formidable one. Dio says, that Plantius first beat Caractacus; then

Togodumnus; but *where*, he does not specify. Most probably therefore, Caractacus was at Portchester. The manner, in which Dio mentions the death of Togodumnus, countenances the Welsh narration of it. He says, that when the Britons were driven beyond the Thames, Togodumnus was dead, but not *how* he died; and the rage, which he says his death excited in the Britons *to avenge it*, justifies a suspicion of treachery, even from Dio's narrative alone. Dio is very brief in his relations of the manner in which this rage was suppressed; he only says in a few words, that Claudius brought elephants with him; a battle was fought, and Camalodunum, Cymbeline's capital taken; Suetonius expressly says, *there was no battle, or bloodshed*. (In Vita Claud. cap. 15.) which, from the wars that followed, is the most probable. A Greek, who should have written that Claudius had lost a battle, would perhaps have done so to his own misfortune, as it would have been contrary to the idea of the event, upon which a decree of the senate had been founded. G. M. adds, but erroneously, that Claudius stayed the winter in Britain, for his stay was only of a few days.

As to the name Togodumnus, the etymology at this distance of time must be very uncertain. The word Tog, found in the compound *Here-tog*, signifying a *chieftain*, may either be Saxon, or old German, and this word Togodumnus, or Tog-y-dymnaint, *the prince of the Damnonii*, have been the name given by the Germans in the Roman army to Gwydyr.

Rome, Claudius sent ¹ Vespasian to Britain, at the head of a great army, and when Vespasian with a large fleet endeavoured to land near Rhydypi (*Portus Rutupiae*) he was opposed by a numerous army, led on by Gweyrydd, and prevented from it. He therefore made for Totness, where he landed, and immediately attacked Penhwylgoed, (*Exeter*.) Gweyrydd as soon as he was informed of this, made for Exeter, and on the seventh day arrived there, and commenced a bloody but unsuccessful battle, in which he was overpowered by the number of the Romans. But by the intervention of the Queen, who came thither, peace was made between them; after which they went together to London, from whence they sent parties and commanders from both armies to subdue ² Ireland. And when the winter was over, Vespasian departed for Rome, having previously sworn Gweyrydd to perpetual fealty to the Romans. ³ Gweyrydd at his death was buried at Gloucester in a “⁴ temple” built by Claudius Cæsar.

¹ The British history gives the names with which the Britons were most acquainted. Plantius was at this time Proprator; but Vespasian was the most actively engaged as general, and is said to have fought no less than thirty battles with the Britons. This sufficiently displays the noble spirit of the latter.

² This is not improbable, Tacitus informs us, that while Agricola was in Britain, Ireland was visited; and Juvenal says, *Littera Juvernæ promovimus arma quid ultra, &c.* Sat. 2d.

³ Here a chasm occurs in the Welsh history, which extends from the year after Claudius came into Britain to the time of Domitian. This may be easily accounted for by the disastrous circumstances of the Britons in these times; and the calamities and destruction of the greater part, pro-

bably of the bards and druids. Some remains however of the history of these times are still found in the Triads, and in pedigrees, particularly as to the family of the truly great Caractacus. As these have been detailed in the Essay on the early History of the Britons, it is not necessary to add more upon them here.

⁴ The original says, *in the monastery built by Claudius*. But the other copies read, *in a temple*, as it certainly should be. The custom of giving the names of their times, instead of the ancient names, is so common to ancient writers and copyists, as to need no farther observation here, than that the monastery is marked by it, to have been erected on the site of a Roman temple, which appears to have been frequently the use as to the christian churches.

On the death of Gweyrydd, his son ¹ Meurig succeeded to the sovereignty; and in his time Roderic, the king of the Picts, brought a great multitude of them from ² Scythia to Britain, and seized on Albany. Meurig as soon as he heard this, collected his forces, attacked and routed them, and in the rout Roderic was slain. To those who survived, Meurig granted a settlement in Albany; but when they had settled, as they had no women there, they came and besought the Britons to give them their daughters in marriage; and, having met with a refusal, they married Irish women, and from them have the Scots descended.

When Meurig had brought the island to a state of tranquility, ³ he granted the Romans a peace, of his own free accord, and made new laws throughout his dominions, and thus rendered the remainder of his life tranquil and happy.

On the death of Meurig, his son Coel succeeded, who having had his education in Rome, and ⁴ “ been familiarised to the Roman customs

¹ If there be any one in this succession of kings, to whom the name of Arviragus can be with propriety applied, it must, as far as the name can direct, be so to this king. With the article prefixed, the name Meurig will be y-Veurig, and as some of our old writers would have expressed it, yr-Veurig, which is so near Arvirag or Arviragus as to make it highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that both names designate the same person, and the more so as the old scholiast on Juvenal calls Beli, *Arbila*. How G. M. came to metamorphose Gweyrydd into Arviragus; and Meurig into Marius, is not worth enquiry. It proves however, that his knowledge of the very history he was translating was very imperfect, and this, with many other

instances of his incorrectness and fanciful renderings, may have contributed much to the clamour raised against him. Upon his own error he has engrafted another of a memorial stone set up in Stannore, to record the victory over the Picts.

² This name seems to have been generally used for the inhabitants of the interior of the northern part of the continent.

³ That Arviragus had gained great advantages over the Romans is evident, as Langhorn observes, from the expression of Tacitus, *Perdomita Britannia, & statim amissa*. Agricola had subjected it; but immediately after his departure it was lost.

⁴ B. G. &c. This circumstance agrees perfectly with what Tacitus says of the Policy of Agricola. As part of Britain had

and manners," was attached to the Romans, and fond of their society. Hence, though he had sufficient power to withhold the tribute, he granted it freely during his life¹ "as he saw the whole world submit to them."

Coel was succeeded by his son² Lles, (*Lucius*) whose disposition resembled that of his father; and when he was established in his sovereignty, he sent to Eleutherius,³ the Bishop of Rome, to request that he would send teachers of the Christian faith, that by their learned instructions he might acquire faith in Christ. Eleutherius therefore sent two learned men, Dyvan and Fagan, who preached *Christ come in the flesh* to Lucius, and purified him, and all his subjects, by holy Baptism. This done, Lucius⁴ gave the temples, which had been dedi-

been made a Roman Province, it is much more probable that it was in this Province, than in Rome itself, that Coel had been educated, and this during the time of Agricola; or he may have been sent as an hostage to Rome, and sent back, as likely, to promote the Roman interest.

¹ The success and grandeur of the Romans, aided no doubt by their artful suggestions, that they were irresistible, produced about this time a revolution in the ideas of the nations in the western extremities of the empire, who felt themselves too weak to repel them effectually. These began to look up to gradations of honour in servitude, and therefore to hold it their honour to be subject to the greatest power, rather than any other. It is a part of the history of the human mind. *Langhorn*, but on what authority I know not, makes the life of Coel to have extended 289 years.

² Lles or Lucius is well known as the king to whom the first introduction of Christianity into Britain has been so sedulously ascribed, though erroneously. It

may however very well be, and from the authority of Nennius it may be admitted, that he did send to Rome for Christian teachers; to which he may have been excited by the idea of the superiority attached to Rome itself, and which the Church of Rome began at a very early period to arrogate to itself. The epistle ascribed to him is too impudent a forgery to merit animadversion.

³ The other copies and G. M. have made a *Pope of the Bishop* of Rome, as might naturally be expected. That he retains the primitive appellation in this copy is a proof of its particular claim to attention.

⁴ The heathen temples on the subversion of heathenism were in general converted into churches. So far is true, but it was not till then. In the beginning of the reign of Constantine, the Christians assembled in the open air, they had *no* temples, and they worshiped *no* saints. This our historian was probably ignorant of, and following the traditions of his time, has with an unsparing hand given to the name

ated to false Gods, to be consecrated in the name of the Almighty and his saints, and made several ordinances for the maintenance of religious worship. At that time there were ¹thirty Sacerdotal Presidencies and three superior ones in Britain. These three were in the three principal cities, viz. London, York and Caerleon on Uske. When the districts they were to govern were assigned to them, that of York comprehended Deira and Bernicia, and all the country north of the Humber; that of London, Loegria and Cornwall, as far as the Severn; and that of Caerleon, Wales, from the Severn upwards, and a superiority over the other two. All of these were endowed by the king.

He died at Gloucester, and was buried in the principal church there, A. D. 136. There were in his time in Britain thirty-eight heathen temples subject to three more. To each of the former, after its consecration, Lucius assigned a Bishop; and to each of the other three an Archbishop in the cities above mentioned. Lles having died childless, ² party tumults arose between the Britons and Romans.

of Lucius the credit of the establishment of Christianity in all the instances mentioned; though they must have been the work of a long time, and successive exertions. For this the same apology must be made as in other similar cases. The traditions of troublous times are always liable to mistakes.

¹ The *Flamens* and *Archiflamens* of Geoffrey of Monmouth have been ridiculed with great and unmerited severity. The Welsh copies of the Brut agree in the general purport, that there was a dignified order of priesthood among the heathen Britons, one of which presided in each of the thirty residences which were afterwards made episcopal sees, and that three of a higher order and more extensive jurisdiction had their residences at London,

York, and Carleon, and that their offices had a resemblance as to rank and superintendence to those of bishops and archbishops. In this he is right. Whether he might not have chosen more appropriate denominations is not worth considering. From what is said of them, it is probable that there was one in each of the principal cities, and I am inclined to think that the present Dioceses differ very little from the districts of the Pagan pontifical orders, whether in Britain or in other countries.

² From this observation it seems most probable, that Coel and Lles enjoyed the name, at least of sovereignty, according to the known policy of the Romans; to whom the national king was useful, by screening

¹ As soon as the Roman Senate was informed of the tumults in Britain, it sent Severus, a Roman senator with two legions, who soon after his arrival, subjected the greatest part of the Britons. The rest fled beyond Deira and Bernicia, with ² Julian at their head, and their frequent encounters so irritated the general, that he directed a dike faced by a stone wall, to be made between Deira and Albania, from sea to sea, to oppose the Britons. Having so done, he determined to subdue the whole island. Julian feeling the inequality of the contest, went to Scythia, from whence the Scots, who had joined Julian, had come to Britain, and from thence brought back with him all the youth of that country, and immediately attacked York. Here he was joined by the greatest part of the Britons, for they forsook Severus as soon as the enterprise of Julian was known. Severus also brought together all his forces, and a severe battle ensued, in which Julian was mortally wounded, and Severus himself was killed, and ³ buried at York.

their agency from the eyes of the people. When Lucius died childless, they were obliged to come forward themselves and tumults naturally followed.

¹ Here a second chasm in the history occurs, and the transactions of about eighty years are omitted.

It is also worthy of notice, that in this history the Emperors are always represented as acting by the order of the Senate; and probably they suffered it to be so understood, as to any acts of severity. This policy would throw the odium on a distant authority, and enable them to claim the merit of lenity, if any were shewn, to themselves.

² *Fulgenius* G. M. The Welsh copies read *Sylien*, that is *Julian*, or *Julianus*, which has at least the advantage of being

a name in use at the time. "According to Hector Boethius he was a Briton of noble birth, being descended from royal ancestry; according to Fordun he was an Albanian chieftain. He appears to have been a prince of the Maatae." *Langhorne*, *Antiq. Abb.* p. 176, who in this instance has by a mistake, added on the authority of G. M. that Julian was brother in law to Severus. But G. M. has nothing of this.

³ Of this, *Spartianus* says, there were different accounts, some reporting that his body was burned there, and the ashes sent in an urn to Rome; others that the body itself was sent thither. The funeral ceremonies appear however to have been celebrated at York.

Severus left two sons, Bassianus and Geta. The mother of Geta was a ¹ Roman, but the mother of Bassianus was of ² British origin. The Romans therefore on the death of Severus made ³ Geta their king for his mother's sake, and the Britons made Bassianus their king because of his mother's British descent. Hence a quarrel arose between the brothers, in which Geta was killed, and Bassianus took the whole of the government in his own hands.

⁴ *At this time* there was a young man of the name of Caron, of a British family, but of low degree, who having distinguished himself in many engagements, went to Rome, and solicited the Senate to grant him permission and aid to protect the sea coasts of Britain, against the attempts of foreign nations, and pointed out immense advantages to result from their assent to his request. This after some deliberation was granted, ⁵ "but with the condition that no Briton should be molested." Caron thus assured, returned to Britain, and collecting the strength of Britain, put to sea; and taking various courses, and entering different ports, his violence and rapine, and

¹ She was in reality a Syrian. But this degree of accuracy is more than could well be expected here.

² Her name was Marcia, according to Spartianus, who notices a curious trait in the character of Severus, with respect to her, viz. that he omitted her name in the history of his private life, and afterwards erected statues to her memory.

³ Geta appears to have been justly the greater favorite with the Roman soldiery.

⁴ If the outline of this part of the history be compared with Nennius, it will be evident that the succession of those only who were deemed sovereigns of Britain, is followed, and the interval between the times of Severus and Carausius, about eighty years, passed over alike by both. The words *At this time* must therefore either be an inter-

polation, or refer to somewhat omitted. If the former, it may be by a mistake founded on the repetition of the name of Bassianus. That the person intended here by the name of Caron is Carausius, both the description here given of him, and the order in which he is mentioned by Nennius, put it beyond a doubt. The only difficulty is as to the name *Bassianus*. It certainly may be an error of the copyist. But as Eutropius says, that Maximian was obliged, after several battles, to make peace with Carausius, it may be conjectured that, in some of these wars, a Roman General of the name of Bassianus had been slain, and that this Bassianus has been confounded with the son of Severus by our author.

⁵ Omitted by B. T.

the ravages he committed with fire and sword, spread terror wherever he went. Those also who had no other resource flocked to him in such multitudes, that he had a force which set him above fear. Thus elevated by success, he sent and proposed to the Britons that they should make him their king, promising, if they did, that he would drive the Romans out of Britain, restore their freedom, and defend them from every foreign power. The Britons, with these hopes, and also having noted that he had done no injury to Britain, agreed to his proposal, and Caron, having received their answer, joined them with a large army. Bassianus also with an army of Romans and Picts, marched against and engaged him; but in the heat of the battle the Picts joined Caron; Bassianus was killed, and the Romans completely put to the route. Caron having thus obtained the victory, settled the Picts in Scotland, where they remain.

When the Roman Senate heard that Caron was elected king, and that he withheld the tribute, it was greatly irritated, and dispatched ¹ Allectus with three legions to Britain; who coming to an engagement with Caron, overpowered him by numbers. The death of Caron in the battle, which was hard fought, exposed the Britons to great severities, and they were oppressed and slaughtered without mercy.

By this means Allectus became ² king, but such was his cruelty, that the Britons, unable to support it, chose ³ Asclepiodotus, Earl of

¹ Aurelius Victor calls Allectus *the associate of Carausius*; and Langhorn therefore takes it for granted, that the account given of him in this history must be a fiction. But it is very possible that Allectus may have been sent by the Romans into Britain, have joined Carausius in the hope of attaining the supreme power, and assassinated Carausius to secure it. There is

nothing in all this inconsistent with the practises of the times, and the very scanty history of them affords room enough for the supposition. Allectus may have been sent over by Maximian.

² That is, had a sovereign authority or power.

³ Alysgapitulus, B. T.

Cornwall for their king, and under his command marched to London. Allectus, who, when they approached the town, was sacrificing to his national Gods, broke off the ceremony, and sallied out to attack them; but his troops after a severe engagement were routed, and himself with many thousands were slain. Hereupon Livius Gallus shut the gates of the city, and endeavoured to keep it, but Asclepiodotus and the Britons invested it, and sent advice of this to the several chieftains of the island, and solicited their aid. This summons brought thither the men of North and South Wales, and of those of Deira and Bernicia. The city was taken by storm, and the Romans now subject to the sword, sent to the king to intreat their lives might be spared; but whilst this was under consideration, the North Wales men fell upon them in their station, which was on a declivity over the river, and left none alive. This place is called in Welsh Nant Gallgwn, in English, Walbrook.

¹ Belysgalys, B.T This name, and the preceding, which appear in this copy only, to my knowledge, would from the authority of this Ms. induce some suspicion, that the former should be Ælius Capitolinus, and the latter Belus Gallus, did not the circumstances of the narrative agree so nearly in general with the ostentations panegyric of Eumenes. Langhorn, to whose industry I am obliged for several references, and who appears to have been rather puzzled, how to reconcile the Roman account with the British, as given by Geoffrey, has overlooked a very material expression of the Panegyrist. Speaking of the expedition of Constantius against Allectus he says, *Statim atque ad litus illud—appuleras, obviussese majestati tuæ triumphus effudit.* If then *victory met him immediately after his landing*, he could have had but a very small share in the engagements with Allectus. The probability is, that Asclepiodotus commanded

in all the engagements, at least it is so from the British account of them. This account stiles Asclepiodotus *Earl*, that is, governor or superintendent of Cornwall; and, as no one unacquainted with the island would, on such an occasion, have had such a command, it is very probable he might have been previously stationed there in some such capacity, and not disliked by the Britons. If so, they would have been happy to join him, even in the hope of better treatment, against one of the savage character of Allectus; those of the Roman province especially, who considering it as a British cause, or wishing to make it so, appear to have given the epithet of Roman on this occasion, exclusively to the partizans of Allectus; whose force, partly Roman, and partly perhaps of other nations, merited fully the appellation of *barbarians*, which the Rhetorician gives them.

Asclepiodotus now became sovereign of the nation, and governed it for ten years.

Then followed the persecution which Dioclesian the Roman Emperor raised against the Christians, by which Christianity was nearly extirpated. For about this time Maximian Herculius by his order came into Britain, and destroyed the Churches, burned the holy Scriptures, and put the Christian clergy and laity to cruel deaths. In this persecution died Alban of Verulam, and his friend Aaron of Caerleon.

“ After this, Coel, surnamed Coedhebawg, Earl of Gloucester, arose against Asclepiodotus, and having begun a war, soon slew him; in consequence whereof Constantius, a Roman Senator, who had already been engaged in the reduction of Spain, came to Britain, to carry on a war against Coel. But when Constantius had appointed a day for the commencement of hostilities, and manifested his wish to engage, a peace was suddenly concluded. Five weeks after this event Coel died, having reigned ten years.

Constantius afterwards married Helen, surnamed *the Prosperous*,¹ the only daughter of Coel, a lady of unrivalled beauty, and by her had a son, called Constantine. Constantius died after a reign of eleven years, and was buried at York.

¹ The other copies are more diffuse, and certainly less correct, in detailing the accomplishments of Helen. If the decision of Mr. Gibbon, that Helen was not born in Britain, were to be admitted, it may surely be asked, how has it happened that such a tradition should become perfectly national? or is not such a tradition as likely to be accurate as that of the historians, whose authority he adopts, especially when it is singular? Is it not also confirmed by the subsequent attachment of the Britons to the family of Constantius? Mr. G.

thinks that the word *oriendo*, used by the Panegyrist, may be referred to Constantine's accession; but he has given no instance of such use of the word, and perhaps could not give one. He has also omitted the following passage addressed by Eumenius to Constantine himself.

O! fortunata, & nunc omnibus beatior terris Britannia, quæ Constantinum prima vidisti. Merito te omnibus cæli ac soli bonis natura donavit.—Dii boni, quid hoc est, quod semper ex aliquo *supremo fine mundi*, nova Deum numina universo orbi

This Constantine, with his three uncles, (the brothers of his mother) Llewelyn, Trahaern, and Meurig, conquered Rome, and Maxentius the cruel. And this Trahaern returned with three legions to recover Britain from ¹ Eudaf, the Earl of Erging, and ² Euas, and landed at Caerberis, (*Portchester*.) The next day Eudaf came to Maes Urien, (*the field of battle of Urien*) near Winchester, where he gained the first battle. Trahaern was thus compelled to flight, and betaking himself to his ships, he sailed to Albany, where he landed and renewed the war; defeated Eudaf, and pursuing him, forced him to leave the kingdom. Eudaf therefore fled to ³ Godbert, king of Scandinavia to implore his aid.⁴ “Trahaern therefore proceeded to reduce the island under the Roman power,” and in the mean time Eudaf sent to urge his friends in Britain to compass the death of Trahaern. The Earl of ⁵ the Strong-Castle therefore with an hundred horsemen, lay in wait for Trahaern in a glen, through which he was to pass, and suddenly slew him when he entered it. Eudaf now assumed the sove-

descendant.—Sic Mercurius a Nilo—Liber ab Indis—se gentibus ostendēre præsentes. *Eumenius in Panegyry.*

Fortunate Britain! now the happiest of all countries, that thou didst first behold Constantine. Justly has nature endowed thee with every advantage of clime and soil. Whence, ye Gods, is it, that new deities always come to us from some EXTREME LIMIT of the earth? thus Mercury made his presence visible from the Nile—Bacchus from India.

These compliments cannot be well reconciled to any other idea than that of Constantine's birth in Britain. Had the Panegyrist intended them of his accession to the people, the word *prima vidisti* alone would be far from intimating it. In fact they

convey merely the idea of Britain having been the country that first saw Constantine himself. This is confirmed by the references to the births of Mercury and Bacchus, and still more by the manner in which the Panegyrist labours to extol Britain; a labour hardly necessary or intelligible, unless in compliment to the place of his hero's birth.

¹ Of the Eudaf G.M. makes an Octavius, and I imagine he is right.

² Erging and Euas are two small districts (Hundreds) of Monmouthshire.

³ Gombert, G. M.

⁴ B. G.

⁵ *Strong mountain*, B. G. a municipal town, G. M. where I know not.

reignty of Britain, and so attached his followers to himself, by gratuities in money, horses, and arms, that no other king would have found it an easy undertaking to contend with him. Thus Eudaf maintained his power to ¹ the time of the two Roman Emperors, Gratian and Valentinian. About this time, Eudaf having only one daughter, whose name was Helen, to inherit after his death, summoned a council of his nobles in order to consult them as to the disposal of this daughter in marriage, and also of the government of the kingdom.²

Some part of his council advised him to confer the government on his Nephew, Cynan Meiriadawg, his brother's son, and to bestow his daughter with an affluent portion on some foreign prince. Others advised that the princess and kingdom should be given to him who was to rule the island. But Caradoc, the Earl of Cornwall, said, 'As we are under the Roman Senate, my advice is, that you look to Rome, and chuse ³ Maximus the Great, who is son to Llewelyn, the brother of Helen the Prosperous, and whose mother was the daughter of a Roman Senator; for thus, by giving your daughter to him, the power of the Senate will enable us to defend ourselves against foreigners.' This course was adopted, and Caradoc sent his son Meurig to Rome. It was seldom that Romans were upon good terms with all the provinces,

¹ The occurrences in Britain of about fifty years are therefore compressed into the few noticed by our author.

² In this part of the original there is a peculiar use of several terms used in the Welsh, such as *prins* for *princeps*, instead of *Twysog*. *Pedestric* for *the infantry*, &c. a species of Latinised Welsh which I am induced to suspect is copied from the original manuscript, rather than translated back into Welsh from the Latin. A Latinised Welsh prevails in the old Welsh poems from the fifth to the ninth century, but it does not appear afterwards, except in a very few words.

³ Langhorne has strangely mistaken this Maximus, (who having killed Gratian, became the tyrant of Gaul, and was slain by Theodosius) for the Maximus who with Severus was created Caesar by Galerius. G. M. and Nennius have also mistaken him for Maximian. As the Welsh name is *Maxen*, which may signify either Maximus or Maximian. In A. D. 410, a century had passed since the accession of Constantine, and Maximus however related to Llewelyn could not well be his son.

“and when Meurig arrived in Rome, ² three emperors were striving for the superiority, without being able to agree upon a division of power;” Meurig noticing this, observed to Maximus, that he was surprised he should bear with the other two. How, said Maximus, can I avoid it? to which Meurig replied, come with me to Britain, marry Helen; the daughter of Eudaf, with whom the government of Britain will be yours, and possessed of this power you will be irresistible.³

To this Maximus agreed, and having collected ships, sailed to Gaul, which he forced to submit to him, and to pay a large contribution in money. Soon after, word was brought to the British king, that a fleet was in sight of the coast, whose destination was unknown. Eudaf therefore commissioned Cynan to collect the British youth, and oppose the foreigners. Cynan did so, and advanced to the hills of Kent, with a large force, and Maximus seeing such a force so apparently ready to oppose them, hastily sought Meurig, and in displeasure demanded an explanation. However, after some consideration, which the case required, they sent twelve persons of the most advanced age, and greatest prudence, in a boat to land, and each bearing an olive branch, in token of peace, they went to Cynan and informed him that Maximus had brought a message to the British king. Cynan then asked why he had brought so great a force, if his intent was peaceable? to which it was answered, that it was to protect him on his voyage. Cynan however, notwithstanding this plea, insisted on opposing Maximus, lest he himself should lose the sovereignty; but ⁴Caradoc the Earl

¹ Omitted, but evidently requisite to the sense in the text.

² Perhaps the three emperors referred to here may have been Valens, Valentinian, and Gratian, who reigned all at the same time for a while.

³ According to Zosimus, Maximus was invited to Britain by the army, and came *by sea*.

⁴ This Caradoc was probably the father of Cynan Meiniadawg.

of Cornwall, advised him at all events to suffer them to proceed; and accordingly they went to the king, who, accompanied by his daughter Helen, then held his court at Carnarvon. The nuptials of Maximus and Helen were speedily celebrated,¹ and ²Maximus thus obtained the sovereignty. As soon as Cynan knew it,³ he departed for Albany, where he levied an army, then crossed the Humber, and began to ravage the country, but was met by Maximus, driven back, and obliged to fly to Scandinavia. From thence he returned, when Maximus had retired, and was about to recommence hostilities; but peace was concluded between them, and they agreed to make their views a common cause.

The fifth year after this, Maximus and Cynan went to Gaul, where they slew ⁴Hymblat the chief of the Gauls; Maximus then told Cynan, that as he had deprived him of Britain, he would give him Armorica. This was the first time the Britons went to settle there, and from this time it has been called Little Britain.

Maximus went from thence to ⁵Rouen in Normandy, and the Gauls fled before him, deserting both their forts and towns. He then proceeded towards Rome, to carry on a war against Gratian and Valentinian, the Roman emperors, and soon ⁶killed Gratian, and drove Valentinian from Rome.

¹ There still exists a fabulous story in the Welsh language which relates to this circumstance. It is called *The Dream of Maximus*.

² *Viz. that Maximus had obtained Helen and the sovereignty.* For Cynan expected that the latter would devolve upon himself.

³ Hence it seems that Cynan's territory lay in Albany.

⁴ Ymbelt, B. G. Imbelt, G. O. Imbelt, Ms. B.

⁵ The Archdeacon here, as every where else, uses the names familiar in his time.

⁶ Gratian was killed, and though not by the hand of Maximus, by his means, which is all the text imports.

At this time there were frequent battles between the Armorican Britons and the Gauls, and when this had been long the case, these Britons were desirous of having eligible wives, and therefore sent to the Earl of Cornwall, who had been left to defend Britain, to request that he would send over ¹ eleven hundred of the daughters of ² men of rank of Britain, and sixty of the daughters of foreigners, and servants. The number of virgins having been collected and embarked, they set sail, but an adverse wind arising, scattered their ships, and sunk some. Two of the ships dispersed were seized on the Gallic coast by Gwnwas and Melwas, who were then at sea with crews from Germany, in support of Gratian; and these men having been informed by the virgins that Britain was drained of troops, changed their course, and made for Britain. This ³ Gwnwas was a king of

¹ Though I have not disturbed the text, the following extract from Ms. A. is certainly more eligible and more probable.

“Dunawd was at this time king of Cornwall, and to him Maximus had committed the defence of the island. This Dunawd had a beautiful daughter, of whom Cynan was enamoured, and therefore sent to request her for his wife, and that a large number of British women might be sent over with her.” Now, if as it is possible her name was Emillia. Y FVNDEGEMILLIA, will signify *the beautiful woman* Emillia; from whence it was not difficult to elicit VNDECIM MILLIA. But as tradition says, that her name was *Ursula*, in Welsh *Ursul* or *Ursil*, perhaps the difficulty may be solved more satisfactorily another way. *Eleven thousand* is in Welsh *Un fit a deg. Ursil and ten* would be *Ar tit a deg*. The former might easily in an old Ms. be read for the latter; but though the martyrology may suffer by it, the latter may be considered

as the true reading. Her name ought of course to be found in the history. It would be absurd to send eleven thousand ladies of rank with only sixty attendants. But thus correcting the text, we have *Ursula, ten ladies of rank, and sixty attendants*. Nothing is said of their deaths in this copy, or G. O. In all the other copies in the Archaology, this tale has received ample embellishments.

² Literally *who were not subject to military levies*, and therefore noble.

³ The Huns, Alans, and Goths were at this time commencing their career on the borders of the eastern empire, and Gratian who was partial to their manners, had by a large bounty attached some (Paulus Diaconus, and Aur. Victor, say *a few*) Alans to himself, and his partiality to them, by giving umbrage to his army, was the cause of his death. After this event it is very probable, that his favorite Alans, and many more of his partizans, had no resource but in piracy. If, as it should

the Huns, and Melwas was a king of the Pictavians, and these two, having sailed to the north of Britain, landed and destroyed the inhabitants wheresoever they went. And when Maximus, then in Rome, heard of it, he sent two legions under Gratian Municeps to defend Britain, by whom, after several bloody engagements, Gwnwas and Melwas were obliged to fly to Ireland.

About this time Maximus was killed, as were also the Britons that were of his party, except the infantry, who took refuge in Armorica. And Gratian (*Municeps*) when he heard of the death of Maximus, assumed to himself the sovereignty of Britain, which he exercised¹ for (*no*) long time, but with great cruelty towards the Britons. He

seem, Gratian's partiality was that arising from a love of novelty and singularity, or from the idea of safety with a guard of foreigners; the same motive would induce him to wish to exhibit Huns also in his train. This our author asserts that he did, and if so, they must have shared the fate of the Alans.

As to the names Gwnwas and Melwas, I suspect that the Welsh translator has mistaken general for proper names. The name *Gwnwas* seems to be merely a corruption of *Hun-wys*, or as it is sometimes written, *Chun-wys*, and properly *Khan-wys*, that is, the *Khanians*, or subjects of Khan. Perhaps Melwas is also a corruption of *Alan-wys*, that is *the Alans*. Such a corruption (though the conjecture has, I own, no other foundation than what the attachment of Gratian to the Alans may afford) is not more unlikely than that in the name *Hudibras* already noticed. If these conjectures be admitted, the sense of the passage will be that under the conduct of the Huns and Alans, who had been Gratian's favorites; his partizans, after his death, harassed Britain, and the continued

recurrence of the names for so long a time may be accounted for as those of parties in the war. If they are proper names, the former must mean simply *Khan-was*, that is, *a subject or servant of the Khan*, and as to the latter, unless it has a relation to the Frankish names, Melo or Melbodugus, I can form no other reasonable conjecture.

¹ The original reads, *for a long time*. But this should certainly be *for no long time*. As the following testimonies will prove.

Apud Britannias Gratianus (Municeps) tyrannus mox creatus occiditur.

Paulus Diaconus, lib. 12. vide Zosim, lib. 6.

In Britain Gratian ascending the throne, is soon killed.

Τεσσαρεσι υστερον μπει παραλυσαλιεσ ανακρουσι, Κωνσταντω παραδουλεσ την βασιλειαν.

Zosimus, p. 371. ed. Oxon.

They deposed and killed him (Gratian) at the end of four months, and transferred the sovereignty to Constantine.

was at last killed by his own partizans. The intelligence of his death having reached Gwnwas and Melwas, they collected Norwegians, Danes, Scots and Picts, and at the head of these ravaged Britain, with fire and sword from sea to sea, and slaughtering the natives. The Britons finding themselves unable to oppose them, solicited the aid of the Romans, and obtained a legion under the command of ¹ Severus, which soon marched against the enemy, and drove them out of their boundaries, and then the Britons and Romans by common consent and their joint labour, built up the stone wall, which separates Deira from the north country,² “and which Severus had built,” to impede the incursions of the foreigners in future.

Upon their return to London, the Romans desired Cyhelin to inform the Britons that they would now give up their tribute, as it cost them more in men and money to defend the island, than they ever gained from it. This declaration called forth³ a piteous cry

The difference which causes the errors is no greater in the Welsh than that in the English expressions. The other copies say nothing of the duration of his reign.

¹ I have not been able to discover any general of this name about this time, unless it could be *Libius Severus*, on whom the Senate, at the command of Ricimer, bestowed the title of Emperor of the West, about A. D. 461. Mr. Gibbon says of him that “history has scarcely deigned to notice his birth, his elevation, his character or his death.” *Rom. Empire*, vol. 5. p. 184. ed. 8vo. London.

As the legion was recalled A. D. 403, Severus must, if the same person, have been very old when he received his imperial title. He died six years after.

The other copies do not mention the name of the commander of the legion.

² Mss. A and B.

³ It is remarkable that, in every addition made to this part of the history by the monkish writers, in the later copies, the situation and conduct of the Britons is made more deplorable, and their dependence on the Romans exaggerated. This was in part policy, but more in malice, because the Britons strenuously opposed the Church of Rome. Zosimus however represents their conduct, about A. D. 408, viz. after the death of Constantine, very differently. His words are these:

‘Οι τε ουν εκ της Βρετανικης οπλα ενδυνεις, σφων αυτων προκινδυνευσαντες, ηλευθερωσαν τον επικειμενον Βαρβαρων τας πολεις, και ο Αρμοριχος ατας και εις α. Γαλαων επαρχια Βρετανους μιμησμενικη, και α τον ισον σφας ηλευθερωσαν τροπον. εκβλλονται μεν τους Ρωμαιους αρχοντας, οικειον δε και εξουσιασιν πολιτευμα καθισασαι

Zosimus, p. 331, ed. Oxon, 1679.

of the multitude, who thus found themselves deprived of succour. The Romans however betook themselves to their ships and returned home,¹ “and Cyhelin having assembled the Britons, addressed them thus:

The information which I am enjoined to communicate, is such as my tears are more ready than my words to impart. Bitterly do I lament the state of weakness and insecurity in which Maximus has left our country. By him we have been deprived of all our warriors, and you, who have remained here, wholly employed as you have been, in commerce or agriculture, have been but little acquainted with war. Hence, when the enemy came, you were scattered as sheep without a shepherd, till the Romans came to protect you. But is it ever to be thus? How long will you look to the Roman power for aid, and depend on foreigners, not more courageous than yourselves, if you suffer not your spirit to be depressed by inactivity? You are now to know that the Romans are weary of protecting you, and repent them of their labours. They prefer a remission of the tribute to further interference. What think you would have been the public feeling here, in such a case, when Britain was a land of warriors? and now—Is the order of nature changed?—a lord may be father to a vassal,

The Britons took up arms, and facing the danger, freed their towns from the attacks of the Barbarians; and then all Armorica, and the other Gallic governments following the example of the Britons, set themselves free in like manner; and having expelled the Roman governors, settled their own form of government, as well as they were able.

¹ The Guithelinus of G. M. As his name is given simply, he probably was not, though the other copies say he was,

Archbishop of London. The speech attributed to him on this occasion, in the copies B. G. Ms. A. and B. is such as may well have been recorded, and has every appearance of authenticity, as far truth of feeling can give it. The ideas, the spirit, and the eloquence of language are so far superior to those of the writers of the Brut, as to exempt them from all suspicion of having composed an address, which gives so fine an impression of the character of Cyhelin.

or the vassal to a lord; and if so, do they lose the natural privileges of man? As then, you are men; act as it becomes men to act. Invoke the aid of Christ, and he will give you a spirit to rise superior to your enemies, and to secure freedom to yourselves."

When the departure of the Romans was known to Gwnwas and Melwas, they assembled the greatest force they were able, landed in Albany, and renewed the war with the Britons, and ravaged the country as far as the Humber. The Britons being unable to repel the enemy, sent to implore the assistance of Gittius, ¹ (*Ægidius*) the Roman General, against their enemies. But the Roman Senate, having heard their petition, refused to comply with it, and ² renounced the tribute.

As the Britons were now hopeless of aid from the Romans, they sent Cyhelin, the Archbishop of London to solicit assistance from Aldor, ³ "the son of Cynvawr," the king of Brittany, who was the fourth in succession from Cynan Meiriadawg. When Cyhelin had

¹ *Agytyus*, B. G. *Agitius*, G. M. and Ms. A. *Agicius*, M. B. This must be *Ægidius*. "He was master general of Gaul."

² Ὁνορίου γραμμασι προς τους Βρεττανους χρησαμενου πολεις φυλαττεσθαι παραγγελουσι.

Zosimus, p. 381.

Honorius wrote in answer to the British cities, to exhort them to defend themselves. This was about A. D. 411. The British cities had therefore applied to him for assistance.

³ If a few only of the transactions which intervened from the death of Gratian Municeps to this time are recorded in this history, it must be attributed to the troubled state of the times. Yet those, which are mentioned, occur in due order, which may

be shewn thus. Cynan Meriadawg and Maximus were contemporaries, and went together to Gaul, A. D. 383; and when the Archbishop Cyhelin went to Armorica, he found Ardor the Fourth in succession from Cynan on the throne, and returned with Constantine, Ardor's brother, who having reigned twelve years in Britain, was succeeded by Vortigern, A. D. 446; consequently the reign of this Constantine began A. D. 434, and 51 years after the death of Gratian Municeps; a sufficient length of time for the successions to Cynan.

To supply in some degree the deficiency of the history of this period, in the account of it given by our author, the following circumstances are given here from Mr. Gibbon's History.

laid the circumstances before him, Aldor was much grieved for them, and granted an aid of two thousand men at arms, giving the command to his brother ¹Constantine, who set sail as soon as vessels for them could be got ready, and landed at Totness in Lloegria.

As soon as Gwnwas and Melwas were informed of their arrival, they prepared and set forward to meet them, many battles were fought, and in the event, Constantine being completely victorious over his enemies, went to Caer Vudau ²(*Cirencester*) where he assumed the sovereignty of the kingdom, and married ³a lady who was the daughter of a Roman chieftain, and had been educated by Cyhelin.

- A. D. 383 Maximus revolts.
 383—403 The Britons repair the Wall of Severus.
 403 The legion is withdrawn from Britain.
 407 Constantine (*not the brother of Ardor*) revolts in Britain.
 409 The Britons assemble in arms, repel the invaders, and establish their own independence.
 411 Constantine is killed.
 411—446 It may be inferred, even from the reproaches of the spurious Gildas, that previous to the arrival of the Saxons, there was a period of considerable prosperity in Britain, because he represents their coming as a punishment for the *luxury* of the Britons; and it is probable, that when they had established their independence, they did enjoy its blessings according to their value, though it does not follow that the representation of that enjoyment by an enemy is true. It seems to have continued under the care of a governor who did not assume a legal title, from A. D.

409, to A. D. 434, and that then the Scots and Picts became more troublesome, and the aid of the Romans, if the army in Gaul can be considered as such, or that of the Armoricans, became necessary:

¹ This Constantine, from the similarity of some circumstances, has been confounded with the former, who died A. D. 411. It is not impossible that the sons of both the Constantines may have been monks. Orosius, Jornandes, and others affirm it of the first Constans, but still, considering the sudden rise of the first Constantine, the shortness of his reign, and that his son Constans was engaged in his father's wars, it is more probable, that these authors have related of the first Constans, what was true only of the second.

That Cynan went to Gaul with Maximus is also asserted by the Triads, and the circumstance is recorded as one of the *three disastrous expeditions*.

² *Cirencester*, Ms. A. and B.

³ Here it is important to observe, that many Roman families remained in Britain, and seem to have constituted a Clau which subsisted for some time.

By her Constantine had three sons, Constans, Emrys, (*Ambrosius*) and Uther-pen-dragon. This Constans was educated in the monastery of Amphibalus at Winchester, and the other two were committed to the tuition of Cyhelin. Constantine governed the kingdom successfully and without disturbance for ¹ twelve years; when a Pict addressing him under the pretence of business, stabbed him, and he died of the wound.

¹ Ten years, B. G.

He had constant and the sons of Constantine (Admirals)
 and the other nobles of the kingdom were educated in the monastery
 of Amphibolus at West-Eden, and the other two were committed to
 the tuition of Gylfius. Constantine returned to the kingdom peacefully
 and without disturbance for he was met with a fair reception
 from under the protection of his father's subjects, and he did not
 the world.

The end of the world.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

*From the Invasion by the Saxons, to the death of Cadwallader;
the last Welsh Sovereign.*

THE death of Constantine gave rise to a contention between the chiefs as to a successor, some of them wishing to elect Uther, and others one of their own kindred. At length, as there appeared but little hopes of their agreement, Vortigern, surnamed Gwrthenau,¹ “lord of Erging and Enas,” one of the council, and whose opinion was of the highest authority, asserted that no other than one of the sons of Constantine had a right to it. Constans the eldest was at this time a monk, and the other two were under age. Vortigern therefore went to the monk, and enquired of him what honours he might expect, if he made him king. The monk answered, that ²Vortigern should have the whole conduct of the state. Vortigern therefore, notwithstanding the opposition of the Abbot, took Constans out of the monastery, and made him king.

³“Vortigern himself set the crown on his head,” and was in return made superintendent of the whole island. ⁴“This was exactly to

¹ B. G. &c.

² And confirmed it by an oath. B. G. Ms. A. and G. M.

³ This circumstance is so conformable to

the character of Vortigern, as to require admission, when it has the authorities of B. G. Ms. B. and G. M.

⁴ B. G.

the wish of the weak mind of Constans, and moreover what he had learned in the cloister was not how to govern a kingdom."

When some time had elapsed, Vortigern conceived the design of making himself king by treasonable means, and having laid down his plan, he informed the king that a foreign fleet, whose destination was unknown, was at sea, and that it would therefore be necessary to garrison the castles, and stock them with provisions. The king desired him to do what he thought best, as he had given him the superintendence of every thing. Vortigern, thus answered, inspected every fort personally,¹ "and placed confidential friends of his own in them, and provided them for three years." He then appointed a guard of fourscore Picts of the best families, and most approved courage, to ride out with the king,² "under the pretext that in case of a war, they might be detained as hostages. At the same time by gifts, and the ease of their service he attached them to himself."³ "And these Picts, in their drunken revels, sung songs, in which Constans was represented as contemptible, and Vortigern as the only one fit to reign."

In this train the plan had proceeded for some time, when one night, the king having retired to his bed, Vortigern complained to the Picts of his inability to be of essential service to them, and added that, had he the power, they should enjoy the highest honours he could confer. To this they retorted, why not? was not he king? to which he replied, that he was not king, he had only the small territory of Erging and Euas. Having said so, he immediately retired to rest. When he was gone they went to the king's chamber, cut off his head, and brought it to Vortigern, saying, take this, and now, if you will, be king. Vortigern shed some dissembling tears, and

¹ G. O.

² B. G. &c.

³ B. G.

committed the murderers to prison. And when the council was informed of the king's death, they met in London, condemned the four-score Picts to be hanged, and committed the care of the state to Vortigern, until the rightful king should be established. The Archbishop Cyhelin, when he heard of the death of the king, became apprehensive of treachery to his wards, and fled with them to Emyr king of Armorica, by whom they were joyfully received. ¹ The Picts also, when they found that their friends were hanged, began a war against Vortigern, whilst he, thinking that he had now no opposition to dread, assumed the sovereignty without the consent of the chieftains.

Vortigern having thus assumed the sovereignty, summoned the nation in general to join him, and expel the enemy. This it absolutely refused to do, and insisted on his being brought to justice for the deceit and treachery of which he had been guilty. He therefore finding this summons ineffectual, sent to invite foreigners to his aid, but in this also he was for some time disappointed, and in several contests with his opponents he was worsted. Neither was he less in danger from the Britons themselves;² "as he had heard that Uther and Ambrosius were preparing a fleet in order to attack him from Armorica," so that his situation became daily more desperate. Whilst he was thus involved in difficulties he, one day, as he was going over the hills of Kent,³ "with the intention of quitting the island," having discovered three ships of uncommon size in the channel, sent to enquire who, and whence they were, and what was their object. Their answer was, that they were from Saxony;

¹ Here a considerable portion of the history is deficient in the printed copy of B. T. and is supplied from Ms. G. O. and marked by single commas.

² Ms. B. and B. G.

³ Ms. A.

‘ that the custom of this country was; once every seven years, to
 ‘ send out a numerous body of men to seek a settlement elsewhere,
 ‘ as it could not support them; that the names of their chiefs were
 ‘ Hengist and Horsa; that for this purpose they had been selected
 ‘ a year and a half before, and had been roving about in vain for
 ‘ so long a time; and now petitioned the king to grant them a place
 ‘ to dwell in, promising their faithful adherence to him if it were
 ‘ granted. Vortigern, having heard this, sent to invite them on shore,
 ‘ and when they came to him (“¹ Hengist having mentioned Woden,”)
 ‘ he asked what God they believed in? They answered, that in their
 ‘ language his name was Woden; (which name was said by his
 ‘ interpreters to signify the heathen god Mercury) that in honour of him
 ‘ they kept the fourth day sacred, and called it Woden’s day; and
 ‘ that they had another Deity called Friga, from whose name another
 ‘ day was called Friday. ² The king having satisfied himself of their
 ‘ abilities to assist him, accepted their pledges of fidelity, and with
 ‘ them went to London. A. D. 454.

‘ When the Picts knew that Vortigern had obtained this rein-
 ‘ forcement of foreigners, they collected their powers, and marched
 ‘ against him, but were, after an engagement, severe to both parties,
 ‘ defeated, and principally by means of the Saxons. The king there-
 ‘ fore, in acknowledgment of the services of the Saxons, gave them
 ‘ a portion of land, called ³ Lindsey, to settle in. Having obtained
 ‘ this, they sent to Germany, to request that eighteen vessels filled with
 ‘ men at arms might come to their aid; and in the mean time Horsa
 ‘ and Hengist requested that Vortigern would allow them some fort

¹ B. G. and Ms. B. This is necessary to understand Vortigern’s questions.

² The expressions of concern for the Paganism of the Saxons, which the writers

of B. G. Ms. B. and G. M. here put into the mouth of Vortigern, are amusing instances of monkish zeal.

³ In Lincolnshire.

‘ or castle as a protection against their enemies. But this he said
 ‘ was so far from being in his power, that it would expose both himself
 ‘ and them to expulsion from Britain. They then requested permission
 ‘ to build such a fort only as could be inclosed by an ox-hide; and
 ‘ this being granted, they took the largest hide they could procure,
 ‘ and cut it into the finest thongs possible; with this they measured
 ‘ out the largest portion of ground they could inclose, and built their
 ‘ fort, thence called Caer y garrai, or ¹ Thongcaster.

‘ When the fort was built, the abovementioned ships arrived, and
 ‘ the Saxons also brought with them the beautiful Rowena, daughter
 ‘ to Hengist. The Saxons now thought proper to make a feast, and
 ‘ invite the king and his attendants to partake of the feast, and inspect
 ‘ the building. Here he was received with great hospitality, and at
 ‘ the conclusion of the entertainment, a most beautiful young lady
 ‘ advanced towards him from a chamber, bearing a goblet of wine
 ‘ in her hands, kneeled before him and said, *Loveyd king* ² *Wasael*.
 ‘ The king asked his interpreter what she said, and being told that
 ‘ she said Royal Sir, and bid him welcome. In return, by the in-
 ‘ struction of his interpreter, he replied, *Drink heil*. This was the
 ‘ origin of Wassail in Britain. The king soon became enamoured of
 ‘ her beauty, so that he earnestly requested Hengist to give her to him
 ‘ in marriage. To this Hengist assented, and gave her to him that
 ‘ night, and the next morning came to them to claim her bridal portion.
 ‘ The king desired him to make the demand, and he would fulfil it,
 ‘ and as Hengist requested the king to pledge himself to it by an
 ‘ oath, the king did so. Then Hengist demanded the Earldom of

¹ Now *Castor in Lincolnshire*. Camden. Supposing a hide to be six feet square, and cut into thongs of $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch, they

would extend so as to inclose a circular space of 480 yards diameter nearly.

² Perhaps the true reading would be, *Wachs heil*, i. e. *increase in health*.

‘ Kent, as it was there he had first landed; but another reason was,
 ‘ that he could there receive his countrymen in the ports without
 ‘ seeking the permission of any; and Vortigern, to fulfil his promise,
 ‘ granted it,¹ without informing either Gwrgant, the earl of Kent,
 ‘ or any other of the chiefs.’ They therefore, when they heard of
 it, were greatly irritated, as were also Cyndeyrn, Gwrthefyr, and
 Pasgen, the sons of Vortigern by his former wife.

²[In these times *Simeon (Garmon or Germanus)* a bishop, and
 his friend Lupus were preaching in Britain, and teaching the Christian
 Faith, because that since the arrival of the Pagans it had been cor-
 rupted by the erroneous and Antichristian preaching of Pelagius; but
 by the instructions of these holy men, the Britons were brought back
 to the true faith.]

Hengist therefore came to Vortigern and told him that as he
 was now his son-in-law he ought to listen to the counsels of one who
 had the title of his father. As such, said he, that you may be able to
 defend yourself against your foreign enemies³ “and your own nation,”
 my advice is that you send to Germany to invite hither my son⁴ Octa,
 and his uncle Ossa, who is a valiant warrior. Give Scotland, which
 troubles you with so many wars, up to them, and they will preserve it
 from strangers⁵ “and make you too powerful to fear opposition.” This
 advice the king adopted, and accordingly sent to Germany, and
 from thence there came⁶ three hundred ships with men at arms,

¹ Here the copy B. T. is resumed.

² The passage included in brackets is
 evidently an interpolation. This copy
 only gives the name Simeon to Germanus,
 who seems to have been a German. G. M.
 says he was Bishop of Auxerre, and that
 Lupus was Bishop of Troyes. The legend
 is in Nennius. Chap. 29, &c.

³ Ms. G. O.

⁴ *Offa*, Ms. B. *Escus*, W. Malmes-
 bury.

⁵ *Ebyssa*, B. G. *Ebissa*, Ms. A. *Ossa*,
 Ms. B. *Abisa*, Nennius.

⁶ Forty. Nennius.

under the command of Octa, Ossa, and Chledric, (*Cerdic*.) This introduction of so numerous a body into the kingdom, excited the displeasure of the British princes, so that they sent to Vortigern to insist that he should send them out of the kingdom. But so far was he from compliance, that he encouraged and supported them, and gave them wealth and landed property. The Britons therefore made Gwrthefyr (*Vortimer*) their king, and began to make war upon the Saxons, whom he defeated in four battles. The first of these was fought near the river Darwent, the second at ¹ Fishford, in which Cyndeyrn and Horsa slew each other. The third was on the seaside, after which they fled to the Isle of Thanet, whither Vortimer pursued them with great slaughter. The Saxons, thus reduced to extremities, forsook their wives and children, and fled towards their own country. Vortimer pursued them, and having again defeated them, ² returned to Britain, ³ “and distributed rewards to his followers,” and began to restore order.

But when Rowena heard of the utter destruction of the Saxons by Vortimer, she prevailed on some of his attendants, by bribery, to poison him. Vortimer perceiving that he was poisoned, sent for all the chiefs, and exhorted them earnestly to protect their country from foreigners. He then distributed his wealth among them, desired

¹ This name is a literal translation of *Rhyd y pyscod*, the name in the Welsh copy. In B. G. Ms. B. and Nennius it is written *Episford*. But Nennius says, that in the Welsh it was called *Sathne-gabail*, which seems to have been written for *Syddyn* (pronounced *Sythin*, *y ceubal*, that is, *the station of the ferry boat*). As the preceding battle was near the Darwent,

this was probably near Aylesford, on the Medway.

² This expression of this copy and Ms. G. O. intimates that Vortimer had fought a battle with the Saxons at sea, which is very probable, as it is said he fought four, and but three on land are specified.

³ G. O.

them to burn his body, and lay the ashes in a statue of copper, at the port where the foreigners landed;¹ for that, whilst they should see there an image of himself, they would never venture to approach it. The wishes of Vortimer were however² no farther attended to by the chiefs, than that he was buried in London; and Vortigern was set on the throne a second time, as they knew not where to find another capable of the station.

Vortigern's sovereignty being thus confirmed once more, Rowena sent to Germany to recal Hengist, informing him of the death of Vortimer, and also desiring him to bring with him a sufficient number of followers. Hengist, thus invited, came to Britain, with sixty sail, the number whereof so alarmed the Britons, that they again called upon the king to force them back. The Germans, when they knew this, sent to inform the King and his chief that they had come with no hostile intent, that they had not even suspected that Vortimer was dead; but supposing him still alive, had brought that number in self defence. As he was dead, they requested that the king would appoint a time and place, where it might be determined between them what number should be permitted to remain, and that then the rest should return to their own country. A meeting was consequently appointed, to take place on May day, on the large plain of the³ Cymry⁴ "near Ambresbury" with the precaution that no one should be armed, lest any contention should arise between the parties. But Hengist with his usual treachery desired each of his friends to take with him a long

¹ Nennius mentions only that Vortimer wished his tomb to be erected there. The spirit of Vortimer, like that of Zisca, seems to have looked to triumphs in the grave.

² One of the Triads already quoted mentions this interment of Vortimer, and the idea of fatality which was annexed to the repose of his remains.

³ The original says *in Cymry*; that is, *in Wales*; but it certainly was near Ambresbury. It will hereafter appear, that the great national assemblies were held there, as in the Campus Martius of the Romans, the correction introduced in the translation is therefore indispensibly necessary.

⁴ B. G. &c.

knife, concealed in his hose, and that when he should give the word ¹ *Nemht ihre Saxes*, they should at once draw them and kill the Britons. Accordingly when the day arrived, the king and his chiefs came thither on the one part, and the Saxons on the other; and, as the chiefs stood in one body in consultation, Hengist said, *Nemht ihre Saxes*, and the Saxons drew out their knives and killed four hundred and sixty of the Earls, Barons and Chieftains of the Britons. The king was seized by Hengist; and of all the British Chiefs assembled there escaped but one, Eidiol, Earl of Gloucester, who having found a pole lying on the ground, with it killed seventy men, and so escaped and returned safe home. The Saxons now took London, York, Lincoln, ² “and Winchester, and the whole of Lloegria from the king, as his ransom, and banished him from Lloegria;” wherefore he fled to Wales.

¹ In the Welsh copy, the words are *owd iwr Saxes*, meaning I suppose, *out with your Saxes*. In Nennius they are *nimed eure Saxes*, which is nearly correct. I have ventured to give the German expression correctly in the text.

I will here beg leave to rectify two mistakes very general in England; viz. that it is usual with the Welsh to say *hur* for he; and 2d. that if they did, it would be a violation of grammar. The first is not the fact. I have never known an instance of it, or met with any one that did. Mr. Malkin has, I believe, said the same. As to the second mistake, the word *hur*, if so used, would be not the feminine English pronoun *her*, but the old Saxon and modern German masculine pronoun *er*, i. e. *he*. Whether as such it may have been at any time on the borders of Wales, I cannot pretend to say.

Having mentioned Mr. Malkin's name, I will also hope to be excused, if I notice a passage in his excellent Tour in South Wales, in which, not being sufficiently acquainted with the Welsh language, he has, I think, given an unfavorable turn to a good intention. It is in the anecdote concerning Mr. Yorke, who, when he enquired in English of a Welshman, whether that was *the ford*, was answered yes, and when the same question was repeated in Welsh, was answered with emotion, that the river was there deep enough to drown him. Now *ffordd* is the Welsh word for a road, and that for a ford, is *rhyd*. The Welshman might then, and I should think from the emotion he evinced on discovering his error, did answer from his own idea of the word *ffordd*, supposing that Mr. Yorke had enquired, not for *the ford*, but for *the road*.

² B. G. and G. M. and Ms. G. O.

Now When he had been there some time, he thought of building a fort to prevent his being again made prisoner; and having surveyed the whole of Wales, he selected the place now called Dinas Emrys, in Snowdon. Hither he had many masons brought, and the work was soon begun; but it so happened, that whatever was built by day fell down by night. This having frequently been repeated, Vortigern enquired of the ¹ twelve principal Bards, to what cause the falling of the work was owing. The Bards held a consultation upon it, in which one of them proposed that, to preserve their credit, they should refer Vortigern for a remedy to somewhat which could never be found. This was agreed to, and they therefore answered the king, that to make the foundation permanent, the mortar must be mixed with the blood of a child who had no father. The king therefore sent messengers to enquire throughout his territory for a child, who should answer the description. After they had made a tedious search, they arrived at Caervyrddin (*Caermarthen*)² so called because of the *myrdddyn*, (10,000 men, *i. e.* a legion) who were there, and there several children were at the time wrangling about a game at ball, one of whom cried out to another, ‘hold your tongue, and do not set yourself on a level with me. My father and mother are both of good families, and you never had any father.’ The messengers,³ “who had sat down to look on the game,” having heard what was said, seized on the boy, brought him to the mayor, and demanded on the part of the king,

¹ The Bards as it appears from hence, maintained hitherto some regular kind of association. They were not certainly upon good terms with the monks, and perhaps not wholly reconciled to Christianity in this remote situation. Vortigern’s application to them much resembles that of Macbeth to the Wierd Sisters, neither were their characters dissimilar.

² This observation, though it interrupts the story, is otherwise very properly introduced, to exclude the idea that the town had its name from Merddyn or Merlin, whose history is here given.

³ Ms. G. O.

that he and his mother should be sent with him to Vortigern, to which the mayor assented.

When they were brought to the king, he asked the woman, who was the child's father? to which she replied, 'I solemnly declare I know not. All that I am able to say is this; I am only daughter to the king of Demetia, (South Wales) and when very young, I was placed in a nunnery at Carmarthen. One night as I slept between my sisters, I in a dream saw a young man who embraced me; but when I awoke, there was no one but my sisters and myself. After this I became pregnant, and this boy was born. But, as I must confess it before God, I know no more of man than this. The king now enquired of ²Maygan (*Meugant*) a Bishop, whether this could be true, who answered that it might. For, said he, since Lucifer and the evil spirits who sinned with him fell, they have remained, as they were when God restrained them, in the place appointed for their abode. Some of them notwithstanding have the power to break out from thence in the forms of women, and others in those of men, and such perhaps is the origin of this child.' The king now addressed the child, and told him that he must have his blood to be mixed with the cement, for the building. 'What,' said the boy, 'is my blood more than any other?' 'The twelve chief Bards say that it is,' replied the king. 'Call the twelve hither then,' said the boy, and

¹ This part, at least, seems to have been intended to satirize Numerius, which about this time perhaps began to be established in Britain. In France they arose about a century before.

² *Meugant*, a very learned man, G. O. B. G. makes Meugant a Dewin or Soothsayer, who displays his knowledge by quoting Apuleius. G. M. omits the note of character entirely, as Nemius does the

mention of a nunnery. These variations, as they are easily accounted for, give a greater value to the copy. B. T. from which this translation is given. It is evident that the story was thought too good to be lost, and it seems to have been too great a favorite to be dispensed with, as it is one which the Bards may have been industrious to record.

when they were come, 'why,' said he, 'have you told the king, that my blood is necessary to make the building stand? can you tell me what is below that *heap of rushes*. When the Bards acknowledged their ignorance, he desired that the rushes might be cleared away, and there appeared a large pool of water. Now said the boy, to them, tell me what is in that lake? they answered, we know not. Then drain the lake said he, and at the bottom you will find a stone chest, in which there are two sleeping dragons. These whenever they awake, fight with each other, and it is their violence that shake the ground, and causes the work to fall. The Bards however were unable to drain the lake, and Merddyn effected it by letting it out in five streams. Hitherto he had been called the Nun's child, but from this time he was called Myrddin (Merlin) because he was born in Caer-vyrddin (Caermarthen).

Vortigern now commanded the stone chest to be opened, and out of it there came¹ a white and a red dragon, which immediately began a fierce battle. At first the white dragon drove the red one to the middle of the pool, then the red one provoked to rage, drove the white one thither in turn.

Vortigern now asked what this should signify, and Merlin exclaimed, 'woe to the red dragon, for her calamity draws nigh, and the white dragon shall seize on her cells. By the white dragon the

¹ In the history of the life of Lludd, the manner in which these dragons, as they are called, were deposited in Snowdon was mentioned, as also the dependence of the fate of Britain upon their being discovered. The whole of this story seems to have been founded on some Bardic ceremony, or imposture now unknown, in which Myrddin seems to have been merely

the instrument of the Bards; and perhaps of a party of them which had embraced christianity. Whatever was the real nature of this transaction, the pretensions of the Bards to prophecy were constant; and those of Myrddin were allowed, and certainly had a great and decisive effect in sustaining the spirit of the Britons to oppose their enemies.

Saxons are signified and the Britons by the red one, which the white dragon shall overcome. Then shall the mountains be made plains, and the glens and rivers flow with blood. The knowledge this answer discovered, induced Vortigern to enquire what his own fate would be. Merlin replied, 'Beware of the two sons of Constantine. This day they unfurl their sails on the coast of Brittany; to morrow they will land at Totness, to recover their rights from the Saxons. But ere they do this, they will burn thee in a tower of stone, inasmuch as that thy craft and treachery caused the death of their father, and the arrival of the Saxons, whom thou hast looked for as thy strength, and shalt find to be thy weakness, and thy destruction; for they also shall with one mind persecute thee. To-morrow Emrys (*Ambrosius*) and Uther, the sons of Constantine, shall come with twelve thousand warriors, and make the cheeks of the Saxons red

This speech, severe as it is against Vortigern, is in perfect conformity with the practise of the Bards. Their persons were sacred, and their access to all privileged. A similar instance occurs in the life of Taliesin, who presented himself before Maelgwyn Gwynedd, and pronounced lines against him which are still extant. They begin with the words, *Na bo rhad na gwedd ar Faelgwyn Gwynedd*, &c. "Be neither blessing, nor success, to Maelgwyn Gwynedd. May vengeance overtake him for the wrongs, the treachery, and the cruelty he has shewn to the race of Arthur. Waste lie his lands, short be his life, extensive be vengeance on Maelgwyn Gwynedd—a strange animal shall come from Morfa Rhianedd, shaggy, long toothed, and fire-eyed. This shall do vengeance on Maelgwyn Gwynedd."

Though Taliesin said this in the presence of the court, even of the powerful and spirited Maelgwyn, he was suffered to retire uninjured. Another instance of the same privilege occurred at a much later period. David ap Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, having refused to see the Bards upon a plea of sickness, they thinking it was through avarice, as they were entitled to a present on their visit, all fell on their knees, and prayed that if the sickness were real he might recover, but if otherwise that he should not. Yet the Prince inflicted no punishment, but on the contrary apologized for the inattention. David died soon after.

For the substance of this note I am indebted to a Ms. by Mr. Vaughan, of Hengwrt.

with Saxon blood. When Hengist shall have been slain, Emrys shall be crowned, and shall rebuild the churches. But his end shall be by poison. Such also shall be the end of Uther, by Saxon treachery, though he shall succeed to the crown, but the boar of Cornwall shall avenge it all.²

The following day, the sons of Constantine landed, and the report of it being spread abroad, the Britons assembled in multitudes to do fealty to Emrys, and made him their king. This done, Emrys held a consultation as to their first object, whether it should be to go against Vortigern or the Saxons. It was resolved here to attack the Castle of Goronwy, which is in Erging, on the ¹Wye, and whither Vortigern had fled. Hither Emrys came with a large army, and addressing his troops, told them, that in that castle was the man who had been the occasion of the death of his father and his brother, and had brought the treacherous and infidel Saxons into the island. The army thus addressed, assailed the castle with vigour, soon set it on fire, and burned it and all in it, Vortigern included.

Neither was Hengist now free from apprehensions, for he had heard that no one in France was able to cope with Emrys, and that he was sagacious, liberal, and mild. The Saxons therefore retired beyond the Humber, and fortified themselves there. Emrys having

¹ A river that runs in Clorach Mountains, G. O. G. M. has changed the name of the Wye into Gania; and Clorach into Cloarius. William of Malmesbury mentions a Prince of this name, whose territory of Kent, was given to Hengist by Vortigern. Possibly this Goronwy might have retired to Wales.

Postremo (*Hengistus*) quasi gravatus in sententiam (*Vortigerni*) transit, totam Cantiam pro munere accipiens, ubi jam-

dudum omnis justitia sub Gorongi ejusdam laborabat regimine; qui tamen, sicut omnes reguli insulæ, Vortigerni substernebatur monarchiæ.

Hengist yielded to Vortigern's wish (to marry Rowena) with apparent reluctance, and received as a recompence the whole of Kent, which had been oppressed by the injustice of one Goronwy, who, like all the inferior kings, was subject to the sovereignty of Vortigern.

learned their retreat followed them, and, seeing in his progress the ruined state of the churches, was much grieved at it, and promised to rebuild them with advantage, should he live to return.

Hengist also hearing that he was pursued, encouraged his men at arms to oppose Emrys, by representing, that he had but few with him from Brittany, and that as to the Britons they need not fear them, as their own force amounted to two thousand men. The Saxons stationed themselves in a place called Maes-Beli (the war-field of Beli) in the hope of falling upon Emrys by surprise. This intent did not however escape the observation of Emrys, who therefore marshalled his army in the following manner. His own subjects and the Armoricans intermixed, formed the main body; the ¹ South Wales men were stationed on the heights, and the North Wales men in the woods, so that the Saxons might be intercepted in every direction. Hengist also on the other side drew up, and gave instructions to, his men. Many soon fell on both sides, but at length, Hengist and his followers fled to a place called *Caer Cynan* (*the Fort of Cynan*) and were pursued; and such as were overtaken killed by Emrys. A great number took refuge in a neighbouring fort, where they made a second stand; but after a severe contest, the army of Emrys broke the Saxon line by the skill of his chiefs, and the Saxons were routed. In this battle Eidiol, Earl of Gloucester, sought anxiously to meet with Hengist, and having at last found him, they fought so furiously, that the fire flashed from their armour as the lightning that precedes the thunder. Whilst they were thus engaged, Gwrlais, Earl "of Cornwall,"² came

¹ The South Wales men were mostly *spear-men*, and the North Wales men, *bow-men*; which affords a probable reason for this disposition. It is also a curious

circumstance that they are distinguished from the subjects of Emrys.

² G. O. &c.

up with them and put the Saxons to the rout; and Eidiol, reanimated thus, seized Hengist by ¹ the beard and helmet, and dragged him into the midst of the British troops, and cried out, now avenge yourselves upon the flying Saxons, for Hengist is here.

The Saxons now fled from the field. Octa the son of Hengist with the greater part of the army to York, and ² Ossa his uncle with another part to Alcluyd.

After this battle, the victorious Emrys attacked, and took Caer Cynan, abovementioned, where he rested three days, to bury the dead; take care of the wounded, and refresh his troops.

The next concern of Emrys being how to dispose of Hengist; he assembled a council, at which the Bishop of Gloucester and Eidiol his brother were present. And when the Bishop saw Hengist stand before him, he exclaimed, My noble friends, though ye should all wish to liberate Hengist, I myself would with mine own hand slay him, as the prophet Samuel, when he saw Agag, king of Amalek, in hold, commanded him to be hewn in pieces, and said, "*As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women.*" Eidiol therefore took Hengist to the top of a hill, near the castle, and beheaded him; and a great mound was raised over him, according to the custom of those days, when a warrior was interred.

From thence Emrys went to York, in pursuit of Octa. Here Octa and his followers, with chains in their hands, and each with earth on his head, came and surrendered themselves at discretion to Emrys, saying, 'Sovereign Lord, our gods are weak, and we doubt not but that it is your god, who has subdued so many noble men as appear thus before you, to await your decree.—Here then we are, each with a

¹ The part of the helmet next the beard, G. O. Perhaps the crest of the helmet may have been called its *beard*.

² Here this name is in the Welsh copy written *Osar*.

chain in his hand, wholly submissive, if such be your pleasure, to be bound with it.'

¹ Emrys therefore held a council upon the subject, ² "in which Idwal, a Bishop, thus gave his opinion. 'When the Gibeonites,' besought the clemency of Israel, they had it; let not our mercy therefore be less than that of the Jews."

Octa, and his followers were therefore admitted to mercy by Emrys, ³ "as were also Ossa and his party, who following the example, submitted themselves in like manner," and they all received lands in servile tenure ⁴ in Scotland.

Peace having thus been established, Emrys summoned all the Earl and Barons, and ⁵ the Archbishops to a council at York, in which it was resolved that the churches, which the Saxons had destroyed throughout the kingdom, should be repaired at the expence of Emrys. On the fifteenth day after the sitting of the council, Emrys arrived in London, where he issued orders that the churches should be repaired, the bad laws amended, lands unjustly seized restored,

¹ The frequent holding of councils, so constantly noticed, shews the sovereignty to have been a limited one, and much resembling that of Agamemnon over the Greeks.

² This paragraph is more correctly given here from Ms. G. O. as it is somewhat confused in the printed copy, in which the bishop is made to address, not the council, as it ought evidently to be, but the Saxons themselves.

The anachronism in calling the Israelites *Jews* is a very venial one for the time of the writer.

³ Supplied from Ms. B. and G. M.

⁴ *Near Scotland*, Ms. B. and G. M.

⁵ The changes this part of the sentence has, from evident motives, undergone in

the several copies is worthy of notice. Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions only the consuls (i. e. earls, as being of the council of the sovereign) and princes; and takes no notice of the archbishops. B. G. which in general agrees with G. M. mentions only one archbishop; the writer probably acknowledging only one, the archbishop of Carleon or St. David's.

B. T. as above, admits more than one.

G. O. adds the bishop to the number; and Ms. B. adds *the knights* to the earls and barons, and to the archbishops and bishops, *the abbots and the men of erudition*.

and justice maintained. From thence he went to Winchester, where he proceeded in like manner.

When by these means he had established a general tranquility, he went to ¹Salisbury to view the tombs of the Earls, Barons, and worthy knights, whom Hengist had caused to be slain. Near that place there were ²also three hundred monks in the monastery of the mountain of Ambri, so called from Ambri, the name of its founder.

Here Emrys, grieved to see the spot so destitute of memorial, sent for all the masons, and some of the carpenters of the kingdom, to erect a monument of honour, that should be a perpetual ornament

¹ *Caer Caradoc*, i. e. Caradoc's Fort, (probably Old Sarum) where the *Gwyddfa* of the princes was, W. Ms.

² The original meaning of the word *Gwyddfa* is a place in view, or a place of view. Hence it has derivatively the signification of an eminence, a mound, and as such a place of interment; and as the bards and probably the national councils, assembled on eminences; this name was given to such places with respect to interments, and probably to the places of such assemblies. The name preserved in the *Wynnstey* Ms. seems to indicate as much; and may have been the true and proper one of the place, which the writer of the history may have considered in the signification of a burial place, rather than that of a place of assembly, as more familiar to him, and as coinciding with the tradition of burial there, not incompatible with the other.

But the history itself furnishes a circumstance which points to the other signification. Emrys had with his council resolved on a revision of the laws, which could be effected only in a time of tranquility, and as soon as the time arrives he goes to Salisbury, and this merely, according to the historian, to visit the burial place of

the British chiefs. This was certainly a worthy occasion, but may there not have been another? May not the revival of the laws, the abrogation of old, and the enacting of new ones, have taken place at Stonehenge itself; and may not this, and similar places have been originally destined for such assemblies under religious auspices? The sequel will shew that this was done, and probably in the usual mode. The custom of the Isle of Man of holding their court of justice, called *Tinwald* on a hill, seems to be of this kind, and to favor the opinion, that such was the ancient custom of Britain.

² It is well known that the early christians founded many of their churches on the site of the heathen temples (perhaps always where it was possible) and substituted Christian rites instead of Pagan ones at the same times and places. A passage in the sequel of this history inclines me to believe that this number should be 360, or if 300, that it was the number of the Druid priests, who had a kind of monastery previously at Ambresbury. The derivation of the name Ambri is worthy of notice, as it marks the priority of this name to the time of Ambrosius.

on their place of burial. But when they arrived, they were unable to invent a design that would answer the purpose. Tramor, archbishop of Carleon, therefore came forward, and advised Emrys to send for Merddyn, the bard of Vortigern, as one whose genius would suggest the plan of such a monument as should remain for perpetual admiration. Merddyn was accordingly sought for, and ¹“having been found near the well Galabes, in Ewias, a place to which he frequently resorted,” brought to the king, who received him with great joy. But, when the king desired that he would prophecy concerning future events in Britain, Merddyn answered, those are things which are not to be declared, but when a necessity for it exists. Were I otherwise to declare them, the spirit which informs me would forsake me when its instructions would be the most requisite. The king therefore pressed him no farther on this subject, but enquired as to the means of erecting a perpetual memorial on that site. And Merddyn advised him thus: ‘Send to a place in Ireland, ¹Killara Mountain, where

¹ B. G. *Galabes in lower Gwent, W. Ms. Galabes in the country of the Gewisseans, G. M.* Ewas, or Ewias, is the name of a commot in the hundred of Gwent-uchcoed or, *Gwent above the wood*, i. e. upper Gwent, near which is Clydach, a name not very remote in form from Calades, or Galades; but, whether there be any well esteemed sacred near it, I know not. Giraldus is copious on the advantages of Ewias, as a place of religious retirement. See his *Itin: Camb. lib. I, cap. 3.*

² Kularaf, I. G. L. *In Monte Dardo*, (perhaps Tara) Gerv. *Tilb.*

Camden places Killair in Meath. Giraldus, *Camb.* differs from all the Welsh copies I have seen in referring the Irish Stonehenge to Kildare; and asserts that there remained some traces of such a

structure in his time. If he was not imposed on in this respect by reports, as he has certainly been in many others, his reference would have great weight. But Camden has given the following tradition as to Kil-lair, that ought not to be overlooked. “They say that Killair, a castle “in these parts, is, as it were, *the navel* “of Ireland. For *lair*, in Irish, signifies “*a navel.*” This tradition can, from the situation, be true in no other sense than that of the *Ομφαλος* or place of divination; a sense that has at least the advantage of concurring with the reference of Merddyn to that place. There is another circumstance which makes this the more probable. O. Flaherty, in his *Ogygia* (part 3d. ch. 66) says, that the Taltenuan games were celebrated annually on Taltenu Mountain in Meath; and if I understood him rightly,

the circle of the heroes is, consisting of stones of immense size, of which no one can give an account. Yet they will not be had by corporal strength, but by science. Were they here, as they are there, they would stand for ever. The king hearing this, laughed out and said, how will you convey them hither. 'Laugh not, sire,' replied

the Timor, or great temple, was there also, at least it was in Meath, and hence if, as I presume, it was an oracular temple, it was one that would be represented as the *Ομφαλος*. At this time the Druids seems to have exerted themselves in opposition to Christianity, and Merddyn to have referred to the Timor for the means of effecting his purpose, and establishing the credit of his party, and probably restoring the rites of Stonehenge.

What those means were, it is now perhaps impossible to ascertain, but I will beg leave to hazard a conjecture which has occurred to me on the subject of this strange legend.

The convocation on Salisbury Plain is said to have had in view not merely the memorial of the British nobles assassinated there, but the grand objects of legislation, and the coronation of Ambrosius. The title to the crown was also disputed by Pasgen. To confirm it in favor of Ambrosius was therefore of essential consequence, if it could be done. At that time the celebrated stone on which the kings were crowned, was probably (*See O. Flaherty's Ogygia, Part 1st.*) at the Timor abovementioned, and the tradition concerning it is that, when the possessor of the throne by right sat on it, a voice issued from it in confirmation of that right, and that when any other sat on it, the stone was silent. Fordun (*lib. I. ch. 27.*) says, this stone was brought from thence to Scone, by the Irish colonists, and yet it is not very probable that it would have been suffered to go with a colony, or without a

contest. It is also evident, that Merddyn could not depend on his science alone, and that his object required the aid of a strong military force, and if it was this stone, it was sufficient, as being a stone brought to Salisbury Plain, for tradition to confound it with the others. Such an evidence as its *speaking*, though of no very deep artifice, may have been of very great importance, and I am inclined to think this was so, and that the stone was, for the sake of security, carried in Scotland, either by Uther, or the remaining Druids, and perhaps by the direction of Merddyn himself.

Dr. Smith has, in his explanation of Stonehenge, a curious observation, which intimates an astronomical intent also in the plan, by some resemblance in it to a projection of the sphere on the plane of the horizon. He says, (in p. 66.) "Draw a line through the temple," (*passing through the foci of the ellipse, and terminated either way by the outer circle*) "and divide it into ninety equal parts—you will find the center between the two focus's of the ellipse to be 51 degrees and about 11 minutes. You will find the latitude of this temple to be the same in the maps of Wiltshire. In order to prove it, draw two concentric circles about eleven degrees from each other; another circle must be drawn, the lower part of which is to be formed with part of the second circle, so as to give a phrase to the moon, when she is six days old; the center then of this last circle will be in 51°, and about 11 minutes N. latitude."

Merddyn, ' for my words shall be in seriousness and truth. Those stones are ¹ of various efficacy and medicinal powers, and were brought thither formerly by the heroes from Spain, who placed them as they are at present. Their motive for bringing them was this. In cases of sickness, they made a medicine in the middle of the stone, the stone was then washed with water, which water they added to the medicine, and thus used it cured any disorder, or wound; but for wounds, herbs were also put in the medicine, which healed them.

The king, thus informed of the efficacy of the stones, determined on an immediate expedition, and sent out Uther Pendragon upon it at the head of fifteen thousand men at arms, and with him Merddyn as the most scientific man of the age.

At this time ¹ Gillamori was king of Ireland, and when he heard of their arrival, he with a large force met them, and demanded the reason, and having heard it, burst into laughter, saying, No wonder, a weak nation can ravage Britain, when its natives are fools enough to challenge the Irish to fight, for the sake of stones. This was followed by a battle, in which Gillamori was routed, and his army dispersed.

The Britons now proceeded to the place where the stones were, and there Merddyn desired them to try their own power and skill

¹ The healing power, here attributed to these stones, is not even yet forgotten or neglected, as to the stones of Cromlechs in Wales. The country people consider the water left by the rain upon them, as efficacious for sore eyes; and probably in other cases. The legend as given above implies that the stones were rendered medicinal by a composition lodged in the very inmost part of the stone, and such was probably the popular persuasion in the time of the writer. The addition of *herbs for wounds* was undoubtedly a prudent one.

² Who or what this Gillamori was, I have not been able to discover. I suspect it is not the name of an individual, but that of a clan. Shaw in his Gaelic Dictionary, says, that *Gillian* signifies a *tribe of the Firbolg*. May not the name be properly *Gillian-mor*, that is *the great tribe of the Firbolg*? According to O'Flaherty, the Firbolg settled in Leinster. If this explanation be admitted, there will be no difficulty as to the repetition of the name, after a considerable interval of time in the course of the history.

to move them, which they did, but it was in vain. Merddyn smiled at the attempt, and then by his art alone drew them freely and without labour into the ships, and thus they were brought to the mountain of Ambri.

When this was effected, Emrys assembled there all the earls, barons, and learned men, to do honour to the place by august ceremonies. And upon this occasion he put the sovereign's crown on his head, instituted the observation of Whitsuntide for three days, confirmed the particular rights of every class, and recompensed his army by presents of horses and armour.¹ "The two Archbishopricks of Carleon on Usk, and York, being vacant at this time, by the unanimous consent of this assembly, a person of the name of Samson was appointed to York, and one of the name of Dubric (Dubricius) to Carleon." He then desired Merddyn to place the stones in the same manner as they had been placed at Killara, which he did; and by so doing manifested the superiority of genius over simple strength.

During this period, Pasgen, the son of Vortigern, who had fled to Germany, collected an army there, in order to recover Britain from Emrys, the son of Constantine, and such was the credit given to his representations, that he was able to bring with him a numerous army, with whom he effected² a landing, and began to ravage the country. But Emrys having had intelligence of it, soon advanced against him with a great force, and compelled him to fly with disgrace to Ireland, where the king Gillamori gladly received him. After mutual complaints of the sons of Constantine, they in conclusion agreed to set sail together, and attack the country, near St. David's. The intelligence of their landing³ induced Emrys to send Uther

¹ B. G. G. M. and Ms. G. O. The former two attribute this appointment to the king only; the last, to the whole assembly.

² *In the North*, G. M.
³ Ms. B.

with an army against them," because Emrys himself lay ill at Winchester, and Uther with great concern found that he had not a sufficient power to meet their combined forces. Pasgen and Gillamori, on their part, congratulated each other on the sickness of Emrys presuming that Uther alone would not hazard a battle. In the mean time one Eppa, a Saxon, came and enquired of Pasgen, what reward he might expect, if he should destroy Emrys. To which Pasgen answered, that he should have ¹ an ample pecuniary reward, his friendship through life, and should he obtain the crown, a farther gratification to his full content. Eppa then told him that he was well skilled in the medical art, and ² "in the language" and customs of the Britons; and having required and received a pledge of Pasgen's promise, he undertook to be the means of the death of Emrys.

For this purpose he disguised himself by shaving his head and beard in the manner of a monk, and then presented himself to some of the attendants of the palace of Emrys, and offered his service, as one of great medical skill. The attendants with joy communicated the information to Emrys, and he took a poisoned draught, which Eppa had prepared for him. This traitor then advised him to sleep, so that the poison had the quicker effect; and in the mean time Eppa made his escape from the palace, "under pretext of gathering simples."

At this time ³ a star of amazing size appeared. It had one beam, and on the head of the beam was a ball of fire resembling a dragon;

¹ Literally the general expression of a *thousand pounds*, which M. B. magnifies to *three thousand*.

² Ms. G. O. &c.

³ In the catalogue of comets given by Sherburne at the end of his *Manilius*, a comet is described as having appeared, A. D. 454 or 457, so nearly in the same terms as to make it probable the descrip-

tion was taken from G. M. Another of A. D. 504, *crowned with a dragon*, is more probably the same that is said to have been seen by Uther. Henry of Huntingdon dates the death of Emrys, A. D. 503. It is therefore probable, that the comet of A. D. 504 was the one seen by Uther, and if so, we have the true date of the death of Emrys.

and from the jaws of the dragon two beams ascended, the one towards the extremity of France, and the other towards Ireland, subdividing itself into seven small beams.

¹ Uther and all around him, alarmed by such an appearance, enquired of the learned men what it might portend. Merddyn bursting into tears, exclaimed, 'Sons of Britain, ye have suffered an irrecoverable loss, ye are widowed of Emrys the Great. But still ye have a king. Haste thou therefore, Uther, and engage the enemy, for the whole island shall be thine. For it is thou, Uther, who art signified by this star with the head of a dragon. By the beam pointing over France is denoted a son of thine, who shall be great in wealth, and extensive in sway, and by that directed towards Ireland, a daughter, whose sons and grandsons shall successively govern the whole.'²

Thus encouraged, Uther, though he thought it a risque, engaged the enemy, and after a battle, long doubtful, at length was victorious, and drove Pasgen and Gillamori to their ships with great slaughter.

After the victory, Uther returned to Winchester to inter his brother. Thither also came all the archbishops,³ "bishops" and abbots,⁴ "and laymen of rank,"⁵ of the island; and Emrys was buried within the circle of the Heroes, and near the monastery of Ambri. Those who were present had been invited by Uther, and by their common consent he was crowned king, the crown of sovereignty being put on his head.

Uther recollecting the words of Merddyn, when the ceremony was over, commanded two dragons of gold, and of exquisite work-

¹ Who were then on a march to Cambria, G. M. *In Cambria*, B. G.

² *This Island*, G. O. and Ms. B. The kingdom of Britain, B. G.

³ Ms. G. O. B. G. and Ms. B.

⁴ Ms. G. O.

⁵ *Of the province*, G. M.

manship, to be made, in form similar to that which he had seen on the head of the comet's beam of light. One of these he deposited in the principal church at Winchester, the other he made his standard to be carried before his army. From ¹ this circumstance he was thenceforward called Uther Pendragon, (*Uther of the dragon's head.*)

And now Octa, the son of Hengist, and Ossa, declaring themselves free from their engagement to Emrys, invited the Saxons to join them, and sent both to Germany, and to Pasgen to solicit troops; and having collected a considerable force, they fell upon Lægria, and proceeded as far as York. But, whilst they were assailing the town, Uther with his army came up with, and after a severe engagement completely routed them, and drove them to the mountain ² Dannel. ³ For this was a lofty and craggy mountain, ⁴ "and had cells on its summit." That night Uther convened a council, in which Gorlais, Earl of Cornwall proposed that, as the night was dark, and the Britons

¹ From this passage I am tempted to believe, that Stonehenge was a *Dracontium*, and that from the appearance of the comet before the coronation of Uther, the occasion was taken, by converting the circumstance into an omen, and inducing him to bear the image of a serpent on his standard, to attach Uther to the religion of the temple, and constitute him its patron. Upon this supposition, the reason is evident why he alone had the title. At least it is not said in any ancient history of this country, that I know of, to have been given to any one else.

The worship of the serpent or dragon is well known to have been of great antiquity, and so much has been written concerning it, that I will only offer a conjecture as to the name *Dragon*. I conceive it to have been originally און דרך *Derech On*, or *The path of the Sun*, that is the ecliptic repre-

sented under the form of a serpent, and that the original name was corrupted by the Greeks into Δρακων.

² Damen, B. G. &c. The copy B. T. and Ms. G. O. both attribute the superiority near York to the Britons, whereas the copies B. G. Ms. B. and G. M. attribute it to the Saxons.

³ B. G. G. M. and Ms. G. O.

⁴ Ms. G. O. says expressly *cells in the rock*. The original word *Celli*, may be a plural of *Collen*, a *hazel tree*; or of *Cell*, a *cell*, and hence Geoffrey with his usual good fortune, has translated it to *hazel trees*. It is however a proof that he did *translate*. Such cells as are here mentioned are noticed as sound on Pen-maen-mawr, in the accurate and entertaining tour of one, whose name is an honour to his country, Mr. Pennant.

the lesser number, they should attack the Saxons by surprise. The Britons therefore did so, and having gained the top of the mountain made a great slaughter, took many prisoners, amongst whom were Octa and Ossa, and dispersed the rest.

Uther after his victory, went to Alcluyd, made a circuit of the whole country, and established the power of the law and justice, reducing all to an obedience to them. Having thus settled every thing, he returned to London, where he committed Octa and Ossa to prison. There also he celebrated Easter by a great festival, to which he invited all the earls and barons of the kingdom, and their wives; and the hospitality of Uther, and the variety of the mirthful entertainments, amply gratified his guests. On this occasion, Gorlais, Earl of Cornwall, had brought with him his wife, ¹Eigr, daughter of ²Amlawdd the Great, and who was considered the most beautiful woman then in Britain.

When Uther beheld her he conceived a passion for her too strong to be concealed. He could not bear to be absent from her, or if he was, sent her presents of various liquors in goblets of gold, accompanied by ³idle messages, till at length it became known to Earl Gorlais, who in rage quitted the palace without the king's permission.

Uther also, when he knew this, was violently irritated, and sent orders to Gorlais to return; because it was a high misdemeanor to quit the palace without permission. A second, and a third messenger were sent with the same orders, and yet he did not return. The king then threatened to dispossess him of his property by force, unless he would return. And as Gorlais, notwithstanding the threat, refused

¹ The Igera of G. M.

² "A prince of North Britain, better known as the hero of dramatic tales than of history." Camb. Biog. Something of the dramatic kind seems to be alluded

to by the word *Digrifwch*, translated above *mirthful entertainments*, literally *such as excited laughter*.

³ *Ammlhwys*, *idle*, seems here to have been written for *amheuys*, *equivocal*.

to comply, Uther set out at the head of his troops, and began to ravage the property of Gorlais with fire and sword. Unable to oppose such a power in the field, Gorlais fortified two of his castles, and in one of these, called Tintagol, and situated on the sea side, he left his wife,¹ “for whom he was more anxious than for himself;” and, to avoid losing all at once, went himself to the other called² Dinblot.

³ “Uther having discovered where he was, brought his forces against the castle, and attacked it incessantly for three days together; but with so little success, that he lost a great part of them. It was therefore determined to divide the remainder into three bodies, and invest the castle, to reduce it by famine. And when he had been there a week,” Uther sent for Ulphin,⁴ of Caer-Caradoc (*Salisbury*) one of his knights, and having communicated to him his passion for Eigr, asked his advice. To which Ulphin replied, that it was in vain to think of attacking the castle where she was, as it was on a rock in the sea, accessible only to one at a time, and that by a path, which three knights might defend against the whole world. ‘My advice therefore,’ said he, is, that you send for Merddyn, who by his art may assist you; and if he cannot, no one can.

This being done, Merddyn said to the king, ‘To attain your wishes,⁵ I must give you the form of Gorlais, I myself will assume that of⁶ Brithael, a favorite servant of Gorlais, and give Ulphin that

¹ B. G. G. M. and Ms. B.

² *The castle of Dunod*, Ms. G. O. Several persons of this name are mentioned in the Camb. Biog. Dimlyot, B. G. Dimlot, Ms. B. Dimilioc, G. M.

³ This passage necessary to what follows is omitted in B. T. and here supplied from Ms. G. O. and agrees with B. G. G. M. and Ms. B. but is more full.

⁴ *Ulfin de Ricaradock*, G. M.

⁵ Criminal, and detestably so, as the conduct of Uther is described to have been, (and most probably it is an interpolation to degrade Arthur) that Arthur was his son, is, I think, clear from Nemius. In his explanation of the name, he says, (ch. 62.) *Artur-Mabute. Britannice, filius horribilis latine. Mabute is here defectively written for Mab Uther, the son of Uther. Uther, or Uthr, signifies terrific.*

⁶ *Brithvayl*, B. G. Bricel, G. M.

of ¹ Medaf of Tindagol, another favorite servant of his. Thus none will know but that we are Gorlais and his two servants.²

Thus disguised they set out at edge of night for Tindagol; and having informed the porter that Gorlais was there, he admitted them, and Uther went to the bed of Eigr, where he deceitfully told her that unable to bear her absence, he had come privately away from the other castle to visit her. That night, Arthur son of Uther was won. Uther's army, during his absence, which was known to them, assailed the castle, forced Gorlais out to combat in the field, slew him, and dispersed his adherents.

This intelligence was quickly communicated to Eigr, whilst Uther lay by her side, and he having heard it, said with a smile, nay I am not yet slain, but as it is, I must go and see what has passed in the garrison, so saying, he departed, and resuming his own form he returned to his troops. For the death of Gorlais he was in part grieved and in part rejoiced, and ²“when all was quiet,” he married Eigr ² in secret, and had by her a son and daughter, viz. Arthur and Anna.

Uther afterwards fell sick, and during his illness which was long and heavy, those who had the charge of Octa and Ossa became impatient, and having taken umbrage at Uther, set them free, and went with them to Germany. This alarmed the Britons very much, as they heard that they were levying troops there, and it soon proved to be so, for they came to Albany, where they began to ravage and burn what they could find. At this time Uther's army was commanded by ³ Leo, the son of Cynvarch,

¹ *Jurdan*, B. G. Mss. B. and G. O.
Jordan, G. M.

² Ms. G. O.

³ The words *in secret* are omitted by Ms. G. O.

⁴ Called by some writers, Nathan-leod. The former part of this compound name seems to be either *Naoidhan*, *an infant*, or some such term of reproach.

who had married Anna, Uther's daughter, and was both just and liberal; but in most of his engagements, for he had many with the Saxons, he was worsted ¹ "For his own countrymen thought him not equal to the command, and would not obey him," and hence his ill success was so frequent and so long, that the Saxons were near having the whole island in their power, and Uther was informed that his son-in-law was unable to subdue the Saxons. Enraged at what he heard, he ordered all the men of rank into his presence, and upbraided them with their remissness as to the Saxons. He then caused himself to be carried in a litter, ill as he was, at the head of his army to Verulam, where the Saxons were ravaging.

The report of Uther's arrival at the head of his army in a litter was turned into ridicule by Octa and Ossa, who considered *the man half dead*, as they called him, with more contempt than apprehension; and so much so, as to go into the city, and having the gates open to brave and insult Uther and his army. Uther therefore commanded his troops to invest the city, many of whom entered it, so that there ensued a great slaughter on both sides, until night. On the morrow the Saxons came into the field, and gave battle to the Britons. In this engagement Octa and Ossa were slain, and the other Saxon chiefs forced to a disgraceful flight. Then Uther, though previously it had required two strong men to turn him in his bed, raised himself into a sitting posture, and said ² "The insolent traitors called me a man

¹ B. G. &c.

² *Ambrones*, G. M. "The Ambrones were a people of Gaul, whose country having been inundated, they turned to plunder other nations, and hence the name was afterwards applied to such as led a dissolute life. In this sense it was applied by Geoffrey, as it is evident from the Welsh text, literally translated above. But

Thompson either through ignorance, or carelessness, has translated it literally *The Ambrons*; an expression not likely to be intelligible to the generality of his readers. In Nennius, cap. 65, the word is thus explained, *AMBRONUM id est ALD-SAXONUM*. It seems therefore to be of very ancient usage.

half dead, but the man half dead who conquers, is still better than the man all alive who is conquered; and better is death with glory, than life with shame.¹

After their defeat, the Saxons who escaped, collected themselves together in Albany, and renewed the war as before. It was Uther's wish to pursue them; but his illness increased so much upon him, that he could not bear even the litter. This the Saxons understood, and having laid a plan for his destruction, sent those who were to execute it to him, under the pretext of a conference. These persons having learned that Uther drank of the water of a particular well only, which was near Verulam, they caused it and the adjacent waters to be poisoned; in consequence whereof, Uther himself died, as did also others, who afterwards drank of them, till at length, the cause having been discovered, the Britons filled up the well with earth. Uther was buried in the circle of the heroes.

The Saxons now sent to Germany for auxiliaries, and having obtained as many as a large fleet could bring over, commanded by ¹ Colgrin, the united forces seized on the country from Humber to Penrhyn Bladon, (*Promontory of* ² *Bulness*). All the principal Britons therefore, ecclesiastics and laymen, assembled at ³ *Caer-Vydau*, and resolved to make Arthur their king.

Arthur, at the time of his coronation, was not more than fifteen years of age, yet was he unrivalled by any within the knowledge of the age, ⁴ "in lively wit, in valour, or liberality," so that scarcely

¹ William of Malmsbury says that Colgrin had been left by Octa and Ebusa, to guard Deira, and that it was Cerdic who came over with this *large* fleet (it consisted of five ceoles or keels.) The report of it to the Britons would no doubt be magnified, and the name of the leader might be easily mistaken, both of which in this case appear to have happened.

² See the note page 64.

³ Silchester, G. M.

⁴ Ms. G. O. &c. This character is also given of him in the *Chronicon, S. Michaelis, ad. A. D. 421*. His diebus, fuit Artus Rex Britannum fortis & facetus. *In these days lived Arthur, the brave and witty king of Britain.* See L'Abbé, vol. I. p. 349.

could his revenue supply his boons to his adherents; ¹ “but where the natural disposition is liberal, God will not suffer it to be destitute of the means.” The chieftains therefore commanded Duvrig (*Dubricious*) Archbishop of Caerleon to crown him king, as they were in apprehension of the Saxons.

Immediately after this ceremony, Arthur collected a great force and marched to York; Colgrin likewise having gained intelligence of this, collected an army consisting of Saxons, ² Scots and Picts; and gave Arthur battle on the banks of the ³ Dulas. After a severe contest, victory declaring for Arthur, he drove Colgrin, and such as escaped with him, to York; where he shut them in closely, and cut off all provisions from reaching them. And when Baldolf, Colgrin’s brother, heard of it, he advanced at the head of six thousand men, within ten miles of York, having hitherto ⁴ “remained on the coast, and” waited for ⁵ Cledric, a German chief to arrive with troops to assist the Saxons. His intent was to attack Arthur by night, but Arthur aware of the design, sent Cador, Earl of Cornwall at the head of six hundred cavalry, and three thousand infantry, to intercept him, which he

¹ Ms. G. O. &c. There is a simplicity and general truth in this observation too valuable to be omitted.

² It is observable that this is the first time the name *Scots* occurs in this history.

³ Douglas, G. M. The signification of the words, *dark blue*, is the same both ways. The river itself is in Lancashire. Nennius says the first victory of Arthur was on the *Glem*. Where this is, I know not, unless it be the *Glena* in Cambridge-shire.

⁴ Ms. G. O. &c.

⁵ Gervase of Tilbury calls him *Childeric*, and G. M. *Cheldric*. What was the real

name it is not easy to determine, but it is not probable that it was *Cerdic*, and certainly the person so denominated, who is said to have been slain soon after the battle of Baddon, could not have been the *Cerdic* who settled in Wessex. Langhorne observes, that, where the Anglo Saxon writers mention *Cimenius* and *Plentingus*, the sons of *Ella*, the Welsh writers use the names *Colgrin* and *Baldolf*; it is therefore most likely, that by the three names *Baldolf*, *Colgrin*, and *Cledric*, the Welsh writer means the three sons of *Ella*.

did, and routed him with great slaughter. Dispirited by this failure, in his attempt to liberate his brother, Baldolf turned his thoughts to the effecting of it by stratagem, and disguised himself as a minstrel by poling his head, and cutting his beard; and thus with a harp in his hand, he pervaded the British army, and arrived at the foot of the city wall, where he sung aloud, and being recognised by those within, they drew him up into the town by ropes, where, with his brother, he entered into a consultation as to the means of escape.

In the mean time intelligence was brought to Arthur, that Cledric had arrived on the coast of Albany with six hundred ships from Germany, and had landed there. Arthur therefore withdrew from York, to London, and there assembled a council of his chiefs; the result whereof was an application to Howel, the son of ¹ Emyr of Brittany by Arthur's sister, for auxiliaries. Howel in consequence of this application came to ² Northampton, with fifteen thousand men at arms, to the great joy of Arthur. From thence they went to Caerlwyd-coed, otherwise called Lincoln, where the Saxons were. Here a furious battle ensued, in which six thousand of the Saxons perished, either as slain or drowned. Those who escaped, fled to the Wood of ³ Celyddon, whither Arthur pursued them. Here a second and bloody engagement took place, and Arthur perceiving that the Saxons, under shelter of the wood, wounded his men, ordered the trees to be cut down, and interwoven with high stakes, so as to form an inclosure around the Saxons. Thus inclosed, the Saxons remained

¹ Dubricius, G. M. Contrary to all the Welsh copies I have seen, and probably a mistake, occasioned by the name of Dubricius having occurred a little before.

² The port of Hamon, B. G. Northampton, Ms. B. Hamo's Port, G. M. Northampton is so often written for South-

ampton, and stiled a sea port, that I have no doubt but that Southampton is here intended.

³ The name signifies a *forest* generally. This seems to have been in or near Lincolnshire.

three days and nights without food, so that, to avoid a death by famine, they surrendered, and gave up to Arthur all the wealth they had, and promised him a tribute from Germany, for which they gave hostages.

But when they were fully out at sea, repenting of the conditions they had agreed to, they changed their course, landed at Totness and ravaged the country as far as the Severn, and from it to ¹ Caer-Vaddon (Bath) to which they laid siege. As soon as Arthur was informed of what they had done, he ordered the hostages to be hanged immediately. And, though he was obliged to leave his nephew Howel ill at Alcluyd, amidst his enemies, he broke off the war with the Scots and Picts, and came upon the Saxons at Caer-Vaddon; and declared that, as they had not kept their contract with him, they were to look for none from him. Dubricius, Archbishop of Caerleon, then ascended an eminence, from whence he addressed the British army, saying,

‘ My christian brethren, avenge yourselves this day on the infidel Saxons for the blood of your countrymen. So, through the blessing of God, shall the pain or death you may suffer, be an expiation of your sins; ² “ and Christ, who laid down his life for his brethren, will not reject those, who so offer themselves a sacrifice.’

Arthur then put on a breast plate, worthy of a king; a gilt helmet, on which were the image of a fiery dragon, and another device called Prydwenn, (*the fair farm*) in which was the carved ³ image

¹ The original has Caer *Vyddau* (Silchester) but as all the other copies read Caer *Vaddon* (Bath) and that from the testimony of Nennius, and other historians, and the Welsh bard Taliesin, there can no doubt but that this was the celebrated battle of Badon Hill: I have ventured to introduce the correction into the text.

² This text is so justly applied, and has been so little, if at all, applied in the same manner, as to be an apology for admitting the sentence into the above paragraph.

³ There can be no hesitation in saying that this is an interpolation from some old romance. From the works remaining of the old Welsh poets, it is, I think, certain,

the Virgin, which Arthur usually wore when going to a perilous engagement. He also put on his sword, called ¹ Caledvwlch, (*the hard cleft*) as it was the best in Britain, and had been made at ² Afallach. He also took in his hand a spear called ³ Ron-cymmyniad, (*the spear of command*;) and when all were armed, and had received the Archbishop's blessing, they attacked, and beat the enemy, and continued the slaughter till it was night, when the Saxons retreated towards a high hill, hoping to maintain a position there. The next day they were dislodged from thence, but yet continued to fight desperately. Arthur therefore, drawing his sword Caledvwlch, in rage, and invoking the Virgin, rushed manfully into the midst of his enemies, dealing death at every blow; nor did he cease till he had slain ⁴ four hundred and seventy. The Britons, noticing his unabated prowess and ardour, joyfully summoned up all their powers to keep pace with him, and at length Colgrin and Baldolf his brother, and many thousands with them, being slain, Cledic with the remnant of his forces fled. Arthur therefore having given it in charge to Cador,

that, at this time, no particular devotional respect was paid to the Virgin; neither does any appear to have been paid to her, or inculcated by Austin, or his immediate followers, in their addresses to the Saxons; nor does the doctrine, as far as I have been able to find, appear to have been known to Bede himself. The awkward manner in which this part of the sentence is connected with the former in this copy, looks like its first introduction. In the other copies the image of the Virgin is attributed to the shield; and the awkwardness of the connection remedied. The invocation of the Virgin which follows, is of the same spurious origin.

¹ The name, which is given by all the Welsh copies I have, is evidently to be

referred to the story of this sword's having been struck in a stone, and remaining fixed in the cleft; and shews the writer not to have been ignorant of it. Of all the copies, that of Geoffrey alone calls the sword caliburn, i. e. caledvwrn, *the hard mass*, i. e. *well tempered and massive*, a name equally significant.

² At Avallon, G. M.

³ Ron uwchel, B. G. Ron yoruchel, Ms. B. *His lance named Ron*, G. M. The two former names signify a tall spear. From the last, wherein *Ron* is made a kind of proper name, it appears that Geoffrey did not know that the word signifies a spear. It is indeed an old word and not much in use.

⁴ 460, Ms. B.

Earl of Cornwall, with ten thousand men at arms, to pursue the fugitives, took his route for Alcluyd, where, as he had been informed, the Picts and Scots were endeavouring to dislodge Howel from the fortress.

Cador in the mean time seized on the Saxon vessels, put part of his own men on board of them, and with the other part pursued the Saxons closely, so that Cledric was slain, and those who were not killed, taken and doomed to perpetual slavery. He then went to join Arthur, at Alcluyd, who, he found, had driven the Picts to ¹ Mooreif (*Murray*.) This being the third defeat that Arthur and Howel had given them, after which they took refuge in the island of the Lake of Llumonwy (*Loch-Lomond*). In this lake there are three hundred and sixty² (*islands, and it receives as many*) rivers from

¹ I could not hesitate here upon the concurring authorities of Ms. G. O. The copy B. G. and G. M. to substitute this name for Mor, *the sea*, as this copy has it, and which is here almost insignificant. The copy B. G. says, it was otherwise called Reged. The copy B. reads the name Mur-yr-eift, a name which *may* signify *the wall of the Egyptians*, and as the words *African* and *Egyptian* might so easily be confounded by the Britons, perhaps the wall of Severus *the African* is here intended; and the country beyond it may hence have taken the name of Mureift or Mureif, that is, Murray; in Latin *Moravia*, and the territory of Urien Reged.

² The words in italics and brackets are supplied, as the sequel shews, that they are necessary to the sense in this copy; and other copies mention that both *islands* and *rivers* equal in number, though they differ from this copy in reckoning 60 of each. If this number, viz. 60. be preferred, it will be considered as that of the well known astronomical cycle. If

that of 360 it will have a decisive reference, and I am persuaded the true one, to the number of days in the year. Camden says, there were among the lower orders many traditions respecting this lake, and it would have been well he had noticed them, as they are frequently the clues to the real history. From this tradition I should suspect, that the real origin of it to be, that there was a druidical circle of either 60 or 360 stones in some island of this lake. There is a vulgar tradition (which if I recollect rightly, has been very gravely contradicted) that Salisbury Cathedral has exactly 360 windows. The same tradition has, I believe, been mentioned of one other cathedral, if not more. But I believe it to have been older than any cathedral, and to have belonged originally to druidical temples, on or near, the site whereof cathedrals were afterwards built; that of Salisbury relating to Stonehenge, or Ambresbury, &c. What then are these eagles? I have already observed, that the word *Eryr* is most probably a corruption of *Airur*, a

the mountains ¹ of Prydyn, the waters whereof flow in one stream, called Leven, to the sea. In each of these islands there is a large rock, and an eagle's nest on each; and when these eagles assemble on one rock, and scream there, it is known that some calamity from abroad is coming on the country.

Arthur set a guard all around this lake, having had ships and boats brought thither for the purpose, so that thousands were dying there of hunger. Whilst the Scots were in this situation, Gillamori, who was of the same race and language, came from Ireland with a fleet to their aid. Arthur therefore, leaving the Scots, attacked Gillamori, and obliged him to fly to Ireland; and having so done returned to his plan of subduing the Scots. But now the Bishops and Abbots, drest in their vestments, came before him, and on their knees begged that he would spare the lives of that people, and suffer them and their posterity to be slaves for ever, to which he assented.

Peace being thus concluded, Arthur and Howel went to view the whole lake, and having so done, Arthur said to Howel, ² There is a lake not far off, which is more curious than this. It is twenty

beacon or torch, and from the ceremonial of excommunication in the church of Rome (which has scrupulously retained the old Pagan ceremonies, though under a new name) it appears to me that, when the Druids denounced a curse, they assembled at such places, each with his torch lighted, and struck out the light, repeating the malediction, with a loud voice.

The situation of the islands of this lake corresponds sufficiently with that of the *Brittia* of Procopius, to allow of a reference of it to some one of them, for he places it decidedly beyond the Wall of Severus, and it is very remarkable, that the fame of the magic powers and enchantments in this district should have been so extensively propagated in this age; though

it is not difficult to account for it. The spreading of christianity had necessarily driven the Druids to the most remote situations; and hence we may conceive Scotland, Snowdonia, and Anglesey, to have been their last retreats, in which by superstitious rites, and exhibitions of fantastic appearances, they endeavoured to support their decaying influence; and they must have done so with no common skill, to acquire such celebrity. For the account of *Brittia*, see Procopius. *De Bello Goth*: or Mr. Gibbon's *Rom. Empire*.

¹ The ancient Prydyn comprised the Northern counties of England, and the Southern ones of Scotland.

² A similar pond is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, as being on the hill called

feet square and five deep, has four distinct kinds of fish in it, one kind at each angle, and yet no one of them ever interferes with the others. ¹ There is also a lake near the Severn, called ² Llyn-lliawn, which ebbs as the tide fills, and does not rise to the surface, notwithstanding the influx of fresh water. But when the sea ebbs it fills, and throws out mountainous waves of water, from which those who face them scarcely escape with life; whereas those, whose backs are to them, escape, however near they be.

From hence Arthur departed for York, to hold his court there at Christmas, and having on his journey been much grieved to learn how the churches had been destroyed, and the clergy put to death, by the Saxons, ³ “ he made ⁴ Eppir, the priest of his household, Archbishop of York; directed the churches to be rebuilt, and persons fit for the duties to be appointed to them, male and female, and their property to be restored.”

Arthur's chair in Gower, Caermarthen-shire. Ib. Camb. cap. 2. It was he says square, and deep; having no outlet; and adds, that trouts were sometimes found in it. The similarity of form in both, and their proximity to places of Druidical superstition, seem to intimate that they were connected with it, as the tanks of the Hindus are with their temples. As to the disposition of the fish in the distinct corners, this may have been effected by artifice.

¹ In this part of the narrative two distinct phenomena are evidently confounded and combined into one. The phenomenon of the well at Chepstow, which ebbs and flows with fresh water reciprocally as the tide flows and ebbs, still subsists. The other probably (mentioned also by Higden) is erroneous, only in mistaking an acci-

dental circumstance for a general one, as there has been more than one instance in the present times, when an immense wave has suddenly rolled to the coast, and swept away the spectators; in one of which, there was *swept by the reflux wave, A prince and half his people.*

² The copies B. G. and G. M. read Shifan.

³ Supplied from Ms. G. O.

⁴ Priam, B. G. and Ms. B. Pyramus, G. M. Neither of the copies B. T. or Ms. G. O. or B. say anything of Sampson. B. G. and G. M. say, that he and seven bishops fled to France; which is not so probable as that this Sampson himself was dead, and that G. M. has confounded him with the Sampson who was archbishop of Dole.

And now Arthur gave to ¹ Arawn, the son of Cynfarch, ² the territory which the Scots had occupied; to ³ Llew, son of Cynfarch, the Earldom of ⁴ Lindsay, as being ⁵ brother-in-law to himself, and to Gwyar, (the mother of Gwalchmai, ⁶ the general;) and he also gave ⁷ Reged to Urien, the son of Cynfarch.

And when Arthur had regulated the state of Britain, which he did better than it had ever been before, he married Gwenhwyfar, one of the most beautiful women in Britain, and daughter to Gogfran the hero. Her mother was of a noble Roman family, and she had been educated by Cadur, earl of Cornwall.

After this, Arthur prepared a fleet in order to make a descent upon Ireland, the following summer. When he arrived there he found Gillamori ready to encounter him. Arthur put him and his army to flight, took Gillamori prisoner, and reduced ⁸ him and his army to subjection.

¹ Angusel, G. M. which seems to be written for Angus-clw, or, ulaidh, i. e. *the rich*.

² I have translated the original word *Scotland*, thus, as from the sequel it appears that it was the original Prydyn or Britain, and from the context it must be so understood, and to avoid the misapprehension which might arise from the name of Scotland alone; G. M. reads, *Godland*, meaning I suppose, *Gotland*.

³ *Lot*, G. M. most unaccountably. The text has *Elw* by mistake, as it has afterwards *Llew*.

⁴ *Lothian*, B. G. which seems the true reading. *Londonesia*, G. M. probably for *Loudonesia*.

⁵ *Son-in-law to Arthur's sister*. *Her sons were Medrod and Gwalchmai*; Ms. G. O.

⁶ The original word is *amherawdr*, i. e. *the emperor*, a title retained from

the time when the Roman legions were in Britain, and it is very probable that the people of this country were remains of the Romans, and retained part of the language, for Latin words frequently occur in the oldest Welsh poems, as incorporated into the Welsh language.

⁷ That is *Murray*, as mentioned above. The first of these three divisions seems to include the South western counties of Scotland. The second the South-East to Graham's Dike, and the third the part beyond it.

⁸ G. M. and B. G. have made this to be a conquest of *all* Ireland, whereas the text, and Ms. G. O. mention only the victory over Gillamori. Giraldus Camb: says only, that the kings of Ireland were tributary to Arthur. Hib. Exp. lib. 2, ch. 7.

From hence Arthur took ¹ Iceland in his way on his return, and subdued it; and when it was reported in the other islands, that Arthur was every where victorious, ² Doldav the king of the Scots, and Gwynvas, the king of Orkney, came and submitted themselves to Arthur, of their own accord, and promised fidelity to him, and also an annual tribute. And when the winter was over, Arthur returned to Britain, where for twelve years together, he remained in tranquillity, and inviting to his court men of abilities and celebrity from every country, he made it splendid by their numbers. By these means his own martial glory, and that of his soldiery, their courage, their liberality of manner, and conduct, were so celebrated throughout the nation, that no one else was to be compared to him; and every other king feared lest he should attack and conquer his kingdom.

Excited by such praise, Arthur proposed to himself, to render himself equal to it by his deeds; nor was his idea less than that

¹ Most probably the isle of *Isla* off Scotland. The word in the original is *Islont*; *Isla* was not far out of the course of the voyage if Arthur's return was to Prydyn or the Northern Britain.

² Dolvan, B.G. Doldan, G.M. *Doldav* signifies *the valley of the Tay*, and is therefore probably a titular epithet also. But it is somewhat of a confirmation of the above account, that Fordun mentions a Scottish king, who lived at this time, and whose name *Eothod Hebdir* is a singular compound of Irish and Welsh. *Hebdir* is pure Welsh, and signifies *without land*. Hence the name is *Eothod Lackland*.

See Fordun, Book III. ch. 24.

The name Gwynvas, has been already explained.

³ Mr. Jones of Gelly Lyfdy quotes the following from the *San-Greal*:—

“ Arthur, when he had completed his conquest of the Saxons, made North Wales his principal residence. In this

part of the island there were many *miraculous* circumstances, particularly between *Stretmares*, which from the description in the *Sangreal*, appears to be *Ystrad march*, and *Gurloes*, or *Anglesey*. It also says that there was a bridge across the *Menai*, which was constantly guarded by a troop of men in armour; and that there was a king in the island, who fought many hard battles with Arthur.” Arthur is also said to have been rebuked by a hermit for his attachment to diviners, as being contrary to the principles of those who set him on the throne, and by which it was then in danger. An old poet goes so far as to say,

“ Arthur ydwyd wrth rodiaw
“ Aeth ei wlad unwaith o'i law.

J. Fynglwyd.

“ *Thy gait is like that of Arthur, who once lost his kingdom.*”

of subduing all Europe, which is a third of the whole world. In these days there was neither king, nor lord of any consequence, who did not wish to imitate the manners and conduct of Arthur's court.

Arthur now prepared a fleet to go to Norway because that ¹Asschlym the king of that country having at his death, which had lately taken place, bequeathed his kingdom to his nephew, Llew ap Cynfarch, the Norwegians refused to confirm the bequest, made ²Riculf their king, and fortified their country. ³At this time Gwalchmai, the son of Llew ap Cynfarch, attended the bishop of Rome, for his uncle

These diviners could scarcely be any other than the Druids, Priests, and Bards, in their last retreat, which was probably Anglesey. How the Druids terrified the Roman army, when it went thither under Suetonius, is well known. If then Arthur was obliged by his adherents to attack the retreat of the Druids, their best resource must have been in exciting superstitious terrors, which once being overcome, they themselves could make no further resistance. If this was really the case, and it seems to have been so, it affords a rational account of the origin of the Romance tales of enchanted castles, with a probability that will not be easily found elsewhere.

¹Aschelym, Ms. G. O. Sychelin, B. G. Ms. B. Sichelin, G. M. The name intended seems to be Sighelme, or *the victorious helmet*. As the proper name, or the titular epithet, was best known to a different nation, either seems to have been recorded, without noticing the other, and from hence much difficulty has arisen. Another still greater has arisen from what appears to have been the mode of copying, viz. that one person read whilst a second wrote that which was to be copied. Hence we find proper names distorted, and numerals erroneous so often, and particularly

the former, as the reader pronounced the name according to his usual orthographic system. This kind of error is however in some degree a key to the antiquity of a copy, for the name regularly degenerates as copies increase.

²This, as a Norman name, occurs in Walsingham, Ypod Neust. ed. Camd. p. 418.

³This sentence is another glaring instance of monkish interpolation, which like the former is introduced in a more decent manner in the other copies. Ms. G. O. as well as G. M. style *the Bishop of Rome*, of this copy, *the Pope*, and adds that it was Sulpicius. Of this Pope's transactions, Platina notices one, which may deserve a place here. He built a church dedicated to St. Andrew, in which, Platina says, he read a copy of verses, of which these two lines are very remarkable—

Et quod Apostolici deessent limina nobis
Martyris, Andreae nomine composuit.

In vita Sicup. 1.

As we had no temple of an apostolic martyr, he (Simplicius) built this in the name of Andrew. However unlucky, as to St. Peter's, &c. this assertion may be, it is in all probability, the truth.

Arthur had sent him to Rome to learn the manners, and the military exercises of the Romans, and that bishop first put arms in his hands. When therefore Arthur had reached Norway, Riculf was ready with a large force to oppose him. But Arthur, having in a severe battle slain Riculf, obliged that country and Denmark also to submit to his arms, and left Llew ap Cynfarch as king to govern both.

¹ After this Arthur sailed to Gaul, and began to attack it. Against him came ² Frolo, who held Gaul under the Roman general, Leo. His opposition was however unsuccessful in battle, because of the superiority of Arthur's knights in number, and in skill. Frolo therefore fled to Paris, to collect all the forces he could. But Arthur and his troops invested that city for a month, so that many died of famine; and Frolo enraged, challenged Arthur to single combat, to be decided on an island of the Seine, the river which flows through Paris; their armies to remain quiet the while, and the victor to have the territories of both.

Accordingly they both went out to the combat, their steeds and arms well matched, and in the presence of both armies. Frolo immediately assailed Arthur with his spear, which Arthur skilfully avoided, and assailing Frolo in turn, unhorsed and threw him under the belly of his steed, and having so done, drew his sword to kill him. But Frolo arose with great spirit, and struck Arthur's horse so that it and Arthur fell together. The Britons now could scarcely restrain themselves to look on; but Arthur in rage, recovering himself,

¹ It appears from the sequel that it was five years after.

² Frolo, G. M. The name intended is probably Rollo. The great irruption and settlement of the Normans into France is allowed to have been in the ninth century. From this and other circumstances in what is emphatically denominated *The history*

of *Arthur and Medrod*, as this is at the close, I must candidly confess that I consider it as taken from some romance of the ninth or tenth century. The question then is, what foundation was there for the romance itself? to which I will endeavour to reply in the Appendix.

threw his shield between him and Frolo, and renewed the encounter, and many severe strokes were exchanged, when Frolo struck one on the forehead of Arthur, which caused the blood to gush down over his face and breast; and Arthur furiously brandishing Caledvwlch, aimed it at Frolo's head, and cleft him down to the waist. So Frolo fell, and died weltering in his blood. Then ¹ all Gaul submitted to Arthur, and he, having divided his forces, sent his nephew Howel with one part to attack Poictou, taking the other himself, went to fall upon Anjou and Gascony. Guitard, the chieftain of Poictou, was thus obliged to submit to Arthur. This expedition of Arthur's to subdue these countries took up nine years.

After this he went to Paris to hold his court there, to which he invited all his chiefs, and principal persons, learned and lay, and with their general consent enacted good laws for all those kingdoms. He then gave the Earldom of Normandy ² to Bedwyr, comptroller of the cellar, and that of Anjou to Cei, his chief minister; and having settled the affairs of these countries, he returned in the following spring to Britain.

Here he determined to hold his court at Caerleon on Usk, because the pleasant situation, and the wealth of this city, made it the most suitable place for the occasion. On one side of this city there is a river, which ³ ships from the ends of the earth frequented, and on

¹ Hence it is evident that in this history, the expression of *all Gaul* comprises but a small portion of what it would do in its modern acceptation; very little more probably than Artois, Picardy, and the Isle of France. For Normandy, Anjou, and Poictou are formally excluded.

² *And Flanders, B. G.*

³ The author distinguishes well between the ancient state of Caerleon, and what it

was in his time. That it *had been* a place of trade from very distant parts of the world; and that in his time it had remains of its former grandeur. The other copyists, less informed, represent these ships as merely such as should bring the foreign guests. The above description of the situation is tolerably accurate; but of its grandeur it may be almost said *etiam periere ruinae*.

the other side are dry and level meads, encircled by fair and lofty hills. Near it also was a spacious forest for the chase; and within the city, the buildings were of a princely magnificence, so that it was compared to Rome. There were also in it two principal churches, one of which was dedicated to Julius the Martyr, to which was annexed a nunnery, the other dedicated to Aaron the Martyr, which had a monastic canonry connected with it. Here also was the third Archiescopal See of Britain, and a seminary of two hundred scholars instructed in various sciences, and especially the seven liberal ones, so that Carleon was the principal city of the island.

Here it was therefore that Arthur directed preparations to be made for a most splendid festival, for which he sent messengers to all the countries he had subdued, to invite to it the kings and chief persons, ecclesiastical and lay. And so great was the concourse to Carleon, that it was impossible to ascertain the number, or their particular ¹ places of dignity and precedence.

To this festival there came ² Arawn ap Cynfarch, the king of Prydyn, from Albany; Urien ap Cynfarch, Lord of Reged; Caswallon Lawhir (*the long handed*) Lord of Gwynedd; ³ Meyrick, king of Dyfed (Demetia); ⁴ Cadur, Earl of Cornwall; and the three Archbishops of Britain, of whom the Archbishop of Carleon was the principal, for he had the privilege of a ⁵ legate; and was a pious man. Thither came also Morydd, Earl of ⁶ Worcester; Anarawd, Earl of Shrewsbury; ⁷ Madoc of Caer-Wair (i. e. Warwick); Owen of ⁸ Caer-

¹ This observation countenances at least the general idea of the origin of the Round Table.

² *Augusel*, as before, G. M.

³ *Sater*, ditto.

⁴ *Cador Llemeinawg*, or *the Rover*, B. G.

⁵ G. M. of course confirms him a legate of the Pope.

⁶ *Glocester*, B. G. and B.

⁷ *Marchydd*, B. G. *Marchrudd*, B.

⁸ Of *Chester*, B. G. and B. of *Leicester*, G. M.

Wallawg, otherwise called Salisbury; Gwrsalem of Caer-Gynfarch; Urien of Bath; and Bosso of Oxford;¹ “Dunod ap Pabo-Post-Prydain (*Pabo, the Pillar of Britain*); Cenen ap Coel; Peredur ap² Pruth; Gruffydd ap Nogoed; Cynfarch Gorboniawn; Edlym ap Clydawc; Cyngar ap³ Angen; Marswic Cloff (*the lame*); Rhun ap Nwython; Gwrgant Gwan ap Gwestl.”⁴ “Rhun ap Clawdd; Cynveliu ap Trunyad; Cadied ap Cadell; Cynllith ap Nwython; Cyhelin;” Cadvan, and many more, whom it would be too tedious to mention.

From other countries there came Gillamori, king of Ireland; another Gillamori, king of⁵ Alawnt; Doldav, king of Scotland; Gwynvas, king of Orkney; Llew ap Cynfarch, king of Norway; Achel, king of Denmark, and from the countries of France came Oldyn, king of Rwyntun; Bottel, king of Cenonia (*Senonia*); Leodegar, king of Bolwyn (*Boulogne*); Bedwyr, prince of Normandy; Cei, prince of Anjou; Guitard, prince of Poictou; twelve peers of France, with Geraint of⁶ Carnot at their head. Howel ap Emyr of Bretagne, and⁷ many more too numerous to recite.

¹ Supplied from Ms. G. O.

² *Ap Elidyr*, B. G. “The kingdom of Cornwall in Arthur’s time contained Cornwall, all Devonshire, Somersetshire, a great part of Wiltshire, and some of Gloucestershire; for Aust-passage on the Severn in Gloucestershire, was then part of Cornwall.”—Ms. of Mr. Vaughan, of Hengwrt, the Antiquarian.

³ *Angaw*, B.

⁴ Supplied from B. G. and B.

⁵ *Iceland*, Ms. G. O. &c. The errors of orthography only in the names given by G. M. are not worth any particular notice, as they are corrected above.

⁶ *Carweys*, B. T. *Carnweys*, B. G. *Caraffus*, B. *Caranweys*, G. O. *Carnstensis*, G. M. B. T. reads *yn Ysbaen*, i. e. in Spain, instead of *yn eu blaen*.

⁷ If we suppose a straight line drawn from Hull to Southampton, then, comparing this catalogue of names with the map of Britain, it will appear, that with the exception of the Archbishop of London, no name in it is referred to any place to the east of that line. This circumstance is so very remarkable as to give, I think, some degree of authenticity to the catalogue itself; and also to confirm the position, that the countries to the east of this line had been ceded to the Saxons, some of whom were probably the *uninvited* spectators of our author. For, as there could have been no actual war at this time, it is most probable that the Britons and Saxons had, for a time at least, made some peaceable agreement.

In short, never were there at a festival so many men and women of rank; so many steeds, hawks and hounds; or was there such a display of precious stones, golden vessels, and dresses of purple and fine linen as there; for there was no one, even beyond Spain, desirous of distinction, who did not come to partake of the general gratification. There were also many who, uninvited, came to be spectators.

When the company was assembled, the three archbishops were called upon to robe the king, and place the crown on his head; and Dubricius was appointed to sing the sacred service. Arthur, when he entered the church, was arrayed in his royal robes,¹ and supported by the other two archbishops; and before him went four persons bearing each a drawn sword, this being his privilege as ² general. The four persons were, Arawn ap Cynfarch, king of Albany; Caswallon Lawhir, king of Gwynedd; Meyric, king of Dyfed; and Cador, earl of Cornwall. As he went on, the ³ conventual train, on all sides, sang the best poetical compositions to the sound of musical instruments.

The queen also, on her part, entered the church⁴ "after him," dressed in her royal robes, her crown on her head, attended by bishops and nuns, and the four wives of the four abovementioned chiefs, each bearing a ⁵ white pigeon in her hand.

¹ *His train being borne by the other two Archbishops, Ms. G. O. B. G. and B.*

² Though this is the literal meaning, it seems here to mean the lord paramount of these four provinces which formed his kingdom. See note 7, page 152.

³ G. M. has said nothing of the attendance of Monks and Nuns, and it is more remarkable, as he is not foud of omitting; but he might in this case have had a good reason for it.

⁴ Ms. G. O. According to G. M. the queen went to the other church, which agrees better with what is said of the populace running from one church to the other. This, and as some other minute circumstances, give an air of one who had been a spectator to the original author of this description.

⁵ This seems to have been a part of the ancient ceremonial.

When she had entered the church, the service began, which had been composed and set to music in the best manner ever known; and the people ran from church to church to listen to the different services.

When the service was over, the king and queen returned to the palace, changed their dresses, and entered the great hall to the banquet. Arthur and his attendants taking their place at one end of the hall, and at the other Gwenhwyfar and the ladies in her train; as it was the custom for the queen to do "when the king held a court, and had guests by invitation."

When all the company were properly seated, Cei arose, and taking with him a ¹ thousand men, superintended the distribution and arrangements of the viands, as Bedwyr, comptroller of the cellar with a thousand of his men did those of the mead, which was served in vessels of gold and silver. All these had dresses of yellow ermine. Neither was the number or dress of those, who waited on the queen, inferior to theirs who waited on Arthur.

Hence it was, that no court in Christendom could vie with that of Britain in customs or regulations. For all the men who attended on Arthur were in uniform, as were also their wives, and the ceremonial rules of behaviour were alike to all. And as no female of any description would admit the addresses of a man undistinguished by military excellence, the men were the more valorous, and the women more chaste.

After the banquet the company went out of the town to see a variety of games, and more especially the exercises with the lance; and whatever were the game devised, the walls were crowded with

¹ Instead of A MIL O WYR, *a thousand* A'I FILWYR, *his soldiers*.
men; I suspect the true reading should be

female spectators, each of whom recommended her favorite to notice, which caused the men to exert their abilities to the utmost. Prizes for the victors were also given by the sovereign at his own expence.

Thus the festival continued for three whole days, and on the fourth those who attended it were gratified by ample presents; some by a grant of cities, or castles; and others by vacant bishopricks. And on this occasion, Dubricius, archbishop of Carleon, retiring to live as a hermit, surrendered his See. For considering how long a preparation had been made for a festival of three days only, and struck with the perishable nature of worldly enjoyments, he ¹ resolved to prepare for the eternal joys of heaven.

Dewi ap Sandde (*commonly called St. David*) a man of a godly life, and the uncle of Arthur, was therefore made the archbishop instead of Dubricius; also instead of ² Sampson, archbishop of York, Teilo, Bishop of Landaff, was translated thither at the request of Howel ap Emyr of Bretagne; Teilo (*Teilavus*) being a man whose life was truly religious. “³ At that time also Morgan was made Bishop of Caer-Vuddai (*Silchester*); Julian, of Winchester; and Edelfrith, of Caer-Alcluyd.” ⁴ But whilst these arrangements were taking place, twelve

¹ This passage has very much the appearance of an interpolation, or rather, substitution, for another which may have been introductory to the Roman letter, &c. The sentiment attributed to Dubricius, whatever be thought of the mode he pursued, is finely impressive, for surely if transient pleasures require so much preparation, those which are eternal demand one more serious.

² The writer, and as I am persuaded, interpolator of this passage, appears to have forgot that it has been mentioned a little earlier in this history that Arthur had appointed Eppir his household priest to York; Teilo therefore could not well be the successor of Sampson.

³ Supplied from Ms. G. O. &c.

⁴ The very awkwardness itself of the connection of this sentence, with the preceding passage, affords a strong presumptive proof, that the whole of what is said of the Archbishops and Bishops, has, in the true monkish style, been substituted for a description of arrangements for a pageant. The transitions from one subject to another in this history, are indeed frequently abrupt, but here most particularly so. The supposed ambassadors come in we know not how, not even the usual information of *where they landed* is given, a circumstance which this history very rarely omits.

men of most reverend aspect, were seen to come forward with olive branches, in token of an embassy, in their hands, who walked with a slow and grave pace, and humble gesture, till they came into Arthur's presence. Then, having greeted him on the part of Lucius, the Roman general, they delivered into his hands a letter, of which these were the contents:

¹ Lucius, general of the Romans, to Arthur, king of the Britons, greeting, according to thy deserving. For I am amazed, Arthur, that by thy impetuosity, thy pride and thy rashness, thou hast misdemeaned thyself towards the Roman Empire. It is full time for thee to make thy submission to Rome, seeing that all the kings of the earth, except thyself, are subject to her. Whereas thou dost withhold the tribute, which was paid to Julius Cæsar, and the other Emperors his successors; and that whilst all other countries pay tribute to Rome, thou has subjected Britain ² to thyself, and deprived the Romans of their prerogative. Wherefore the Roman senate hath decreed, that thou shouldst appear in Rome, by August next ensuing, to suffer the judgment that may be pronounced upon thee.

To summon thee thither ³ (*added the Ambassadors*) are we come, and if thou appear not at the time, then be it known to thee, that the Romans will come hither to enforce reparation, and the sword shall determine between thee and them.

When Arthur had understood the purport of the letter, he “⁴ withdrew to the tower of the Heroes” to consult his counsel as to the answer, and Cador, earl of Cornwall, ⁵ “as they ascended the steps,” thus addressed Arthur. ‘Sir King,’ said he, ‘remissness and indolence

¹ Lucius Tiberius, G. M.

² *And France and Burgundy*, Ms. B. and the *Allobroges and islands of the ocean*, G. M.

³ If what is called *the letter* is to be understood as such, these words are necessary to the sense.

⁴ Ms. B. and G. M.

⁵ *Ibid.*

have I fear prevailed over us, for during five years past, we have idly given up ourselves to feasting, and conversing with women, which has defrauded us of our valour and our senses: and we ought to thank the Romans for awakening us.' Then answered Arthur, 'Noble and fellow knights, ye have hitherto afforded me wholesome council; and I am now in need of it. Let each therefore advice maturely, and if we lack not useful council, we shall obtain the advantage over the Romans. For though they had a tribute from hence,¹ as a return for their defending this country with their troops against foreign nations, it now owes them nothing. But if they will require of us what we owe them not, we may with a better right demand a tribute of them, if power make the right. For our ancestors, Beli and Bran, the sons of Dyfnwal Moelmud conquered them, and brought twenty of their nobility as hostages to Britain. Constantine the son of Helen also, and Maximus the Great were truly of British origin, and they conquered Rome, and were Emperors. Let us therefore return no answer, save a demand of what they owe to us.'

Howel ap Emyr of Brittany next arose, and said. 'So heaven protect me as I believe, that were each one of us to give his opinion severally, none would be found equal to that of our general. Let us then go forth to defend the prerogative of this kingdom, and since the Romans demand what is not due to them, it belongs to you, Sire, to demand of them that which is so. For the wise² Sibyl has prophesied, that three natives of Wales should be Emperors of Rome. Two have already been so, and thou shalt be the third. Haste we

¹ This passage must have been obliquely aimed at the Saxons, and, whatever may have been the origin of it, is skilfully introduced, and agreeable to the characteristic pleasant wit assigned by our author to Arthur.

² Some prophecies, but translations of those well known, into the Welsh are yet extant in Mss. The one mentioned in this part of the history, I have not met with elsewhere.

then thither, all your subjects are united with you, and I will give you a reinforcement of ten thousand cavalry.

Then said Arawn ap Cynfarch, ' My joy, Sire, in hearing what you have said as to Rome, is not to be expressed. We will welcome the attack of the Romans, which will enable us amply to avenge our ancestors; and therefore to enforce your right, I will give you two thousand cavalry, and infantry also, to go thither with you.

And when all had ceased to speak, and each had specified the number of men he would send in the expedition to Rome, and Arthur had thanked them severally, the number of the promised forces being taken and laid before Arthur, it was found, exclusive of that granted by Howel ap Emyr, to amount to sixty thousand cavalry of approved valour. The infantry was innumerable, for from these six countries, viz. Ireland, Iceland, Scotland, Orkney, Norway and Denmark, the number of the infantry was sixty thousand. The contribution of Gaul was to amount to eighty thousand cavalry well armed, and that from the twelve compeers under ¹ Geraint of Caerwys, one thousand two hundred. So that the whole of the cavalry amounted to ² ninety two thousand two hundred. The number of the infantry was too great to be ascertained.

Arthur therefore assured of the general consent, dismissed them home, with a charge to be in readiness the August following. He then informed the Romans³ " that he would appear at Rome in August to demand" and not to pay tribute, who having received this answer departed.

And when Lucius the Roman General was informed of it, he by advice of the Senate, sent to the kings of the East to request aid against Arthur. " And these were the kings who came: Epis-

¹ *Geraint ab Erbin*, Ms. G. O.

² Ms. G. O.

³ This should be 153,200.

trophus, king of Greece; Mustensar, king of Africa; Alifatima, king of Spain; Hirtacus, king of Parthia; Bacchus, king of Media; Sertorius, king of Lybia, and Sertorius, king of Iturea: Pandrasus, king of Egypt; Micipsa, king of Babylon; Polycletes, king of Bithynia; Teucer, duke of Phrygia; Evander, king of Syria; Echion, king of Bæotia and Hippolytus, king of Crete. Moreover there were many Princes, Earls, Barons and Gentlemen, subjects of Rome. And of the Senate itself, there were Lucius, the Roman General, Cadell and Meyric, Lepidus, Caius, Metallus, Cotta, Quintus, Milvius, Catulus, and Quintus Carausius."

Thus he raised an army of "four hundred thousand, one hundred and forty men;" and as soon as they were in readiness, they set forward towards Britain. Arthur as soon as he was informed of it, assembled his forces, gave his wife Gwenhwyfar and his kingdom in charge to Medrod his sister's son, until his return, and then with all his troops went to Northampton, (*Southampton*) and sailed for Gaul with the first fair wind.

¹ Aius Gensar, Ms. G. O. f. Caius Gensar, i. e. Genseric.

² The text and B. G. read *four hundred thousand thousand*, i. e. *four millions*. But as numbers are generally magnified by copyists, and that the reading above taken from Mss. G. O. and B. may possibly be deemed large enough; and more especially as G. M. affords only *forty thousand one hundred and sixty*, it has been preferred.

The catalogue of the Eastern kings is omitted in the text, from which the translation is taken, though inserted in all the other copies before me, and is referred to in the sequel, it therefore is of necessity inserted from G. M.

As the names are incorrectly given by G. M. and some of them may lead to a

conjecture as to the time when they were inserted, or if this account be taken from a romance when it was composed, they are given here from a comparison of the several copies, at least more intelligibly.

Of these names Epistrophus is borrowed from Dares Phrygius; Pandrasus from the former part of this history, &c. But the most remarkable is *Alifatima*, a Mahomedan name, as that of a king of Spain, which could scarcely have been even thought of prior to the eighth century. It will immediately suggest itself, that they were taken from some romance, and this may well be one of the circumstances to which Giraldus Camb. alludes in his censure of Geoffrey.

That night when he was on the high sea, a deep sleep fell upon Arthur, and in a dream he thought that he beheld a monster from the South, which with a horrid roar descended on the Gallic coast, and that soon after a dragon came from the West, the brightness of whose eyes illumined the sea; that this dragon encountered the bear; and when they had fought for a considerable time, the dragon threw out a stream of fire, which consumed the bear to ashes.

Surprised at such a dream, Arthur, when he awoke, communicated it to his friends; and their interpretation was, that the dragon signified Arthur himself, and that he should fight with some monstrous giant and overcome him. But ¹ Arthur gave no credit to this interpretation, because he believed the dream related to the Roman General and himself.

The next morning at break of day, Arthur and his fleet came to land at ¹ Barilio in Normandy, where they waited for the auxiliaries from the other countries.

During this interval, Arthur received information that a giant of monstrous size had come from Spain, and carried off Helen, the niece of Howel ap Emyr of Brittany, by force from her guards, and taken her to the top of a high hill, called the Mount of St. Michael; that he had been pursued by the troops of the country, but without success; for if they endeavoured to attack him from their ships he deluged and sunk them; if from the land, his dreadful blows dispatched them; after which, as some say, he devoured all the slain. Arthur therefore, when the second hour of the night was come, arose, and taking with him Cei, his principal officer, and Bedwyr, his master of the cellar, set out, and immediately proceeded towards the summit

¹ As *Arth* in Welsh signifies a bear, Arthur might well be dissatisfied with the interpretation.

² *Barbestyw*, Ms. G. O. *Barbestwfi*, B. G. *Bawerfloi*, Ms. B. *Barba*, G. M. *Barbestleure*, or *Barbestleure*, possibly *Barfleure*.

of the hill, on which they saw a large fire burning. As they approached it they perceived a lesser hill near it, and Bedwyr was directed to examine which of these the monster occupied. The lesser hill was accessible from the sea only, Bedwyr therefore went to it in a boat, which he found at hand. As he ascended the hill, he heard a voice, as of a female in distress, he therefore drew his sword, and advancing cautiously to the top of the hill, discovered there a wretched old female, weeping and wailing over a new made grave. But no sooner did she perceive him than she exclaimed, ‘Rash, most rash of men, you know not, you cannot know, your danger, when you thus expose yourself to the most dreadful tortures a monster can inflict, and the worst of deaths, that can destroy the fair hopes of youth. There, hard by, is he, who bore hither by force, Helen, the niece of Howel; here he killed her, and here I have buried her in this fresh grave. Me too, her nurse, he brought with her, and thee he will instantly devour. Woe is me! that I should survive the dear child that sucked these breasts. The monster’s offers of love were to her the terrors of death, and his apprehensions killed her. Fly then for your life, lest coming to seek me, he may find you here, and be your destruction.’

Bedwyr, thus addressed, was greatly affected by compassion for her sorrows, and assured her, that he would endeavour to rescue her. He then returned to Arthur and reported what he had seen.

The relation gave Arthur much pain, for he greatly regretted the fate of Helen. And now he led the way, desiring his companions not to advance to the contest unless he should be in imminent danger, and therefore they suffered him to go on before them. When they found the monster, he had been devouring the flesh of a wild boar, though scarcely warmed from the spits, and was now roasting what remained on them. But when he saw Arthur and his companions

coming, he hastily finished his repast, and laid hold of a massive club, which two young men would scarcely have been able to lift from the ground. Arthur now drew his sword, and advancing his shield before him, rushed on to the attack before the monster should raise his club. But in this hope he was anticipated by a blow, which made his shield ring, and stunned himself. Arthur however quickly recovering, and brandishing his sword *Caledwylch*, gave the monster a wound on the forehead, from which the blood gushed down his face, and filled his eyes. Thus blinded, the monster became furious, and rushed on Arthur's sword, as the wild boar on the spear of the hunter, and grappling with him brought him on his knees. But Arthur adroitly disengaging himself, gave the monster a sudden and mighty blow on the back of his head, that cleft it to the brain; whereupon the monster gave a tremendous shriek, and instantly fell at once to the earth, as the oak, which is overthrown by the storm. Arthur now elate with his success, desired *Bedwyr* to cut off the monster's head. When it was done, Arthur declared that he had never met with a rencounter that could be compared with this, save when he fought with *Rhitta* the giant¹ "in the mountain of *Snowdon*, for his robe."

This *Rhitta* had furred his robe with the beards of kings, and left the highest part vacant for the scalp of the chin, with the beard of Arthur, as he was the sovereign paramount; and had sent to require of Arthur, either to flea off his beard and send it to him, or to go and combat with him, upon condition that the conquerer should have the beard of the other. In that contest Arthur was victorious, and won the robe.

¹ Ms. B. and W. Ms. For a further account of *Rhitta*, see the *Cambrian*

Biography.

Arthur having thus slain the monster, returned to the camp about the second watch of the night, and the head was carried afterwards through the camp, and displayed to the astonishment of the beholders. Howel grieved much for the loss of his niece, and from this circumstance that hill has ever since borne the name of *Helen's Grave*.

Arthur now learned that Lucius the Roman general was on the opposite side of a river called ¹ Gwen, and he himself the same night encamped on the other, and sent to require that Lucius should either entirely leave France, or meet him to contest it in the field the next day. Those who bore the message were ² Gwalchmai ap Gwyar; Bosso Earl of Oxford, and ⁴ Geraint Caerwys, a Prince of France; and Gwalchmai's going was particularly agreeable to Arthur, as he hoped that, by some affront, he would provoke them to the field. When the ambassadors had delivered their message, Lucius answered, that his duty was rather to govern, than to quit France; and to this his nephew ² Caius subjoined, that the tongues of the Britons were sharper than their swords. Whereupon Gwalchmai instantly drew his sword and slew Caius. The three then swiftly mounted their horses, and rode off; the Romans pursued them to revenge the death of Caius. But Geraint, who was the hindmost of the three, slew the foremost of their pursuers.

Bosso perceiving this, turned and attacked the next, and slew him. Marcellus now came up to avenge Caius; and Gwalchmai waited

¹ Perhaps the Huine is meant. G. M. has translated the name literally Alba, i.e. *White*; and represents it as does B.G. also near Autun. If the latter reference be right, the river will be either the Vaune or the Yonne.

² The Walgan of G. M.

³ The Guerinus of ditto.

⁴ *Caius Quintilianus*, G. M. on what authority I know not.

for him, and with a stroke on the head, cleft him to the chest, and so bid him go and tell his friends in the shades, that the swords of the Britons were sharper than their tongues. And now Gwalchmai and his friends agreed to make a stand, and receive their pursuers as they should come on successively. This they did near a wood, and soon six thousand of the Britons rushed with a loud cry upon the Romans, slew many of them, and put the rest to flight. But ¹ Petreius, a Roman senator, being informed of it, he advanced immediately at the head of ten thousand men to the aid of the Romans; and at the first assault drove the Britons back into the wood, where many were slain on both parts. And now Edeyrn ap Nudd, having brought up five thousand men to support the Britons, the engagement was renewed with great vigour and bravery; Petreius calling on, and encouraging his troops to exert themselves to the utmost. Bosso, Earl of Oxford, perceiving this, took some chosen men with him, and going up to Gwalchmai, said to him, let us beware of being worsted in this encounter, and so falling into the king's displeasure. We must attack Petreius himself, and either kill him, or take him prisoner.

Then they immediately broke through the ranks of the Romans, dragged Petreius from his horse, and bound him. Both parties fought hard for him, but at length the Britons were victorious, and having carried Petreius off to their own army, they returned to the battle, where the Romans, soon routed, left little more to be done than slaying, or taking prisoners and spoils.

When the Britons brought their prisoners to Arthur, and informed him of what had passed, he was much pleased to find that they had extricated themselves so happily when he was not present; and immediately directed Bedwyr, and Cador Earl of Cornwall, with two

¹ The text reads, *Petaraine*. The adopted. other copies, Petreius, which is therefore

other chieftains ¹ "Richard and Borel" to convey the prisoners to Paris. The Romans therefore having gained intelligence of this intent, selected a body of fifteen thousand men, and sent them off by night under Quintus, a Roman senator, Evander king of Syria, and Sertorius of Libya, ² in order to rescue the prisoners. This body went and lay in ambush, and on the next day when Arthur's troops entered a woody glen, where the ambush was, the Romans arose upon them, and threw them into confusion. The Britons now separated into two bodies, the one under Bedwyr, and Richard of Baldwin, to guard the prisoners; whilst Cadur, Earl of Cornwall, and Borel, sustained the attack of the Romans. Presently Guitard, Chieftain of Poictou, brought three thousand men to the aid of the Britons, who, thus reinforced, stood firmly, and took vengeance of the Romans for their perfidy. In this engagement, Evander, king of Syria was slain by a wound from a spear; and Arthur lost four of his nobles; viz. Hirlas of ³ Eliawn; Meyric ap Cadur; Halydue of Tindagol, and Cei ap Ithel. The Britons however lost not one of their prisoners; but, on the contrary, put the Romans to flight, and in that flight it was that Evander, king of Syria was slain, as also Vulteius, a Roman senator. After this victory the Britons brought their former prisoners, and others taken on this day to Paris, and having so done, returned with joy to Arthur.

Lucius was now so much distressed by the ill fortune of his troops, that he consulted with his council whether he should return to Rome, or come to an engagement with Arthur. The result was, that they should make for Langres⁴ in the Nivernois, and there they arrived

¹ Ms. G. O.

² To these the other copies add Vulteius, a senator, and Catulus.

³ Of *Abergwy*, Ms. G. O.

⁴ It is difficult to ascertain the sense of the original here. B. G. says, that the intent of Lucius was to go to the Nivernois, and that he reached Langres that night.

Ms. G. O. that they should go to the Nivernois, to a place called Langres. Langres is not indeed in the Nivernois, it is in Champagne. But the names Navarn and Leugrys in Ms. G. O. Nafarn and Leigrys in the text, leave little doubt but that the Nivernois and Langres are intended by them.

that night. And when Arthur heard it, he went to the glen of ¹Seine, to wait for Lucius who was to come thither the following day. Here Arthur set his cavalry on the flank, under the command of Moryd, Prince of Bath, and arranged the main body in eight divisions, each consisting of three thousand five hundred men, and when they were in order, charged them to make the attack together, and to keep their ranks.

Each division was commanded by two experienced chiefs; the first by Aaron ap Cynfarch, and Cador, Earl of Cornwall; the second on the left by Bosso of Oxford, and Geraint Caerwys; the third by Achle, king of Denmark, and Llew ap Cynfarch, king of Prydyn; the fourth by Howel ap Emyr of Brittany, and Gwalchmai ap Gwyar. In the rear of these were the four other divisions, each commanded by two chiefs; the first by Cei the Tall, and Bedwyr ap Pedrod; the second by Holdins, Prince of ²Ruyten, and Guitard, Prince of Poitou; the third by Owen of Carleon, and Gwynvas of Caer-gaint, (*Winchester*); and the fourth by Urien of Bath, and Gwrsalem of Dorchester. In the rear of these four was Arthur himself, at the head of a legion, consisting of six thousand three hundred men. Arthur then addressed them to this purpose:

‘ Brave warriors, ye know well, that by your counsels, and your valour, Britain is become the sovereign of thirty kingdoms, and by your valour we will yet conquer Rome, and be avenged for her attempts to enslave us. Recollect that if we have for a long time been idly trifling in the society of women, it is now the time to exert the more the valour of the soldier, and with one spirit to give the death-blow to these Romans, who presume we dare not meet them

¹ The text has *Asnesia*, i. e. The Snesia, *Mena*, Ms. G. O. *Suegia* or *Senan*, B. G.

² Probably Witsan.

in the field. Observe my instructions, and to the utmost of my power, Arthur will reward every individual who does so.¹

Lucius also, when he ¹ heard that Arthur had harangued the British army, began to address his own, by telling them, that all the world ought to be subject to Rome. And remember, said he, that your ancestors left Rome superior in valour and prosperity to the rest of the world; do not you therefore fear death to maintain it. Fight bravely that we may make other countries her tributaries. Remember we come not here to fly, but to engage the enemy, who though powerful in the first onset, will give way if you stand firmly.

When he had finished his address, he marshalled his army in twelve divisions, each division having a legion of cavalry, and being commanded by two approved chiefs: ² “The first was commanded by Cadell the Wolf, (*f. Catulus Lupus*) and Ali Fatima, king of Spain; the second by Hirtacus, king of Persia, and Marcus, the Hare, (*f. Marcus Lepidus*) a senator; the fourth by Ferrex, king of Libya, and Quintus Milvius, a Roman. In the rear of these divisions were four more, the first whereof was commanded by Xerxes, king of Iturea; the second by Pandrasus, king of Egypt; the third by Polycetes, king of Phrygia; and the fourth by ³Tenetus, prince of Bithynia. Again, in the rear of these were four more; the first commanded by ⁴Quintus, a senator; the second by Lælius, a Roman prince; the third by Sulpicius; the fourth by Meyric of the Wood, (*Mauricius, or Marius, Sylvanus.*)”

Lucius himself gave all the necessary instructions, and set up a golden eagle on his standard in the centre, as the rallying signal.

¹ The reader will probably be amused by the regular intelligence which our author keeps up between the two armies, and have a due respect for the complais-

ance of Lucius in following the example of Arthur.

² Supplied from Ms. G. O.

³ Denotus, B. G.

⁴ Quintus Milvius, B. G.

The battle then began; and, first of all, the division of the king of Spain encountered that of Arawn ap Cynfarch, and Cador Earl of Cornwall, and came to close engagement. Then Geraint of Caerwys, and Bosso of Oxford, broke the Roman divisions, and so violent was the contest, that the ground shook, and the air resounded, with the trampling of the armies. The full ¹description of it was a laborious work.

Bocchus, king of Media, pierced Bedwyr through with a spear, and gave Cei a mortal wound. Cei's division however preserved the body of Bedwyr, till they met the division of the Libyan, which dispersed them, yet they carried the body to the station of the golden dragon. Then Hirlas, Bedwyr's nephew, taking with him three hundred of the cavalry, broke through the Romans, as the boar through the pack; and having found Bocchus, unhorsed and dragged him to the place where the body of Bedwyr lay, and there slew him. Hirlas then returned to his division, and animated it to fight strenuously. Many were then slain on either part; on that of the Romans, Alifantima, and Milvius, a senator. On that of Arthur, Holdins, king of Rwyten, Leodegar of Boulogne; and these three British princes, viz. Gwrsalem of Winchester, Gwallawg of Shrewsbury and Urien of Bath. Cei also died of the wound he had lately received.

The first division now gave way, and retreated to that of Howel ap Emyr, and Gwalchmai. Thus strengthened, they renewed the attack, and Gwalchmai dealt death at every blow; nor did he pause till he reached the division of the Roman general. There however the British force was weakened by the loss of Cynfarch, prince of ²Teigei, (*Triguer*) and two thousand men with him. But Howel and Gwalchmai keeping close together, supported their own honour by valorous deeds,

¹ This description then was taken from a large work.

² Tregery, B. G. Teiger, Ms. G. O. Trigeria, G. M. From whence it appears to be Triguer in Bretagne.

and at last, to the wish of Gwalchmai, he encountered Lucius the Roman general, who no less desired it.

They therefore engaged with the most violent animosity; but, when it was at the height, a multitude of the Romans pouring in, obliged Gwalchmai and Howel to retire and join Arthur, who, when he saw it, rushed forward on the Romans, and brandishing his sword Caledwylch, cried out to his troops, 'Avenge the wrongs of your fathers on these boasters; strike hard, and with your constant valour, and they will soon give way.' Thus having said, he led on, like an enraged lion, and his every stroke was mortal; so that the enemy fled before him, as the herd before the hungry lion; for no armour sustained his blows. Sertorius, king of Libya; and Polyetetes, of Bithynia, were slain by him, each with a single stroke: and his troops, animated by his success, and directed by his orders, fought manfully. The Romans also reproached, and soothed their men by turns, so that great numbers fell on either part. At length Morydd, earl of Gloucester, came up with a legion and renewed the attack, in which a Britain, but who is not known, slew Lucius with a spear; and then the Britons completely routed the Romans, and so requited them for their demand of tribute from a free nation.

Arthur then gave orders, that the bodies of the dead Britons should be separated from those of the Romans, and interred with honour in the neighbouring monasteries, and that those of the Roman nobility should be sent to their friends for burial. The body of Bedwyr was sent to a ¹ city of Normandy, which he had himself built; and that of Cei to Poictou, where it was buried in a church of the hermits. That of ² Holdins, prince of Rwyntun, was sent to Flanders, ³ "where

¹ Baieux, G. M.

² Or *Oldyn*.

³ Ms. G. O.

he was buried at Terwan" (*Terouanne*.) The rest of the chiefs were buried in the neighbouring churches.

Arthur then sent the body of the Roman general to the senate, with a warning to the Romans not to attempt to seek a tribute thenceforward from Britain.

That winter, Arthur remained in the same station, in order to subdue Burgundy; and in the first week of the following summer, as he was setting out, to go over the Mynnau (*high peaked*) mountains to Rome, messengers arrived from Britain to inform him, that his nephew Medrod had assumed the crown of London, seized on his dominions, and taken his wife Gwenhwyfar to his bed. Arthur therefore returned to Britain, leaving the conquest of the Romans to the care of Howel ap Emyr of Bretagne.

Medrod now, of necessity, sent ¹ Selix, a Saxon prince, to induce the Germans to come to Britain in as great force as possible by a promise of more than Vortigern had granted, even from the Humber to Kent. Selix accordingly went, and returned with seven ships full of armed Pagans. And Medrod in the mean time formed a league with the Picts, Scots, and Irish, and every other foe to Arthur, so that he raised an army of eighty thousand men at arms, with which he went to ² Southampton, to prevent Arthur from landing. The battle began on Arthur's part from the ships, and on Medrod's from the shore; and great slaughter ensued, in which Arawn ap Cynfarch, and Gwalchmai ap Gwyar fell. Urien ap Cynfarch was substituted in the place of Arawn; and with great labour and loss Arthur made good his landing, put Medrod to flight, and dispersed his army. That night Medrod collected his scattered forces and went to Win-

¹ *Sellinx*, B. G. and B. *Cheldric*, G. M. If, as it seems probable, Cerdic be intended, this is the most corrupted name in the history.

² Rutupium, G. M.

chester, which he made as secure as he could. Gwenhwyfar having heard it, withdrew herself to Carleon, where she took the veil and joined the nuns in the church of Julius the martyr.

On the third day, Arthur, having buried the dead, led his army to Winchester, and Medrod came into the field, and gave him battle; in which Medrod, after a severe engagement, was routed, and made his escape to Cornwall. Arthur now would not wait to bury the dead, but pursued the traitor, in rage that he should twice have escaped from him. Medrod however made a stand on the river Camlan, with a force of sixty thousand six hundred and six men, resolved rather to hazard an engagement than fly from place to place. He therefore drew up his army in nine divisions, each consisting of a legion, and to encourage it, was profuse in his promises of reward.

On the other side, Arthur also drew up his men in order of battle, and said 'My brave friends, yonder men will never fight well together; they are a mass of faithless and disorderly wretches, whereas we are Christians; the right is on our part, and the wrong is on theirs.' Having so said, and given his orders, they attacked the enemy, and so bitter was the contest, that the living were almost distracted by the cries of the dying. When the day was far advanced, Arthur fell upon the division, in which Medrod commanded, and dispersed it as the lion does the herd, and in this attack slew Medrod, and numbers more. Yet notwithstanding the death of Medrod, the engagement continued, and was one of the severest ever known. Of Medrod's chiefs there were slain, ¹ Eiaes, (*Ella*) Brytt (*Egbert*) and Bwfynt, who were Saxons; Gillamori, Gilafradric, ² Gilasgyrwm and Ilarch of

¹ *Elaes*, *Ebrut* and *Eburiawe*, Ms. *Egbriet* and *Buningus*, G. M.
 G. O. *Elaes* *Egbriet* and *Bymyne*,
 B. G. *Cheldric*, *Elaes*, *Edbrich* and B. and B. G. *Gislar* and *Gilarch*, Mss. G. O. and
Humys, Ms. B. *Cheldric*, *Elafrius*, G. M.

Ireland; and all those of the Picts and Scots. Of Arthur's chiefs ¹ Ebra, king of Norway; ² Coel, king of Denmark; Cador, the Róver; Caswallon, and many more. In this battle Arthur received a wound which proved mortal, and he came to the Isle of Afallach to have it taken care of. This is ³ all that is said here of Arthur's death.

Constantine the son of Cador, succeeded to the throne by Arthur's desire, A. D. 552. ⁴ "For Cador was the son of Gorlais, earl of Cornwall, by Eigr, Arthur's mother, the daughter of Amlawdd the Great." Here ends the history of Arthur and Medrod.

After the coronation of Constantine, Medrod's two sons, in conjunction with the Saxons, made an unsuccessful attempt to oppose him. ⁵ "About this time St. Daniel, Bishop of Bangor, left this world to receive his reward in Heaven; and Theon, Bishop of Gloucester, was elected Archbishop of London. St. David also died, and was buried at Menevia (*St. David's*) in the monastery, which he had himself founded. To that place he had, before his birth, been destined by Patrick, and there he sickened and died. Maelgwn Gwynedd ordered, that he should be interred with honour in the church; and Cynawe, Bishop of Llanbadarn, was elected Archbishop of Caerleon in his stead." And after that many battles had been

¹ Ebrut, Ms. G. O. Ebriet, B. G. and B. Olbriet, G. M.

² Achel, Ms. G. O. and B. G. Echel, B. Aschillius, G. M.

³ The Ms. J. G. L. gives an account of Arthur's death from the Sangreal, which agrees with that in the *Morte Arthur* in every respect, excepting that the Sir Bedwyr of the latter, is in I. G. L. said to be Constantine, who was Arthur's successor, and that Arthur's body disappears. But whether Mr. Jones found this name in a Welsh copy of the Sangreal, or has himself so interpreted it, I cannot say, (as I have not seen any copy of it,) though I believe that such may still be found.

The words *that is said here* seem to intimate that the writer belonged to the monastery of Glastonbury. If so he may not have been willing to record the popular idea of it, and have been either ignorant of the real circumstance, or unwilling to disclose them.

⁴ Ms. G. O. To which it adds, *and then these verses were written*. A space is left for the verses, but they are not inserted. Probably they were to have been these, which are said to have been written by Henry Abbot of Glastonbury.

Hic jacet Arthurus, flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem mores, probitas commendant laude
pereuni.

⁵ B. G. and Ms B.

been fought between Constantine and the Saxons, the latter, with one of Medrod's sons fled to London, where he was killed, and was buried in a monastery. The other brother fled to Winchester, where he was killed in the church of Amphibalus, before the high altar.

In the third year of his reign, Constantine himself was killed by Cynan Wledig (*the Great*) and was buried in the Circle of the Heroes at Salisbury, near Uther Pendragon.

¹ Cynan, who succeeded to the crown, was a young man, whose abilities were equal to the station, for he was prompt and spirited in war. He had an uncle, whose right to the crown was nearer than his own, but he put him and his two sons to death. Cynan died in the second year of his reign.

² "He was succeeded by ³ Gwrthefyr, (*Vortiper*) who suppressed an insurrection of the Saxons, aided by a large body of their friends from Germany. He reigned four years."

After him Maelgwn Gwynedd came to the crown. He was a great character; for he was sagacious, bold, and rigorous, and subdued many kings. In every respect he excelled, saving that he was addicted to the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah.⁴ He was the first successor of Arthur, who gained possession of six countries dependant upon Britain; viz. Ireland, Iceland, Scotland, Orkney, Norway and Denmark; and made them tributary to it. He died in the Church of a convent ⁵ "at Rhos in Creuddyn," by having seen the ⁶ yellow spectre through a hole over the door of the church. ⁷ "It was he who built the castles of Deganwy, Digoll, (*now Shrewsbury*); Cyffin, (*now Conway*); and Collwyn, (*now Harlech*)."

¹ Aurelius Conan, G. M.

² Omitted in B. T. and supplied from Ms. G. O. &c.

³ *Wortiporius*, G. M.

⁴ For the vindication of Maelgwn from this horrid charge, see the Preface.

⁵ Ms. G. O.

⁶ Maelgwn had shut himself up in the church to avoid the infection of a yellow plague, or fever, here called *Malaen*, or *the Dæmon*, but caught it by looking out, as was supposed, and hence this story.

⁷ Omitted in B. T. and supplied from Ms. G. O.

Caredig succeeded to Maelgwn. But the contentions he studied to excite among his kindred, made him odious to God and to the Britons; and the Saxons knowing his instability, sent to Ireland, to one ¹ Gormund, a king of Africa, and a savage character, who had come thither with a fleet of his, and invited him to make a descent upon Britain, ² “promising their obedience to him, and an annual tribute.” He accordingly came with three hundred sail, filled with troops.

³ “At this time the Saxons and infidel Pagans were in possession of one part of the island,” and the Britons, who were christians, of the other, and upon ill terms with the Saxons. When Gormund arrived, the Saxons engaged with Caredig, and forced him to fly to Silchester. After this victory had been gained, Imbert, the king of Gaul came and joined Gormund, on condition of receiving aid from him to recover France from his uncle, who had dispossessed him. They went therefore together to attack *Caer-Vyddan*, (*Silchester*) by completely investing it, to avoid the loss of men. Having so done, they had recourse to this stratagem. A great number of sparrows were caught, and nutshells filled with pitch and brimstone were set on fire at the edge of night, and tied to their wings, and the birds set free.

The fire in the shells was kindled by the motion of the wings, and the next day the city was on fire. Caredig then came out, and gave his enemies battle, but with so little success, that he was obliged to fly through the Severn to the recesses of Wales. Gormund immediately afterwards began to lay all waste with fire and sword, destroying the cities and castles, sparing neither learned nor unlearned, nor even

¹ *Gotmud*, B. G. and Ms. B. See the Appendix.

² Omitted in B. T. and supplied from Ms. G. O.

³ Ditto

age itself, so that none knew whither to fly from the calamity, which the vengeance of God had sent on the British nation.

¹ 'Alas! Britons, it is nothing strange, that ye are thus humbled. Your ancestors subdued other nations in former ages, and ye now have fallen so low as not to be able to defend your own country from foreigners. Repent, unhappy Britons, according to your misdeeds, and acknowledge the truth of the words of the gospel, that a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand. For it is thus that the disunion of the Britons destroyed their country, and therefore, the Pagans inherit it.'

The Pagans extended their ravages from sea to sea, for Caredig gave up England to them, whilst the miserable remnant of the Britons retired to the extremities of the island, to Cornwall, and what is called Cymry (*Wales*) still obliged to sustain frequent contests with the enemy.

As the churches of London and York were destroyed, Theon the Archbishop of London, and the ² Archbishop of York took all the reliques, and bones of the saints, and fled with them to the wildest parts of Snowdon, lest the infidel foe should seize upon them. Many fled to ³ Bretagne. For in either Diocese all the churches were laid in ruins; and the men of learning slain.

Thus for a length of time the Britons lost the crown and sovereignty of the kingdom, and with them the territory appertaining to them. They were no longer under one, but under three kings, who had frequent wars to sustain. Yet neither did the Saxons obtain the sovereignty, but were often at war with the Britons, and with each other.

¹ This paragraph has most probably been the ground work of the spurious epistle of Gildas.

² G. M. calls him Thadioceus. The *relics* are certainly an interpolation.

³ B. G. adds. *I will say no more of this here, but defer it till I write of their happiness in Normandy.* G. M. defers it till he translated the Book.

At this time a ¹ Bishop, ² "Austin, sent by Pope Gregory," came from Rome to preach to the Pagan Saxons of Britain, for they were ignorant of the faith, and had destroyed it in their territories. But the Britons maintained it, as they had done from the days of Eleutherius, the Bishop of Rome, who communicated it to this country. The preaching of Austin was more attended with ridicule, than conversions to the faith; but still he went on till he arrived at the mountain of the saints, followed by a great multitude. On one of the declivities of this mountain they were in great want of water, and he having therefore prayed to God for it, an angel appeared to him, and commanded him not to remit of his labours, as God would supply him with all that was requisite, and immediately to the great joy of Austin, a fountain burst forth, which was sufficient for them all.³ He then proceeded towards Kent, where he converted the king and all his army. From thence he went to the town of ⁴ Riw, but whilst he was preaching they sewed the tails of beasts to his canonical dress, and mocked him, and he then prayed that whosoever should be born in that town ⁵ should be born with a tail, ⁶ "and it was so."

From hence he went to London, where having enquired as to the cathedral, and the clergy slain by the Saxons, he learned that there was an archiepiscopal church at Carleon, which had seven bishops of the faith subject to it; as also monasteries and convents, where God ⁷ and the saints were worshipped. Of these was the monastery

¹ The other copies correct this mistake, as Austin was not a bishop at this time.

² Ms. G. O. &c.

³ Ms. G. O. adds. *And Austin gave to the place the name of Cernel, (a Greek word signifying mystery) which it retains to this day. I know nothing of it, or its derivation.*

⁴ Raw, Ms. G. O. Perhaps Rye.

⁵ This seems to be the real origin of the fabulous tradition, that Kentish men were born with tails. And which in later times was revived, and said by the Papists to have happened to them at the time of the Reformation.

⁶ Ms. G. O.

⁷ There is every reason to believe, that at this time the Britons did not worship saints.

of great Bangor in English Maelor, in which, exclusive of the priors and servants, there were two thousand one hundred monks all supported by the labour of their own hands. The name of its Abbot was ¹ Dunod, who was the most learned man of his age. Austin

* The son of Pabo, the Pillar of Britain. Daniel, the son of this Dunod, founded Bangor in Caernarvonshire after the destruction of the Bangor in Denbighshire. Brochwel had married Arddun Dunod's sister.

The account here given of the contest between Dunod and Austin proves incontrovertibly that this passage has been carefully managed so as to avoid giving offence to the church of Rome. It tells only what could not be concealed. Even to the time of Geoffrey, the British and Romish churches were distinct, and it was necessary to assign some reason for it, as Bede had done before. To refer the origin of the dissension to the domineering pride of Rome, was only to refer it to a principle, which probably the Saxon clergy felt the effects of too sensibly not to be gratified by so convenient an occasion of rebuking it, under the person of Dunod. But the following passage,* quoted by Spelman, from an antient manuscript in the Mostyn collection, gives the speech of Dunod more fully, and whatever be its date, it certainly gives the opinion of the British church truly. Not having seen the original, I cannot judge of the date from the character; but, from the orthography, which in Welsh writings is a criterion of very considerable importance, I cannot consider the original document as having been written later than the tenth century, and am of opinion it was of higher antiquity. In the present standard orthography, it is as follows:

'Bid hyspys a diogel i chwi, bod ni oll, un ag arall, yn ufudd ag yn ostyngedig i. Eglwys Dduw, ag i'r Pab o Rufain, ag

i pob gywair Gristion duwiol, i garu pawb yn ei radd, mewn cariad perfaith; ag i helpio pawb o honynt ar air a gweithred i fod yn blant i Dduw. Ag amgenach ufuddod na hwn nid adwain i fod i'r neb yr ydych chi yn ei henwi yn Bab, neu yn Dad o Dadau, iw gleinio, ag i'w ofyn. A'r ufuddod hwn ydym ni yn barod i'w roddi ag i'w dalu iddo ef, ag i bob Gristion yn dragwyddol. Hefyd yr ydym ni dan lywodraeth Esgob Caerleon a'r wysg, yr hwn sydd yn olygwr, dan Duw arnom ni, i wneuthur i ni gadw'r fford ysprydol.'

"Know and be assured, that we all, jointly and severally, are in humility ready to defer to the church of God, the Pope of Rome, and every sincere and pious christian; so to love every one according to his station, in perfect charity, and to assist them all by word and deed, so that they may become children of God. But as to farther deference than this, I know of none, which he, whom ye call Pope, or father of fathers, (*i. e. bishop of bishops*) can claim or demand. The deference which I have stated, we are ever ready to pay to him, and every christian. Moreover we are subject to the bishop of Carleon on Uske, who is, under God, our superintendant to keep us in our spiritual path."

This passage, though somewhat more full than that in the Brut, is still defective as to several of the principal motives of the dissension. It is however valuable as it states, and truly, that the British clergy were by no means averse to preaching the

* There also is a copy of it in the British Museum. Claudius, A. D.

heard this with great joy, and sent to enjoin him to come and assist himself in preaching and converting the Saxons. But Dunod answered, that he would not think it worthy of him to preach to that cruel nation of foreigners, who had treacherously destroyed the ancestors of the Britons, and disinherited their posterity, and ¹ “proved by various arguments and by authorities of Scripture,” that he and his monastery owed no subjection either to them, or any one else, but their own Primate the Archbishop of Carleon, who was Primate of Britain.²

When this was made known to Edelfled (*Ethelbert*) king of Kent, he sent to another Edelfled (*Edelfrid*) in the north, and the other Saxon chiefs, enjoining them immediately to fall upon Dunod and his monastery, and punish his disobedience. All the Saxons assembled came therefore as far as Chester. At this time Brochwel Ysgythrog was there, and headed the Welsh, and there also were with them in the city a great number of the monks from every British monastery, and especially from Great Bangor, ³ “who came thither to offer up their prayers for their countrymen.” Brochwel with this force encountered the Saxons; but was obliged to retreat to Bangor, and summon all the Britons to his aid.

gospel to the Saxons. The Romish writers have indeed so represented them, as do also the known copies of the Brut; the imputation was a calumny necessary to the Romish cause from the beginning, and therefore steadily adhered to. In the *Genealogies of the British Saints*, some of these holy persons are noted as having preached to the Saxons; and even from the life of Wilfred it appears, that many of the Saxon bishops in his time were connected with the British church.

The other causes of the dissension were of equal importance, to say the least of them. In the British church the bishops

were elective. The gospel of St. John was principally its authority, Saints and Martyrs were not regarded as intercessors. The use of the cross, except perhaps in baptism, was held to be an abomination; as also that of images. No affinity was thought to be contracted by being sponsors, &c.

¹ G. M. and B. have here interpolated a false and invidious sentence, importing that the Welsh absolutely refused to preach to the Saxons. It is not in B. T. or in Ms. G. O.

² G. M. and B.

³ Ms. B.

¹ “Edelfrid was now irritated because of the numbers he had lost; and Dunod, apprised of his coming, sent two hundred of the most prudent of the monks to intreat he would spare that sacred mansion, and to offer to him all their property, so that he would permit them to serve and praise God in peace in their monastery, they having done nothing against him. But Edelfrid, when he heard their message, ordered all these holy messengers to be slain, and advanced with his forces to the monastery,” ² and when he saw the monks, knowing that the battle would, for their sakes, be bloody, he ordered one thousand two hundred of them to be put to death.

Brochwel was speedily joined by Bledrig, prince of Cornwall; Meredyth, king of South Wales; and Cadvan, king of North Wales; and with them marched to Bangor, where they engaged with the Saxons, and after a battle, in which the slaughter on both parts was great, were victorious. Edelfrid was wounded, and fled with the remains of his army. In this battle there were slain of the Saxons ten thousand, sixty and six; and on the part of the Welsh fell Bledrig, prince of Cornwall, and many more with him, as he had preeminently stood and maintained the brunt of the battle.

The Britons now united together, and went to Chester, where they elected ³ Cadvan ap Iago as their chieftain, and pursued Edelfrid and the Saxons till they passed the Humber. There Edelfrid obtained

¹ Ms. G. O.

² “There Brochwel made a stand against him, and a bloody battle was fought by them, since called the battle of Bangor-garden. But, after long contesting of the day, Brochwel was forced to retreat through the river Aerwen (*Aeren, marginal note, i.e. the Severn*) being overpowered by the Saxons. He then guarded the fords till he should

“receive succours. In this battle were slain of men of learning, exclusive of the labouring brothers, above a thousand.” Ms. G. O. This account is probably the most correct, as Guttyn Owain, who transcribed this manuscript, was well versed in Welsh history.

³ Cadvan ap Iago, ap Beli, ap Rhun, ap Maelgwn Gwynedd, Ms. G. O.

reinforcements, and prepared to engage Cadvan; but, when their armies were in view of each other, a peace was concluded between them, on condition that Edelfrid should retain the country beyond the Humber, and that Cadvan should have the crown of London,¹ (*i. e. the title of Paramount sovereign of Britain*) and hostages were given to confirm the terms.

Some time afterwards, Edelfrid put away his lawful wife, because of his attachment to a concubine; and the wife, who was in her pregnancy, applied to Cadvan to mediate between her and her husband. But as Edelfrid would not listen to him, she remained in Cadvan's palace till she was brought to bed of a son. About the same time Cadvan's wife also was delivered of a son. Cadvan's son was named Cadwallon, and Edelfrid's Edwin; both were reared there together, until they grew up, and then both were sent for their instruction in the manners of a court, and the use of arms, to the court of Solomon, king of Bretagne, and were by him gladly received. Here they improved so much as, both in skirmishing, and actual engagement, not to be surpassed by any.

When Cadvan and Edelfrid died, the sons succeeded to the father's respectively, and renewed the conditions, and amity, agreed on by their fathers. But, at the end of two years, Edwin demanded permission of Cadwallon to make a crown for himself, ²(*i. e. to be acknow-*

¹ This is the proper meaning of the Welsh words, which have been mistaken even by Welsh writers, for the actual possession of the whole territory of Britain, and confounded with it.

² The distinction marked in the preceding note is here sufficiently evident. The mere wearing of a crown, as an ornament, was amply in Edwin's power. The object of contention would therefore be, not the right to the territory beyond the Humber, for this had been already granted;

nor the diadem, which he could have had made, and set on his own head; but an acknowledged right annexed to his so doing, which, without that acknowledgement, would be noted and condemned as usurpation. And however the island was divided into petty kingdoms, and variously possessed, the right of sovereignty does not appear to have been conceded to any by the British line of Princes till this period.

ledged as an independent king,) that he might wear it on the other side of the Humber, on the festivals of the saints, according to the privilege of kings before him. To determine upon this subject a day was appointed for the holding of a council of wise and learned men, near the river Dulas. When there, Cadwallon having rested his head on the knee of his nephew, Braint ap Nefyn, and fallen asleep, Braint burst into tears, which flowed so fast, as to fall on the face of Cadwallon, and awoke him; and alarmed him for the health of his nephew, so that he anxiously enquiring what was the cause. To which Braint thus replied:

‘ From this day Britons will have cause to weep; for you have given up that distinctive note of superiority of your family, which has been its honour ever since the time of Maclgwn Gwynedd to this day. You have now consented that these treacherous infidels, the Saxons, independent of you, should make a king; and henceforward they will unite, and by their craft will seize on all Britain. It was your duty to repress, not to foster them. How could you, Sir, forget their conduct to Vortigern, who first transferred his confidence from honest men to them; or how ill they requited his favors? their treachery to Emrys; their poisoning him, and Uther Pendragon? Did they not ¹ break their faith to Arthur, and join Medrod against him; and last of all they invited Gormund to seize on the possessions of Caredig, and drove him by treachery from his kingdom.’

This speech was no sooner concluded, than Cadwallon sent to inform Edwin that he had no intention of allowing any other crown than that of ² London. To which Edwin replied, that he would

¹ This implies what has either been omitted in the former part of this history, or lost of it, viz. that Arthur had granted a settlement to the Saxons in England, upon the condition of acknowledging the

sovereignty of the island to be vested in himself.

² This expression, having been made use of, when the chief residence of the sovereign Paramount was in London, can

make one in defiance of him; and Cadwallon declared, that he would then cut off Edwin's head when crowned. So that both collected all the forces they were able, and a great battle ensued between them, which terminated in the defeat of Cadwallon, whereupon he fled to Ireland, and Edwin ravaged all his territories.

Cadwallon however, still endeavoured to land in Britain, but without success, for wheresoever he made the attempt, Edwin was ready to oppose him with an army, being always apprised of Cadwallon's intention by a ¹ magician from Spain, whose name was Pelidys, who by the stars, and the flight of birds, foretold every thing. Cadwallon was thus reduced to great despondency, and a fear that he should never regain his territories. In this distress he determined to lay his situation before Solomon, the king of Bretagne, and to request his advice and aid. He therefore sailed for Bretagne, but a storm arose and dispersed his fleet. Cadwallon himself was for three days together so ill, that he was unable to taste food, ² but on the fourth recovered perfectly, and having obtained a fair wind, they reached Bretagne.

Here they were welcomed by Solomon, who readily promised Cadwallon that he should have aid; lamented much that a foreign nation should have been able to oppress the Britons, and expressed his surprise that the Britons had been so inactive, as to the Saxons, whom every other country had driven away. 'For,' added he, 'since the time of Maximus the Great, and Cynan Meriadawg, came with

here have no other signification than that the sovereignty, and London itself, as the seat of sovereignty, did belong of right (though London did not at the time by possession) to the British sovereign.

¹ This magician is hereafter described as found *distributing bread to the poor*; a circumstance which makes it probable that some Romish missionary, of the name

of Mellitus or Palladius, who was at this time with Edwin, was the magician. His knowledge might easily acquire such a character from the heathens, and it be believed by the christians from their reports.

² A silly story of Cadwallon's being recovered by eating human flesh, is here, as in the Welsh copy, omitted. It may be seen in G. M.

the natives of Britain hither, no one has there maintained fully the prerogative of the island, and sorry am I that I cannot in person execute vengeance on the Saxons.

This address abashed Cadwallon greatly, and therefore, having first acknowledged gratefully the kindness of Solomon, he continued thus:

¹ ' You ought not, Sir, to be surprised, that those who were left in the island, should have been inactive; as every man of rank came hither with Cynan Meriadawg, and when the island was left to the protection of the weak commonalty, you must be aware that they were too feeble for it, being more inclined to gluttony, drunkenness, and lust. For, as Gildas observes, many sins bring a nation low, until it repent, because it seeketh not the true physician. Therefore, Sir, they were displeasing to God, and therefore he has given them into the hands of strangers to punish them for their sins. And therefore am I come to plead the alliance of kindred with you. For Maelgwn Gwynedd was the fourth king of all Britain after Arthur. He had two sons Einion and Rhun; Rhun's son was Beli, and Beli's son was Iago, and Iago's son was Cadvan my father. Rhun on the death of his brother Einion, and after the expulsion of the Saxons, gave his daughter in marriage to Howel Vychan, ap Howel, ap Emyr, of Bretagne; the Emyr, who had accompanied Arthur in the conquest of many countries, and Howel Vychan had by her a son called Alan. This Alan's son was your father, and a brave and energetic man he was² "so that our fathers were cousins in the third degree."

¹ Though it be true that Maximus left the Britons with little comparative means of defence; it is not true that those who remained did not make a brave resistance against their invaders. The greater part of this apology is in the canting and humiliating stile, which the church of Rome has every where endeavoured to put into

the mouths of the Britons, though, thank God, without attaining its full object; and it might the more easily have been admitted if written in Bretagne. If the reader compare it with the exaggerations in G. M. he will be at no loss for the authors.

² Ms. G. O.

Cadwallon remained in Bretagne that winter, and during that time thought fit to send Braint to Britain, that he might enquire concerning Pelidys, the Saxon king's magician. He accordingly went, disguised as a vagabond, with a staff,¹ "in the head of which was a blade of iron," and thus arrived at York, where Edwin's palace was. There having joined a troop of beggars, he saw his sister going with a vessel in her hand to fetch water for the queen, and from her he learned the state of the palace, and how to discern the magician. And afterwards, when the magician came out to distribute alms to the poor, Braint pierced him through with the blade of his staff, so that he instantly fell down dead, without its being discovered who slew him,² "as the weapon was left in the body."

Braint now went to Exeter, where he summoned the Britons to join him, and strengthened the town and fort. He also let the Britons know that he had killed the magician, and sent the same information to Cadwallon, with a request to him to come to Britain as soon as possible, where he should find the Britains assembled to join him.

And now Penda, a Saxon prince, informed of what was done, came with a large force and laid siege to Exon. Cadwallon also knowing this, hastened to Britain with ten thousand men, granted to him by Solomon, the king of Bretagne; and without resting, advanced to Exeter. There he drew up his army in four divisions, attacked the Saxons, slew great numbers of them, and took Penda prisoner, who, to save his life, did fealty to Cadwallon, and having given hostages for his fidelity marched with him against the Saxons.

Cadwallon then went over the Humber to attack Edwin who came out in conjunction with ³ Gorbplot, king of Orkney, and with their

¹ Ms. G. O.

² Ibid.

³ Godbold, B. G. and G. M.

united forces they met and engaged with him. Edwin and ¹his son Offrid and Gorblot being soon slain, their army was routed, and Cadwallon after the victory ravaged the country with fire and sword; his vengeance and wish to destroy the Saxons, not sparing even the children in the womb. King Offrid and his two nephews; and Penda, king of Scotland, an auxiliary to Offrid, and their followers were also slain in a subsequent engagement.

Oswald was made king by the Saxons, to succeed Edwin; but Cadwallon pursued him from one place to another, till he fled beyond the wall of Severus, which is between Deira and Bernicia; and then Cadwallon sent Penda with a great part of his army to follow him, and Penda there surrounded him in a place called ²*Heaven-Field*. In this situation Oswald displayed a cross, and exhorted his army to kneel down, and pray sincerely to the Almighty, that he would deliver them from the cruel Penda, seeing that they were only endeavouring to obtain freedom

The following day Oswald, trusting in God, attacked his adversaries, and was that day the conqueror. But Cadwallon, as soon as he heard of it, collected what force he could, and pursued Oswald, and conquered him at a place called ³Bourney, and there Penda slew Oswald.

On the death of Oswald the Saxons made Oswy Whitebrow, his brother, king, who having collected a large sum of money, sent it to Cadwallon, with an acknowledgement of his sovereignty of Britain, and did fealty to him. Then Oswy's two nephews, his brother's sons,

¹ Omitted in the copy B. T. and supplied from Ms. G. O.

Heaven, W. Ms. It was according to Bede, at Heathfield.

² *Hedfeld*, Ms. G. and B. G. *Hexefield* G. M. *Hamfield*, that is, the Field of

³ *Denises Burna*, that is, the River *Denise*. Bede.

began to make war on their uncle, but being unsuccessful, came to an accommodation with him. Oswy now applied to Penda, the king of Mercia, to solicit his assistance, in order to make war on Cadwallon; but Penda replied, that he was bound in fealty to Cadwallon, which during his life he would not break.

The Whitsuntide following, Cadwallon held his court in London, and thither came all the princes, Welsh and Saxon, Oswy alone excepted, which induced Cadwallon to enquire of Penda why he was absent. Is he ill said the king? By no means answered Penda, for he sent to me to aid him to avenge his brother on you, and on my refusal, has sent to Germany for succours to enable him to do so on you and me. As proof of his intentions, his banishing of his nephews from the island, and soliciting me against you, are sufficient to shew, that he has already broken the peace. Grant me therefore permission either to kill him, or drive him out of the island.

Cadwallon consulted his council on the subject, and there Meredydd, the king of South Wales, said to him, ' You should not have desisted from your first enterprise till you had driven all the Saxons out of the island. Let Penda go against Oswy, that they may destroy each other, for the faithless deserves no faith, and in the end they will all be destroyed.'

Cadwallon then permitted Penda to go, which he did, and passing the Humber with a large army, began to ravage Oswy's country. Oswy offered Penda a large sum of money, as a condition of peace; but Penda rejected it, and continued the war, and ¹ "Oswy" left it to God to decide on the event. Penda was killed in the battle ² "on the river Wynnod" in the first onset; and Cadwallon gave his kingdom

¹ B. G. &c.

² B. G. Gyaniwed, B. Wynnet, Ms. G. O.

to Olfryd¹ (*Offryd*) Penda's son; who, with Edbert, prince of Mercia, continued the war. At last Cadwallon agreed to a peace.

Thus Cadwallon reigned forty-two years as Paramount Sovereign of Wales and England, and then falling sick, died, on the fifteenth day of ²December. The Welsh embalmed his body, and deposited it in an image of bronze of curious workmanship, and this image was placed on a horse of bronze also, over a gate of London, so as to appear to rush on the Saxons. At this gate also a church was built, and dedicated to God and St. Martin; and there masses were said for the soul of Cadwallon, of whom Merlin prophecied, as the *Equestrian in Brass*.

On the death of Cadwallon, his son Cadwallader, surnamed the Blessed, succeeded to the crown, and for ³eleven years maintained his sovereignty in peace. But at the end of that period he fell ill of a tedious and languishing disorder; and then disturbances arose amongst the Welsh themselves. For Cadwallader's mother was own sister to Penda, and her mother was of a noble family in Erging and Euas: and Cadwallon had married Cadwallader's mother when he made the league with Penda.⁴.....

During these disturbances, a pestilence and a famine, sent from God as a punishment for their sins, fell upon the Britons so grievously that food was not to be had, saving what the chace could afford; and the living were, through hunger, unable to bury the dead. Such as were able to go to other countries did so, exclaiming, 'O Lord! thou hast given us to be a prey to wolves.' Cadwallader had a fleet prepared for him, and set sail for Bretagne, exclaiming in-like man-

¹ *Wulfher*, Bede.

² *November*, B. G. B. and Ms. G. O. the 15th of the Calends of December, G.M. that is the 15th of November.

³ *Twelve years* all the other copies.

⁴ There is here an omission of the circumstances of the troubles, which none of the other copies supplies.



ner, 'Woe to us sinners! by the multitude of our sins have we provoked our God: when we had a time to return to him, we returned not, therefore doth he disperse us abroad; whom not the Roman power, nor any, save himself, could thus disperse.'

With such lamentations, Cadwallader approached the dwelling of Alan, by whom he was welcomed thither most kindly. In Britain there were left, by the pestilence and famine, those only who retired into the forests, and lived by hunting, ¹ "and mostly in the recesses of Wales." This calamity continued for eleven years.

When it ceased, those of the Saxons who had escaped it, sent information to Germany, that the island was destitute of inhabitants, and advised them to come and take a cheap possession of it. That people therefore collected an immense number of men and women, who ² "with their queen Sexburgis" landed in the North, and settled in the kingdom from ³ Norway to Cornwall; there remaining no Britons able to oppose them.

From this time the Britons lost the sovereignty in the isle of Britain. Sometime after their landing, Cadwallader requested of Alan a force to dispossess them. But, ⁴ an angel appeared to Cadwallader to warn him not to proceed thither, (it being the Divine will, that the Britons should not return until the time foretold by Merlin to Vortigern) but to go to Rome, and lead a penitentiary life; and for this reason he is there numbered among the saints. The

¹ W. Ms.

² Ibid.

³ *Albany*. The other copies except the W. Ms. which has Northumberland. Still I suspect that *Ilychlin*, (*Norway*,) the word in the text is right; and that there were in the Highlands of Scotland two districts, the one called Norway, and the other Denmark, as being colonized from

those places, and sometimes referred to in this history, where these names occur.

⁴ Cadwallader was a very proper subject to be thus played upon, and the Church of Rome had a strong motive to play upon his weakness, viz. to avoid the obstacle the return of the Britons would present to her governing the whole island. Many of the like tricks we read in Giraldus Cambresius.

angel also told him, that by his merits and goods works, the Welsh should, at the appointed time, regain the Sovereignty of Britain; 'and that,' said the angel, 'will be when thy bones shall be brought from Rome to Britain, and displayed with the bones of all the saints that have been hidden through fear of ¹ the Saracens.' Then the Welsh shall recover the sovereignty.

Cadwallader communicated the vision, and the precise words of the angel, to Alan; and Alan examined all the prophecies of Merlin, and the poems of the Sibyl, in order to know ² whether what the angel had said, was in them really so; and much rejoiced to find that it was so: recommended it to Cadwallader to go to Rome.

Cadwallader therefore sent his son Ivor, and his nephew Ynyr, to endeavour to retain Britain, and prevent the annihilation of the Welsh there; whilst he himself gave up the world through the love of God, and went to Rome, and entered on the religious life. ³ "Having lived there five years," he died, and his soul went to Heaven on the ⁴ twelfth of December, A. D. 688.

Ivor the son of Cadwallader, and Ynyr his nephew, in the mean time raised a large force, and came to Britain, where for eight and twenty years they carried on a war against the Saxons, but without being successful; so much had the previous calamity weakened the power of the Welsh to resist the foreigners. From this time they were no more called the Britons, but the Welsh.

¹ *The infidels*, B. G. &c. This reference marks the time of the fabrication of this miracle.

² Alan appears to have had his suspicions of the angel, and not to have been unwilling that his son and nephew should profit by the vision. All the Welsh copies make him look into Merlin, to see whether the angel had reported it truly. This was not very decorous towards the angel, of

whose reality our author, as well as Alan, appears to have been doubted, though it pays a high complement to Merlin, that shews the estimation in which the prophecies were held.

³ Ms. G. O.

⁴ 12th May, A. D. 688, B. G. 12th May, A. D. 687, B. 12 Calends of May, A. D. 689, G. M. A. D. 683, Ms. G. O.

The Saxons thenceforward prudently kept themselves united; and built towns, and castles: and thus having freed themselves from the power of the Britons, they under Athelstan, obtained possession of all England, and he was the first Saxon who had the sovereignty of it.

Thus the original nation lost its name, and was unable to recover it; and was alternately subject to oppression from the Saxons, and its own Princes.

I, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, translated this book from the Welsh into Latin, and in my old age have again translated it from the ¹ Latin into Welsh.

¹ Probably because he had given the original Welsh copy to Geoffrey of Monmouth.

APPENDIX. N^o. I.

On the History and Epistle attributed to Gildas.

THE influence which the history and epistle attributed to Gildas, has had upon the minds of the greater part of those who have written concerning the Antiquities of Britain, is well known to every man, who has in any degree made them his study. As a person respected highly for his learning, even so as to have acquired the appellation of The Wise; a deference has been paid to his name, which it was impossible to justify by the writings, to which it is attached: and sometimes with a promptitude and zeal, that seemed to indicate more of the satisfaction in having an apology for not making enquiry, than of the wish to know whether these writings were deserving of credit. It is true that Leland, Lhuyd, and even Usher, and Stillingfleet, have been led to give them credit; not merely on the name, but as having found that they are referred to decidedly by writers of the twelfth century, and that an epistle of Gildas is referred to by Bede. But whilst they attended to these references, they do not appear to have given that attention to the writings themselves, which was extremely necessary. They do indeed consider the copies as imperfect and corrupted; but this seems to be the utmost.

By this means an importance has been given to them which probably, had it not been for a single assertion, they never would

have acquired; as the historic narrative is little or nothing, and often known to be false, and the epistle is a mere farrago of calumny.

This assertion, which is also indubitably false, is found at the end of the second chapter of the history. It states his intention to compile his history, ¹ “not so much from writings of the country, “ or testimonies of their writings, (because that if such ever existed, “ they were not to be found, having either been burned or carried “ away by the exiles) as from foreign authorities, though frequently “ deficient.”

This mode of writing the history of an ancient nation is commo-
dious at least, if it be not a very fair one, or much to be relied upon. The testimony of foreigners, whose knowledge at best can seldom be very accurate, and whose representations must frequently be those of enemies, would seem to require something of testimony on the other side to adjust the balance. But, as enquiry is laborious, and the acquisition of a language troublesome, it is more expeditious to say it contains nothing worth knowing, or that it has no records.

In the present instance the real motives of such conduct will appear to be of a less justifiable nature than ignorance, or indolence; and disagreeable as the task is, of tracing and exhibiting an unprincipled imposition, yet as it is necessary to the establishment of the truth it must be done.

Some suspicions, that the history and epistle could not be genuine, had occurred frequently to me, on the mere perusal of references to it at different times, which determined me to examine it thoroughly, and the authorities in favour of it, when I should have leisure to do so. Till this was done some deference could not be withheld from

¹ Non tam ex scripturis patriæ, scriptorumve monumentis (quippe quæ, vel siqua fuerint, aut ignibus hostium exusta, aut civium exilii classe longius deportate non compareant) quam transmarinâ relatione, quæ crebris irrupta intercapedinibus, non satis claret. P. 2. ed. Gale.

the authority of the opinions of friends and foes to the ancient British history in its favour. Whilst the violence of his piety, or the rage of his disappointed ambition, were alledged as the motives of the calumnies of the supposed Gildas; their force was reduced by palliatives, but their foundation was still in a great degree admitted. But having considered and examined the whole of these writings attentively, I found, not indeed to my surprise, but much to my satisfaction, that there is in them sufficient evidence that they are forgeries; exclusive of abundant external evidence. This I will endeavour now to prove from internal and external evidence.

There can scarcely be any one who has read these tracts without being amazed at the uninterrupted strain of enmity against *Britain*, and partiality to every thing *Roman*, in which he evidently indulges himself throughout. No topic of censure, no occasion of insult, no representation by which he can lower the estimation of the country and its inhabitants, occurs to him, but he employs it with a marked malignity; unless he can point out something of *a connection with Rome* to excuse the exception. This is not like the mere effervescence of pique and resentment, as it has been most unaccountably considered, but deliberate animosity against the whole of his own nation; a sentiment so unnatural, that if any man can feel it, which I doubt, he deserves no credit in any other respect: but he does deserve the execration of his own country, and of every honest man. As to the pious zeal, to which his violence has been attributed; in a zeal which discards the first and dearest charities of life, there can be no true piety.

Neither is the historic part of this composition conformable to what is said of his style, by writers who may be esteemed competent to, and familiar with the subject. Of the real Gildas, William of Malmesbury gives this character. "That he was neither a weak nor inelegant

“ historian ; and that to him the Britons were indebted for whatever estimation they have in other nations.”

This is the description of an historian of some eminence, attentive to the credibility of his narration, and elegance of his language ; and and who had *exalted the reputation of his countrymen* by his writings. Whereas the history of the supposed Gildas, if that can be considered as an history, which gives so little information, sets out with a falsehood in defiance of the authority of every ancient Roman writer on the invasion of Britain. For in the very first paragraph, which is properly historical, he asserts, that *the Britons yielded to the Romans without a contest.*

How, after this assertion any subsequent one of the same writer could find a shadow of credit, it would be very difficult to conjecture ; if it were not known that it coincided so precisely, as it did, with the views of Rome to extend its power over Wales.

As to the style of this writer, no expression could have been much more unhappily chosen to describe it, if it were that of the real Gildas, than that it was *not inelegant*, for it is verbose, inflated and involved, and rumbles through periods of an insufferable length with a tediousness that wearies the eye and the understanding. This could not be the style commended by William of Malmesbury, for he has himself objected to that of Johannes Scotus for want of *perspicuity*, and a less perspicuous one, than that of the history, it would not be easy to find.

But Malmesbury is not the only writer who speaks thus of Gildas. Lilius Gyraldus who wrote about A. D. 1450, in a dialogue

¹ Gildas neque insulsus neque infacetus historicus, cui Britanni debent si quid notitiæ inter cæteras gentes habent. Ed. Gale, p. 196.

² Acies (Romana) transfretans insulæ parendi leges, nullo obsistente, advexit. Ed. Gale, p. 2.

on the poet, says, "I remember also my having read Gildas, a British poet; whose book of elegies in verse, as I at the time thought, was written in a wonderfully easy, flowing style; and therefore not to be absolutely thrown aside. I afterwards found him quoted in a very old British history."

It is scarcely possible to describe a style more different from that of the history, or to conceive the same person, even in this respect, to have been the writer of the elegies and the history. The ear that has a delicacy of feeling of the cadence of verse, will not be patient of a barbarous phraseology, and harsh collocation otherwise; nor will the mind, capable of an elegant arrangement of subject in poetic composition, be easily reconciled to the obscurity of interminable sentences in prose. What the subject of the elegies was, Gyraldus does not mention; but Fordun has given two extracts from a poem of Gildas, which probably was one of them. And these extracts prove that this Gildas was a writer, who knew that *there were* OLD HISTORIES *extant in his time, and made use of them*; and that his thoughts, as to his country, and its history, were very different from those of the writer of the history. The first extract, which has already been partially given in note 4, page 38, of the Chronicle, is as follows; but corrected by the aid of the Wynnstay Ms.

Bruti posteritas cum Scotis associata
Anglica regna premet, Marte, labore, nece.
Flumina manabunt hostili fincta cruore
Perfida gens omni lite subacta ruet,

¹ Gildam etiam memini me legere Britannicum, poetam—cujus tum mihi elegiarum carmen mirâ facilitate conscriptum visum fuit, nec ideo aspernabile penitus; quem postea citatum reperi in pervetere historiâ Britannica. Gyr. Op. vol. 2, p. 306.

² The lines quoted in the W. Ms. are the following, and thus written.

Bruti posteritas Albanis associata
Anglia regna p̄med peste, labore, nese.
Regnabunt Britones Albanæ gentis amici
Cum Scotis Britones p̄ria reḡ regent
Antq̄ nom̄ insula tota feret
Ut p̄fert aquila de vetē thure locuta.

These lines are written at the end of a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history,

Quem Britonum fundet Albanis juncta juvenus:
 Sanguine Saxonico tincta rubebit humus;
 Regnabunt Britones Scotorum gentis amici
 Antiquum nomen insula tota feret;
 Ut profert aquila veteri de turre locufa,
 Cum Scotis Britones regna paterna regent.
 Regnabunt pariter in prosperitate quieta
 Hostibus expulsis, judicis usque diem.

“ The posterity of Brutus in league with the Scots shall harrass
 “ England with war, toil, and death; the rivers shall flow discoloured
 “ with blood, and the perfidious nation shall sink subdued by every
 “ contest. The British and Albanian youth united shall overwhelm
 “ them, and the soil be crimsoned with Saxon blood. The Britons
 “ shall reign in friendship with the Scots; the whole island shall bear
 “ its ancient name, as the eagle which spoke from the old tower
 “ declares; the Britons and Scots shall rule over the kingdoms of
 “ their ancestors, and reign alike in profound peace, after the expul-
 “ sion of their enemies, until the day of judgment.

And again:

Antiquos reges justos, fortes, locupletes
 Largos, famosos, Scotia mœsta luget,
 Ut Merlinus ait.—
 Historiæ veteris Gildas luculentus orator
 Hæc retulit, parvo carmine plura notans.

“ Scotland mourns her ancient kings, who were just, brave, wealthy,
 “ bountiful and celebrated; as Merlin says. Gildas, the copious

which in a note of later writing, is said to have been taken from the last edition, published by Geoffrey himself. I have already observed, that I thought this Ms. could not be of a later date than the 14th Century; as far as I can judge from the character, I should think it was written early in the 13th.

“ historian, is the author of this small poem, in which much is comprised.”

Without giving to the word *luculentus* any meaning more precise, in order to aid the argument, it is evident from these quotations, that the real Gildas was well acquainted with very antient traditions of his country, whether oral or written. He ascribes a Trojan origin to the Britons, and quotes two prophecies of much celebrity amongst his countrymen. The first of these is said to have been delivered in days of Rhun-baladr-bras, and others by Merlin. Copies of both are subjoined to the Welsh text of the Chronicle in the Archaiology. The prophecy attributed to ¹ Merlin is also called *the great prophecy*, and is, I imagine, the one referred to by Gildas, as the following passage occurs in it. “ Cadwallader shall call to Cynan, and Alban shall join them: then shall the blood of the conflict of the nations make the foot slip. The hills of Britanny shall rejoice thereat, and the Britons be crowned with the whole power of the kingdom.”

Is it then possible that the same person should in his history declare that the Britons had no records of antiquity, and in his poems

¹ “ Some writers report that Merlin, finding his prophecies slighted and ridiculed, altered their form, so that they should not be understood till the events explained them; others say, that it was Gildas, the son of Caw, who did so, in order to withdraw the attention of his countrymen from them, because he found they paid more regard to them than to his preaching.” I. G. L.

There is a trait of character, as to Gildas, in this tradition, that has much the appearance of truth. The attachment to Druidism certainly was not extinct in his time, and some part of these prophecies are of great antiquity, and I think of Druidical origin. Merlin was I believe of that order, and probably the last of any note, and if he

committed the antient prophecies to writing, his name would of course be attached to them. Without pretending to say it was so, it may be said it is not unlikely.

That these prophecies have been enlarged and continued, time after time, I have no doubt. Yet in all I have seen, and I have perused a great number, there are some general features, that are referable only to the times of Druidism. Such are the forms by which the different nations or persons are typified, &c. It may perhaps be worthy of notice that the expressions of the *British Lion*, and *John Bull* owe this origin to these prophecies, in which the *Lion* and the *Bull* are the symbols of Britain, and of these the latter is by far the most ancient.

refer to a prophecy, the tradition whereof belongs to the most early period of the national history? Or is it possible that the same person should, in the history, represent his countrymen as an easy conquest to every invader, and in his poems give them an authority for the hope of signal victories? These things are not to be reconciled. That the verses were written by the real Gildas rests indeed on the authority of Fordun, and it is a very respectable one. That they are of great antiquity is evident from the imperfect state in which they appear in the Wynnstay Ms. which was written probably two centuries before Fordun wrote, and that they were written by a Briton there cannot be a doubt. If then the authority of Fordun be admitted, and I see nothing to the contrary; the subsidiary argument derived from it may have its effect.

But it will be asked what could have been the intent of such a forgery, or the motive to it? To which an answer is necessary. Upon a perusal of the whole history and epistle two striking peculiarities will (exclusive of the hostility to Britain) appear to prevail throughout. 1. A decisive labouring to create an opinion that Britain ought to depend upon, and be subject to Rome, in Ecclesiastical matters; and 2. To encourage the Saxons by giving them a false idea of the Britons as incapable of resistance, and as having been an easy conquest to the Romans. With these views, and also with the feelings of a Romish Ecclesiastic, irritated by the continued and firm opposition of the British bishops to the doctrines and authority of the Papal See, he introduces the history by an ebullition of resentment; and the history itself is little more than a continued invective, into which a few circumstances are interwoven, barely sufficient to serve as a pretext for the title. But such a history, were it to come avowedly from a partizan of Rome, would not be likely to attain its object even with the Saxons; and would be exposed to detection from the Britons, though not soon perhaps because of mutual animosities;

whereas when presented to the Saxons under the name of a British author, known to have written a history, there was much to expect from it, provided that the real history could be suppressed, or kept from the knowledge of the Saxons. In this the activity of the monks was not wanting, and the design was favoured by the ignorant zeal of the Saxons. The books of the Britons were carried to the Romish monasteries, and then appeared no more, but in such form as the Abbots thought proper to permit. A few and scanty extracts, such as we find in the *Annales Menevenses*, *Ralph de Diceto*, &c. seems to have been thought necessary to gratify curiosity, or perhaps could not be suppressed, the purport being generally known. But the master stroke of their policy was the writing of this history under the name of *Gildas*, and imposing it on the public as the work of the real *Gildas*; and the more I consider it, I confess I am the more astonished that it could have been so considered by any writer of the reformed churches. That what I have now said as to its being a forgery, and the motives of it, is well founded. I will now proceed to prove, and I hope to do so irrefragably.

The bias to Rome is not only generally apparent, but marked by decisive notices and expressions. If he mentions Rome or the Romans it is always with favour or applause; and if he is guilty of a compliment to *Ambrosius*, he does not omit the apology, that ¹ *Aurelian (Ambrosius) was perhaps a descendant of the Romans.*

It would be no less singular, that a British historian of the age of *Gildas*, should, with a studied caution, pass over every name and almost every circumstance previous to those of his own times, which could do honour to his own nation; that neither *Cassibelan*, *Caractacus*, *Boadicia*, nor even *Constantine the Great*, nor the many and glorious

¹ *Aureliano, viro modesto qui solus fuit manæ gentis. P. 9, ed. Gale. comes fidelis, fortis, veroxque; forte Ro-*

efforts of the Britons in defence of their country should be noticed, and that the Romans only should be the subject of commendation. But in such a forgery it would have been highly imprudent, to let the Saxons know, that the battles of Arthur were fought in the hereditary spirit of the ancestors of the heroes of Baddon Hill, and accordingly the formidable information is omitted.

Here it is necessary to observe, that Gildas himself was the son of Caw (one of the Strathcluyd Britons) who with his family, to avoid the ravages of the Saxons, settled in North Wales; sometime after, Gildas, (probably because of some cause of discontent from Maelgwn Gwynedd, or some of his adherents, who paid more respect to the Bards than to the Ecclesiastics) retired to¹ South Wales; and he may from thence have written a letter of reproof to Maelgwn, and others who had offended him; whether it was personally, or by violating the Sanctuary of Kentigern. If Bede's reference to such an epistle be not an interpolation, he certainly did, and it is not improbable. But still I contend, that the epistle, which now goes under his name, could not have been written by him nor by any Briton of his time, that is in the interval from A. D. 500 to A. D. 570.

¹ The following passage in the life of St. Teliavus, or Teilo, whilst it refers to the spurious Gildas, is written in a manner that denotes a very different feeling from that of this writer.

“ It is not extraordinary, that the Britons were overcome by the Picts, as the Picts are a treacherous nation and experienced in war by sea and land; whereas the British nation, though endowed with bodily strength, yet being of simple and peaceful manners, and never before attacked; by its ignorance of war was liable the more easily to be subdued. But whosoever wishes to know farther on this subject should read the history of Gildas the British Historian.”

In this statement, though it is evidently taken from the British Chronicle, the observation that *the manners of the Britons were simple and peaceable*, and that *those of the Picts were treacherous*, are not to be found in the Chronicle; were they then to be found in the real history of Gildas? If so, it must have been one of a very different complexion from that which we have under his name. It is however more probable, that they come from the pen of the Biographer of St. Teilo, for in the life of St. Onocephus, the next Bishop of Landaff after Teilo, a legendary tale of Gildas is introduced, which indicates that Gildas was not much in favor, even at Landaff, and may be considered as an in-

During this period the Britons must too well have recollected the injuries their predecessors had sustained from the Romans, to have tolerated, and much less to have been anxious to preserve, a history or an epistle, which so falsely ascribes every merit to the Romans, and is so unjust to their own nation; but what requires particular attention is the manner in which this writer speaks of the church.

Gildas, as a Stratheluyd Britain, must have been of the antient British church, and he is said to have died A. D. 570, that is 16 years before Austin the Monk came to England, and found that the British Bishops neither would pay any deference to the See of Rome, nor hold communion with its church. It appears also from Bede, that the British and Scottish Bishops were of the same communion; and that,

timation, that Gildas was one who was not a person much to be confided in. As it is not long it may deserve insertion.

“ One day, whilst Oudoceus was engaged in prayer, a brother of the monastery came to him, and said, O father come forth, and see what is become of the wood prepared for your buildings. And when he looked, Lo! that good and just man the historiographer of all Britain, Gildas, called by historians *The Wise*, who at that time led an Anchorite’s life, in the Isle of Echni, was going over the middle of the river in a boat, loaded with the aforesaid wood, which he had found in the midst of a forest, far from any habitation, and without an owner. When the blessed Oudoceus perceived this, he admonished him to lay the wood intended for his buildings, on his (the Bishop’s) land; and humbly beg pardon of God and man for the illicit fraud. Regardless however of the admonition, and slighting the intreaty, he went over; and Oudoceus indignant at the monk,

“ seized upon an axe, not to strike at him, but that the power of God over his creatures might be made manifest through him; for he struck the axe through a solid stone, and divided it in two, as if it had been done by the most exquisite workmanship. The pieces stand, so as not to be moved, upon the bank of the River Wye, and so that no traveller passing that road can avoid seeing them.”

The inference intended by this tale, is too evident to be mistaken, as to the character of Gildas; and it may not improbably be also inferred, that some industry was employed at the time to give the spurious history a credit, which the monks of Landaff, however willing, either dared not, or had not the means otherwise, to oppose. The latter they probably had not, as Glamorgan had been so much the scene of war; and also as by being subject to Canterbury, Landaff could not have much intercourse with the other Dioceses of Wales, or learn from them what had been lost to itself.

in the controversy as to the ¹ observance of Easter, held in the presence of King Oswy, when Wilfrid rested his cause on the authority of St. Peter and St. Paul, that Colman on the part of the Scottish Bishops, answered ² “ I marvaile much you terme our doing a fond contention, “ wherein *we* follow the example of so worthy an apostle,” (St. John) “ *who alone* leaned upon our Lord’s breast.” The ridiculous argument taken from the words, “ *Thou art Peter,*” upon this occasion did not impose upon Colman; and though Bede does not record any answer of his, which indeed the ignorant and absurd haste of the Saxon king seems to have precluded; yet Colman did not give up the force of his own argument, which in reality was much the best, to his opponents.

This then being the doctrine of the British church, to which Gildas belonged (from which it is evident that *it* had no idea of any superiority of St. Peter over the rest of the Apostles) let the reader then judge whether any member of the antient British church, could have written as follows; or whether the expressions are not decisively such as could have been written only by one of the church of Rome.

³ *Our venerable mother the Church* scarcely can perceive resting in her bosom, those *whom alone she holds to be orthodox.*

¹ Though the principal cause of dis-sension assigned by Bede is the difference concerning Easter, the writer of the life of Wilfrid has suffered it accidentally to escape him, that the Britons considered *the use of the cross* by those of the Romish church as *idolatrours*, Chap. 47. And if I understand these words of the supposed Gildas rightly, viz. *Violenter manus in tali schemâ positi sacrosanctis Christi sacrificiis extensuri*, it intimates that the Britons then, as the Irish did afterwards, broke the crucifixes.

Another difference was, that the Britons did not pray to saints or martyrs, and hence

the history obliquely reproaches them as not having recorded more than one or two, as the Romish Bishops in the reign of Henry II. reproached the Irish for having had none. Hence also the questions as to the martyrdoms and miracles in the epistle, which were of course to be answered in the affirmative by the Romish party.

² Book 3d. Chap. 25th. Stapylton’s translation.

³ *Eos quodammodo, venerabilis mater ecclesia ut in suo sinu non videat quos solos veros habet.* Hist. Gild. p. 11 Ed. Gale.

¹ “ Admonitions are not wanting, since you have a teacher who is the accomplished instructor of almost all Britain.” This seems to allude, with the help of a small anachronism easily overlooked, to Austin or perhaps Wilfrid. The word *Magistrum* (*a master or instructor*) seems also to insinuate authority over Britain.

² “ The clergy of Britain *usurping* the *chair of the apostle Peter*,” that is, they considered their own Metropolitan as their head upon earth, and would not acknowledge the Pope.

³ “ Stupid and mute, as to the *Apostolic decree*.”

⁴ “ They are in error, inasmuch as they buy their priesthood, not from *the apostles, or the successors of the apostles*,” that is the Popes.

⁵ “ *Peter*, taught by God the Father, is he, who *rightly* confesses Christ.” This implies obliquely that *St. John* did not.

⁶ “ It was to *Peter* and *his successors*, that the Lord saith, “ I will give the Keys of Heaven.” This was Wilfrid’s argument, word for word, in opposition to the authority of St. John.

⁷ “ Let us hear what *the Prince of the Apostles* the blessed *Peter* has written.” These expressions are indubitably those of a writer of the church of Rome, and there is one which may lead to a discovery of the time when these writing were forged, or nearly so, viz.

⁸ “ But perhaps it may be said, that all the bishops and priests, as comprehended above, are not bad men, because they are not disgraced by *schism*.”

1. Sed monita tibi profecto non desunt cum habueris præceptorem pene totius Britanniae magistrum elegantem. Epistle, p. 13. ed. Gale.

2. Sedem Petri Apostoli usurpantes. *ibid.*, p. 23.

3. In apostolicis sanctionibus—hebetes ac mutos. *ibid.*

4. Errant, quo non ab apostolis, vel apostolorum successoribus emunt sacerdotia, p. 24.

5. Petrus a Deo patre doctus, recte Christum confitetur, p. 38.

6. Petro ejusque successoribus dicit dominus & tibi dabo claves regni cælorum, p. 39.

7. Audiamus quid princeps apostolorum, beatus Petrus signaverit, p. 37.

8. Sed forsitan aliquis dicat, non omnes Episcopi, vel Presbyteri, ut superius comprehensi (quia non schismatis infamiâ maculantur) mali sunt, p. 24.

The very last word itself of this sentence might almost decide the question, for in the time of Gildas, there was no existing *schism* in the British church. There had been one (and only one is mentioned in its history) viz. that of the Pelagians; and that, by the preaching of Garmon and Lapus, is said to have been.¹ completely suppressed. This was about A. D. 500, neither does this writer once mention the name of Pelagius. The schism here referred to is intended of the repugnance to Rome, the not acknowledging *St. Peter as Prince of the Apostles*, nor receiving ordination from those who forsaking his doctrine called themselves *his successors*; or *buying their priesthood* from them.

And thus the term of *schism* continued to be applied to the British church by the Roman writers. In the time of Giraldus, a term still more harsh was made use of, because the power of the Romish church in Britain had usurped a dominion over part of Wales, and felt itself strong. But it happily proves, that the British church had some power. He calls Aberteifi,² *the head of the heretical country*, so that whilst upon the fictitious or legendary authority of the conversion of King Lucius, the Romish church had hopes of bringing over the Britons, they used the milder term of *schism*; but when that hope was gone, they denounced them as *heretics*.

There can then be no hesitation in considering the British Bishops as the persons to whom our author intended to apply the term of *schism*, or as to what he understood by it.

Comparing the general tenor of the latter with the state of the times in which Wilfrid made himself so conspicuous, it will be found to coincide, as far as could be wished, with the grand object of the

¹ It is curious enough that though this is mentioned in the index to the 29th chapter of Nennius, not a word of Pelagius is said in the chapter itself.

² Abertemi Hæreticæ regionis caput, Typ. Hib. p. 761. Ed. Camden.

Romish clergy. There was at this time, that kind of wavering among some of the prelates of the British church, in the territories subject to the Saxons, between the doctrines of the British church and those of Rome, which the epistle indicates. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, was attached to Rome; Berthwald his successor, and many other bishops for some time at least opposed its supremacy, and Wilfrid's pretensions. At such a time the publication of an history and epistle under the name of a celebrated British writer, whose character might afford some plausibility to the style of invective, might impose on the Saxons, if not on the Britons, and probably on many of these; and either way the great cause of Rome was promoted.

What has been already said, might well be sufficient to prove these writings a forgery, but there is one argument more, which will I trust, confirm it beyond a possibility of doubt.

It could not fail to be observed that Nennius and Asserius had given the explanation of Welsh words in their histories; something of this kind it was necessary to attempt in a forgery; this writer has therefore attempted to do the same in one instance, and in that one he has failed, viz. in his interpretation of the name Cuneglas, which he gives thus, ¹ *Cuneglas Romaná linguá, lanio fulve*; and in the interpretation of another name he has betrayed himself.

Whether there ever was a prince of the name of ² Cuneglas or not, is of as little consequence as certainty; and whether there was or not, the interpretation of the name is such, that I can from my own knowledge, I believe, safely affirm, that the Welsh language does not afford any single word or combination of words similar to *Cuneglas*, whose

¹ See the Epistle of Gildas in Gale's Edition of the 15 Scriptorum, vol. 1, p. 11. (*a bear*) and playing on the name *Arthur*, he calls him *Urse*, & *essor aurigaque currus receptaculi Ursa*.

² If there was, he seems to have been a successor of Arthur, as alluding to *ARTHUR*

signification will approach to it. Neither will the Cornish or Armoric dialects, as far as the Dictionaries of Pryce and Lluyd extend, afford any such. All then that can be said of the attempt is, that the writer *wanted an interpretation and invented one.*

In the second instance he is not more successful. Speaking of the invasion of Britain by the Saxons, he says that nation came over “tribus¹ (ut *ejus* linguâ exprimitur) Cyulis, *nostrâ* linguâ, longis navibus.” *in three Keeles, as they are called in their language; that is, in ovens, long ships.* Is it then credible that Gildas, who was a Briton, and of the British church, could consider *the Latin* language as *his own*, and say of it *nostrâ linguâ*? Certainly not. To account then for such a mode of expression will be very difficult, unless upon the supposition that the writer was of Italian origin, or one of the church of Rome. That he was the one, or the other, I believe; and perhaps both.

A somewhat similar mode of expression is used by William of Malmesbury, in his tract² *De Pontificibus*, in which, speaking of Johannes Scotus’s translation of the *Hierarchia* of *Dionysius*, he says, it was so literal “Ut vix intelligatur Latinâ literâ, quæ volubilitate “magis Græcâ, quam *positione* construitur *nostrâ*.” *The Latin text is scarcely intelligible, as it has more of the free construction of the Greek than of the regularity of ours.* Here the words *volubilitate* and *positione*; *Græca* & *nostrâ*, are so opposed, that the reference of the latter to the Latin tongue must have been intended, as might well be, because that they who were of the Romish church made use of the Latin as their own.

With respect to the supposed Gildas however, it is sufficient that he acknowledges the Latin language to be *his own*; and if so, he was *a Roman*, either by birth or professional adoption, and not *a*

¹ See the History, p. 7.

² Ed. Gale, p. 361.

Briton. It is very possible he might have been of Romish descent, as it appears from the old Welsh poems, that there were in Britain even some time after the inroad of the Saxons, a number of the descendants of the Romans, called also by the name of Romans, and considered as a distinct people. Gildas however was not one of these, he was a Briton of the Britons, he was of a church that paid no exclusive deference to St. Peter, and none to Rome; he could not have so misinterpreted a Welsh name, nor could he in any sense have represented the Latin language as *his own*.

The questions then naturally arise, of Who then was the author of this history and epistle, and When were they written? The first of these can only be answered by a conjecture; the answer to the latter may go farther, and if the order of these questions be reversed, a consideration of the second may perhaps lead to a probability as to the first.

The observation that the characteristics of the style of different ages, as well as of different individuals, are in general easy to be traced, is so well confirmed by experience, that without entering into any discussion of its truth, it may be assumed as a principle; and seldom does a more satisfactory exemplification of its truth occur, than in the present instance. The style of composition, the train of ideas, and many of the terms, are so peculiar, as to impress themselves even on a negligent reader. For throughout it is tumid, harsh and pedantic, and the affectation of learning, overloading a slender portion of indistinct ideas, with a profusion of pompous terms, fatigues the reader to find the meaning.

Such a style is noticed by Giraldus Cambrensis, and represented by him as that of a former age, though not quite abandoned by his contemporaries. Apologizing for the simplicity of his own style, he describes his muse as rejecting with disgust that ¹ “*old and rugged style,*

¹ Antiquum & austerum quorundam authorum scribendi morem omnibus modis respuens & refutans. Præf. prima in Exp. Hile.

“ which some writers of his time affected,” and adds,¹ “ Can there
 “ be a greater defect of knowledge than to involve and obscure that,
 “ which we have undertaken to explain, in unintelligible labyrinths
 “ of words, and an intricate arrangement of the expressions?”

Such exactly is the style of our author, and such was the style pre-eminent in the latter end of the seventh century, and which therefore may have been considered as *old* by Giraldus. Thus also William of Malmesbury describes it, and denominates it the *English* style.

“ The Greek style,” says he, “ is *involved*, the Roman *brilliant*,
 “ and the English *pompous*, and it is to be noted in all *old* writings,
 “ that they were fond of abstruse terms, and such as were derived
 “ from *the Greek*.”

Hence then it is easy to account for the existence of such words as *Cauma* and *Celeusma*, *Schema*, *Epimenia*, *Proto-minister*, *Pseudapostolus*, &c. in our author’s composition. But to give a better idea of this style, and also that the learned reader may compare it with that of our author, I will transcribe *a single sentence* from a letter of Aldhelm, Bishop of Shireburne.

“ Perpendite, quæso, creaturarum ordinem, eisque divinitus
 “ insitam naturam, quatenus, ex minimarum rerum collatione, inflex-
 “ ibilem conversationis formam, Christo juvante capiatis; quomodo
 “ examina apium, calescente cœlitus ² *caumate*, ex alveariis nectare
 “ fragrantibus, certatim emergant, & earum autore linquente brumalia
 “ mansienum receptacula, densarum cavernarum cohortes rapido volatu
 “ ad æthera glomerante, exceptis duntaxat antiquarum sedium serva-
 “ tricibus, ad propagationem sobolis futuræ relictis, inquam, mirabilis

¹ Quæ major inscitia quam illa, quæ ad evidentiam indicanda proponimus, ignotis sermonum ambagibus & intricatis quibusdam verborum involucris abdere & velare. Ibid.

² Quasi in alto Titane, *incalesunteque caumate*, de arctissimis foraminum cavernulis fuscæ vermiculorum cunei. Gildas Hist. cap. 15, p. 5 ed. Gale.

“ dietu, Rex eorum, spissis sodalium agminibus vallatus, cum hyberna
 “ castra gregatim egreditur & ¹ cara stipitum robora rimatur si pulve-
 “ rulento ² *sabulonis* aspergine præpeditus, seu repentinis imbribus
 “ cataracta olympi guttatim rorantibus, retardatus fuerit, & ad gratam
 “ cratem, sedemque pristinam, revertatur, omnis protinus exercitus
 “ consueti vestibula perrumpens, prisca cellarum claustra gratulabundus
 “ ingreditur.” *W. Malm: de Pontificibus*, p. 340. ed. Gale.

If this ³ curiously extended sentence be compared with the history attributed to Gildas, it will be impossible not to recognise the similarity of style, and almost an identity in two peculiar expressions quoted in the notes. In the first of these, the allusion and the words themselves are *so nearly the same*, that it scarcely seems hazardous to assume that the history and epistle under consideration, and the sentence quoted above, were written by the same hand, and nearly at the same time. This assumption acquires strength from this character, which Malmesbury gives of a work of Aldhelm's, intended, as he expresses it ⁴ “ to correct” the Britons. ⁵ “ His own language was seasoned

¹ Forsan *cava*.

² Scissis (ut dicitur) vestibis opertisque *sablone* capitibus. Gildas Hist. cap. 14, p. 5, ed. Gale.

³ The style of Aldhelm is yet more accurately described by William of Malmesbury, in these words, as an improved style.

Id in omnibus antiquis chartis est animadvertendum, quantum quibusdam verbis *abstrusis* & *ex Græce petitis* delectentur. Moderatins tamen se agit Aldhelmus nec nisi *perraro* & *necessario* verba ponit *exotica*. Allegat *Catholicos sensus* sermo facundus, & *violentissimas affectiones* exornat color Rhetoricus. Quem si perfectè legeris, & ex acumine Græcum putabis, & ex nitore Romanum jurabis, & *ex pompâ* Anglum intelliges. De Pont. lib. 5. p. 339, ed. Gale.

A fondness for hard words, and especially words derived from the Greek, is evident in old writings, but Aldhelm was more sparing of them, and uses them but very seldom or of necessity. He expresses CATHOLIC IDEAS in eloquent language, and a rhetorical colouring adorns his most violent feelings, so that if you read him attentively, you will from his subtlety think him a Greek; from his brilliancy you will swear he is a Roman, and from his pomposity you will discover that he is an Englishman.

⁴ Debent usque hodie Britanni correctionem suam Aldhelmo. De Pont. p. 349, ed. Gale.

⁵ Condiebatur sermo proprius evangelicis testimoniis, & rationis invictæ fulmen, imber assertionum paternarum sequebatur. Ibid.

“ with Evangelical testimonies, and a shower of assertions of the fathers
 “ followed the thunderbolt of invincible argument.” This is exactly
 the character of the epistle, said to be that of Gildas, and which is
 perhaps only this work of Aldhelm under another name, and the one
 supposed by Malmesbury to be lost.

Whether this conjecture be right, or not, is of little consequence
 to the main question; as I hope I have said enough to prove satisfactorily
 that the history and epistle attributed to Gildas is a forgery by some
 adherent to the church of Rome.

After what has been said it is almost superfluous to notice what
 is observed as to Gildas, in the preface to the Description of Wales, by
 Giraldus; but it may be as well to anticipate objections. The passage
 is to this effect.¹

“ Of the British authors, Gildas alone seems to me to deserve
 “ *to be imitated* in preference, wherever the course of the subject allows
 “ it. For in recording what *he himself had seen and observed*, and
 “ rather *declaring* than *describing* the ruin of his nation, he has
 “ written a history in which there is more of *truth* than *elegance*.”

There can be no doubt but that the spurious history is the one
 referred to in this passage, as the one proposed for *imitation*. We
 have already found that the style is such as Giraldus condemns, and this
 paragraph, excludes it from any title to imitation as to *elegance*, though
 this was, by Wm. of Malmesbury, considered as *a characteristic* of
 Gildas's writing. In short Giraldus confines the imitation to the *truth*
 of Gildas's history. Then the question arises could Giraldus consistently
 commend it in this respect, when in the very books to which this
 preface is prefixed, he asserts, that the Welsh had ² *antient and authentic*

¹ Præ aliis itaque Britanniae scriptoribus
 solus mihi Gildas (quoties eundem materiae
 cursus obtulerit) imitabilis esse videtur.
 Quia ea quæ vidit & ipse cognovit scripto

commendans, excidiumque gentis suæ de-
 clarans potius quam describens veram magis
 historiam texuit quam ornatam.

² Top. Hib. lib. 2. ch. 18, & lib. 3.
 ch. 8. &c.

books, quotes the British history familiarly, and does himself so directly contradict the character given of the Welsh by the spurious Gildas, that he could not, without the most inconsistent folly, commend the work attributed to Gildas for *its truth*.

Moreover, Leland affirms, that Giraldus had, in his Topography of Wales *promised to refute the calumny of Gildas*. But no such promise appears in the Preface to the Description of Wales, or in the Description itself; and yet its tenor shews that such a promise would have been very natural. There can then be, I think, no doubt, but that the passage in the Preface is a forgery, and perhaps substituted for the passage referred to by Leland.

That the writers of the Romish church were not scrupulous as to forgeries of this kind, is too well known to need corroboration, and of course they were less so in corrupting and destroying writings which obstructed their views. In these respects they have not spared the Welsh records. In the Chronicle of the British Kings, in Caradoc of Lancarvan, the laws of Howel Dda, &c. interpretations or alterations, are found, which cannot rationally be referred to any other origin.

Of the pains taken to mutilate histories, the following instances will give a tolerable idea. The history of Nennius when compared with what he says, of having collected *all* he could find in the traditions and writings of Wales, the Scottish and Saxon writers, and the Chronicles of Jerome, Prosper, and Eusebius, though he calls it a small history, is in its present form so small indeed, as to make it probable that much of it is wanting. In his Preface he says, "he made his

* Of such forgeries the catalogue would be endless; it would be sufficient to refer to the Decretals, the legends of the church, and the charters of grants to churches, monasteries, &c. in which there is abundant proof of them, and I have not a doubt but that the tract *On the means of subduing Wales*, attributed to Giraldus Cambrensis, ought to be added to the number.

“collections¹ partly from *the traditions*, partly from *the writings*, and partly from *the monuments* of the antient Britons.” In the apology subjoined to the Preface, it is said,² “that the Britains had *no skill*, and *committed no records to writing*.” Both cannot be true, and yet as they now stand, Nennius may be quoted for two opinions *directly opposite to each other*. The apology, and there can be little doubt of it, appears to have been a forgery for the same good purpose as the History of Gildas; that is, to make the Welsh clergy neglect all their ancient history, and be thereby more ready to admit the Papal power.

The history of Asserius appears to have also been curtailed in a similar manner, as the beginning is manifestly deficient. This is betrayed by the first words. “Igitur Britannia, Romanis usque ad Gaium Julium Cæsarem, inaccessa atque incognita fuit.” *Therefore Britain was neither approached by, nor known to, the Romans until the time of Caius Julius Cæsar*. Thus the very first word, *Therefore*, indicates clearly, that Asserius had previously written of the antecedent British history, and that it is only a remnant of the work which we now possess.

A farther proof of this dishonest industry is to be found in the conduct of the Abbot of St. Alban’s as to the writings of Unwon. The³ account of it is given by Pitts from Leland. The substance in both is the same, viz. that Eadmer the first Abbot of St. Alban’s having found or collected there⁴ “a number of *old Mss.* on various subjects, sacred

¹ Partim majorum traditionibus, partim scriptis, partim etiam monumentis veterum Britanniae incolarum. Ed. Gale, p. 93.

² Nullam peritiam habuerunt, neque ullam commemorationem in libris posuerunt. lb. p. 94.

³ W. of Malmesbury in his life of Eadmer, says, that the books which treated of the idolatrous rites of Britain were destroyed, and that the Ms. containing the life of St. Alban, immediately after it had been

copied, fell into *ashes*. This was a very opportune miracle to save the credit of the copy

⁴ Unwonus, in Cambria natus, linguam maternam habuit. Anglicam, Latinam & Græcam diligenter didicit. Ita ut, propter inguarum cognitionem, celebris, & apud suos magni nominis fuerit. Usque ad senilem tamen ætatem sibi vixisse videtur, & parum aut nihil aliis de sua scientiâ communicavit. Tandem senex ab Eadmero,

“ and profane; on the life, arts, and martyrdom of St. Alban, the
 “ customs and laws of the city of St. Albans, the rites, sacrifices and
 “ other ceremonies of the Heathens, almost all of which were written
 “ *in the Welsh language*. Unwon translated them either into the
 “ Latin or English, but the Abbot, either envying posterity the
 “ advantages of these labours, or the writer who had also written much
 “ himself, the credit of them, suppressed them almost entirely. The
 “ life of St. Alban was however preserved.” The reason given for
 the suppression of the translations is too vague to lay any stress upon
 it. It is clear that the intent of employing Unwon was to learn what
 the Mss. contained; and finding them unfit for the purposes of the
 Romish church, they suppressed them. This was in the ninth century,
 and from this anecdote it is evident that *antient* Mss. in the Welsh
 language did exist at that time. The Book of Llandaff also, which
 was written in the eleventh century, quotes very antient¹ writings;
 from which they were able to discover where, in the Isle of Bardsey,
 Dubricius was buried. These must have been writings by the Welsh,
 whether in their own language, or in Latin. A description of the
 Cantreds is also given in the same book, said to be copied from a Ms.
 of great antiquity, because the original had by age been worn down.

primo nominis hujus apud S. Albanum
 Abbate Verolamium vocatus, & honesto
 stipendio conductus, antiqua in eo monas-
 terio monumenta Britannice scripta, partim
 in Latinam, partim in Anglicam linguas
 verterit. Erant autem inibi codices antiqui,
 tum sacri tum profani, de vita, rebus gestis
 & passione St. Albani. De consuetudinibus
 & legibus civitatis Verolamiensis, &
 ejusmodi profana etiam monumenta invenie-
 bantur non pauca. De ritibus, sacrificiis
 & aliis Romanorum Ethnicorum ceremoniis.
 Quæ pene omnia *Britannico* sermone con-
 scripta, vel Anglice vel Latine reddidit
 Unwonus. Quæ & ipse alia non pauca
 scripsit. Quæ Abbas vel famam auctori,

vel operum utilitatem invidens posteritati
 suppressit pleraque ut auctor est Lelandus.
 Tamen saltem acceperunt posterius ab hoc
 auctore vel translatores. *S. Albani Bri-*
tanniæ protomartyris vitam. Claruit anno
 post Christi nativitatem 970.

Quod vero postmodum investigatum
 est, & acquisitum monumentis seniorum,
 & antiquissimis scriptis literarum, quo loco
 sepultus est (St. Dubricius) Lib. Landav.

As the Romish clergy were obliged
 to make such researches to find where
 Dubricius was buried, that they might bring
 his relicks to be worshipped at Llandaff,
 it is a proof that the Welsh *did not venerate*
relicks.

Gale mentions a report that, upon the dissolution of the monasteries, ¹ Polydore Virgil carried out of England a ship-load of books; and it is probable that one so hostile to the antient British history, may have carried away many valuable writings on the subject. Upon any other supposition, than that the adherents to Rome either carried off, or destroyed the records and histories, particularly the chronicles, (regularly, for the most part, written and annually increased, by memorials of the principal transactions of each year,) it will be very difficult to account for the sudden and general disappearance of all that does not favor the Romish church, except what belonged to private families, and that so many of those, which do favor it, should have escaped. Were this latter not the case, the suspicion might be considered as uncandid; as it is, there is but too much cause for it, as to the Welsh churches.

Of these some future day may possibly make in part a discovery. That several of the works of the real Gildas did exist in Italy in the fifteenth century, the testimony of Lilius Gyraldus is a sufficient voucher: and how much an historian of Wales will have to regret that they are not within his reach, a reference made by Gyraldus will make him feel acutely, though at the same time it will be a singular and forcible evidence, that the Triads, published in the Archaiology of Wales, are of great antiquity and genuine. Speaking of the poets of Wales, he says, “The Britons, though, to use the words of the poet, *entirely cut off from our world*, have ever loved the poets, and amongst them Plemmydius, Oronius, and Gildas have attained to *celebrity.*”

¹ Scrip. 15. Preface.

² Britanni, tametsi penitus, ut ait poeta, nostro arbe divisi, poetas semper amaverunt,

atque inter eos Plemmidius, Oronius, & Gildas, celebrati fuerunt. Lib. G. Op. vol. 2. p. 35.

In the 58th of the third set of Triads, published in the *Archaiology*, the names of Plennydd or Plennydius, for so it should be written; Goron, or in construction Oron, and Alawn, are recorded as those of the three primary poets of Britain, who gave to poetry systematic principles, and to the poets regular institutions as to their privileges.

But these names do not, as far as I can learn, occur in any British history written in the Latin tongue, that is known to exist at present. Where then did Lilius Gyraldus find them? was it in the *Cambreis* of Gildas, or in his elegies? Then the real Gildas must have been acquainted with either ancient history, or ancient traditions. Was it in any other British writer? then it is certain, that Wales has to lament another loss, and possibly a severe one.

If however any of the writings referred to by Lilius Gyraldus do exist, which may still be possible, it may be of use to some future traveller to point out where they may, with any probability of success, be looked for; that is, in Ferrara or Milan. L. Gyraldus was librarian to Pico, of Mirandola, and passed a great part of his life in Ferrara and Milan. Whether Pico's library was at Milan, or Mirandola, I know not; but the probability, and a strong one it is, must be, that it was either in Pico's library, or one of the libraries of these towns; that he read them, and that, if carefully sought, they might yet be found. The Vatican library might of course be expected to afford much information.

But may not the real history of Gildas be in our hands under another name? The conjecture, for it is no more, is favored by several circumstances, and as such may perhaps be allowed to be stated. It is that the manuscript brought from Brittany by Walter Calenius, was no other the real history of Gildas. This manuscript appears to have contained the six first books of what was published by Jeffrey of Monmouth; the Prophecy of Merlin; and some portion of the remaining books; for that it did not contain all, is acknowledged.

In support of the conjecture now offered, it will be necessary to state the circumstances on which it is founded. A little after the time when Gildas wrote his history, which he probably did in Glamorgan-shire, Sampson went over from Glamorgan to Dole in Brittany, of which he became the Bishop; and as he was considered as one of the most learned men of his time, would naturally wish to take with him a history of the kind just published under his eye; and in Brittany it would be more likely to be preserved, during the six following centuries, than in Wales; were it only as the history of the mother country of the Bretons. The name of Gildas is indeed wanting to this history, and therefore probably the Preface. In every other respect the conjecture seems at least not to be without a considerable share of probability.

It is observable, that the writer in several instances, quotes Gildas, for circumstances *not introduced into the history*, and in a manner which it might be expected the author of the other writings would adopt, and no one else. It is a simple reference to the work, and the author's name. When Gildas is quoted by others, it is, in general with the addition of some compliment to his learning; and, had any other been the author of the Brut, it is probable he also would have done so. Besides, the very slight manner in which he refers to the works of Gildas, is that of one who was satisfied with having written enough previously on the subject, and was unwilling to resume it. There is also, in the severity with which the character of Maelgwn Gwynedd is treated, a trait of that of Gildas. The offence of Maelgwn Gwynedd had drawn upon him the resentment of Gildas, and Maelgwn's attachment to the bards would not impair it. This attachment, as inconsistent with Christianity and not natural to its professors, was probably the real foundation of the dreadful imputation of one of the worst of crimes, if the expression be understood literally; and though

though from the style of the epistle of the spurious Gildas, and the deference of Maelgwn to bardism, it might be understood more justly in a spiritual sense, when it is observed, that this imputation is found twice in the Brut, once at a small interval from the beginning, and a second time at a similar interval from the end, it looks so like the effect of malicious design in both, as to deserve no credit in either, and ought to be considered as interpolations of some enemy of the Welsh. The former is not found in the Book of Basingwerk.

Another reason for attributing the history to Gildas, is, that he was a Cumbrian Briton. As such he was more likely to adopt the traditions of the Loegrians; the last of whom as a distinct people, are said in Triad 7th, (*W. Arch.* p. 58) to have existed in the Commot of Carnoban, in Deira and Bernicia. This Commot was probably partly in both. The traditions of the Cumbrian Britons and Loegrians were therefore likely to be confounded, and considered as the same. It is also evident, that it was written either in South Wales, or to the south of the Severn; a circumstance which is also consistent with the life of Gildas, and perhaps it was at Glastonbury. If this was the case, and I confess the coincidence of so many circumstances with the supposition seem to make it highly probable, the Brut ought to be considered as the real History of Gildas.

APPENDIX, No. II.

Of the Authority of the Brut.

THOUGH many corroborating testimonies to the general purport of the Brut have been inserted in the notes; yet, as there have been various objections made to it, which could not well be noticed there, I have reserved them for a distinct consideration in this place.

The first of these in order, is one founded on the idea that the antient Britons did not record their history in writing. ¹That they had the use of written characters when Julius Cæsar came into Britain, is asserted by him; whether the *Greek* characters, according to the common reading of the passage, or *rude* characters, according to a conjectural reading, is of no consequence to the argument. He also observes that they did not commit the druidical doctrines to writing, though they did employ writing generally for other purposes, public or private. From the whole passage it is certain, that the restriction from writing was that of committing the sciences taught by the Druids to writing, and as far as appears from the words of Cæsar it was confined to that.

Whether in those times they had any regularly written history can only be a matter of conjecture, though it is more probable that

¹ Nonnulli annos vicenos in disciplinâ privatisque rationibus litteris Græcis (al. permanent neque fas esse existimant *ea* litteris mandare, quum in reliquis fere publicis *crassis*) utuntur. De Bello. Gall. lib. 6. cap. 13.

the Druids, who set so high a value upon science, would not neglect the parent of it. Some things may have been recorded in memorial verses, but public events were more properly the subject of written testimony. There was nothing in them to conceal from the vulgar eye, as the result of profound research, or mystic power. They were already known, and if they were recorded, it was for the benefit of posterity. But had the Druids not recorded them, it is not probable that the Christian converts would have neglected it; and had the Welsh possessed no knowledge of writing sooner, their conversion must have introduced it, and with it a desire to record their own history. In the time of Agricola, some of the Britons were induced to imitate the Romans, and as this was in an age which affected a literary character, and particularly in writing of history; ¹ polite literature became a particular subject of their studies, and they were complimented on a natural genius superior to the efforts of study in the Gauls. In these studies the motives for historic writing were more prominent, even if it had been neglected before; to pursue them, a familiarity with the art of writing was necessary, had it even not been much in use otherwise, and as an imitation of the Romans, would lessen their respect for the druidical restrictions; it is probably to this that we owe the little that is discoverable in the Triads of their doctrines, and institutions. Some of these Triads must be of great antiquity, as will be seen in those quoted respecting the laws of Dyfnwal Moelmud. The same must also be said of some of the poems in the first part of the Welsh Archaiology. That which is entitled the Awdyl Vraith, or Oracle of Varieties, must have been written at a time when many Latin words were in use, as constituent parts of the Welsh language, and

¹ Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant eloquentiam concupiscerent. Tacitus in Vitâ. Ag.

without any inflection. This poem is of a singular and very ¹ antient measure, consisting of stanzas of three lines ending with the same rhyme, and an additional one, which in other poems of the kind has a correspondent rhyme in the second stanza; but in this poem the fourth lines all end in *a*, and many of them terminate in Latin words. Of these the following will sufficiently shew how the Latin words are used, the proper form according to regular construction being annexed :

Stanza	2.	Cyn cael Anima.	Const.	<i>Animam.</i>
	4.	Sitiur Tartara.		<i>Tartari.</i>
	6.	Ar dir Asia.		<i>Asiae.</i>
	9.	Hyd wyl vagna.		<i>Magnam.</i>
	18.	Masgl fæmina.		<i>Masculum et fæmineam.</i>
	25.	Arca fœdera.		<i>Arca fæderis.</i>

So also in the next poem, though of a different measure, we have

Vari rubia	for	<i>Mare rubrum.</i>
Blodau rosa	—	<i>Blodau rosæ.</i>
Gwres ignisia	—	<i>Gwres ignitus or ignitius.</i>
Extra parta	—	<i>Extra partam.</i>

These poems are attributed to Taliesin, and such a mixture of the two languages, strongly marks that they were written at a time when the Latin had not ceased to be spoken in Britain.

¹ An instance of it which seems to be introduced as a proverbial stanza, is in the book of Job, ch. 3d. v. 26.

לֹא שָׁלוֹחַ Lo shalavti, I was not at peace.

וְלֹא שָׁקֵט Velo shakatti, I was not at ease.

וְלֹא נֹחַח Velo nachti, I was not at rest.

וַיָּבֵא רָגֹז Vaiabo ragoz, And (now) the trouble is come.

This refers to the uneasy state of mind under a presentiment of evil.—The following is one of the Welsh stanzas, in which the cadence and rhyme is similar in situation and effect to that in the Hebrew.

Geiriau'r angel	The words of the angel
Am hedd a rhyfel	As to war and peace
A fydd diogel	Will be certain
I Britannia.	To Britannia.

Another mark of the antiquity of these poems is the strain of druidical philosophy, which pervades them, and this philosophy (which must have been familiar to the poet) probably ceased with Taliesin, as to the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, and was wholly extirpated either by the Monks of the monasteries founded in North Wales, or the massacre of the Bards by Edward Ist.

From the difference and the regular variation of metres, and also from some peculiarities of language, as well as from the degrees of errors, by transcribing in the copies; which are always greatest in the most antient, arguments of the antiquity of these, might be deduced; but, as it would require a knowledge of the language to judge of their force, though I am persuaded that they would prove the fact very decisively to those who understand the language, it would be useless to state them to others, I will therefore content myself with referring to Mr. Turner's able Vindication of the Antiquity of the Genuineness of the Antient British Bards, for farther information on this part of the subject, and return to the history. As the Welsh certainly had the use of letters, the question recurs, as to the antiquity of the Brut itself.

The earliest testimony to the tradition of the Brut that I know of, is that of Taliesin, who in the poem abovementioned (the *Awdyl Vraith*) denominates the Welsh *Lin Droea*, that is, *The lineage of Troy*. The Trojan part of the tradition must therefore have been acknowledged in his time.

The next instance is an allusion to it in the life of Wilfrid, written as Gale says, by Eddius, and in the beginning of the eighth century. In the account, given by this writer, of the appeal to Rome against Wilfrid by the Bishops of Britain. In this appeal he says, "Accusatores
" falsidici, et cum *Pseudograis* unus diaconus et alii omnes sine
" aliquo ecclesiasticæ dignitatis gradu, in conventu apostolicæ sedis
" excellentissimam personam ausi sunt accusare."¹

¹ Page 81. Ed. Gale.

The false accusers (the legates or ambassadors of Berthwald), and with the Pseudo-Greeks, one deacon, and the rest; none of whom were of any ecclesiastical rank, dared to accuse this most excellent person in the convention of the apostolic see. Here the term Pseudo-Greeks is applied to persons who had come from Britain; and cannot, I think, be otherwise understood, than as contradistinguishing the adherents to the British church, from the adherents to Rome, by reference to the tradition, that the ancestors of the Britons came from Greece.

It has frequently been objected that Bede says nothing of Brutus or the Trojans; and it is true that nothing of the kind appears in the printed edition of his works. But in an antient manuscript in the British Museum, Vesp. D. 4, there is an extract which, according to the title, is taken from Bede. It is as follows:

Incepit quidam libellus de Bruto et Britannia secundum Bedam.

Britannia insula, a quodam consule Romano Bruto dicta est. Britones autem olim impleverant Britanniam, et judicaverunt a mari usque ad mare. Expertum namque est in Annalibus Romanorum, quia Silvius, filius Ascanii, filii Aeneae, duxit uxorem, et nunciatum est Aeneae quod nurus sua gravida esset, et misit magum ad considerandum eam, ut exploraret quid in utero haberet. Fatum inquit illius est, quod patrem & matrem occidet, et hominibus exosus erit, sicque evenit. In nativitate ejus mulier est mortua et infans natus est, et vocatum est nomen ejus Brutus, et post multum tempus impletum est vaticinium magi; dum ipse cum aliis pueris ludebat, ictu sagittae patrem impulit, non de industria, sed easu. Pro talibus et aliis meritis multis a Roma pulsus est, et venit ad Gallias, et ibi condidit civitatem Turonum. Et iterum inde expulsus est, et postea pervenit ad istam insulam, quae a suo nomine nomen accepit. Id est Britannia. Ab illo die Britones habitaverunt in Britannia insula.

The next testimony to the same tradition, exclusive of Nennius, is that of Godefridus de Malmesbury, who wrote in the reign of Henry II.

It is true that Geoffrey of Monmouth, also published his translation in this reign; but it will also be evident upon a comparison of the following extract with the Brut, that Godefridus had not seen and certainly did not copy the latter.

¹ Britannia insula, a quodam de genere Japhet Britone, ferunt esse nuncupatam. Alii de Bruto, cognato Æncæ astruunt illum nomen sortitum. Quidam *ingenio veterum derogantes* a Bruto consule Romano vocabulum huic insulæ indiderunt.

Britannia ergo, Albionia olim vocata a gente Cycloperum, quibus possessa a tempore primi regis sui, videtur etiam usque ad imperium Romanorum, sub sexaginta regibus in libertate floruit. Isti sunt qui regiones civitatibus et oppidis munieverunt. Quibus ævo sepultis, venit in deditionem Romanorum, temporibus Augustorum. Nec dubium quin postea libertatem sibi vendicans, ipsis, et dominatoribus Romanis, gravis extitit. Tunc cessit in dominium Germanorum, hoc est, Anglorum et Saxonum. Exinde subiit in potestatem Borealium gentium, id est, Danorum et Barbarorum. Ad ultimum decidit in possessionem Gallorum, et Francorum et Normannorum. Habitat a Britonibus, et Anglis, Pictis et Scotis, Dacis et Normannis.

Congruum ergo inchoandæ relationis sumamus exordium. Trojani namque eruti de servitute Græcorum, navibus concessis ad partes Galliæ applicuerunt, inventâque *ibi* gente Trojanâ cum duce Corineo, cum cædem familiâ de Armorico tractu Albioniam, devenerunt insulam, et usque in præsens possederunt.—MS. B. Mus. *Vesp. D. 4.*

Testimonies to particular parts of the Brut, from the same author, will be found in the Notes. That of William of Malmesbury, to the History of Gildas, has already been noticed; but it remains to be observed, that he was acquainted with other British writings extant in his time.

¹ This, and another instance of grammatical error, is found in the MS.

Hoc autem ita se habere tum ex chartâ S. Patricii, tum ex scriptis seniorum cognoscimus. Quorum unus Historiographus—sic exorsus est. *Page 293.*

“ Prout charta, S. Patricii, gesta que Britonum testatur.” *Ibid.*

In this reference the *Gesta Britonum*, or History of Britain, must have gone as far back as the time of Vortigern at least.

Legitur in antiquis Britonum gestis quod a Boreali Britanniae parte venerunt in occidentem duodecim fratres, &c. *Page 295.*

These were the ¹ sons of Cynedda Wledig, most of whom settled in North Wales in the beginning of the fifth century. Having given the history of Glasteing, W. M. adds,

“ Hæc de antiquis Britonum libris sunt.” *Ibid.*

Legitur in gestis illustrissimi regis Arturi, quod cum—apud Karlium strennissimum adolescentem, filium sciz regis, Nudd dictum, Ider insignibus militaribus decorasset, &c. *Page 307.*

This tale is not however in Geoffrey's translation, or the Welsh Brut. There were therefore other histories of Arthur extant, which would have furnished materials for additions to the Brut, but Geoffrey or the author or compiler of the latter part did not probably know of them, or this tale would have been joined to the rest.

Here also the uniformity with which the writers both of the twelfth and two following centuries have in general given the substance

¹ Malmesbury says, that the name of one of these sons was Glasteing, and that Glastonbury was so called from his name, as he settled his family there. But *Clas* signifies a monastery, or an inclosure; and the other part of the name seems to have been *Dingad*, the name of a British saint; and hence *Clas-Dingad*, that is, the inclosure of *Dingad*, will be the origin and meaning of Glasteing. As to the charter of St. Patrick, Malmesbury has in a very delicate manner suffered his opi-

nion, that it was a forgery, to be perfectly discernable. He says, that the writing was ‘scripturæ vetustissimæ similis,’ *THE very antient writing*. In another instance of a deed of gift by a king of Devon, he says at once clearly and decisively, that ‘*schedæ vetustas,*’ *the antiquity of the roll*, had rendered the king's name illegible. This difference of modes of expression, suggested evidently by a love of truth, gives great weight to what he asserts positively.

of the Brut, as the British history might, by the multitude of concurrent instances in regular progress, be adduced as a proof of their regard for it as true, with the exception of some circumstances towards the end. This was the opinion of Higden, who says of the persuasion of the Welsh, that when the bones of Cadwaladr should be brought from Rome, they should again have a king, "Fabulosam reputo, sicut et Historiam Gaufridi in fine." *I think it fabulous, as also the History of Geoffrey in the conclusion.* This certainly implies that he did not think *the rest* so. The same may be said of the opinions of Giraldus Cambrensis, &c.

One more testimony I cannot withhold, as it appears to have been very little known, and yet is one of some importance. This is an Epitome of the History of Britain, extracted from the *Olia Imperialia* of Gervase of Tilbury. What constitutes its value chiefly is, that there is every reason to believe that the writer had not seen Geoffrey's History. He gives several circumstances omitted in the Brut, and a clearer account of some that are in it. In the writing of ² proper names, though the resemblance is sufficient to mark the name intended, they are scarcely ever written in the same manner as in Geoffrey's translation; which, as in the writings of those who have copied it, would necessarily have been nearly the same, had he done so. As this Epitome is short, a copy of it is here given, taken from the printed copy in the library of St. Martin's in the Strand, by the kind permission of Dr. Hamilton. To it are prefixed some extracts from the writings of Gervase, which will give the best account of the writer and his works, that has come within my knowledge, and also some idea of his political and religious principles, which appear to have been those of a man truly respectable for both. The title is as follows.

¹ Page 243. Ed. Gale.

² In a few instances, where the excessive corruption has made it necessary, the

true name is inserted in Italics, and between brackets. This is the only variation from the printed copy.

Ex veteri Codice membrateo Bibliothecæ Juliæ.

Gervasii Tiberiensis

Arelatensis quondam regni

Mareschalli

De Imperio Romano, et Gottorum, Lombardorum,

Brittonum, Francorum Anglorumque regnis

Commentatio,

Ex ipsius *Otiis Imperialibus*

Ad Ottonem IV. Imperatorem.

Nunc primum Edita,

a

Joachimo Johanne Madero.

Helmstadii, Anno, 1673.

Extracts from the Preface.

In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, incipit liber, a magistro Gervasio Tilleberiensis editus, qui intitulatur *Otia Imperialia*. Amen.

Otoni quarto, Romanorum Imperatori, semper Augusto, Gervasius Tilleburiensis, vestri dignatione Marescalcus regni Arelatensis, humilis, devotus, et fidelis, salutem victoriam et pacem interiorem.

Duo sunt Imperator Auguste, quibus hic mundus regitur, *sacerdotium et regnum*. Sacerdos orat, Rex imperat.

Quippe ex animi mei voto pridem fuerat, post *librum facietiarum*, quem, ex mandato Domini mei, illustrissimi regis Anglorum, Henrici junioris, dictaveram, alium ad recensendam ejus benevolentiam libellum dictare per tres decisiones distinctum, in quo totius orbis descriptio,

saltem in summâ contineretur, et provinciarum divisio, cum majoribus minoribusque sedibus: et sic singularia cujusque provinciæ mirabilia subnectere, quæ fuisse mirabilia, audisse apud ignorantes deliciosasque aures delectabile foret. Nec jam, sicut fieri solet, optimates per mimorum aut histrionum linguas mendaces percipiant Dei virtutes: sed per fidelem narrationem, quæ vel ex *veteribus auctorum libris* conguessimus, vel ex occultâ fide firmavimus, cui solidiana subest probatio, si loca fuerint per descriptas provincias perscrutata. Quoniam igitur tam honoratissimi principis, domini avunculi vestri, judicio, devotum opus servitutis meæ subtrahitur, deliberavi Celsitudini vestræ id oblatum fore.

The whole work intituled *Otia Imperialia*, consisted of 23 books, of which Maderus has published only five, the 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20th.

The following extract, though not in the Preface, is worthy of a place here. It is

Gervase's address to Innocent III.

Attende, sanctissime Papa, qui mandas ne principi paream. Pareo lubens, in his, quæ Dei sunt, tibi, ut animæ custodi; parebo et Principi in his, quæ jus tangunt imperii. Servabo fidem imperio, cui juravi in Imperatore; fidem servabo Deo cui juravi in baptismo. Utrumque Deo, quod debeo, illi solvam, si tibi in spiritualibus & illi in terrenis obediero. *Quoted by Maderus.*

De Regno Britonum.

Post eversionem Trojæ, Æneas profugus regnavit in Latio, filium generans Ascanium, qui et ipse genuit Silvium ex filiâ Latini Lavinîâ. Ex quo filius processit Brutus, qui matrem suam in puerperis, neptem sciz. Lavinîæ, et patrem Silvium in venando peremit. Profugus itaque

propter hujusce tristes horrendosque eventus Brutus: in Græciâ, auxilio Assaraci, progeniem Heleni, filii Priami, servituti Pandrasi regis Græcorum addictam, e quâ a Pyrrho Achillis filio in captivitatem ducta fuisset, potentiâ virtutis suæ liberavit. Sic ergo Innoge filiæ Pandrasi in uxorem ductâ, Brutus mari se credidit cum uxore, Trojan isque reliquiis, quas a jugo servitutis exemerat. Leogræciâ ergo Græcorum insulâ transactâ, responsoque in somnis per Dianam suscepto, triginta dierum cursu enavigato, Africa subductâ, ad aras Philistæorum et lacum Salinarum, inter Ruscicadam et montes Azaræ, Malva flamine transito, Mauritaniâ decursâ columnis Herculis, exactis, ad Tyrrenum æquor pervenit, ubi Corineum ducem, cum quatuor stirpibus, qui Antenoris fugam fuerant comitati invenit. Corineum ergo Brutus in socium et auxiliarium evocans, devicto Goserio, Aquitanorum rege, consuleque Suardo, a Corineo bipenne transverberato, ad mare Britannicum venit, quod Armoricum sinum respicit. Ex hinc Albion insulam Oceani ingreditur, quæ post a Bruto Britannia major et nunc Anglia nominatur. Ad differentiam ergo minoris Britanniae, quæ Gallias contingit, et ad tempus fuerat Bruti fugientis asylius, Albion Britanniae nomen et regnum accepit. Cujus insulae pars Corineo cedens in partem, Cornubia ab ipso duce Corineo dista est, vel quia ipsa cornu Britanniae est. Instinctu Veneris, quæ propter iudicium pōni, Paridi, Trojanisque favebat, Brutus ad veteris Trojæ memoriam condidit firmissimam urbem *Trinovantum*, in ipsâ velut Ilium ad Orientem constituens, ubi Turris Londinensis est, firmissima munitione palatium circum septum continens, aquâ Tamasis fluvii, quam quotidie ascendens maris inundatio replet, in ambitu decurrente. Ad occidentem vero Pergaman construxit, duo videlicet muris aggeribusque constructa castra, quorum alterum Baniardi alterum Baronum de Munificeth, ex jure est successione. Hæc ultra angustarum portarum castella principaliter sunt defensoria. Civitatis ampla planities secus decursum Tamasis fluvii, qui ex magnitudine, marisque refluxu,

plus mare sapit, quam fluvium, per sex miliaria in longum protrahitur, undique flumine Tamasi, aut marinis paludibus circumclusa, murorum firmatur altitudine et bitumine, quasi minuto lapidis cæmento surgentium, interioribus aggeribus fundata, turribus in ambitu murorum cum propugnaculis continuatur, intercisione gentibus conspicua late spaciatur. Fluvialis aqua et maris connexionem portus est, et navigabilis admodum pelagi, piscosâ in omni piscium affluentia. Pascuis abundantioribus, omnimodisque venationibus impressa. Argenti dives et auri, paucis urbibus invidet, omnibus ipsa merito invidiosa existit. Quis enim tantam populositatem crederet sic lege constringi, sic frumento omnique farre stabiliri, sic humorum copiâ affluere, cum illic vineæ non plantentur, sic omni mundanâ copiâ fluere, sic sanctorum monasteriorum, ac illustrium Canonicorum copiosâ ditatione regularitateque gaudere. Profecto in illa unicâ urbe, dextris fundatâ auspiciis, sine exceptione caput illud divulgatum et apud omnes peræque gentes, omniumque fastigiâ regnorum probatissimum Lucani proverbium.

Invida fatorum series, summisque negatum

Stare diu.

Cum enim post eversionem Trojæ sexagesimo nondum anno completò, urbs Trinovantum, Hely sacerdote populum Israel regente, et arcâ fœderis a Philistæis captâ, regnantibus in Trojâ filii Hectoris, expulsis posteris Antenoris, constructa sit CCCLIV ante Romuleam urbem conditam, vix invenire licet, et maximis et antiquissimis, urbem vel regionem, quæ vel nomen cum re non mutaverit, vel principatum non amiserit, aut exterius attrita ferro, aut interius civili et intestino bello consumpta. Hæc sola cum aliarum invidiâ, quod ex Dei munere, vidit * subversam Babylonem destructam.* Suevis pro parte maximâ deletam, Jerusalem cum templo eversam, Macedoniam, Persidam, Ægyptum, Chaldæam, Judæam, Æthiopiam, regnorum et regum alternasse vicissitudines, nec dominando, nec alterius dominio serviendo. Constantinopolis nuper Gallorum Italicorumque irruptionibus suis gazis

spoliatur: Colonia Agrippina Childerici regis Francorum violentiam testatur. Hispania nunc a Gothis, nunc a Paganis, nunc a Karolo crebras patitur mutationes. Quid ultra? Roma ipsa, de eodem seminario Trojano orta, licet constructione posterior suos tamen cineres vidit sub duce Brenno; incendium suum horruit sub Alarico, cotidianos imminentium ruinarum defectus deplorat, dum mores ejus decrepiti vix possunt sustentari: nihil habens honorabilis vestustatis, præter fastum popularem et antiquatam lapidum congeriem.

Jam nunc ad historiam revertamur, quæ Bruto tres fuisse filios testatur. Locrinum, a quo Lœgria, media pars insulæ, sic dicitur: Albanectum a quo Albania, quæ nunc est Scotia: Cambrem a quo Cambria, quæ nunc *Wales* dicitur. Ii primum insulam diviserunt secundum prænominatas suorum nominum regiones. Albanectum occidit UMBER, rex Hunnorum; Humbrum Locrinus, a quo Humber fluvius nomen accepit. Locrinus sagittâ percussus in prælio, quod habuit cum uxore suâ Gondolcena, filiâ Corinei, interiit: Erat autem causa prælii Estrildis regina Germaniæ, cujus amore uxorem suam reliquerat. Locrino successit Gondolcena uxor ejus, postquam Nadan, filius ejus et Locrini. (Tunc regnabat Samuel in Judæa et Homerus claruit.) Huic successit Menpricus (Tunc regnabat Euristeus in Lacedæmoniâ.) Huic successit Ebrancus filius, qui condidit Eboracum, alteram Britannicæ metropolim. Tunc regnavit David; et Gath, et Nathan, et Asaph prophetaverunt. Post Ebrancum regnavit Brutus, *Viride-scutum*. Hujus fratres decem et novem Germaniam adepti sunt, auxilio Silvii Albani, qui tunc regnabat in Albaniâ, quæ caput fuit regni Romanorum. Post hunc Leu a quo civitas¹ Barbail nomen habet. Tunc cæpit Salomon templum ædificare et regina Austri venit ad Salomonem. Post hunc Rudum-bribras. Hic condidit Caerthet, hoc est, Cantuarium, metropolim et primatiam Anglo-

¹ This should probably be Karlail, i. e. Carlisle, but whether the error is in the Ms. or not, the Editor has given no means of knowing.

rum et Caerguint, quæ est Guitonia. Caer enim linguâ Trojanâ civitas interpretatur. Hic condidit oppidum Paledur, ubi aquila loquebatur, dum murus ædificaretur. Post hunc Bladud filius ejus. Hic fecit Caerbadim, ubi sunt balnea Badonis calida, ad usus mortalium apta, quibus præfecit numen Minervæ et ipsis inextinguibiles supposuit ignes, ut nunquam deficient in favillas, sed ex quo tabescere incipiunt in saxeos globos convertuntur. Tunc Elias oravit, et non pluit annos tres et menses sex. Bladud docuit Britones nigromantiam. Huic successit Leir filius ejus. Hic condidit Caerlier super Soram, quæ est Leircestria, et instituit in regnum Gonorillam filiam suam, cum viro suo duce Albaniz Niaglanno (*l. Maglanno*) et Ragan alteram filiam, cum viro suo Edewina (*l. Cyneddá*) duce Cornubiæ: qui expulerunt socerum suum. Post Leir recepit regnum suum per Aganippum regem Galliz, cui junxerat filiam tertiam Cordoillam; quæ dixit patri, dum filias interrogarat, quantum quævis illum diligerat? aliis multa loquentibus illa respondit, quantum habes, tantum vales, et tantum te diligo. Unde post patrem regnavit Cordoilla. Post quam filii sororum, Marganus trans Humbrum fluvium, Cuinedagus citra Humbrum. Post biennium Cuinedagus expulit Margannium solusque regnavit XXIII. annis. Tunc Esaias et Osee prophetaverunt. Tunc Roma condita XI. Kal. Maji, post eversionem Trojæ quadringentesimo anno quarto decimo, a geminis fratribus. Cumdagio successit Ravalla, cujus tempore cælum pluit tribus diebus sanguine, et muscarum effluentia homines moriebantur. Post hunc Gurgaunus, post hunc Sisillius; post hunc Iaggo Gurgantii nepos; post hunc Cantimarcus Sisillii filius; post hunc Borgodudo. Post Por rex, qui fratre suo interfecto et victo Suardo rege Francorum, fratris auxiliario, ipse quoque a matre interficitur, regno per multa tempora vacante, et in quinque reges dilacerato, scilicet, Clottesem regem Cornubiæ, Permetem regem Loegriæ, Rodduacum regem Cambriæ, Saturum regem Albaniz. Post hos Duligatto (*Dunwallo*) filius Clotessis solus regnavit, aliis expulsis.

Hic primus sibi fecit diadema ex auro. Hic fecit leges Mulmicias, quæ adhuc servantur in Angliâ. Hic statuit ut templa et strætæ, ipsæ quoque civitates, et aratra colonorum, ad se fugientes tuerentur. Huic successit Belinus primogenitus, secundum leges Trojanorum, in diadema Loegriæ, Cambriæ, et Cornubiæ, et Brennus minor sub eo Northam-
humberam usque Catanasiam (*tenuit*) Belinus tributariam fecit Daciam, regem Guthlarum captum ducens. Hic vias publicas quatuor struxit, et leges, quas postea rex Aluredus scripsit, quas Gildas refert. Brennus expulsus a Northamhumbrianis successit Segino regi Allobrogum, ductâ filiâ ejus. Hic, quod apud Allobroges maximum erat, in dandis cibis profusus erat, nullique janua ejus prohibebatur. Hic postea cum Belino fratre confœderatus, regulos Francorum et urbes sibi subjecit cum fratre suo intra annum unum, Deinde Romam incendunt, sicut refert Paulus Orosius. Mortuo Belino successit ei Gurguit Bareriso (*Gwrgant Varstrwch*) filius ejus. Hic Daciam iterum subjecit. Bac-
lisque (*Basclis*) per mare MXXX. navibus laborantibus Yberniam dedit inhabitandam. Post hunc Guithelmus (*Guithelinus*) regnavit, cujus uxor Marcia leges Marcias instituit, quas vulgus Marchenelage nominat. Post hunc regnavit uxor jam dicta: post quam frater ejus Danius. Post hunc Maurindus filius Danii qui strenuus, largus, omnique homini insuperabilis, devoratus est a belluâ inauditæ feritatis a partibus Ybernici maris, cum quâ diu pugnaverat. Post quem primogenitus ejus Gordinianus, post quem Archingallo pessimus. Quo a principibus deposito, successit frater ejus Elidurus, qui nimîâ pietate tentus, fratri de capite suo diadema restituit. Post quem Elidurus iterum regnavit. Post quem Ingenius citra Humbrum regnavit et Peredurus frater ejus in Scotiâ. Post hæc solus Peredurus Monarcha fuit: post quem tertio regnavit Elidurus, quem fratres incarceraverant apud Trinovantum. Post quem regnavit Gordonianus (*Gorbonianus*) filius: Post quem Maurantis Arcagolonis filius. Post hunc Edowallo Ingentii filius. Cui successit Ranno Pereduri filius; cui Carellus, cui Corlus; cui Carinus; cui

Fulgenius; cui Eldadus; cui Androgius; cui Urianus; cui Eliud; cui Clodancus; cui Cloternus; cui Gurgontius; cui Mercanus, cui Blandudo, cui Cap; cui Cenus; cui Sisillus, Belgerbradus. Hic in Musicis instrumentis et modulis omnes cantores excessit. Post hunc Archinail, cui successit Addol; cui Redion; cui Rederchius; cui Sumul; cui Penesil; cui Sere; cui Capor; cui Cligut; cui Eli filius ejus. Post hunc Lud filius ejus, a quo Caer Lud, quæ prius Trinovantum, et nunc per corruptionem Londoniæ nomen habet. Huic successit Cassibellanus frater Lud, qui a Julio Cæsare impugnatus, apud Dorobellam vicit Cæsarem; Nemio (*Nennio*) fratre Cassibellani retinente in clypeo suo ensem Julii; cum quo post XV. dies apud Trinovantum est sepultus juxta portam aquilonarem. Est autem nomen ensis Crocea Mors. Cumque resumptis viribus iterato Cæsar Britanniam impeteret, collis ad palos in Tamasi fluvio fixos navibus, Cæsar ad Morinos, ad turrim Dodres in Flandriâ, ad tutamen suum erectam, fugere dum fugatur, coactus est. Tertio per Androgenum nepotem Cassibellani Trinovantum capitur, ipso eum inducente. Huic ergo tributario facto in tribus millibus librarum argenti, successit Tenuancius frater Androgei, filius Lud, dux Cornubiæ. Cui successit Cabellinus (*Cymbelinus*) filius ejus, cujus tempore natus est Christus. Cui successit Gunderius filius ejus: quem tributum negantem Claudius Cæsar, ab ipso primum victus, sumptis armis Britaneis frandulenter interfecit apud Poresestriam cui successit Arturagus frater ejus, qui in eodem prælio occiderat Lælium Amonem, cujus consilio Claudius prælia gerebat. A quo Amtonia dicta et Suthantonia et Northantonia, quia australis et borealis mansio Hamonis. Post hæc confœderatione factâ cum Claudio, Claudius construxit Clærdon, Claergon, (*Caergloui*) Gloucestriam, quasi Claudicestriam, in confinio Cambriæ et Loegriæ. Eo tempore Petrus Apostolus Antiochenam fundavit Ecclesiam; veniensque Romam, misit Marcum in Egyptum, ad prædicandum Evangelium quod scripsit. Arturago successit in regno filius suus

Maurius; qui Rodue regem Pictorum vincens, sociis ejus dedit partem Scotiæ, quæ Canasia dicitur. Qui carentes uxoribus transfretaverunt in Hiberniam, et ex illis sic mixtis nati sunt Scoti. Huic successit filius ejus Scoillus, vix strenuus et justus, et Romanis plurimum favorabilis. Huic successit Lucius ipso melior. Is primus petiit a Papa Eleuterio doctrinam sibi dari fidei Christianæ. Qui duos ei religiosos doctores misit, Faganum et Duvianum. Hi pro XXVI. flaminibus tres Archiepiscopos statuerunt, Londinensem, Eboracensem et Legionensem; quæ civitas Legionum super flumen Oscam in Glamorgantia sita fuit. Igitur Londoniensi subjacuit Loegria et Cornubia; Legionensi Cambria, Sabrino flumine ab aliis separata. Eboracensi Dena (*Deira*) et Albania; quas magnum flumen Humber a Loegria secernit, sicut Gildas scribit. Hic Lucius omnia territoria templis pridem collata, contulit Ecclesiis, et ampliavit. Huic sine liberis mortuo successit Severus, Legatus Romanorum, qui vallum inter Deiram et Albaniam jussu imperatoris fecit. Huic successit filius Bassianus, quem Caramsius (*Carausius*) Brito, ex infimâ gente procreatus, Romæ ordinatus, ut piratas arceret, occidit, & ita in regnum ejus successit, dans Pictis locum in Albania, ubi mixtim cum Brito permanserunt. Huic successit Albectes (*Allectus*) Româ missus, ut Caransium (*Carausium*) occideret. Quo precepto, quia Albecto Brictiones opprimebat, eo quod Caransio adhæserunt, qui Albectum peremit, et convocatis Demetis Venedotis, Derris, et Albanis, Gallum Allectum collegam, Londonii obsessum, deditum decollari fecit apud torrentem Navigallum (*Nant-Gallum*) quod Anglicè sonat Gallebroec, a cæde ejusdem Galli sic nominatum. Isto regnante orta est persecutio Diocletiani: cujus Legatus Maximianus Herculus, princeps militiæ, tyrannicè Ecclesias Britonum subvertit, omnes Christianos delevit, et Albanum Magistrum militum in Britannia apud Verolanum occidit, ubi nunc ecclesia est sancti Albani XX. milibus passuum a Londoniensi civitate. Julium vero et Aaron cives urbis Legionum

occidit. Amfiabalus, Doctor Albani, mutatis vestibus, occultatus est. Interea Ocel (*Coel*) Dux Caortolum, hoc est, Colecestræ, conserto prælio peremit Asclepiodotum, et regnum accepit. Exhinc Constantius senator Britanniam ingressus, pacificatus cum Ocel, intra paucos dies mortuo Ocel, successit in regnum, ductâ Elenâ filiâ Ocel, in musicis instrumentis et liberalibus artibus doctissimâ: ex quâ nascitur Constantinus, qui patri apud Eboracum sepulto successit in regnum. Quo facto Imperatore successit in regnum Octavius rex Gwisseeorum usque ad tempus Gratiani et Valentiniani. Hic filiam suam cum regno dedit Maximiano (*Maximo*) Imperatori consanguineo Constantini, nepoti Coel, Ducis Britonum, patre Britanno filio Oceli avunculo Constantini, et matre, et natione Romano. Regnavit ergo Maximianus, et Britanniam minorem, quæ citra mare Britannicum Armorica dicitur, subjugavit, perempto Umbaldo, ipsamque Conano dedit, vocans eam Britanniam minorem, replevitque Britonibus expulsis Gallis. Exhinc Maximianus, Germaniâ quaque subjugatâ, thronum imperii sui statuit Treveris, duosque Imperatores dejecit, Valentinianum et Gratianum, uno perempto, altero a Româ fugato. Conanus vero rex Aremoricæ propter infestationes Gallorum duxit filiam Dionum (*Dunawd*) regis Cornubiæ, qui Caradoco fratri successerat in regnum, et cum undecim millia virginum militibus suis dari postulasset a Britonibus, in mari periclitatæ sunt, aut ab exercitu Granii et Melgæ, regis scilicet Hunnorum et Pictorum, martyrio traditæ. Tunc iidem principes, fautores Gratiani et Valentiniani, Britanniam vastant: sed per Gratianum Municipem, a Maximiano ad Britanniam missum, fugantur. Mortuo ergo Maximiano Gratianus regnum obtinuit, et interfectus est. Britonibus ergo a Granio rege Hunnorum et Melgâ Pictorum, et Dacis, et Norwegensibus lacesitis, consilio Guitelini, Londoniensis Archiepiscopi, Adroenus rex Armoricus Constantinum fratrem suum in regem majoris Britannicæ concessit. Cui viriliter regnanti, successit Constans filius, monachus factus in ecclesiâ

S: Amphibali Gwintoniæ; et exinde, promotus a Vortigerno Consule, Glocestræ. Sed in brevi Constans a Pictis et familiaribus suis occiditur, et Vortigernus in regem erigitur. Ejus tempore applicuerunt in Britannis Saxones Hengistus et Horsus, cum sociâ multitudine, et a Vortigerno recepti, possessionibus ditantur, dato solo ad mensuram corii bovini, propter munitionem ædificandam, quæ exinde Thwancastria, quasi castrum corrigiæ nuncupatur. Hengisti quoque filia aliud solenne ac divulgatum ciborum invitatorium invenit; *Wescahil*, quod interpretatur, sis hilaris: et e contra respondetur, *Drincail*, hoc est, bibe hilariter. Sed in Britannico sermone Cantinoch et Bodiut (¹ *forsan Can yn iach et Bydd wych.*) Ab istis Saxonibus, ab Englâ insulâ venientibus, seminarium ortum est Anglorum. Duxit ergo filiam Hengisti adhuc pagani Vortigernus, unde corrupta fuit sincera fides Britonum, et ad Pelagianam hæresin declinare cæperunt. Sunt tamen a B. Germano Autisiodorensis et Lupo Trecasense, Episcopis prædicantibus conversi. Unde consilio Britonum Vortigerno ejecto, Vortinus (*Vortimerus*) ejus filius in regem erigitur. Saxones cum rege ejiciuntur. Vortino per novercam, filiam Hengisti, novercaliter occiso, redit Vortigernus in regnum revocatoque Hengisto socio, cum innumerâ Saxonum copiâ, fit ab illis in pago Ambri proditio, in quâ nobiles quadringenti octoginta, et Consules fere omnes Britonum, occultis Saxonum cultellis perimuntur. Tunc urbibus a potestate Vortigerni ereptis, consilio Britonum, ædificavit Vortigernus turrim super ripam exhausti gurgitis, in cujus ædificatione Merlinus prophetare cæpit de draconibus e stagno egressis, quorum alter rubeus Britones, alter albus Saxones notat. Completâ igitur prophetiâ ut Merlinus prædixerat, Aurelius Ambrosius ex Armorico sinu veniens applicuit, et Vortigernus occiditur cum Hengisto

¹ *Can yn iach* in its proper sense is to words I can think of to those given in the wish one well, but is used to signify bid text. *udieu*. These are however the nearest

aliisque Saxonibus; fecitque ad memoriam nobilium, qui pridem in prodicione Saxonum per Vortigernum (*Hengistum*) fuerant perempti, lapides in Dardo monte Ybernæ collocatos, ad Ambresbiriam per Merlinum locari, in modum choreæ, sicut a gigantibus fuerant dispositi. Unde et in ejusdem choreæ medio Aurelius Ambrosius post aliquot annos sepultus fuit. Cui successit Uther frater ejus. Verum in morte ejus apparuit stella unicum habens radium miræ pulchritudinis et magnitudinis. Ad radium erat globus ignis in draconis similitudinem extensus, ex cujus ore duo procedebant radii, quorum unus ultra Gallias, alter in Yberniam vergens in sex minores radios terminabatur. Hanc autem novitatis apparentiam Merlinus exposuit, dicens; sidus esse Uther, et draconem subsidere. Radium ultra Gallias protensum Arcturum, cujus potentiâ sibi regna Galliarum subjiciet; radium minorem filiam, cujus filii et nepotes Britannæque Ybernæque obtinebunt per septem regulos divisum. Auditâ ergo expositione, Uther duos jussit ex auro dracones fabricari, unum dans majori sedi Gwintoniæ, alterum sibi reservans in præliis: et exinde vocatus est Uther pendragon in linguâ Trojanâ, quod sonat Latiné *caput draconis*. Hinc prodiit regnum illud apud Anglos, vexillum draconis habens, cum capite aureo, quod vicinis expertum, et paganis, sub avunculo tuo illustre rege Ricardo, in ultramariis partibus terribile fuit, Princeps Christianissime. Sane Uther in amorem Iugernæ uxoris Gorlois, Ducis Cornubiæ, vehementer exardens, occultâ Merlini occultatione et incantatione faciem Gurlais induit. Ulfui, familiaris Uther, assumit speciem Jordani, cui castrum Tratogol (*Tindagol*) dux cum uxore commiserat. Sed et ipse Merlinus mutatâ specie, cum Uther castrum ingreditur inexpugnabile. Uther ergo Ygernam specie viri seductam cognovit prægnantemque reliquit; sicque capto castro, Dumilioc, in quo dux ad tuendum se incluserat, dux occiditur, ductisque similitudinibus ad verum, Uther Igernam duxit uxorem, ex quâ genuit Arcturum et Annam. Diem functo, post multos actus strenuos

Uther Pendragon, successit Arcturus, qui cum Eolo (*Hoelo*) rege Armororum, filio sororis Arcturi, ex Budicio Armororum rege generato, Saxones Coligermium et Baldulsum, ipsumque Ducem Germaniæ Childericum, post multas victoris fortunas expulit a Britannia atque peremit. Hic Scotos, Pictos et Ybernienses, contra se et Eolum dimicantes, in stamno murans, obsessos capit. Erat autem stamnum Lumonoy dictum LX. insulas et LX. flumina recipiens, nec ex eis, præter unum, ad mare decurrens. Porro in insulis LX. totidem sunt rupes et totidem aquilarum nidi; qui quotannis convenientes, prodigium, quod erat in regno venturum, novaque superventura, celso clamore communiter edito notificabant. Erat et aliud non longé abhinc stamnum, longitudinem habens XX. pedum, totidemque in latitudine, altitudinem vero ¹ sine naturâ, sine humano artificio constructum. Hoc quatuor piscium genera inter quatuor angulos producebat, nec in aliquâ parte alterius pisces reperiebantur. Est et aliud stamnum in confinio Galliarum sive Cambriæ, prope Sabrinam flumen, quod incolæ ² Llinliwan dicunt. Hoc cum in ipsum mare fluctuat, recipitur in nomen voraginis sorbendoque fluctus nullatenus repletur, ut riparum marginem operiat. At dum mare decrescit, eructat ad instar montis absorptas aquas, quibus demum ripas tegit et aspergit. Interim si tota gens regionis illius facie tectâ de prope constaret, receptâ intra vestes undarum aspergine, vel vix, vel nunquam elabi valeret, quin a stamno suffocaretur, Tergo autem verso, non est irroratio timenda, si quis etiam in ripa consisterat. Arcturus igitur expulsis Saxonibus Ecclesias restituit, proceres privilegiis Episcopos honoribus honoravit. Augesilinum in regem Scotorum, Urianum fratrem in regem Murefensium instituit. Loth qui tempore Aurelii Ambrosii sororem Arcturi

¹ Something is omitted here, and for sine the sense seems to require sive.

² A river in Caermarthenshire, whence

Glyn Llifon has its name, mentioned by Llywarch hen. *Pyll wyn pwyll tân trwy Livon.* L. Morris.

duxerat, ex quâ Galnamium et Mordredum genuerat, Consulem Londoniæ et provinciarum sibi adjacentium instituit; Yberniam, Orcades insulas, Daciam, Gothlandiam et Norvejam sceptro suo subjecit, illas Loth sororio suo commendans gubernandas. Ex hinc invadit Gallias, Frollonem Tribunum Româ missum ad custodiendas Gallias, Parisiis insulâ extra murum singulari duello vicit et occidit: Gontardum Ducem ditioni suæ subjecit, Gasconiam ferro, flammâque depopulans, ipsam tandem subjugavit; et cum novem mensibus, totius Galliæ partes suæ potestati submisisset, consilio Parisiis celebrato, statum regni sub lege et pace confirmans, XII. Pares instituit, Guduero (*Bedwero*) Pincernæ Andegavium, Rajo (*Caio*) Dapifero Neustriam, quæ nunc est Normannia, largiens. Ex hinc curiam in Cambriâ civitatè Legionum ad S. Festum Pentecostes celebravit in Clamarcantia (*Glanmorgantiâ*) super Scani fluvium. Sanè civitas Legionum duabus eminebat Ecclesiis: una, Deo dicata, virginum, sub honore Julii Martyris, altera S. Aaron socii ejus, Canonicorum conventu instructa. Tertiam tunc habebat ecclesiam totius tunc Britanniæ primatem. Nec immerito quarto loco commendabile fuit gymnasium, regiis sumptibus instructum, Philosophorum, qui liberalibus artibus eruditi, cursus stellarum rimabantur, et Arcturo venturos eventus pronunciabant. Enimvero in curiâ solemniter tres tunc erant Archipræsules: Legionensis, Londoniensis, et Eboracensis. Hi tres in palatio regali regem, coronaverunt. Quatuor reges suffraganei quatuor aureos gladios præferebant; Angelos rex Albanæ, quæ nunc est Scotia; Cader rex Cornubiæ; Scater rex Dumetiæ (*Demetiæ*) quæ nunc est Suthgales, i. e. Gallia austrina, Cadwallo Venedociæ, quæ nunc est Northgales, i. e. Gallia borealis. Porro Vrianus rex Murefensium cum X. Palatinis, quos Consules nuncupabant. Sunt autem, Comes Claudcestriæ, Comes Gwigornæ, Comes Cestriæ, Comes Gaerguerensis, hoc est de Waleriut (*f. Warwick*) Comes Leircestriensis, Comes Sarelberiensis, Comes Bathoniensis, Comes Dorchecestriensis, Comes Ridocenensis hoc est Cenofordensis (*Oxenfordensis*) cum Duce

Doroberniæ, multisque non minoris dignitatis heroibus. Sed et ex insulis subjectis Rex Ybernice, Rex Midlandiæ, Rex Guthlandiæ, Rex Orcadam, Rex Norvegiæ, Rex Daciæ, Dux Ruthenorum, hoc est Flandrensi. Alii tamen Russiam Rutheniam nominant. Sed et in Provincia Narbonensi, civitas Rutenensis Bituricensi est Archiepiscopo subjecta. Item Consul Bononiensis, Consul Cenomanensis, Consul Andegavensis, Dux Pictaviensis, Oelus (*Hoelus*) rex Armorum Britonum; Duodecim Pares Galliarum, quos Gerinus Carnotensis conducebat. Singuli quoque singula parabant officia, regem ad Metropolitanam prosequentes Ecclesiam. Reginam quoque quatuor præmissorum regum reginæ præcedebant, quatuor albas columbas præferentes. Celebrato solemniter divino obsequio, levioribus mutatoriiis rex indutus ad mensam accedit. Regina quoque in suo non minus solemnium palatio cum dominabus illustribus discumbit. Sic enim Trojanus mos est, ut solemnibus diebus mares cum maribus, mulieres cum mulieribus discumbant seorsim atque distinctim. Finito de more convivio illustrantur ludi et unicuique pro victoriâ munus regalis largitionis impenditur. Illic donantur honores, Episcopatus assignantur, mutantur veterani, promoventur digni: et dum circa hæc curia vacat, revocatur ad arma delicia juvenus, Lucio Consule Romano tributum pridem extortum per legatos petente. Unde datis induciis successit nova malorum congeries. Verum post multa pericula exacta, Lucius conserto prælio trucidatur, multaque Romanorum, et non modicâ Britonum, strage factâ, victor Arcturus, ubi Romanum invadit imperium, ad proprias injurias ulciscendas revocatur, dum domestico *flumine Modredus ejus nepos, custos factus regni, usurpans regnum regis et domini, nec non avunculi, præsumpsit fœdare conjugium. Unde post aliquot tempus pugnam consertâ cum Modredo nefandissimo, et Childerico rege Saxonum, auxiliario Modredi, e Germaniâ nefaudis pactis advocato, rex Albanæ Angesilus et Galnandus Arcturi

nepos, omnium par, et in strenuitate præpar, sub dubio bellorum fato corruerunt cum multis: alterâque pugnâ revocatâ, Arcturus vulneratur, omnibus hostibus ab ipso peremptis. Unde secundum vulgarem Britonum traditionem in insulam Danalim (*Avalloniam*) ipsum dicunt translatum, ut vulnera quotannis recrudescencia, subinterpolatâ sanatione curarentur a Morganda fatata, quem fabulosè Britones, post data tempora, credunt rediturum in regnum, Vulneratus itaque Arcturus, Constantino cognato suo, Cadoris Ducis Cornubiæ filio, Britanniam regendam commisit, anno ab incarnatione quingentesimo XLII. Constantino Conano Uroporius successit; cui Malgo quidam, pulcherimus, robustus et largissimus. Hic omnes insulas suæ ditioni restituit, Yberniam Illandiam (*Islandiam*) Tothlandiam (*Gothlandiam*) Orcades, Martiam et Daciam. Malgoni successit Carecius civiliorum amator bellorum: cujus sævitiam ac inconstantiam non sustinens populus Britonum et Saxonum, advocant in auxilium contra eum Gudinundum (*Gormundum*) regem Africanorum: qui ipsum de civitate in civitatem persecutus, cum seriâ interminatione tandem in Gallias ire coegit. Sicque Godinundus totâ Loegriâ, quæ pars melior est et media regni, devastatâ, fugatis Episcopis, destructis Ecclesiis, monachis et clericis profugatis, in Gallias transit, auxilium daturus Isembardo nepoti Ludovici regis, qui cum Gudinundo tum amicitiam pepigit fœdus; utque facilius ejus haberat auxilium, de Christiano factus est paganus, sacrificiis idolorum se maculans, ut cum Gudinundo vindictam de Ludovico avunculo suo sumeret, qui ut asserunt, ipsum vi de Franciâ ejecerat. Ex isto tempore Saxones se Anglos nominaverunt, qui Loegriam possederunt, et ab eis Anglia dicta est, Britonibus fugatis atque dispersis. Diadema quoque Britonum in Anglos cessit. Eâ tempestate per plures Loegria divisa regulos in Cantiâ regem habuit Edelbertum, ad quem Augustinus a B. Gregorio missus. Quo ad fidem converso, et unâ cum populo suo baptisato, transiens Augustinus ad Britones, illic septem Episcopatus, cum Legionense Metropolita reperit. Illic

Abbas Dincot (*Dunawd*) pater mille tunc extitit monachorum, qui solitarié divisimque manentes ex labore manuum sibi victualia quæsitabant. Augustino itaque sibi petente ab illo fieri subjectionem, negaverunt, eo quod hostium suorum communionem, nedum subjectionem, abominarentur, maximé cum suum Episcopum Britonum diademate insignivissent. Hoc responso motus rex Cantixæ Edelbertus, cum Edelfredo rege Northanhumbrorum, et allis regulis, Abbatem Dincot peremit, et monachos ejus de confessoribus martyres fecit. Verum Britones cum regulis confligentes, advocato Margadud, (*Mareddydd*) rege Deme-tarum et Cadvano rege Venedorum, et Duce Cornubiæ, Edelfredum vulnerant; ipsoque cum suis in fugam versis, Cadvanum sibi præficiunt in regem factâ concordia, ut Cadvanus Britanniam citra Humbrum possideat, Edelfredo ultra Humbrum regnante. Illis post longam amicitiam defunctis succedunt filii, Cadwallo Cadvano, Edinius Edelfredo. Hi post longam pacem discordes facti sunt, quia Cadwallo negabat Edinium posse regali diademate in partibus suis insignire, dicens contra veteres esse traditiones, regnum unius coronæ duobus coronatis debere submitti. Deinde post multa hinc inde prælia conserta, plurimosque necatos, tandem Cadwallo, auxilio Salomonis, regis Armoricorum, cognati sui, Edinium occidit, auxilium sibi dante Pendâ, rege Merciorum; sicque cum Eduino peremptis regulis, Oswendo quoque, successore Edoini cum multis aliis, post multas victorias ad martyrium ducto, Cadwallo solus in Britannia regnavit. Oswaldo successit frater ejus Oswi, cum Codoallone firmam pactus amicitiam. Sed cum in ipsum Oswi filius ejus Aloedus et Oswaldus filius fratris ejus insurgerent, et in alteram partem tacito Britonum consilio Penda rex Merciorum auxiliarius advenisset, victus est Penda et occisus. Cui successit, beneficio Codoallonis, Wilfridus, filius Pendæ. Completis autem octo annis et XL. Codoallo mortuus est. Cujus corpus balsamo et aromatibus conditum, super equum æneum collocaverunt, super occidentalem portam Londoniæ, in signum victoriæ, ad terrorem Saxonum. Cadualloni

successit Cadwalladrus ejus filius, cujus tempore inandita fames, et aeris corruptio insulam totam omnibus pené colonis destituerunt. Unde longo post tempore decurso, Saxones totam insulam occupantes, Adstanum (*Athelstanum*) primum regio diademate insignitum, sibi præfererunt, dividentes regnum per ducatus et consulatus. Cum vero Saxonum tranquillitatem Cadwalladrus interrumpere parasset, potitus auxilio Alani, regis Armoricorum, cognati sui, vox divina intonuit, ut cœptis desisteret, et ad Sergium Papam properaret, ut peractâ Romæ poenentiâ, inter bonos acciperetur. Britonumque regnum tunc primum rediturum promisit, cum reliquias Procopii aliorumque S. S. quas propter paganorum metum Duduras portaverant, * Consilio igitur divino motus Cadualladrus cœpta deserit, Romam adiit, ibique sub sanctâ confessione permanens, per manus Sergii Papæ, languore defunctus, sepultus est. Anno Domini sexcentesimo XII. Kal. Maii.

APPENDIX, No. III.

Observations on the primary Population of Britain.

IF it be difficult to trace satisfactorily the progress of the Cymry from the original dispersion to their settlement in Britain, the undertaking has been rendered more so, than it is in itself, at least as to the hope of giving satisfaction, partly because of the various opinions which have been adopted from the perusal of imperfect representations of historic documents, and partly because of hypothesis, which, without any impeachment of the good faith of the authors or adherents, may prove to be erroneous. And therefore more indulgence than is sometimes granted, might perhaps, with advantage be allowed. Even a failure in any particular course has the use of a noting limit to research in the same track.

To enquire concerning the origin of nations, in Heathen writers, would be a fruitless task. Some traditions of importance they undoubtedly have preserved; but they are often obscured by fables, to which, though they may be founded on facts, the clue is not easily found. To those, who had no authentic tradition of the first dispersion, the idea, that nations were indigenious in various parts of the earth, was an hypothesis readily assumed, as gratifying a sense of superior power or civilization in nations distinguished by either. Individuals of eminence were still more highly honoured. Their pedigrees were traced back as far as tradition preserved the record of human ancestry, and the list of heroes, ascending through an unbroken line, was surmounted

by a celestial primogenitor. A distinction so far useful, as marking the termination of traditional knowledge; and so far just, as attributing the origin of power to the Deity.

It is then only to the most valuable of all books, the Holy Bible, that we can look for satisfactory information as to the origin of the various tribes and nations, which have replenished the earth. The tenth chapter of Genesis has been the groundwork of many a laboured volume; and pregnant as it is with matter, may still be so. The portion of this chapter, with which the present subject may have a connection, is small; but the connection has been admitted by many men of great learning and great abilities; and contested by others, perhaps more upon the principle, that etymology is too vague to rest any credit, as to history, upon it, than any other. And it must be confessed that etymology has been so much misused, and so little understood, as capable, which it certainly is, of scientific principles, as to give too much force to the objection. But where the name of a people may, with very trifling variations, be traced through different countries, from the place of their residence to that, from which all the nations seem, as from a central point, to have proceeded in various directions; the identity of such a people may be assumed, not merely on the Etymological principle, but on that also to which constant use has given the force of an acknowledged principle in the nomenclature of emigration. To establish this principle, we have need only to consider whence is the greatest part of the names and places in the new world derived. One of the first given by Columbus was Hispaniola, a name taken from that of the country from which he sailed thither; and thus we have New England, New York, &c. Names of the discoverers; of the sovereigns, or friends at home are also frequent, but rather secondary than primary. Those arising from local circumstances may be either. But all of these I believe invariably bear a reference to the country of the discoverers, whether as to

language, place, or person; and it is the same with regard to the national appellation of the inhabitants, until the name given to the country is either added as a distinction, or as it frequently happens, in consequence of much intercourse, supersedes it. Hence the Britons of America have acquired the names of Americans; whilst those of India have no distinctive name. That such was also the progress of names in the old world, the frequency of the names of Thebes, Tyre, &c. sufficiently prove: that of Carthage has even been carried into the new. It is not however meant to extend the principle further than to colonists, or discoverers of a country new to them. Their successors, by an acquaintance with such a country, would, if it were previously inhabited, learn previous names from the inhabitants and adopt them.

Nor is the principle less founded, with respect to the national name, in the progress of original colonies, than with respect to the names and places. They carry it from home with them, and it is cherished as a pledge of affection, and as a title to respect. It was considered as an honour amongst the Americans to be an Old-Englishman (I quote the purport of the expression of Franklin) and it the expression of nature. And thus the Colonists of France and Spain are still French and Spanish, as the Colonies of Tyre were Tyrians or Tyrrhenians, and the people who from Turkestan have settled in Europe are Turks.

Thus the original names go with colonies, and remain with them, until either the colonies are by supervening causes obliged to resort to a distinctive name, or merging in another nation use its. But when it is by the latter cause they loose their distinct language also, because that, whilst the language remains, the name, as a part of it, must also remain.

On a principle so consonant to the practice of mankind in such widely distinct ages and places; under similar circumstances it is not

taking an improper advantage of etymology, to seek for the origin of nations by its aid. If in the name of the *Iones* of Asia Minor, and *Misr* of Egypt, the colonies descended from grandsons of Noah, of the names of Javan and Misraim, be so generally acknowledged, that of the Cymry, Cimbri or Cimmerii (which is in certain cases with equal propriety written Gymry, Gimbrī, or Gimmerii, as the same name originally) the nation so called ought on the principle of Etymology, to be considered as descended from Gomer, or Gymr, as it may equally be read, since the vowels are merely the Masoretic punctuation. The progress of a nation of this name may be found, tracing it backwards from Britain, in the Cimbri and Sicambri, (probably Sea-Cambri or Cambri on the sea-coast) the Cimmerii of Thrace, and the Γομυρητις, or Gomerites of Phrygia, whom Josephus himself derives from Gomer, though in his time comprehended by the Greeks under the very general and almost indefinite name of Galatæ. That the Cymry are thus descended has been the opinion of many learned men, of whom it may suffice to mention two; Bochart, and the more profound and judicious Michaelis. The latter has discussed the question amply in his *Spicilegium Geographicum*, to which, for farther information, I will beg leave to refer the reader.

Here the question may properly arise as to the signification of the name Gomer itself, viz. Does it signify the name of *an individual* or *a colony* of the first dispersion. According to the Hebrew uses of proper names, all the names of the grandsons of Noah may signify either an individual, a colony, or both; and even, if some of them did signify individuals; others, as Misraim, probably never did. This had occurred to me before I had seen the *Spicilegium* of Michaelis; but he has established the proof so well, in the first chapter of that work, as to render any other superfluous.

Considered thus,¹ the derivation of the Cymry from a colony, whose appellative was Gymr in the time of Moses, will appear less open to objection, than if supposed to be traced to an individual, the second in descent from Noah; though both may be true.

¹ This use of substituting proper names for nations or colonies has not been confined to the Hebrews. It has been adopted by many of our old historians, and probably in imitation of him, in that which may be called their Genealogical history of nations; and I must own that it was to the discovery, that the names Camber, Albanactus and Locrius could not possibly, in any rational view, signify individuals, I was indebted for the farther application, as far as it was my own, though at that time it went no farther than the single instance. To apply it now to Nennius. He says, "Primus homo de genere Japhet venit ad Europam, Alanus cum tribus filiis suis, quorum nomina sunt hæc: Hisicion, (f. Tuyscon) Armenon, Negro, (al. Negro, f. Nerigo vel Nerigon.) Hisicion autem habuit quatuor filios, quorum nomina sunt Francus Romanus, Alemanus, et Brito, &c."

The proper interpretation according to its original intent, upon the principle laid down, will, I presume be nearly this. *The first of the race of Japhet who entered Europe was Alanus (or the chief of the Alans) with his three sons (or colonizing tribes) Hisicion (perhaps Tuyscon) Armenon and Nerigon, (or the Tuyscones, Armenians, and Norwegians.) From Tuyscon issued the Franks, Romans, Allemans, and Britons.*

I have in a former tract, stated a conjecture, that the name Hisicion was a corruption of Hu-ysgwn. But there is so near a resemblance in this genealogy to the German one mentioned by Tacitus, that I am now inclined to believe they may possibly be of the same origin. He says,

[“ Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos memoria, et annalium genus est.) Tuistonem deum terrâ editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tres filios assignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingævones, medii Herminiones, cæteri Istœvones vocentur. Quidam autem licentiâ vetustatis plures deos ortos, pluresque gentis appellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandalios affirmant.”—*Tac. de Mor. Ger.*] “The Germans, in their poems (the only kind of memorials or annals they have) to celebrate Tuiston (a god sprung from the earth) and Mann his son. They assign to Mann three sons, from whom the Ingævones on the sea coast, the Herminiones in the interior, and the Istœvones beyond them respectively take their names. But some with the licence of old narratives, say that the God had more sons, and the nation more names, viz. the Marsi, Gambrivii, Suevi, and Vandals.”

Now as there were Marsi in Italy, and the Gambrivii seem by the name to have been Cimbric, and also that the name of the *Herminiones* bears so near a resemblance to *Armenon*, it is probable that the tradition in Nennius was derived from the same origin as that in Tacitus, though Nennius may have substituted the names as they appear in his history, as better known to his contemporaries, and according to his ideas of their propriety. On this supposition I have ventured to propose the reading of *Tuyscon* for *Hisicion*, and now leave it to the decision of others how far the conjecture is admissible or otherwise.

The very learned and acute Whitaker, has, in my opinion, fully proved that the names of Celtæ, Galatæ, and Gauls, belong to the Gael. But if these names belong to the Gael, they most certainly cannot, with any propriety, belong to the Cymry. It is true that the Greek and Roman historians have used these names with great latitude; but it does not follow that they applied them correctly. Pliny says, “*Persæ illos (Scythas) Sacas in universum appellavêre a proxima gente.*” *The Persians gave to the Scythians in general, the name of SACÆ, from that of the nation nearest to them.* And thus it has frequently happened in different ages, that the name first known became a general name for the inhabitants of an extensive territory, though they were of distinct nations and languages. If the Greeks became first acquainted with the nation called Galatæ, they would naturally enough comprehend under the name another neighbouring nation, whose language they did not understand, or who were connected with the Galatæ by political ties. Hence then I conceive, that from such a general name no decisive inference can be drawn as to a general national identity of those comprised under it. This can be inferred only from identity of *language, customs, and laws*; but more especially from that of *language*, as the other two are often adopted. Since therefore the languages of the Cymry and Gael are *perfectly distinct*, they must be *distinct* nations; and if the distinction had been cautiously attended to, much confusion, both in history and etymology, would have been avoided. The principle of this distinction is at least as old as the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. It is that on which he decides, that the Tyrrheni and Pelasgi were distinct nations. His words are these:

Εἰ γὰρ τὸ συγγενὲς τῆς ὁμοφωνίας αἰτίον ὑποληπτόν, θέλειρον δὴ πῶς τῆς διαφωνίας.—Τούτω δὲ τῷ λεκτικῷ χρωμένους ἕτεροις εἰναι πείθομαι τῶν Τυρρητῶν τοὺς Πελασγούς. P. 23, Ed. Oxon, 1704.

If the national affinity produces similarity of language, the reverse produces diversity of language. On this principle I am

persuaded, that the Pelasgi are a different people from the Tyrrhenians.

The argument is just, and this principle is the only one I know of, by which such a question can be ultimately decided. Had Mr. Whitaker understood either the Welsh or Gaelic language well, I am persuaded he would have been very far from supposing that the Cymry and Gael were the same people, for he would have found that either of their languages is of no more use to the understanding of the other, than the mere knowledge of the Latin to the understanding of the Greek. There is about one word in fifteen similar, but rarely the same in sound and signification in both languages. In the first nine columns of the Irish Dictionary printed by Lluyd in his Archæologia, there are 400 words, of which I have not been able to discover more than twenty in common to both languages, nor have I succeeded better in several other trials. Moreover the grammatical structure of the two languages, as to declension and construction, are *radically* different. The Welsh, though abundant in radical words, and copious in compounds, has but few radical *synonimes*; the Gael, if I may judge from the dictionaries, abounds with them; a circumstance which proves that the Gael must have had great and intimate intercourse with other nations, and that the Cymry had not, on their way hither. The difference between the two languages I have in my own experience but too much reason to regret for my own sake, as it deprives me of much pleasure, which, without devoting more time than I have been able to spare, I could not attain to in the perusal of works in the Irish or Erse. Neither does the best Irish scholar living, my learned friend General Vallancy, understand the Welsh. I am fully aware that what I have said is not in unison with the opinion prevalent amongst antiquaries; but as that opinion has been founded mostly, and I believe wholly, on such a knowledge of the two languages as may have been derived from dictionaries only, I feel the less hesitation

in stating the fact which they have mistaken. The Cimbri, and the Celtæ have both been great and powerful nations; and both by turns, in many instances, been in possession of the same countries, singly, or in common, in France and England more especially; and hence names imposed by the one, and the other, are sometimes to be found within the same territory; many such words have become common to both languages, and others in consequence of intercourse. But this is, I think, the utmost; unless those radical words which, as having been *constituent parts of the original language of mankind*, are yet to be found in the languages of various and distant countries to be included; and also technical terms, and the names of animals and plants, of which the former generally belong to the language of those who invented that, which they signify, and the latter to the language of the country, wherein they are found.

From these circumstances I am persuaded that the Cymry and the Gael or Celtæ are distinct nations; and they seem to me to have come by distinct routes to Britain; the Cymry by one to the north, and the Gael by one to the south of Mount Hæmus and the Alps.

From the first dispersion two entrances into Europe presented themselves, viz. either around the east and north coasts of the Caspian sea, or through Asia Minor into Thrace. The observations of Pallas make it probable, that at this time, the Caspian and Euxine seas were united, and if so, the Straits of the Hellespont were probably not opened, so that no sea existed there to be crossed. The curious reference to Gabis or Gabaza, in the country of the Massagetæ, found in an old Welsh poem quoted in the *Sketch of the Early History of the Britons*, and the derivation of the Cymry from Alanus, i. e. I presume, the Alani, induce me to think that one part of the Cymry, or Gomerites of the first dispersion, followed the coast of the Caspian first towards the north, and then westward; whilst another may have proceeded towards Asia Minor, after the Cuthite dispersion,

and though they may have resided some time in Thrace, have travelled westward to avoid contamination by the Cuthic rites.

In that publication, from the view I then had of the subject, I supposed this emigration to have taken place later, than from farther consideration of the subject, I am now induced to think it did by the arguments of Mr. Whitaker, as well as by some of those which will be found in the dissertation on Brutus. It was indeed principally the expression of the Triad, that Hu with his followers left Thrace to seek a country which they might without using force, *or dispossessing others* (as the Triad expresses it) justly occupy, to which the incursions of the Scythians appeared to me to be a probable motive. But as the motive must have been of an earlier date, the reference of the Triad must be to an earlier occurrence. There appears in the words of the Triad a principle of justice and benevolence, because it is said that *he did not wish* to settle otherwise; and his qualifications, as capable of uniting a nation, instructing them in principles of duty, in agriculture and in music, point out benevolence as the leading feature in his character. May not the motive have been a religious one, and the cause of his emigration the introduction of the Cuthic rites into Thrace? Between these and the principles of his character, there must have been a decided opposition. If as his name imports, he was the representative of the sun, his religion was probably either pure Sabæism, or even more nearly patriarchal, and this was also probably the first religion of Britain. To Sabæism the Cuthic rites must have been most obnoxious, as well as to the patriarchal principles of justice, and to avoid pollution by them, it is no way improbable that many of the first dispersion, as the Gomerites were, should recede as far from them as possible, and as pure Sabæism seems to have been the original religion of Britain, I am inclined to believe, that the preservation of it was the original motive of the emigration. Some

of the Cuthic rites did certainly prevail in Britain, but they were probably brought here by the Phœnicians.

From Thrace, in the progress of the Britons westward, their colonies would naturally take the grand line of the Danube, upwards, first as their principal guide. Some of them probably diverged by the Tyrol into Italy, and were known there under the name of Umbri; others, having gone farther westwards toward the heads of the Danube and Rhine, spread themselves on both sides of the latter, and from the Netherlands, passed over into Britain, which, according to the same Triads, they found uninhabited. This they are stated to have done under the conduct of Hu the Mighty, who had led the expedition from Thrace hither, and who instructed the colonists in the cultivation of the land and other useful arts.

Some time after this event, two more colonies are said to have arrived in Britain. The ¹ Loegrians, or borderers on the Loire, probably of the same nation as the antient Ligurians; and thirdly the Brython, from Llydaw, or the sea coast of Gaul, and probably that of the Morini, though generally interpreted Armorica. The Loegrians are said to have been of common origin with the colony of the Cymry; but remotely allied to it, the Brython to have been immediately so, and they were therefore I suppose, only a portion of that general body of Cymry, which had arrived at, and extended itself along the western coast of Europe, towards ² Amorica. These three are denominated

¹ As the Loegrians are said to have been, though remotely, of the common stock of the Cymry, they could not, I should think, be strictly speaking, Gael; for the Cymry were descended from Japhet, and the Gael from Ham. The proper Gael were however settled in Aquitain, and the descendants of the Ligurians settling on the Loire would probably acquire a mixed dialect,

in which the Gael was prevalent, as it is pretty much in the Cornish, or even lose the greatest part of their own language in it, which seems to have been the case, as the Cornish is now lost in the English.

² The affinity between the Armoricans and the Britons may have been one reason why Cynan Meriadawg settled in Brittany.

the *amicable* colonies, as having formed one social union, the laws and constitution whereof were instituted and settled by Prydain the son of Aedd the Great.

After that this united colony had taken possession of the Island, and settled in it, three clans more are stated to have come in by permission; and probably soon after, for no time is specified. These were the Celyddon or Caledonians; the Gael; and the men of Galedin, who had been driven from their country by an inundation. The Celyddon settled in the north, the Gael in Albany, and the men of Galedin in the Isle of Wight. From hence it may be inferred, that the previous union had appropriated to themselves the greater part of what is now called England.

The next intimations relate to prædatory intrusions; circumstances which argue some degree of cultivation, and known advantages, of the country to invite them; and that therefore some time must have elapsed from the settlement of the Cymry before they took place.

These incursions are noticed in several Triads, but they may be reduced to six; as some of them are repeated in the different enumerations, viz. Those of the Corannians, the Northlanders, Ganfal the Irishman, the red Gael from Ireland, the Romans and the Saxons.

The occasion of the two first is thus recorded. “¹ The first of the three great emigrations from Britain took place when Urb, or Ur ab Erin, came to Britain from Llychlyn (probably the Cimbric Chirsonese) and levied troops for an expedition. He requested that he and his servant should go to a city, and take thence two men, and these four to a second and take four, and so proceed, taking from each city an equal number to their own. But it was found that the whole island could not have furnished the concluding number. All therefore

¹ Archæology, Vol. II. Triad 14. P. 59.

who were able to go, viz. 63000, went as the promise given was *not to be invalidated.*" This expedition is said to have terminated unhappily, and those who survived its termination are reported to have settled in Galas and Afena; that is, Galatia and Javana or Ionia. This can, I think, be no other than the great expedition of the Gauls about 300 years before Christ.

By the levy for this expedition, Britain is said to have been depopulated to such a degree, as to have left in it none but such as were too feeble to bear arms; and thus to have been exposed to deprecation. This very extraordinary circumstance is so accounted for, as to shew that it was the effect of artifice, supported by the whole influence of superstition, for it is evidently implied, that the promise, however artfully obtained, or imprudently agreed to, was enforced by a sanction of such a nature as appeared to threaten somewhat more terrible than the certain calamity, which its performance to such an extent would be to their country. A knowledge from other authorities, of the horror with which the Druidical excommunication was regarded, fully explains how such a promise could be sanctioned, if the object was considered by the Druids of sufficient importance. The simplicity of the manner in which this circumstance is recorded, and still more the incidental allusion to the Druidical power, are in favour of its truth; some other circumstances also confirm it, and shew the tradition to be of great antiquity. Ionia is called *Afena*, that is *Javana*; a name which could not have been received from the Romans. It is the Phœnician name, and must have been in use prior to the Roman invasion. Taliesin, when he mentions the Greek language, calls it *Groeg*, and in no other Welsh writer have I met with any thing like *Javan* for *Greece* or *Greek*.

The time of the expedition is said to have been that of Gadyal ab Erin. If this be Cadell ab Ereint, as it is, I believe, properly suggested in a note; the time of his reign as given by the Brut, will

be found nearly coincident, and may be considered as tolerably accurate.

The defenceless state of the island after such an emigration, exposed it to many invasions. That of the men of Llychlyn, or Northlanders, seems to have been of no great importance, as they are said to have been obliged to withdraw to Germany in the third generation. That of the Coranians must have been of very serious consequence, as they were able to fix themselves here; and on the arrival of the Romans joined them, and at a later period the Saxons. They are said to have come from Pwyl to Britain, but originally from Asia, and to have arrived in Britain in the time of Ljudd; their residence also in Britain is stated to have been on the Eastern coast, near the Humber.

The invaders under Ganfal the Gaul, are said to have been expelled by Cassibelan after a stay of twenty-nine years in Gwynedd, or the more northern part of Wales.

The Irish Picts settled in Scotland, and afterwards joined the Corannians and the Saxons. These are, I presume, the same as the *Red Irish* mentioned in another Triad, and called by Stapylton, the translator of Bede, the *Red Shankes*.

In the above enumeration of the various tribes or hordes who came to Britain, there are some of whom I have found no information elsewhere, viz. *the Celyddon, the men of Galedin*, and the Northlanders of the time of Cassibelan. The Coranians seem to have been the Coritani of the Roman writers; for the territory assigned to both

¹ Probably they were so called because they went with the legs bare, whereas the Britons, as appears from the coins, Nos. 18, 27, and 28, Table II. of Camden, wore long trowsers. The Britons also wore a girdle or sash round the middle of the

is nearly, if not exactly, the same. As to the origin of this colony the difficulty is to assign the true meaning of the word Pwyl. Lhuyd has supposed it to be Poland; but for reasons which will be stated in the following attempt to investigate the history of Brutus, I am inclined to believe that they came from Apulia. Vestiges of the name of this colony still remain in the names of Welsh-*Pool*, Liver-*Pool*, *Pool* in Cheshire, &c. As to the Romans and Saxons, their history is too well known to need any particular observations here. To the purport of this part of the British history, as far as it is given by the Triads, there does not appear any just ground of objection, and as it concurs in general with the prevailing mode of accounting for the original population of the country, it is the more satisfactory.

APPENDIX, No. IV.

On the History of Brutus.

IN common with many others, who have written upon this portion of British history, I had participated in the prejudices against it, as wholly fictitious; and the more so, as no direct reference to it is immediately apparent in the Welsh Triads. These prejudices I should probably have still retained, had not the attention necessary to a translation of the Brut, led me to believe that, though some of the circumstances related may be fictitious, there are sufficient grounds to believe that the narrative is founded on a *real voyage* of a colony, which did at an early period settle in Britain; and that it was a colony of Greeks, or persons of Grecian origin.

One of the first circumstances which suggested this persuasion, was the number of Greek names, which, though corrupted by transcribers, are all but one (*Ignoge*) easily restored. A second was the general correctness of the narrative of the voyage, as to the representation of the course (though much stress cannot be laid on this) and the state of Britain, as it may be presumed it was, at such a time; and lastly, its coincidence with other traditions. Of the Greek names enough has been said in the notes to the Chronicle.

The course of the voyage whether the first departure was taken from Leucadia, or (as it will hereafter appear more probable) from Cape Leuca, is geographically such as in a rude state of the art of

navigation must almost necessarily have been pursued. It proceeds immediately South to the coast of Africa; then follows the African coast to the straits of Gibraltar, where it gains the Spanish coast, which it follows, and winding with it, gains that of France, which it again follows to the Loire, and from thence arrives at Britain. The line is clear and simple. Neither will the name of the Tyrrhene sea cause any difficulty when it is observed that the writer comprehends under it the whole of the sea that washes the western coast of Europe. The names of places in the Mediterranean may have been inserted by the writer of the Chronicle, and if they were, they shew a very respectable knowledge of it; or if the true date of the voyage is to be assumed as much later than the one given to it in the Brut, they may have been recorded. It is remarkable that Carthage is not mentioned, though the Aræ Philistæorum and the Lacus Salinarum are. Was Carthage then destroyed at the real time of the voyage? This question the reader, when he shall have read the remainder of this dissertation, will decide for himself.

The circumstances of the voyage have nothing in them more extraordinary than what the accounts of distant voyages in former days in general had. The mermaids have been thought to have been mentioned in imitation of the Sirens of Homer. But if this had been the case, or had it been in imitation of Virgil, which would be more probable, they ought to have been found near the coast of Sicily, whereas they are said to have been near the Straits of Gibraltar. That these mermaids were of the same character with the Sirens, viz. women who enticed the mariners on shore, after which they were slain, or to a dangerous part of the coast, that they might be wrecked on it, is evident. This practice is referred to times of great antiquity by the Greek and Roman writers, and would so be consistent with the assumed time of the voyage. It may also have existed, and probably did in Spain, when it had been abolished in Italy. From the manner

in which it is mentioned, it looks more like the tradition of a fact, than an imitation of either of the great poets abovementioned.

The representation of the inhabitants found in Britain, if the word *Cawr* be taken for *a person of large stature*, is such as the Romans themselves gave of the Britons, and if my explanation of the name *Goermagot* be correct, they were Cymry, and hostile to the adventurers. If such a colony were able to settle in Britain, or any other distant country, they would naturally endeavour to give a certain degree of respectability or even dignity to their origin; and, as it is probable that Homer has truly delineated the manners of his own age in the character of Ulysses, the readiness with which this Hero fabricates his tale according to circumstances, was no doubt equalled by that of others on similar occasions; and, after the publication of the Iliad, the narrative of the Trojan war was an inexhaustible treasury to them, whether they chose to represent themselves as Greeks or Trojans. The name of Trojans would however probably be preferred, as assigning a motive for emigration, and a claim to protection; and hence the number of traditions of Trojan origin may in some degree be accounted for.

Still I must own, that the Brut seems to tell a simple tale in substance (though perhaps a little enlarged upon by the writer) of a colony, which, under the name of Brutus, came to Britain at an early period, and settled in it; and it is difficult to conceive that such a tradition should have been ever so retained and insisted upon, unless it had some foundation in truth. It is admitted that no such fact is mentioned by the Greek or Roman historians now known, and it must be granted therefore, that it is the less probable, and yet, in times of trouble, many colonies may have emigrated, and having settled in foreign countries been unnoticed or considered as lost; or, if few in number, as beneath the notice of the historian. Such may have been the case in the instance before us, and there is a curious coincidence between a Spanish tradition and that of the Brut, which

it will be very difficult to account for otherwise, than by considering both, as referring to a real expedition of adventure.

Florian da Campo, in his General Chronicle of Spain, quotes an history of Spain by King Alphonso for this tradition respecting Toledo: "que dos consules Romanos llamados el uno Tolemon, y el otro Bruto la poblaron; lo qual dize tan bien don Rodrigo Ximenes Arçobispo de Toledo: lo mesmo San Ysidro dos vezes en la Cronica de sus Godos; y mas historiadores qui lo siguē." P. 55, Ed. Alcala, 1578.—*Two Roman Consuls, the one called Tolemon, the other Brutus, peopled it; and the same thing is said by Don Rodrigo Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo; and twice by Saint Isidore, in his Gothic Chronicle, and other historians who follow them.*

Estevan de Garibay, in his *Compendio historical*, quotes Ximenes for the same purport, and give some additional circumstances.

"Escribe el Arçobispo don Rodrigo---diziendo que dos consules llamados Tolemon y Bruto la fundaron, en tiempo de Ptolomeo Euergetes---ciento y ocho años antes que Julio Cæsar comēcasse a reynar y tales consules no halloran en Tito Livio ni otro autor alguno." P. 84. Ed. Barcelona, 1628.

The Archbishop Don Rodrigo writes, that two Roman consuls called Tolemon and Brutus, founded it; (Toledo) in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, 108 years before the commencement of the reign of Julius Cæsar. But neither Livy nor any other author mention such ¹ Consuls.

This colony is distinguished by the name of Almozudes; and though under the command of Brutus and Tolemon, is said to have consisted of Greeks, and to have landed first at Corunna; and Florian, rejecting

¹ Certainly not: but the old writers use as Patricians, and sometimes for Com-
the term for persons of Consular Rank, manders or Chiefs, simply.

the tradition as to Brutus and Tolemon; for the same reason as Garibay does, adds

“ Las unas que mas limitadamente hablan, y quieren que sa
 “ razon parezca, dizen que los Almozudes vinieron de Grecia, donde
 “ fueron naturales, y que llegaron a la Corunna.” P. 55.

*Those who speak with more moderation, and more appearance
 of reason, say that the Almozudes came from, and were natives of,
 Greece; and that they debarked at Corunna.*

Pedro de Roias, in his History of Toledo, gives also the following account of them.

“ Despues de los Celtas, vinieron, casi a un tempo, por Irlanda,
 “ y Inglaterra, a España, unos Griegos, llamados Almozudes o Almo-
 “ nides, y tomaron puerto en la Corunna.” P. 115. Ed. Madrid, 1654.

*After the Celts, and, as it were at the same time, there came
 certain Greeks, bound for England and Ireland, called Almozudes,
 or Almonides, who landed at Corunna.*

The names Almozudes, and Almonides, are applicable to persons of such description. The former is, I think, derived from צוד *to hunt*, and the latter from נוד *to wander*, and hence Almozudes will signify *adventurers*, and Almonides *exiles*.

The same tradition is recorded by ¹ Bede, who places the event in the fifth age, i. e. between the times of the Babylonish Captivity and Julius Cæsar; and also in the Annales Menevenses, which mention this as a distinct event from the coming of the Trojan Brutus, for they record both; and since Bede, and these annals, probably on the authority of Isidore, confirm the report of the Spanish authors, there can be no doubt, but that the Spaniards had such a tradition.

The date assigned by all these writers to the arrival of this Brutus in Spain, and particularly as quoted from Ximenes, seems to have

¹ Bede's Works, tom. II. p. 123. Ed. Col. Agrip. 1612.

been the result of a supposition, that this Brutus, and Decimus Junius Brutus, surnamed Callaicus, were the same person. But from the tradition, as given by Pedro de Roias, it appears to have been of much higher antiquity, for he says that the Almozudes arrived in Spain *after the Celts*, but *so soon after* as to be "casi a un tiempo," *nearly at the same time*, and in so saying he probably gave the tradition of Toledo itself, of which he was writing the history.

Neither would the circumstances agree with what is related of Brutus Callaicus. For though he entered the Tagus, and raised some forts on it, his object was conquest; ¹ the scene of his actions principally Lusitania; and the utmost limit of his progress northward, was the River Minho. He certainly did not reach Britain, which the tradition says that the other Brutus did.

If then these different traditions be recapitulated, and brought together, their concurrent testimony will be more evident, and such as will lead to a more correct judgement of them than when separately considered.

According to the Brut.

Brutus, a noble Roman, obliged to fly to Greece, there unites with his Trojan relatives, and from thence sails westward, through the Straits of Gibraltar; on the coast of the Tyrrhene Sea (*the Atlantic*) finds a colony of his countrymen, and joined by them, proceeds to, and settles in Britain.

According to Strabo. Book III.

After the destruction of Troy, some of the followers of Antenor settled in Cantabria, where they built the town of Opsicella. Teucer also and his followers had settled in Gallicia.

¹ Strabo, Lib. 3.

According to the Spanish tradition:

Brutus, a noble Roman, accompanied by Tolemion, and a number of Greeks, when on their way to Britain, entered the Harbour of ¹ Corunna, and by some of these Toledo was founded.

According to a tradition of the people of Tours:

Turnus, the friend of Brutus was slain in a battle near the Loire; and his tomb was near that city.

Comparing these accounts together, there is certainly so very remarkable a concurrence between them, that it could not be, I think, without relation to a real voyage of some adventurers, who did finally remain in Britain.

At what time this voyage took place, I own I find it difficult to form any satisfactory conjecture, unless that assigned by the Brut be admitted; and, though the Brut makes it to have happened at so early a period, I have sometimes been inclined to believe, that the writer, confounding the name of Brutus with Prydain, has transferred it from its true date to the beginning of his history.

But on the other hand, the traditional evidence is against the supposition. Both the British and Spanish accounts refer it to a *very early* date, and by the former it is made a part of that multiplicity of connected traditions as to events, the consequence of the siege of Troy, which it is almost as difficult to explain as the travels of Hercules; unless the general outline be admitted to have had a real origin in some correspondent facts.

Whether it was that, from the poem of Homer, the celebrity of the Greeks and Trojans was assumed by colonies of adventure; or that many distant colonies were the real consequences of it, is a

¹ Pliny denominates that part of the Cadiz, *Littus Cironense*; there may therefore have been a *Corunna* on this coast.

question which it is not necessary to discuss on the present occasion. Certain it is that colonies in Spain and Gaul, and probably in England, claimed their descent from the Trojans. It could scarcely be upon any other than this principle, that the Ædii could claim consanguinity with the Romans, and that it would be, as it was, allowed. That such a tradition existed in Gaul is asserted by Ammianus Marcellinus, and ¹ Gulielmus Aremoricus, who wrote about the end of the twelfth century, affirms, that even in his time, the people of Tours shewed a monument of a pyramidal form near that town, which was, they said, the monument of Turnus, the friend of the British Brutus, slain in the engagement on the banks of the Loire.

The tradition is then by no means that of the Brut only, and whether Gulielmus Aremoricus be supposed to have seen Geoffrey of Monmouth's book, or not, the *local* tradition cannot be attributed to it. Could this concurrence of traditions then be merely fortuitous? I confess that it does not appear to me possible, and there are other circumstances which appear to me to render the account probable.

It is evident from Homer, that the use of *tin* was well known in his time, and that he considers it as having been so to the Greeks at the time of the siege of Troy. Now if tin was brought from the North of Spain, or Britain, at that time, which is pretty certain, they may have been acquainted with Spain at least; and I think that Homer, in describing ² the voyage of Ulysses, has proved that he at least was acquainted with a navigation far to the north of the Straits.

¹ This writer gives a short account of the adventures of Brutus and Corineus, and, recounting their engagement with the Gauls near the Loire, says, "Ibique interfectus est Turnus, & honorificè in pyramide nobilissimâ tumulatus, quæ ibi usque ad hodiernam diem ostenditur, non procul

a Turonis civitate, & sic ab eodem Turno fundationem & nomen accepit civitas Turonica." Fol. 6. MS. Mus. Brit. Vesp. D. 4.

² Ulysses sails from the Island of Circe with a *North* wind, and it is not till he had sailed over the Ocean, properly so

The same course therefore was possible to a colony of the Trojans, or to a colony which assumed the name; and it agrees with the custom of the times, when emigrations were made principally by sea, and when it was not difficult to find countries thinly peopled. Such was the state of Italy, when the Greeks colonized it, and such is Gaul represented to have been, when the Trojans settled there, by Ammianus Marcellinus, and the state of Britain by the Brut; it had but few inhabitants. But, in the time of Gwrgant, it is incidentally observed, that it was too populous to admit the colony from Spain; which was therefore directed to go to Ireland. This increase of population is conformable to the history of all countries, as rapid till they begin to be thickly occupied. It is also a singular circumstance, that the name of the leader of this last colony was one which may be considered as denoting a descendant of the Tolemon of the Spanish tradition. For Bar-tholim is as nearly allied to *Bar-Tolemon* (*the son or descendant of Tolemon*) as the difference of languages in general permits, and certainly more so than Cassibelan is to Caswallon. Upon this supposition the arrival of Tolemon in Spain must have been before the time of Gwrgant. Even Tacitus seems to refer a report of the kind, when he says that the ruddy countenances, and curly hair of the Silures, and their position in Britain opposite to Spain *make it*

called, that he arrives at the land of the Cimmerians. Now a North wind would be a very favourable one to carry him through the straits of Gibraltar, and it is therefore probable that this was the course intended. The remainder Homer probably concealed, as the knowledge of it might be considered as a valuable secret of state. But the description of the climate comes too near what was said of our *cloudy skies, and long nights*, by Tacitus, *Cælum crebris imbribus ac nebulis fædum*, (*in Vit. Ag.*) at a

much later period to be mistaken; and certainly, to one used to the clear skies of Greece or Italy, they must at first have appeared very gloomy. Was Britain then this island, or was it Iceland? From his description of the rivers, I am inclined to think that the *hot springs*, and *eruptions of lava*, in the latter were intended.

Silurum colorati vultus, & torti plerumque crines, & positu contra Hispaniam, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt. Tac. in Vit. Ag.

credible that the Iberians of Spain had passed over into Britain, and settled in it. The course from Cape Ortegal to the Lands-end in Cornwall is nearly due North, and in the infancy of Navigation, the four great points, when the navigators were out of sight of land, were the only ones that could be tolerably ascertained, and the north the most so. When therefore the return of the coast of Gaul was discovered, or even before it, by a northern course, it was easy to find their way to Britain.

What then is there to oppose to this combination of traditions and circumstances? Is it the silence of the Roman writers as to Brutus, the son of Silvius? Granting this, it does not prove that there was no such person. But Nennius quotes the *Roman History* as his authority for this circumstance, and the Brut quotes it for others not to be found in any writings extant; and in traditions of such remote antiquity, all that seems left to the historian is to give them as they are received from former ages, without insisting farther on them than as being supported by the evidence of other traditions, the possibility of the circumstances, and their conformity with the manners of the times.

The tradition itself could be no farther that of the Cymry than as having been borrowed from the colony, signified by the name of Brutus; and I conceive its import in the Brut to be, that, in consequence of, or after the arrival of this colony, the limits of the three first were settled in Britain. It does not however appear to have been any of the three peaceful colonies, unless it be confounded with that of the Loegrians, as having come from the Loire, and perhaps united with them. Neither does it otherwise appear to be noticed in that portion of the Triads rescued from oblivion; and the loss of the Roman Annals referred to by Nennius, which were probably written by some one born in Britain, but of Roman origin, increases the difficulty in forming any just idea of it.

But may not the intimation contained in the Brut be so far correct as deriving it from Italy, and the very name of Brutus point to that part of Italy from whence it really came? The obscurity, which length of time throws over the distant objects of tradition, like that which the intervening atmosphere throws over distant terrestrial objects, frequently leaves some prominent parts discernible, by which the truth of either may be determined. That the name of Brutus was *the colonial name* (whether also that of an individual, or not) I have already observed, and as such, its most simple reference is to the Brutii of Italy. This people came from Samothrace to Italy, and that part of Italy, which they inhabited, is said by Polybius to have been called *Bretannia*. If then a colony from thence should have ever come to Britain, it may well be conceived, that upon the same principle of affection for their native country, which has so powerfully and generally actuated other colonists in similar circumstances, they would impose the name of their original country on the new one, and the striking coincidence of the names of both countries may well apologise for a conjecture, when it pretends to be *no more*.

The history of the Brutii seems scarcely to have been noticed by the Roman writers before the war with Pyrrhus; and what is said of them affords little that can be depended upon. They were represented by the Samnites as having once been their shepherds, and having rebelled, and withdrawn to Brutium, and acquired the name of Brutii from their fierce disposition. But it is more probable, that this was the original name of the people; and because of their disposition, applied as epithet to those who resembled them. The term *Slave* or *Sclave* was not applied to the Slavonians, because they were slaves; but, because many slaves were of that nation, applied to others in the like unhappy situation. Thus also the first Brutus seems to have acquired his name; if the Latin word *brutus* has any reference to the Brutii, which I think it has not. If it had, it would prove that

they must have been a nation in Italy before the Romans. But, omitting this consideration, the material question is, whether there be any thing more known of this nation, which countenances the conjecture, that a colony of theirs might have come to Britain. To which it may be answered, that from very remote times the nations of Italy were accustomed to send out colonies annually. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his account of Italy, thus notices such colonies.¹ “Originally a kind of consecrated band of young people were sent abroad by their parents to seek their subsistence; according to a custom, which I know to be an ancient one both of the Greeks and Barbarians; some of the Aborigines, as the population of the country multiplied, consecrated their progeny of particular years to some deity, and when they arrived at the state of manhood, sent them from home.”

Strabo also notices the same custom, and it must have been for some ages a custom of necessity; for, until the use of iron became common, agriculture must have been confined either to open grounds, or such as could be cleared of the wood by fire, or more tedious operations; and the very danger and difficulties of traversing forests must have made emigrations by sea the most eligible, and the most frequent. For colonisation the situation of Bruttium was most favorable, (especially as the progress of original colonisation in Europe was westward); but it appears also to have had a considerable export trade of *brass*, and had it (if, as Strabo, and others have thought, the Temesa mentioned in the Odyssey be the Temesa of Italy), before Homer wrote; or, if it be not, the very doubt shews that the trade was a very ancient one. Also, if the Taphians could carry iron to Temesa to exchange it for brass, the peo-

¹ Το μὲν πρῶτον ἕρα τῆς ἐξεληθούσα νεότης—κατὰ ἀποθυῶντων ἀνδράσι τῶν χωρίων—θῆν ὄμιθι καθιερωσάντες βίβλου ζήτησιν ὑπο τῶν γενναίων ἀποσταλῆτες ἔθος ἐκπληροῦντες ἀρχαίον, ἢ πολλοὺς Βαρβάρων τε καὶ ἐκ τῆς σφέτερας. Dio. Hal. p. 13. Ed. Oxon, 1704. Ἐλλήνων ἐπισημαί χρῆσαμίνους.—Τῶν Ἀδοριγενῶν τίνες,

ple of Temesa might be equally able to carry their brass to Taphos, and with more ease to Spain; and having arrived there, either follow the Phœnicians to Britain, or discover it themselves. It was certainly more favorable to them than to the Tyrians; Colæus the Samian; the Phocæans, or Lacedæmonians; all of whom were able to reach Spain. The Samians did so soon after the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, and probably they would have been prevented by the Tyrians from attempting it sooner; but the Tyrians themselves may have learned the course to Spain, or the trade thither from the inhabitants of the western coast of Italy, and it was perhaps to secure this trade that the cruel practices of sacrificing the mariners of foreign vessels was resorted to.

It is said that the materials for making brass were found in and near Brutium; but probably in no great abundance; and hence I think the conjecture that a colony from Brutium came to Britain the more probable; and I am the more persuaded of it from another inference drawn from a comparison of the British, and Spanish traditions. Brutus is said to have sailed with a large fleet; to have landed at Corunna; and, meeting *there* with his countrymen, to have been joined by a part of *them*, whom he brought to Britain, and at *their own request* settled in *Cornwall*. That is, he brings a body of men from the district *in which tin was found* in Spain, and settles them in the district *in which tin is found* in Britain, whilst he, with his own original party, fixes his residence in the principal sea-port of the kingdom. It can scarcely be a doubt then, but that the intent of this voyage was to establish a settlement for the purpose of the *trade in tin*, and that the Corunnese were brought *to work the tin-mines*. They may also have wished to form a settlement on the Loire, to facilitate the trade; whether as to conveyance, or a safe port for coasting vessels, and have been repulsed there. The trade certainly did at one time go up the Loire, and then down the Rhone to Marseilles. The intent, if such as here supposed, would have required as ample a

fleet as it is represented to have been. It is very possible that the name of the commander of the expedition may have been Brutus; or it may signify simply a Brutian; and as to the affinity with Æneas, it must stand on the same ground with other traditions of the same kind.

As what has been said is upon the principle of the origin of the name of Britain, in a great measure, and several other ideas have necessarily occurred to me in the course of the investigation, I will mention some of them, and leave them to the decision of the reader, should he think any of them preferable to those which have been already adopted.

If it be supposed, as it may be, that the narrative of the adventures of Brutus has, by some Roman writer, been transposed from its proper place, and set at the beginning of the History, or that two distinct colonisations have been confounded, then a question will arise as to the more probable time when such a trading colony came, and settled in Britain; and also whether it was not a Roman colony? If it did not come at the time mentioned in the History, it may be supposed to have come after the close of the war of the Brutii with Alexander King of Epirus, about the end of the second Punic war; or to have been a Roman colony, sent out about two centuries before Christ. From the date of their arrival, it could not be that distinguished in the Triads by the name of Corannians, as they came only a few years before Julius Cæsar. Yet they may have been Corunnese also.

The first of these periods is noticed merely because there are some circumstances related of the death of Alexander King of Epirus, upon which a part of the adventures of Brutus in Greece may seem to have been founded. When Alexander, after several engagements with the Brutii and Lucanians, had advanced as far as *the Acheron*, some of the Lucanian exiles, on whose fidelity he relied, engaged to betray him. But Alexander with a chosen troop *broke into the Lucanian camp*, and slew the King. On his return, as he and his party were endeavouring

to cross a dangerous ford of the Acheron, he was slain by the enemy. The Brutii were at this time a nation of some consequence; but as the circumstances afford but a very slight argument, if any, it is not worth while to say more of it.

At the second period the Brutii were in the utmost danger from the Romans, who had resolved to inflict a heavy punishment on them for their having joined Hannibal. It may therefore be thought probable that all the Brutians, who could emigrate, would do so, and be assisted by the Carthaginians to settle elsewhere out of the reach of the Romans, if possible. For this purpose Spain was too well known, and Britain, as unknown to the Romans, would afford a more secure retreat. Here they might also promote the advantages of the Carthaginians by a friendly settlement, and improvements in the management of the mines. Such a colony may have first sailed from the gulph of Tarentum to Africa, and from thence attempted to settle in Spain, and, with a view to the advantages of the district near Toledo, and the conveyance of its own produce down the Tagus, and their own safety, have built a fort or founded a town where Toledo now stands, and soon have emigrated from thence on the approach of the Romans.

As to any colony of Romans, had there been such, the Roman historians would not have failed to have noticed it. The only circumstance I know of, which could be supposed to have any relation to the subject, is the progress of Brutus Callaicus in Spain; but he is said never to have been further north on the coast than the Minho. In fact, it is confessed that Britain was unknown to them until Julius Cæsar discovered it.

If the second of these suppositions be adopted, and after all it may be the nearest to the truth, this will, I apprehend, account for the Coraunians of the Triads. For, as the Apulians had also joined Hannibal, they were involved in the same danger as the Brutii, and would therefore wish in like manner to avoid it. If a party of Apulians did

so, the reason why they are said to have come from the country of Pwyl is evident, and perhaps in the name of Coranniad there may be a reference to the town of Corinum in Apulia, mentioned by Pliny. It will also be evident why they joined the Romans. They are said in the Triads to have come in the time of Lludd, and to have formed a conspiracy, and in the Brut they are represented as being more of a scientific than trading people. As they were settled in a different part of the country, it seems most probable that they followed the Brutians to England for refuge, and here conspired with them against the Britons. Whichsoever of these suppositions be adopted, the idea of a Trojan origin and the substance of the History of Brutus will of course be attributed to the colony of the Brutians.

APPENDIX, No. V.

Dyfnwal Moelmyd.

IF, as the history asserts, this King set forth a code of legislation, and it had been augmented by Marsia, and both had been translated into the Latin and Saxon languages; still the inveterate hatred, which the Romish Ecclesiastics bore to the Welsh, and their zeal in destroying the Welsh records, as opposing their object of bringing all Wales under Rome, would leave but little hopes that any copies of such translations should be found in any library of these kingdoms. The only remaining resources therefore that can be looked to, are, either foreign libraries, for translations possibly existing there, or what may be found still extant in the Welsh language. The state of the times unhappily precludes the idea of a speedy reference to the former of these; but by the publication of the Welsh Archaology, the latter is fortunately accessible.

In this publication there are many laws attributed to Dyfnwal Moelmyd, and it is not improbable that, as to a great part of them, the tradition may be correct. But whether he was, or was not, the promulgator of these particular laws, there is in them, what is of

more importance, as to their authenticity, internal evidence that some of them are either wholly or in part, of very great antiquity, as will appear from the following instances, taken from the Law Triads in the third volume.

“ There are three forms of making oath. 1st. Asserting the truth by swearing *through (or on) the entrails*. 2d. Denying falsehood by swearing, *through (or on) the entrails*; and 3d. Swearing to that, which is *dubious, according to conscience*; by *dubious* is to be understood, that as to the truth or falsehood whereof, there is not certain knowledge.” Arch. Vol. III. p. 327.

This is a form, which most undoubtedly could not be tolerated by Christianity; neither do I know but of two other instances exactly in point. One is mentioned by Dictys Cretensis, who gives a similar form. He says ¹ “ that Calchas divided a boar-pig into two parts, and laying the parts to the East and West, made the chiefs, who took the oath, to pass *between the parts* with their swords drawn.” This form answers accurately to the Welsh expression of going *through the entrails*. The other is in Genesis, chap. 15. v. xvii. where the lamp, or rather flame of fire, passing between the pieces of the victim, represents the Deity as confirming the oath to Abraham.

Hence also the true meaning of the Welsh word *Crair*, in the plural *Creiriau*, used generally by later writers for the Crucifix, or reliques, as being the medium of an oath. The true meaning is, *the bloody victim*; from *CRAU*, *the blood*, or more properly *Gore*. The word is also more generally used for any thing that is sworn by, as in the following Triads.

¹ Calchas porcum marem in medium forum afferi jubet, quem, in duas partes exectum, orienti occidentique dividit; atque ita singulos nudatis gladiis per medium transire jubet.

“ There are three *victims of oaths* : 1st.¹ The magistrate’s rod of office. 2d.² The name of God ; and 3d. Hand joined in hand ; these are called *hand victims*. There are also three others, viz. 1st. Assertion on the conscience. 2d.³ Assertion in face of the sun ; and 3d. Affirmation under the protection of God and his truth. After these the forms were introduced of swearing by the Decalogue ; the Gospel of St. John ; and the holy Cross.” Ibid. p. 314.

This Triad is the more curious as it gives a succession of forms ; of which the two first sets belong properly to a period prior to the introduction of Christianity itself ; and the third set the earliest Christian form, the middle, and that corrupted by Popery.

“ There are three branches of the profession of bardism. First, the chief bard ; that is to say, a bard of full privilege, who has acquired his degree and privilege of a seat in the assembly of bards, by regular⁴ instruction under an approved teacher. His office is to keep up a memory of arts and sciences, this being his duty, as a bard regularly and fully instituted ; and also to preserve the memory of that which relates to the country, family, marriages, pedigrees, arms, districts, and rights of the Welsh territory or nation. Secondly, the Ovydd, whose degree is acquired as the privilege of natural poetic genius, or praiseworthy knowledge, which he shall prove to be well founded, by being examined before a regular and proper session of bards ; or, where there is no such session, before a lawful session (*of bards*) granted either by the subjects of the lord of the territory,

¹ The classical reader will here recollect the oath of Achilles, as described by Homer in the first book of the Iliad.

² The swearer probably raised his hand towards Heaven.

³ This form indicates that the sun was

an object of worship when the form was in use.

⁴ The original word is *Trovedigaeth*, derived from *Trawo*, i. e. *Progress*. Hence the *Troveurs* seem to have taken their names as regular bards.

“ or by *twelve* of the judges of his court ; or, if this be not the custom,
 “ by *twelve* freeholders of his court. And the knowledge gained by
 “ regular instruction is not to be required of the Ovydd, to entitle him
 “ to his privilege, nor any thing more than that his knowledge is well
 “ founded ; and this is so regulated, for the maintenance of science, lest
 “ the arts and sciences depending upon memory and wisdom, should
 “ be lost, either by a deficiency or total want of regularly instituted
 “ teachers ; and also for the furtherance of arts and sciences by new
 “ additions, approved by the learned and confirmed as such by them ;
 “ which is judged expedient, lest the advantages arising from the
 “ powers of natural poetic imagination and expression should be re-
 “ pressed.”

“ The third is the Druid-bard, who must be a regularly instituted
 “ bard of session, a man of wisdom and learning, and have a power of
 “ language sufficient to express what his judgment and his intelligence
 “ dictate. His office has its privilege by a free grant adjudged to him
 “ by the sense of a regular court of the clan, which is taken according
 “ to the custom of the court, by ballot. His duty is to give moral and
 “ religious instruction, in the session of bards ; in the palace ; in
 “ the place of worship ; and in the family in which he has full pri-
 “ vilege.”

“ Each of these three has his five acres of ground free, in right of
 “ his profession ; and exclusive of what he may otherwise be entitled to
 “ as a Cymro by birth. For the right by profession does not abro-
 “ gate that by nature, nor the natural right the professional.” *Ib.* p. 296.

This triad belongs to no period of Christianity. It is purely bardic, and gives a full and clear account of the offices and privileges of the several orders, together with some minute circumstances, such as the election of the Druids by ballot, and their privilege in the private families, not easily found elsewhere. The number of the judges seems to point out the origin of that of our juries.

The following triad indicates that the Welsh once used a kind of ¹ hieroglyphic writing. “ There are three branches of erudition as to language. 1. That of interpretation between a Welshman and a foreigner, who know no language in common. 2. Skill in portraying arms, laudable actions, and *marvellous occurrences*, so that they who see *the portraiture* may understand them. Such pourtrayer is called the Emblem-bard. And 3. The knowledge of book and letter, and of reading and writing the Welsh language correctly, and forming written records of the three records of the bards of Britain, viz. 1. Pedigrees of descent by marriage; 2. Descent of estates; and 3. Actions and information worthy of commemoration, &c.” Triad 72. *Ib.* page 293.

In the infancy of society, the mode of enacting laws by the votes of general assemblies of the people was a natural one. But as the population of a state becomes extensive, such a mode is very inadequate in practice, whatever it may appear in theory, and therefore other modes will of necessity be resorted to, which may answer the same purpose, if the popular system of government continue.

The following triad exhibits the original mode, and improvements upon this mode, of collecting the popular suffrages, in order to obviate the difficulty of assembling the whole population. “ There are three ways of enacting and confirming those laws, which are obligatory on the country in general.

“ 1. By a General Assembly of Cymru Paramount, that is, a general assembly of the heads of clans, and families, and freeholders from all the districts, territories, kingdoms, and departments of the Cymry. For Cymru Paramount denotes but one country, one na-

¹ The oldest Welsh prophecies seem to have been originally written in hieroglyphics, and might, I think, without much trouble be so expressed still; but I suspect that they are properly historical, or scientific, and not prophetic.

“ tion. And this court shall make, abrogate, or amend laws, according
“ as occasion shall require, by general opinion, judgment, and assent.”

“ The second is by a Confederate Assembly of a country or terri-
“ tory. That is to say, when the court of the government of a country,
“ or territory unanimously desires a new law, or the amendment, or
“ abrogation of a law; notice of it shall be given, by proclamation, to
“ all the courts within the territories of Cymru Paramount, in order
“ that such law may be amended, enacted, or abrogated, as it shall in
“ justice or reason be deemed requisite. Thus the process shall be
“ carried on, through all the courts and clans, till their decision be
“ known, and their common assent be obtained, without opposition,
“ and without objection. When this is obtained, the courts and sessions
“ shall be advertised, by proclamation, of the time when the three years
“ of notice shall terminate; and the Confederate Assembly shall meet
“ at the end of the three years. This is called GORSEDD GYFALLWY,
“ and it shall go on through all the governments, and its decision be
“ equivalent to that of the general assembly of Cymru Paramount.”

“ The third mode of enacting or abrogating a law, by the full
“ authority of country and clan, is by provisional proclamation
“ and advertisement of it, until there be a Confederate Assembly.
“ That is to say, that whatever be the intention as to a law, it is neces-
“ sary in order to ratify such intention, that it be publicly proclaimed,
“ for one year and a day, by cry of country and district, in every court
“ and place of worship; every fair, and market, and every other re-
“ gular meeting of country and district, until the decision of every court,
“ country, and district be obtained, together with such amendments,
“ or corrections, as may be approved of by country and district, and
“ there is no farther opposition. And when this is known, it is again
“ to be proclaimed, as before, for one year and a day; ¹ until the time

¹ That is, I presume, *provisionally until there be a Confederate Assembly.*

“ of a Confederate Assembly; the proclamation continuing in all for
“ the space of three years. Thus it will be a confederate ratification of
“ Cymru Paramount; and a law so ratified will be the law of every
“ country, territory, kingdom, court, place of worship and district;
“ and equal in force as if it had been confirmed by a General Assem-
“ bly; and requires no appeal to the constitutional law of the country.
“ For the constitutional law says, *It has had the assent and consent of*
“ *Cymru Paramount, and therefore it is established.* For if no ap-
“ peal be made within the three years and three days, it shall be held
“ that country, and district, clan, and allied clan, ratify it, since no
“ one can plead ignorance of that which shall have thus been lawfully
“ proclaimed as to time and place, whether in a sovereign dominion,
“ an inferior kingdom, or separate government; and the opportunity
“ and power of opposing it, or suggesting amendment, has been given.”

In these three Triads the progress of a popular government, according to the increase of population from a small to a great one, is clearly discerned; and the RHAITH GWLAD; i.e. the *right or constitution of the country*, is the fundamental principle throughout; and as such is referred to every where in the laws of Howel Dda. It is very remarkable that these Triads, though they mention *Governments*, do not allow any exclusive privilege in making laws to the heads of such governments, nor do they present any such names or titles expressly (or even by implication, as proposing or making laws), as those of Prince, or King; whence it is the reasonable inference, that their purport must be of very remote antiquity. Another circumstance no less remarkable is, that the form of enacting laws required an assent unanimous, *without exception*, and that from *the whole nation*; a form which seems to have been intended to preclude any change as to the original laws; since if new ones should successively become necessary, it could not long be practicable. And in fact it should seem that the original laws remained for a very long time unaltered. The original constitu-

tional laws were, according to the Triads, instituted by Prydain, the son of Aedd, one of the first colonists; and these are said to have been improved by Dyfnwal Moelmyd, and others. But, whatever these improvements were, the constitutional principles of *the Rhaith gwlad* does not appear to have undergone any change; as the proverbial expression of *Treth gwlad nag Arglwydd. The constitution of the country is superior to the Prince*, was in use, and referred to as decisive, in the latest period of Welsh legislation. Some changes in the form of enacting laws had however taken place, as will appear from the following Triad.

“ There are three National Sessions by privilege in the island of Britain. 1. The Session of the Bards, which is the most ancient in dignity. 2. The Session of Country and Lord. That is to say, a court of law, consisting of a general assembly of judges, and constitutional assessors. And 3. The Session of Union and Maintenance. That is to say, a session of country and district, consisting of rulers, chiefs of clans, and men of wisdom, from country and district, for the purpose of enacting general laws, to be observed in, or between, country and district, or adjoining country, by and with the assent and consent of country and country, ruler and ruler, and the agreement of privilege and privilege, for the sake of peace and justice. And this shall bind all parties. No weapon is to appear drawn in these sessions, or within their limits, or during their continuance.”
Triad 59. p. 280.

The last innovation introduced was a bold and arbitrary one, by Howel Dda, whose name in this respect is little deserving of the epithet attached to it; as, in one of the very principles of legislation, which he assumed, he struck at the root of the old principle of the Welsh constitution, and of the freedom of the country. In Wotton's edition of his laws, page 77, a remarkable passage occurs, of which the following is a translation:

The King has taken four things into *his own power, without the participation of any other in them, viz.*

“ 1. Maintaining the privileges of his monasteries.

“ 2. Preserving the security of the high roads.

“ 3. *Making laws* in his kingdom, and coining money.

“ 4. The maintaining the claims of royal prerogative belonging to
“ the Crown, the King, and those who appertain to him.”

In a specification of his charter, taken from the White Book of Hergest, these particulars are given in a somewhat different form, thus,

“ 1. Maintaining his prerogative over his clergy of the dignity of
“ the pastoral staff,” (i. e. *Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots.*)

“ 2. Preserving the security of the high roads.

“ 3. Making laws.

“ 4. Coining money.”

According to either reading, it is evident that Howel usurped privileges, which the Kings or Princes of Wales had not before, and it is also evident, that they were considered as usurped, from the well known circumstance, that his laws were never generally received in Wales, as appears from the inquisitions of Edward I.

The alteration of the first article is easily accounted for, as contrary to the interests of Rome; but that the White Book of Hergest states it correctly, admits of sufficient proof otherwise; though it may here be observed, that the latter would hardly have been substituted for the former, nor was the former likely to have coincided with the arbitrary views of Howel, who probably had no connection with Rome; though an interpolation in Caradoc of Llancarfan, asserts his having gone thither.

From a consideration of these circumstances, a comparison of them with the law triads, and some notices in the published laws, which go under his name, and in the Chronicle of the Princes, this transaction of Howel's may be better understood than it has hitherto been, and it may be of some use to the future historian of the legislation of Britain, to give a brief exposition of some prominent facts.

Some objections were stated by the publisher of Wotton's work, to the propriety of giving the name of Howel as the institutor of all those laws. He observed that they have no regular introduction or formal confirmation, though they are universally assigned to him; and thus far he is, I think, correct. The law triads are, I believe, of a much greater antiquity than the time of Howel, though he might and probably did confirm them. As to the introduction and form of confirmation, though it is reasonable to believe that they were inserted in the three first copies, a short account of their institution is all that has been hitherto found in others, which, as transcripts for use, may have been deemed sufficient. But however reasonable this conclusion may be, I am convinced in my own mind, that the defalcation was in part committed intentionally by the adherents to Rome, as far as it contained what was repugnant to their views; and in this opinion I am fully justified by the interpolation of Howel's Journey to Rome, in the introduction as it now stands, and the substitution already mentioned. Having premised thus much, I now proceed to consider the laws themselves.

In these, as published by Wotton, there are several references to the *Cyfraith Cyffredin y Cymry*, or the *Common-law of the Cymry*; which point it out as distinct from the laws of Howel, and well known at the time; and this seems to have been generally comprehended in Triads. Some of the laws may have been in another form, and be included in the collection attributed to Howel, though it may now be difficult to distinguish them. But his object may be discovered from the introduction to the laws, in a¹ manuscript of the Seabright collection, which has the very remarkable words, *The King grants*, or literally, *The King has conceded*. According to the ancient Triads, it is evident that the laws were

¹ W. Arch, Vol. III. p. 359.

the expression of *the general will*; whereas in this expression it is included as a principle, that *the law depends on the will of the sovereign*, and this may have been the reason why his laws were not allowed in North Wales. This idea of his intention is confirmed by the extract already given from the Hergest MS. as to the four things he took into his own hands exclusively, one of which was the *making of laws*. These ideas he may have borrowed from his Saxon neighbours, and wished to establish them in Wales; and this may have been the cause of the defalcation of the other part of the introduction, as contrary to the old constitutional principle, that *The constitutional principle of the country is superior to the Lord*.

In the Chronicle of the Princes it is said, ¹ that Howel's laws were confirmed, after they had obtained the general assent of the country, in a *Confederate Assembly*; and that when they were so, Howel went to Rome, to obtain the Pope's assent. The first of these circumstances is in conformity to the mode pointed out by the Triads; the improbability of the latter shall be shewn in what I have to say of the ancient British church.

Enough has been said, it may be hoped, to prove that some, and perhaps all, of the Triads already quoted, are of remote antiquity. It may however not be improper to add a few more, as the subjects are curious.

“ There are three distinct kinds of individual personal property which cannot be shared with another, or surrendered in payment of fine, viz. A wife, a child, and argyffreu. By the word *argyffreu*, is meant clothes, arms, or the implements of a lawful calling. For without these a man has not the means of support, and it would be unjust in the law to unman a man, or uncall a man as to his calling.”
Triad 53, p. 289.

¹ W. Arch, Vol. II. p. 486.

This Triad contains one of the great principles of Magna Charta. The following will account for a popular notion, that if a poor person be refused support a certain number of times, and in a certain number of places, he is allowed to steal food.

“Three kinds of thieves are not to be punished with death. 1. A wife who joins with her husband in a theft. 2. A youth under age. And 3. One who, after he has asked in vain for support in three towns, and at nine houses in each town.” Triad 137. page 304.

“Three sorts of persons are exempt from compulsory service, viz. A wife, a bard, and one who has no land; and no one of these is obliged to attend the summons to war by the *hara*, or hue and cry. For the bard has the privilege derived from God and his peace; and his office is that of song, and he ought not to serve in two offices. A wife is subject to her husband, and he has the right of lordship over her; and no one ought to be deprived of his property, whether as to person or goods. Also one who has no lands ought not to put his hand to the sword, as he has nothing to lose; and it is not just that he should be compelled to lose life or limb for another. He ought therefore to be left to his own will; (*in this respect*) and if he takes the sword in his hand he is called *Brydd* (i. e. *feeble*), and his privilege is that only of those who are so called.” Triad 244. page 316.

“There are three lawful weapons; a sword, a spear, and a bow with twelve arrows in a quiver. And every lord of a house ought to have them in readiness against any incursions of the people of a neighbouring country, foreigners or other marauders. But arms ought not to be in the possession of any but a Welshman, by birth and descent, or a refugee of the third generation, that treachery or conspiracy may not be risked.” Triad 222. page 314.

“There are three original rights of every Welshman. 1. A freehold possession, without restriction, of five acres of land. 2. A right

“ of appealing to the constitution of the country, under the protection
“ and privilege of the chief of his clan. And 3. The right to the good
“ offices of the country in general. That is to say, that he be free to go
“ whither he will in it, without loss of privilege or verdict, unless when
“ in actual service of the country, or a court of law. For where he is
“ so, he is by law bound to perform it, and ought not to be excused.”
Triad 80. p. 298.

This admirable Triad points out the origin of the distinction of freeholders, and in its description of the rights of the antient Britons, contains the very ground work of a free constitution in a new settlement. The first of the three deserves a particular attention in every such instance; for it gives, as a natural right, a maintenance to every individual, free from all incumbrance, though the owner was not free from the service of the courts of law, or of the army; for to these, and perhaps some other services, he was liable as a freeholder, for such by this law was every Briton by descent. Hence there was no necessity for poor-laws; and that the value of the right was duly felt, appears from a¹ stipulation, that they should have *their lands free, their privilege liberal, and their law duly executed*, made by the Welsh with the Normans, A. D. 1094. Whether something of a similar grant of commons or waste land to those, who would cultivate them, in England, would not greatly relieve the poor and the rich, I leave to the determination of more competent judges. In America, or any other settlement, it seems a principle equally just and necessary.

“ Three things are in common to country and clan. An acorn-
“ forest, game of the chase, and iron mines. None of these ought to be
“ private property.” Triad 49, page 289.

¹ W. Arch, Vol. II. p. 530.

“ Three persons are exempted from the horn of war or wielding the sword, viz. A bard, an artificer, and one of the court of law. For no one of them can be spared.” Triad 221, p. 314.

These two Triads seem to be of great antiquity. The first certainly belongs to a time when acorns were used as food, and the latter to one wherein the bards were in full honour, and artificers few in number.

“ There are three who obtain the full privileges of a Briton by accident. 1. A man of natural genius, who does honour to art or science, on whom they are conferred for the advantage of the brotherhood. 2. A foreigner who escapes from shipwreck. And 3. A man of no landed property who rescues a Briton in danger of losing his life.” Triad 198. p. 311.

The following Triads may also be acceptable to the reader.

“ The three accomplishments of a gentleman, are arms, horsemanship, and hunting. These are permitted to none but a Briton by descent.” Triad 79. page 298.

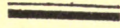
“ There are three persons whom every British landholder ought to have and support. A wife, a man at arms, if he be not so himself, and a teacher of his family.” Triad 81. page 298.

“ There are three things necessary to a gentleman by descent. A mantle, a harp, and a cauldron, with a sufficiency to support his rank.” Triad 239. page 316.

“ The three ornaments of a clan. A book, a harp, and a sword. None of these can be seized in payment for a fine.” Triad 54. page 289.

“ There are three things for which no one should accept payment from a stranger or traveller on his journey, viz. Milk, salt, and bread. But it is not uncivil to accept pay for any thing more which is asked with a proposal of payment.” Page 282.

APPENDIX. No. VI.



DISSERTATION

ON THE

HISTORY OF THE ANTIENT BRITISH CHURCH.

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DISSERTATION

ON THE

HISTORY OF THE ANTIENT BRITISH CHURCH.

IT is a melancholy reflection, that the efforts of error, to obscure some of the most important truths, should have been able to attain such a pernicious efficacy, as to make it difficult to restore the faded, or almost obliterated testimonies of them to their original expression. The opposition of the British Bishops to the Monk Austin is well known, because that providentially it could not be concealed; the labours of the learned Usher have also proved that the principal erroneous tenets of the Church of Rome, were not held by the antient Church of Britain or of Ireland, and yet notwithstanding all that he, Spelman, Stillingfleet, and others have written, the history of the origin and progress of Christianity in Britain, during the six first centuries, is in some respects, defective, and in others extremely incorrect. Where it is defective, it may now be in some degree supplied from the Welsh documents, which were not accessible to these learned writers, and they are no way accountable for deficiencies, as far as these documents are concerned. But as to the incorrectness, though certainly not intentional, they are less excuseable, as it has arisen from giving too much credit to the Monkish writers. It is not either that they were inatten-

tive as to the discovery of the truth; but that the extent, and diligent pertinacity of the forgeries of the Monks does not appear to have been suspected by them; and hence they have admitted, on their authority, much that was false and injurious to the credit of the very cause they maintained. I have therefore deemed it necessary to endeavour, by a succinct statement of the principal circumstances, to supply the deficiencies, and correct the errors, as far as may in so short compass be done.

Though it is acknowledged by most, if not all, writers on the subject, that the introduction of Christianity into Britain took place in the times of the Apostles, and the Britons have been said to owe their knowledge of it to St. Paul, Simon Zelotes, &c. yet very little that is satisfactory has been stated even by those who have been most laborious in their researches; neither indeed could it well be expected from the line in which they were directed; viz. to the Romish writers, who had an object in view, which would not induce them to pay much attention to accounts which would be unfavorable to it. It is also strange that, whilst the reference to St. Paul has been so much dwelt upon, that of the British Bishops to St. John should scarcely have been noticed; and that their statements of their faith, &c. in their controversies with the Romish Bishops should not have been more carefully considered, since it must be in these that the truth will most strongly appear. What is argued against must have been objected, and though not perhaps precisely in the terms stated in the account of it by the opposing party, yet the drift of the arguments of the latter will be a good test of the truth. And hence it is, in a great measure, that it will here be attempted to ascertain several important

* Spelman has supposed that this reference signified that the doctrines of the British Church were derived from Irenaeus, who received them from Polycarp, the disciple of St. John: but this wants proof.

circumstances in the history of the British Church, which have not hitherto been much, if at all, known. In a former publication by the writer of this, some part of what follows has necessarily been introduced; but it is hoped he will be thought excusable, if, as annexed to a History of Britain, the subject be more fully discussed, as it is one in which every Christian may justly feel an interest.

The original introduction of Christianity into Britain is thus by the Triads attributed to the father of the celebrated Caractacus.

“ The three *blessed kings* of Britain were: 1st. Saint Bran, the
 “ Son of Llyr Llediaith, who first brought a knowledge of the Christian
 “ faith to the Cymry from Rome, where he had been for seven years
 “ as an hostage for his son Caradoc, whom the Romans had imprisoned
 “ after that he was betrayed by the treachery, and an ambush laid
 “ for him, by Aregwedd Foeddawg (*Cartismandua*.) 2d. St. Lleirwg,
 “ (the son of Coel, and grandson of Saint Cyllin) surnamed *Lleufer*
 “ *Mawr* (*the eloquent*) who first established a church at Llandaff,
 “ the first established in Britain. He also granted constitutional pri-
 “ vilege, judicial power, and validity of ¹ (*their*) oath to the Christians.
 “ 3d. Cadwallader the blessed, who granted the privilege of his land
 “ and all his property to the faithful, who fled from the infidel Saxons,
 “ and the ² *unbrotherly ones*, who wished to slay them.” Triad 35,
 p. 63.

This Triad comprises three different periods of Christianity; but though it could not well be presented in distinct portions, it will be referred to as the proper times come in order.

By whom Bran and his family were converted does not appear from any Welsh documents, that I have seen; but it is not impro-

¹ This means, it should seem, the validity of a form of oath adopted by the Christians.

² Probably such of the Cymry as were not Christians.

bable that it was by some of the Apostles, and perhaps St. John himself. For, in the controversy between Colman and Wilfrid, Colman asserts that the doctrines he held were received from St. John. This apostle is also said to have been at Rome, though there are different accounts as to the time when he was there. If however he was so in the time of Domitian, as it has been asserted, the conversion of these Britons may have been effected by him. One circumstance at least affords a presumption that it was so, viz. in the Triad of *Oaths* one form is the swearing upon, or by ¹*the Gospel of St. John*, as the established form, and it marks a preference of it.

Whether St. Paul reached Britain, or not, it is now not easy to ascertain, though it would be most probable that, if he had, the British Bishops would have appealed to his authority, as well as that of St. John. As to other teachers, the Cambrian Biography notices three, who came with Bran from Rome to Britain, about A. D. 70. viz. Arwystli Hên, Cyndaf, and Ilid. The names of the two first indicate that they were Britons; of the last it is expressly said, that he was an Israelite, and he is said to have converted many to the Christian faith. Cyllin, the son, and Eigen, the daughter, of Caractacus, are also said to have been Christians. The latter is noted to have been the first female Saint amongst the Britons. To the names of these primary British Christians should be added, that also of Claudia Rufina (as I have in another publication, I hope, proved) unless this Claudia and Eigen be the same person, under different names; as Claudia has been said, according to a quotation by Stilingfleet from Moncæus, to be a daughter of Caractacus.

¹ It is curious that this gospel, so preferred by the Cymry, should be the one which Berkeley in his *Gaudentio di Lucca* should have chosen for that of his happy African nation.

The account here given of the first knowledge of Christianity communicated to the Britons, accords so well with the circumstances in which they were (and may we not say providentially were?) placed as to carry its own evidence with it. From the testimonies adduced by Usher it would seem not improbable that St. Paul, and Simon Zelotes also, had visited Britain, and were there any national tradition of it, there would be less doubt that they had. The British Bishops however made no reference to their authority, even when it would have been necessary, if they could have done so, and it is therefore to be presumed, that no such tradition existed. As to the legend of Joseph of Arimathea, invented probably by the Monks of Glastonbury, it is not worth while to waste time upon it.

What was the progress of Christianity in Britain during the two first centuries cannot now be known with any precision, farther than that it appears to have been a successful one, as it was sufficiently conspicuous to be noticed by the African writers, Tertullian and Origen, about the beginning of the third century. It was also favored by the political exertions of the Romans to extirpate Druidism, as well as by its own characteristics of consolation to the unhappy, and a prospect of a future state not so irreconcilable to the Druidical principles as to be abruptly rejected; but more likely to be made to coalesce with them, as perhaps they were by Pelagius. How it could ever be seriously asserted, that the Romans were tolerant to other religions, if their extirpation of the Druids was for a moment thought of, is most astonishing. Druidism was indeed represented by them as being *a most vile superstition*, and with just as much truth as the *Carthaginian faith* was called *treacherous*, when either was compared with *their own*; or, properly speaking, with no truth at all. If the Druids sacrificed some prisoners in their wicker images, the Romans sacrificed the chiefs at the capitol, and the inferior prisoners at their Gladiatorial shews, for the executions in both were religious

rites. But Druidism opposed their conquests by the spirit of resistance which it inspired, and therefore it was not to be,¹ nor was it, spared. In Gaul the Druids were soon suppressed. In Britain they seem to have had some power even so late as the sixth century, and the Bards much later. There can be no doubt however, but that the Druids must have made some opposition to new doctrines, and perhaps a considerable one, though the faith continued its prevailing influence to the time of Lucius, or Lleirwg, as he is called in the Triad, when a new period of zealous exertions in its favor appears to have commenced.

As this prince, so much celebrated in Ecclesiastical History, was a² King of the Silures, and the great grandson of Caractacus, this circumstance affords a good reason for his zeal, which he may well be supposed to have inherited from his progenitors, and the general testimony, which tradition has borne to it, is a sufficient ground of belief that the celebrity his name has acquired was justly merited by signal services to the cause of religion. But at the same time it must be said that little or no credit is due to the legendary tale of his having sent to Rome for instructors. Usher has enumerated no less than five and twenty different statements of the year in which Lucius was converted, and even as to the Pope to whom this conversion was attributed, writers are not agreed; whether Alexander the First Euaristus, or Eleutherus. But it was of course to be a *Pope*, and the Monks of Llandaff seem to have prevailed in favor of Eleutherus, by producing the correspondence of Lucius and Eleutherus from their prolific mint. Neither is the place of his death more certain, whether it was at Coire,

¹ The tradition of an Edict to extirpate Druidism published about this time, is quoted by Usher from Archbishop Parker's collections, and the tradition is probably true.

² Camb. Biography. This agrees with the words of Tertullian, quoted by Usher: "Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca Christo subdita." (Adv. Jud. C. 7.) *The places inaccessible to the Romans were subject to Christ.*

(in Switzerland) at London, or at Gloucester. Still he must have been eminently distinguished by his successful labours, or his name could not have been honoured with such various and extended interest in the commemoration of it. The Chronicle places it A. D. 136, and consequently in the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius. This seems rather too early, as there must have been some favoring circumstances to enable Lucius to make such progress. Such were the Edicts of Antoninus and his successor in favor of the Christians, and I therefore presume that it was during this peaceful interval, that Lucius was so piously active in his labours of conversion. The title of *Sovereign of all Britain* has been assigned to him, and that probably correctly, as the Sovereignty was vested in the family of Caractacus, though in his time it could be little more than a name. Later writers have in general presumed, from the customs of their own times, that ¹ *founding a church* and *building a church* were nearly or exactly the same thing, and confounded the congregation with the edifice. The objections of Lactantius to edifices for prayer, prove that the Christians even to his time had erected none, though they probably soon after converted the heathens' temples to that use. When therefore Lucius is said to have founded Churches in all the cities of Britain, this must be understood not of *edifices*, but of *Christian communities* so called.

¹ In Triad 62, Lucius is said to have given lands to the Church of *Llandaff*, but it would require much stronger proof than the Book of that Church to make it credible. The idea may however have arisen from another circumstance. In the laws and the history of *Dyfuwal Moelmud* it is said, that he conferred privileges on temples, of which *Sanctuary* was one, and possibly some portions of land formed another; and it may be presumed that Lucius transferred such privileges with the

temples, to which they belonged to the Christians, though the temples as they are called were probably no more at this time, than certain inclosed or bounded areas of ground, dedicated to religious ceremonies. It may here be observed that the British Churches were, to the time of Bede, chiefly, if not entirely, built with wood, as were also the Monastic habitations, and hence no remains of such are to be seen.

This is no more than what might be expected to follow, when the known dignity of the preacher must have excited curiosity, and the force of truth delivered with eloquence, must have impressed many with conviction; but as to Patriarchal or Archiepiscopal dignities, it is very dubious whether any such were known so early in the church, though the respect of posterity has been willing to attribute those in Britain to his appointment; yet some kind of pre-eminence the churches in the chief residences of Government, would necessarily have from this circumstance. It is also very possible, that the labours of Lucius were not confined to Britain. The Christians in Gaul would naturally wish to be profited by them; he may himself have wished to visit Rome; and as he is said to have been ¹ Archbishop of Treves, and to have died at Coire, this line of travel intimates such an intention. There may therefore be some truth in his having sent to Rome for some Christian purpose, though it is evident that, if he did, the Monks Austin and Wilfrid either knew nothing of it; or, if they did, found that it would be very dangerous to their pretensions to urge it, as they have passed it over in silence. The Christianity of Rome in the days of Lucius would have ill accorded with theirs.

A very curious ² notice respecting this Prince is quoted by Usher from the Tungrensian Chronicles, viz. That “ Marcellus, Bishop of Treves had preached beyond sea (*i. e. in Britain*) and had prevailed on Lucius to inform the Pope Eleutherus that he wished to be baptised; and *from this time* the Christian Churches of the Tungri (that is of the country near Treves) are *thought* to have been supplied *from Britain.*” Here we have a Bishop of Treves sent to convert Lucius, and recommend to him an application to *the*

¹ Usher Antiq. Ecc. Cap. 4th, from a Catalogue of the Archbishops of Treves.

² Ibid.

Pope, and 2dly a tradition which may be relied upon, (though an attempt to gloss it by the word *thought* is made) that the Churches of the Tungri had their instructors from Britain, since such a tale is introduced to account for it. If Marcellus was so much attached to the Pope, or so able to convert the Britons, Treves need not have had teachers from hence. But it was acknowledged that *they had*, and the only remaining resource was to make the Pope instrumental to the conversion of Lucius himself, to whom it should seem, the Tungri referred their conversion. Here it is necessary to observe, as it will hereafter be more particularly attended to, that it was in this neighbourhood, viz. at Rheims, that Hincmar exerted his powerful opposition to the intrusions of Rome; and I hope to prove that it is to the antient British Church that the Gallican Church owed much of its zeal in that cause.

Upon the whole then it may be safely concluded, that the zeal of Lucius was great and effective, and that the British churches, and perhaps some on the continent, owe their establishment or confirmation to him. He may also have given much of his property for the use of the poor (which would afterwards, though incorrectly, be called¹ endowing the church) and have assembled his congregation at Westminster, as a place less liable to disturbance than in the city of London, and therefore have been said to have founded a church there. As to his having dedicated a church there, or any where else, it cannot be true, for the dedication of Churches to saints was a substitution, or imitation, of the dedication of Temples by the Heathens to their Gods, which could not have taken place until Christianity was much corrupted. Dupin says, nothing of honours paid to the Martyrs in

¹ Even a Romish writer confesses that “Sub Urbano *primum* Ecclesia Rom. the endowments of churches did not *begin* “*prædia possidere cœpit.*” Genebrardi till the time of Pope Urban I. cir A. D. 224. Chronographia, p. 520. ed. Col. Ag. 1581.

the three first centuries, and his silence is an honest one. In the fourth he does notice it, and he knew he had no authority for it earlier. In fact such dedications were of the number of ill-judged and disgraceful artifices, though possibly well meant, to allure the Gentiles, or favor their prejudices.

As Lucius made the formulary of an oath valid, it follows that Christianity became the religion of his kingdom; and that he is justly entitled to the honour of having been the first Christian king.

There can be no doubt but that the Christianity of these first ages was in its purest form, and it is acknowledged even by all the Romish writers, that it continued pure in Britain down to the time of Diocletian. Now as *the purity of the faith* signifies in *their* vocabulary *its agreement with that of the church of Rome*, this is a very important concession, for it was in the very next age, that Rome began to vary from her former self, and therefore the British Church, by *not* varying, became different, and hence would be esteemed as corrupted for that very reason. Had the histories which were at the monastery of St. Alban, and translated by Unwon, not been suppressed by the Abbot, it is probable that much curious and interesting information would have been obtained. Enough however may be learned from other sources to prove that the British Church preserved its Christianity from its establishment even down to the Reformation, more pure, perhaps, than any other national church, as I will endeavour to prove.

Could any reliance be placed on the Romish legends, which unhappily is impossible to any satisfactory extent, indeed as to what they say of other churches almost utterly so, the names of S. ¹Alban and others

¹ In Bede's Martyrology he is called *Albinus*; in the Golden Legend, he is said to have been sent to Rome by *Severus*, and by the command of Diocletian, and to have been converted there. It is much to be feared therefore, that the Monks of St. Albans, wanting a Patron Saint, have made one of Clodius Albinus.

might be recorded with honour as Martyrs in testimony of the faith. But it is too uncertain what effect, if any, the Diocletian persecution had in Britain, to lay any stress upon it.

As Christianity first became the religion of the state under a British King, so it first became that of the Empire under an Emperor born in Britain. So great a change in the state was, in the common train of human affairs, followed by many evils arising from partial or pretended conversions; though they were more than counterbalanced at the time by the establishment of the principles held by the primitive Church in the Council of Nice. At this Council, as at that previously of Arles, several British Bishops gave their support and testimony to the truth; and afterwards also in the Councils of Sardica and Rimini.

If then the British Church became corrupt, it must have been towards the end of the fourth century. Even so it would but have shared the general fate, though it happily escaped with little injury. In this century the veneration of Martyrs, the parade of Pagan worship, the regular institutions of monachism, the ambitious assertions of pre-eminence in particular Sees, and the calling in the aid of the executive power to punish excommunicated persons, began to infest the church. Of these monachism seems to have spread the most rapidly, and soon to have found its way to Britain; but it was simple in its form. The Monks lived by their own labour; having grants of ¹waste lands, they cultivated them for their support, and by their spiritual labours and example improved and promoted the state of Christianity. Thus employed they were of great advantage; and though such institutions, if numerous, become dangerous, it does not appear that they were

¹ This appears from the Charter of Howel Dda in a Wynastay Ms. and accounts for the romantic situations of Monasteries in recesses amidst the mountains.

50. About this time arose the heresy of Pelagianism, which the Romish writers have represented as overwhelming Britain. Pelagius certainly was born in Britain, but it was in Italy that the heresy was first made public. Whether Pelagius asserted all that was attributed to him may very justly be doubted; for he himself complained that many assertions were attributed to him, which he never maintained. However this may be, he was a man of uncommon endowments, subtle in argument, and so eloquent that Jerome charges him as the author of a composition, upon the evidence of the *Ciceronian elegance* of the style. By the Synod of Bishops at Diospolis he was acquitted, and I must say that it appears to be the only one where he had an equitable trial. This does not make the errors attributed to him the less errors; but in the conduct of both Jerome and Augustine there appears to have been both jealousy and unfairness; and the Apologetic of Orosius both shews a shameful subserviency in himself, and that there was much of a party business concerned in the attack on Pelagius, whom both those fathers evidently thought a rival to their fame; and, when their zeal and their authority are considered, it does not appear probable that Pelagianism should have made great progress in so remote a country as Britain, though it may have made some. It is said to have been introduced here about A. D. 429, by Agricola the son of Severianus, and it could not have been so much sooner; Germanus who suppressed it wholly came to Britain the following year, probably, according to Usher, and died in A. D. 458 at the latest. What progress then could it have made? or can we reasonably assent to the imputation of an extensive influence of Pelagianism here, when even ¹ Bede acknowledges that the Britons, averse to its reception, held a consultation on the case, and in consequence sent for Germanus to oppose it. The truth seems to be, that the Monk Augustine, or his adherents,

¹ Hist. Ecc. Lib. 1, Cap. 17.

knowing that Pelagius was a Briton, expected to find Pelagianism in Britain, and not finding it, where it probably never prevailed, gave the merit of its extinction to Germanus, who more probably only prevented its spreading.

Here it is necessary to advert to the state of Christianity in general in this country, during the three first centuries. It seems to have been assumed, that its adoption was at least from the time of Lucius, universal and complete throughout the island. But this is an assumption neither rational in itself, nor favored by any analogy in the course of human events, not even in the experience of the Apostles themselves. Were we even to admit that the Roman policy of extirpating the Druids was continued, that christianity was favored, and that many of the Druids themselves took shelter in Christianity, which I am inclined to believe; if we conclude that the majority of Britons became Christians, it is highly honourable to the country, and full as much as can reasonably be supposed. The institution of the primitive order of Bishops, and probably those of Presbyters and Deacons, (that is, if the Presbyters were a distinct Ecclesiastical Order in the first age of the Church, which I much doubt) were an essential consequence; the doctrines of the Church were simply apostolic; the rites probably no more than the two ordained by our Lord, and the ceremonies, the few only proper to prayer and instruction. The title of Archbishop was not acknowledged by the Council of Nice, though it granted *precedence* to the Bishops of *Jerusalem*. Such a title could not therefore have been acknowledged by Lucius. The bishops were probably elected by the elders, as a vestige of this custom appears in this subsequent election by the Monks, and also in that still remaining of the election by a

¹ The original Presbyters were the elder and most grave members of the Church, and hence the Bishop was almost always a Presbyter, but the Presbyter was not always a Bishop; many of the Presbyters never were.

chapter. The political connection of Britain with Rome must in some degree have affected the British Church, which could not therefore be long ignorant of either new doctrines, or new customs, adopted in other parts of the world. Of these ¹ Monachism seems to have been the principal one which it admitted, and this, in some measure, of necessity, because of the continual incursions of enemies, from whom the retreat, and the believed sanctity of it, might be, and probably often was a refuge.

When the military forces were withdrawn from Britain, Druidism seems once more to have reared its head; and this, as well as the incursions of the Saxons, previous to the time of Hengist, were both hostile to Christianity. Whether it was, then, in consequence of some great destruction of the British Clergy, or to set them on their guard against Pelagianism, or more probably Druidism, that Germanus came to Britain, he was of essential service to the church. I am inclined to believe that it was Druidism he came to oppose. For the scene of the Alleluatic battle was in N. Wales, where the Druids made their longest stand, and were in some power in Arthur's time; tradition says the engagement was with the Saxons; and the Druids may have been assisted by Saxon rovers.

As Pelagianism did not exist when Augustine came to Britain, and therefore could not be objected against the British Bishops; corruption in other respects was made a plea of accusation. It was alledged, that this took place soon after the arrival of the Saxons. Had this accusation been tempered with any degree of moderation, it might have been

¹ The Monks appear to have begun very early to be jealous of, and to undermine the secular clergy, as the latter seem to have endeavoured to expose their unprincipled endeavours to delude the people. In the legendary Life of St. Martin, attributed to Sulpicius Severus, the following

remarkable confession occurs. "Soli illum Clerici, soli nesciunt Sacerdotes." *The Clergy, the Priests only know nothing of him* (St. Martin) that is, the Clergy disbelieved and opposed the legend, as it deserved.

esteemed of some weight, if borne out by circumstantial evidence; but nothing of temper appears in it. The rhodomontade of the spurious Gildas is a farrago of ignorance and malignity, and what Bede has said, though it might have some authority in what the real Gildas may have written, has no farther probability than as the representation of an irritable man, taken in its most unfavorable sense by an adverse party, which from its ignorance of the British language, and its unqualified enmity to the Britons and their church, could not be capable of ascertaining much of the truth, or of being a friend to it. That this was the case, the very circumstances of the times afford a fair ground of presumption. To consider these then,

It is acknowledged that the purity of the church was restored by Germanus, and this even by those who attribute so much to him, which is an acknowledgement of its being uncorrupted at the beginning of the reign of Vortigern, for the second time that he was in Britain, must, according to Usher's calculation, have been in the time of Vortigern, and consequently the interval assumed by the spurious Gildas, could not have existed as one of corruption, consistently with what is said of Germanus. That religion may have suffered during the reign of Vortigern and his immediate successors, were it only because of the confusion and licentiousness of disturbed times, would not be an improbable supposition. Those who were lukewarm Christians, or attached to Druidism, may have fallen away, when Vortigern introduced the Saxons, and joined them; as Vortigern himself seems to have done; and thus diminished the numbers of Christians. The Bards may also have blended their tenets with Christianity. But fortunately there still exists evidence that, in this very age, so much decried, the labours of the Christians to convert unbelievers, whether British or Saxon, were most strenuous. And it is a remarkable discrimination of the Saints of the Welsh Calender that they have been dignified with this title, not by martyrdom, but by their converting or labouring to

convert infidels, except in a few instances, and these probably borrowed from some Roman Martyrology, as St. Alban, &c. That their names should have been so recorded is a testimony of their success, which is confirmed by the writings of the sixth century so far as to prove that Christianity was general. But these assertions will require more specific testimony, which shall here be given from the catalogue called *Bonedd y Saint*, or *the Genealogy of the Saints of Britain*, printed in Vol. IId. of the Welsh Archaiology, the dates being taken from the Cambrian Biography.

Cynedda the Great died A. D. 389. Brychan Brycheiniog died about A. D. 450; and Caw of North Britain died about A. D. 600. "The families of these three are called the three holy families of Britain, and that of Brychan in particular, for bringing up his children and grand children in learning, so as to be able to teach the faith in Christ to the Cymry, *where they were without faith.*" *Camb. Biog.*

Cynedda was King of North Britain, and as it appears from the Genealogical table of Mr. W. Owen, prefixed to Mr. Warrington's History of Wales, heir to the sovereignty of Britain in right of his ancestor Aflech, grandson to Beli the Great; the line of Casfar the elder brother of Aflech being extinct, as the table represents it. Christianity was therefore the religion, in his time, of the sovereign royal line of Britain, and this Cynedda is said by the Triads to have been the *first* British King who granted *lands* and *privileges* to *the Church*. Such a grant from him is conformable to the Ecclesiastical History of that time, and therefore the notice of it, as the *first* is entitled to credit, both in this respect and as an argument that Lucius had not made any such grant. ¹ One of his sons was the founder of Glastonbury. Hence

¹ W. Malmesbury, Antiq. [Glaston. It Rhawin, according to the Chronicle of the was afterwards enlarged by Ifor ap Alan Welsh Princes.

it is also probable, that Monachism was introduced into Wales about this time.

The sons of Cynedda took possession of the mountainous part of Wales as their Inheritance, and two counties, Meirionydd and Cardigan, as well as several other districts still are called after their names. Most of these sons are said to have been zealous in the cause of Christianity, and several of them and their descendants are recorded as Saints, of whom the most celebrated were St. David and St. Teilo, or Teilavius.

The family of Brychan, Lord of Brecknock, was very numerous, and the whole of it is recorded as having devoted itself to the ¹ same cause. That of Caw, who settled in Anglesey, about A. D. 500, was less numerous. The celebrated ² Gildas was his son.

Hence then it appears that amongst the Britons there was from A. D. 400 to A. D. 600, that is the very period stated to be that of corruption, a lively and active zeal in a continued course of exertion in favor of Christianity, and that the princes and chieftains, as well as the clergy were earnestly engaged in it.

To this good work the zeal of Germanus appears to have contributed much, and it deserves particular attention that he was a Briton, and probably of Armorica, as he was brother to Howel (from

¹ And not in Wales only, for one of his sons died in England, at Lincoln, the other Clydoc at a place where a church was afterwards dedicated to him, but now not known. He was the Clitaucus of the book of Llandaff. Three other sons of Brychan, viz. Neffel, Pascen, and Pabialis, born of a Spanish mother, went therefore to Spain as missionaries. The very name of St. Fleur, or as it is sometimes written St. Flour or St. Flur is Welsh, and points to such an origin, though Columban may have improved its rules. The same may be said of the name of St. Maur, if there ever was such a saint, but I suspect it to have been

originally no more than MAWR, that is *great*; viz. the *great monastery*, and that this epithet has shared in the honours of *St. Almanack*:

² Caradoc of Lancarvan in his life of Gildas says, that Gildas was at Armagh in Ireland, where he was engaged in study and preaching, and converted many there. *Usher Antiq.* p. 447. and 452. With these St. Patrick, Maidocus, the first bishop of Ferns, and others should be enumerated. At a later period, viz. A. D. 880. Cydifor, Abbot of Llanfeith, sent six of the learned men of his Monastery to Ireland to instruct the Irish. *Chron. Princes.*

whence he may have acquired his surname) and uncle to Emyr, princes of that country, which affords a satisfactory reason for his coming hither. With him came also his disciple, Iltutus, nephew to the same Emyr, who remained here. Nearly at the same time, Cadvan, an Armorican of a noble family, attended by several other religious persons, came also to Wales, as missionaries. Cadvan chose the Isle of Bardsey for his residence, and became Abbot of a monastery which he probably founded there. To these convertists, the celebrated¹ St. David, St. Teilavus, and St. Paternus succeeded, and founded

¹ In the fifth and sixth centuries, pilgrimages to Jerusalem were frequent, and these three Bishops performed it. In the Book of Landaff there is a passage respecting them on this occasion, which is extremely curious, not only with respect to them, but as giving perhaps the earliest notice of the invention of a clock. The passage occurs in the life of Teilo, in which after having stated that these three bishops were received and entertained with great honour, it adds that, at their departure,

Data sunt eis tria munera pretiosa, prout cuique competeat. Paterno baculus, et Choralis cappa pretiosissimo serico contexta. Eo quod illum egregium cantorem videbant. Sancto autem David, altare mirificum, nulli bene notum de quâ materia fuerit compositum. Nec ab re tale quid ei datum est, nam jucundius cæteris celebrabat. Novissimé autem beato Teilavio, non extremum tamen donorum, accessit *Cimbalum*, magis famosum quam pulchrum; quia dulci sono videtur excellere omne organum. Perjuros damnat, infirmos curat; et quod magis videtur mirabile, *singulis horis, nullo movente*, sonabat; donec peccato hominum præpediente, qui illud, pollutis manibus temeré tractabant, a tam dulci obsequio cessavit. *From the Original Ms.*

They were presented with three gifts, respectively appropriate. Paternus received a staff, and a Choral cap of the most valuable silk; because they regarded his singing as uncommonly fine. To Saint David they gave a wonderful altar made of an unknown substance; and with propriety, as he performed the service in a manner more pleasing than that of others. The last, but not the least, of the gifts was conferred on the blessed Teilo; it was a Bell, greater in fame, than in size; and in value, than in beauty. It convicts the perjured and cures the infirm; and what seems still more wonderful is, that it DID SOUND EVERY HOUR WITHOUT BEING TOUCHED, until it was prevented by the sin of men, who rashly handled it with polluted hands, and it ceased from so delightful an office.

This Bell, which sounded hourly, and without being touched, must have been a clock; and had it been merely of the Clepsydra kind, some of which did strike, it might easily have been remedied; whereas this, when once out of order, could not be remedied, and therefore it appears to have been wholly mechanical. The superiority of the miracle of its striking to those of convicting the perjured, and curing the infirm, is an entertaining proof that though

Collegial Monasteries at St. David's, Llandaff, and Llanbadarn, respectively; following in this the example of Iltutus, and probably of Germanus also. Several other monasteries were also founded about this time.

the monks could not make it go, to tell the hour, they could make it strike at pleasure. In the time of Giraldus Camb. this Bell was probably at the Church of Glascwm, in Elvein, and called *Bangu*, but he says it had belonged to St. David. Probably the staff called St. Curig's, at Gwarthronion was really that of Paternus. See *Iti. Camb. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

There is so great a similarity between the description of St. David's *Altar* and that of the *Sangreal* given by M. de Roquefort in his Glossary of the Romance language, that I am tempted to believe these and the *Santo Catino* were the same. The following is a description of the *Sangreal* taken from the Romance of Lancelot du Lac.

“The Saint Graal is the same as the “holy vessel in form of a chalice, which “was *neither of metal, nor wood, nor horn,* “and in which *the blood of our Lord* “*was put.*” Hence it appears that the substance of which it was formed was *unknown*, and the idea of its being an altar might be easily assumed from the last circumstance. M. de Roquefort has decided that the *Santo Catino*, is the same as the *Saint Graal*, which was said to have been brought to Britain by Joseph of Arimathea. He supposes it to have been brought from Jerusalem, A.D. 1101, but from the legendary reference to Joseph of Arimathea, it is more probable that it belonged to Glastonbury, and was part of the plunder of St. David's. For M. de Roquefort's statement, see the *British Biography*, No. 3. p. 221.

The *Santo Catino* was supposed to have been formed of a single emerald, but since

it has been brought to Paris it has been tried, and appears to be of glass.

The following description of a phenomenon, which preceded the *Fad Felen*, or *Yellow Plague*, which compelled Teilo to quit Landaff and go to Armorica, may be interesting to the reader.

In quâ (sciz Ecclesiâ Landavensi) non potuit diu commorari propter pestilentiam, quæ feré totam gentem deleverat. Pestis autem illa *flava* vocabatur, eo quod flavos et exangues efficiebat universos, quos persequebatur; quæ in columnâ aquosæ nubis apparebat hominibus, unum caput verrens per terram, aliud autem rursum trahens per aerem, et discurrens per totam regionem ad modum imbris discurrentis per ima convallium. Quæcunque autem animantia suo pestifero afflatu attingeret; aut illico moriebantur aut ægrotabant in inortem. *From the Original Ms.*

Teilo could not long remain there (at Landaff) because of a pestilence which destroyed almost the whole nation. It was called the YELLOW PLAGUE, because it made all whom it attacked YELLOW and PALE. It appeared as a column of water, one end of which swept the earth, the other moving through the air, and it ranged through all the country as a storm ranges through the hollows between the hills. What animals soever were touched by its pestiferous breath, either died instantly, or sickened and died of it.

This column of water, which in a subsequent passage is called a great serpent, (*Ingens vipera*) was evidently a water-spout; and I think I have somewhere else read that diseases have been rife after the appearance of a water-spout on land.

Such examples could not exist without a proportional influence, and it is probably to their success that Wales owed her perseverance in her primitive faith.

During this interval also, several monasteries were founded, and as Germanus is known to have been in Flintshire, perhaps that of Bangor was founded at his suggestion. Even the so-much reviled Maelgwn Gwynedd did at one time encourage them [by permitting Kentigern to found one near Rhuddlan.

What may have been the progress of Christianity in Loegria in the same times, it is difficult to state, though it may be presumed, that it was equally attended to, until the arrival of the Saxons. For till then the Bishops appear to have maintained their station, and even in the time of Wilfrid those of Mercia opposed him.

From these circumstances it does not seem possible that there could have been any great falling off; on the contrary, they are strongly indicative of the reverse, and the very decisive opposition to the Romish Church proves that there existed a strong and lively sense of religion through the country which persevered in it.

It still remains to present to the reader some extracts from writers of the sixth century, in order to shew that, to the close nearly of it, the Cymry held doctrines inconsistent with the errors of the Church of Rome. These will necessarily be few, but they are important.

The Poems attributed to Taliesin are distinguished from those of later times by the intermixture of Bardism with Christianity, by a familiar but incorrect use of Latin words, and in some degree also by the versification. Some of the Bardic principles (as the Metempsychosis, as far as it regarded an existence of the souls in-different states) prior to an acquaintance with Christianity are retained by him; but I do not find that they proceed farther. The pretensions to prophetic inspiration are also asserted, and a superior knowledge of the laws and powers of nature. But this Bardism does not appear to have

been connected with any species of idolatry; for had it been so, something of it would probably have intruded into Christianity. The doctrine of the Trinity, as appears from his invocations, and references to it, was certainly held by Taliesin; as also that of the mediation and atonement of Christ. No trace exists in his poems of the invocation of Saints, or of the Virgin, or of veneration of the cross. This will be evident from the following extracts.

¹ Pwy enw y Porthawr ?
Pwy y Periglawr ?
Y fab Mair Mwynfawr.

Prif. Gyfarch Taliesin.

What is the name of the door-keeper ?
Who is the intercessor ?
The great and beneficent Son of Mary.

Translation of ² The First Song of Taliesin.

God has the glorious attribute of conferring blessings ;
God is the most proper object of right reason ;
God is the just object of fervent prayer ;
For no obstacle can be successfully overcome without his aid.

Thrice was I born, and I am skilled in contemplation:
Hapless is the man who comes not to seek me,
To whose breast all the sciences crowd, as their abode ;
For I know what has been, and will be hereafter.

I thank my Creator for the prerogative he has given me,
I will welcome that which he may still grant me,
And my (CRAIR) victim, (*i. e. pledge of salvation*) is the great Son of Mary ;
on him is my dependance,
For the world is hourly sustained by him.

¹ Archaiology of Wales, vol. I, p. 32.

² Ibid. p. 76. In the two first lines for *dwr*, I read *Duw*.

God has been my instructor, and my hope ;
 He verily, who created the heavens, and has conferred my prerogative upon me.
 Just is it that his saints should pray to him continually,
 For the Almighty God will take them to himself.

In this Poem the Bardic doctrines above mentioned, are clearly expressed, but that which is most essential, is the use of the word *Crair*, (in the plural *Creiriau*) which is so applied as to prove decisively that Taliesin regarded but the ONE, whereas towards the tenth century, the word was applied to the superstitious relicks of the saints, and used in the plural. But to proceed: if there be any one time of life in which the religious ideas and hopes can be accurately ascertained, it is at that moment when temporal views are vain, and futurity alone is all that can be looked to. Such an instance presents itself in the Poem called the Confession of Taliesin, which has all the characteristics of his writing abovementioned. The following is a translation of it from the copy in the Welsh Archaology, vol. I. p. 100.

¹ Benedicite Dominus. With the aid of Jesus, the Son, ² from the beginning,
 I confess to God, who is also the sovereign Trinity,
 That I am truly a sinner against the most powerful Supreme.
 By imperfections of word, thought, intent, and conduct.
 By mis-use of my five senses in iniquity and presumption ;
 And by following the seven deadly sins without penance or fasting ;
 By neglecting rectitude of life, and the ³ seven efficacious means of Ecclesia,
 (the Church.)

Miserere mei Deus, I beseech thee, O Lord,
 Jesu, for the sake of thy five wounds, I intreat thee
 Pardon all my errors before I go to the place of my rest,
 When death with cold pangs and trembling shall seize my heart ;

¹ In Mr. Panton's copy, these words have very learnedly been corrected, by changing them into *Benedicte Domine*; but very injudiciously. The Latin of Taliesin is not grammatical.

² Literally *Jesus the Alpha*. So also in the Awdyl Fraith, verse 14. *Christ the Alpha*, W. Arch. vol. I. p. 93.

³ This enumeration is of great antiquity, at least as old as the fourth century.

For then I shall not be able to suffer penance, or give (*in Charity*)
 But shall be motionless, dumb, and deaf, and blind, and insensible:
 I shall leave my ¹ assemblies, my treasure, and my beloved;
 My works will follow me, and my enemy accuse me.
 For who is powerful there, but the Lord of all?
 When I approach the burial place I shall quit the present state,
 And no more feel the affection for all I have seen and loved.
 My bed will be made in gravel, my hands will be bound up,
 A pillow of stone will be laid under my head, and a covering of wood inclose me.
 My relations will leave me there as food for vermin,
 And take possession of my worldly goods, and cover me with the green turf.
 Therefore I supplicate thee, O Lord, for the sake of thy five wounds;
 Therefore O God of glory, before I go from hence,
 Supreme Sovereign of sovereignty, grant me I beseech thee thy mercy.

In this confession, we have no reference to a mortal confessor, no address to Saints, or to the Virgin, no invocation of them, or the Cross, nothing that bears the slightest intimation of the vain and adscititious use of any relicks or image. It is a simple and pious confession to God alone, consistent with the doctrines of the purest ages of the Church. Is it then possible that the British Church could be so corrupt in his time, when the greatest Bardic instructor of the age, and one whose authority was revered even by his sovereign, wrote such a confession. I acknowledge I cannot believe it. That much of Bardism may have remained, I grant, but it is grossly inaccurate to consider, that as *corruption*, which had never been suppressed, and only lessened by the prevalence of Christianity, till at last it disappeared wholly. As to their doctrine of the Metempsychosis, it was countenanced by Origen, and no man can *prove* it false or true, farther than that, as to a future state, it does not appear to be reconcilable with Scripture;

* *The assemblies of the Bards.* By his *treasure* I presume he means his *learning*, *dignity* and *reputation*. These regrets in the Poet are too natural not to excite sympathy and interest.

and their mythological initiations and rites may have had no more influence on Christianity than those of Free-Masonry, which very possibly owe their origin to them, have at present.

Druidical knowledge appears to have been their classical learning, and they evidently prided themselves in it, and used it as the scholars of the present day do the scientific and mythological treasures of the Greeks; and therefore though they might be attached to the language of mythology, as characteristic of superior knowledge, it does not follow that their Christianity was corrupted by it. Some of the rites may have even been consistent with it, or altered so as to be so; particularly the initiative ones in memory of Noah, and retained so as harmless ceremonies, when the superstition itself had lost its power. Not that I mean to say that this was lost without a struggle; for in the time of Vortigern it appears to have been applied to by him, and to have been one cause of his fall; and in that of Arthur to have been at first the means of his elevation, and afterwards when he was obliged to suppress it, to have exerted all its arts, though finally in vain, to oppose him. After his time the power of Druidism was extinct, but its science was not lost, and it may have been studied without any very prejudicial consequences.

At least it does not appear to have had any evil influence on Taliesin, or that I can perceive, with his successors; unless Myrddin Wyllt be an exception, who, if the¹ Poem be his, expresses in strong terms his indignation at a supercilious monk, who wore a Roman *toga*, to be such as that he would not receive the Sacrament from his hands. The author of a late publication on the Mythological rites of the Druids has made it probable, that Myrddin and his followers were per-

¹ The dialogue between Merddyn and his Sister, *W. Arch.* vol. I. p. 143. In which he says, *I will not receive the communion from a supercilious TOGED Monk, God himself will administer it to me.*

secuted, and probably also they were so at the instigation of the Monk. This to be sure is one way of converting, but it is most abominably unchristianlike, and unwarranted. It was a worse error than Druidism itself. But in this age, this diabolical spirit of persecution was the disgrace and bane of the church. From the reference to the Toga it should seem that a Romish Monk, perhaps Palladius, was intended; and the passage may therefore be pointed at him, but if so it shews the sentiments of the Bards as to the Romish Monks.

But if the Druids and Bards resisted even Christianity, when propagated by force, how far were they to blame? or rather which party was most so? undoubtedly the Christians. They had no permission, and much less command to do so, and it prevented even the will to hear, by creating an antipathy. And here I cannot but notice this strange question of the Author above-mentioned. He asks, "could a people, who had profited so little by the light of the gospel, complain of the act of Providence in depriving them of their dominion and their country." It is indeed previously said, that *the Bards were determined bigots to their superstition*. But even so, there is a severity in the question, that makes one sorry for it. Bigotry itself may be, and often is, an error of ignorance; and he only who knows the heart can decide how far the error is, or is not that of wilfully resisting conviction. Were the Monks of Bangor determined Bigots to superstition? Yet they were slaughtered in cold blood. May it not equally be asked, and an infidel might perhaps think himself justified in asking, could the same people complain of this? When the motives of the Almighty in any particular instance of his government of human affairs are not specially revealed, it is dangerous for man to assign them. It is well for man that his fellow creature is not finally his judge, and that he can look to one whose ways, though often inscrutable in the human state, will eventually be found perfect in mercy, as well as in judgement.

I acknowledge that it does not appear to me, that uncivilised nations have ever been forward to persecute Christianity in the first ages, or even in others, till they found attached to it a political system aiming at government. If Ireland and Wales had no Martyrs, the Christians could not have been persecuted.

To return to the subject. That there was an intimacy subsisting between the Churches of Britain and Gaul, as early as the beginning of the fourth century, appears from the presence of three British bishops in the Council of Arles, viz. ¹ Eborius of York, ² Restitutus of London, and ³ Adelfius of Caerleon; from the adoption of the rule of the Gallican Church as to the observation of Easter; and also as the Church of Lyons and those connected with it followed the doctrines of Irenæus, who received them from Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, so the British Church referred their doctrines decisively to the same Apostle.

The Britons also who emigrated to and settled in Brittany, it may be presumed, formed their own church there; the emigration of many of the bishops and clergy in the middle of the seventh century, to avoid a plague then raging in Britain, certainly did establish the Bishoprick of Dole, and probably others according to their own principles. The unity of Communion between the Churches also of Gaul and Ireland, is proved by the circumstance of Columban's having settled several monasteries in Gaul. His rule was observed at St. Fleur, Corbey, St. Maur, and a monastery of Lorraine (in Valle Galileâ.) When the rule of St. Benedict was introduced, the Monks refused to give up that of St. Columban, and the two rules were therefore so combined,

¹ Probably *Ivor*. One of this name is recorded as a Saint of the third century. *Camb. Biog.*

² In Welsh Rhystyd; but the name is Latin, and he may have been of Roman origin.

³ Of this name I know nothing, neither does it seem probable he should have been Bishop of Colchester. Stillingfleet has satisfactorily referred the name of his See to Carleon. *Ant. Brit.* p. 76.

that the monasteries were said to be conjointly under the rules of Benedict and Columban. The object of Columban was probably the conversion of the Franks, who at that time had over-run Gaul.

To these connections some peculiarities of the Gallican Church may reasonably be referred. 1. It resisted the use of Images in churches, or as objects of veneration, long after it had been adopted by Rome: 2d. It resisted appeals to Rome, as late as the ninth century. 3d. In Gaul, Johannes Scotus, Ratramnus, and Berenger, opposed the doctrine of the real presence at its rise. And lastly it asserted and regained some share of its antient independance on Rome.

In France, as in other countries, Rome was careful to profit by the labours of others; and, where there were Christian Churches, to claim a power over them; though to the credit of Pope Gregory the Great, when Augustine had artfully suggested the extension of his authority, the Pope in his answer neither claims nor insinuates that he has authority over any, but the Bishop of Arles; and as he does both assert the authority of a superior over this bishop, and direct injunctions accordingly to him; this circumstance proves decisively, that the other bishops of Gaul were, at that time, perfectly independant of Rome; and it may be hoped they will once more be, and will remain so. Even Augustine himself tacitly admits, that Rome had not exercised, or claimed authority over any bishop of Gaul, but that of Arles, and the fact is decisively established by a circumstance relative to himself. He was obliged to *return* as far as *Arles* to be consecrated Archbishop of Britain. Had any other bishop or archbishop of Gaul been strictly of the same communion, or subject to Rome, he need not have returned so far.

In the British Church the mission of Augustine to England may be considered as a new *Æra*. Hitherto it does not appear to have suffered from persecution, but to have made a constant progress; it was now to feel a severe reverse from a subtle and ambitious foe, and to

prove its constancy under difficulties and distresses; which arose, not from the opposition of the heathens, but from those who called themselves Christians.

The firm and happy resistance made by Dinotus, the celebrated Abbot of Bangor, and the British bishops, to the arrogant pretensions of Augustine, have, as to the simple fact, and a few concomitant circumstances, been too frequently noticed from the time of Bede to the present, to require repetition. The grounds of that fact however, have been in general so feebly stated, and so much overlooked, that justice to the British Church demands a more ample representation of them. The charge of pride against the British clergy has been repeated from age to age, though it might be retorted with advantage; and even according to Bede, must in fairness and truth be laid to Augustine on the occasion; neither, if it were the truth, could it be the whole truth. There is a virtuous pride of just dignity and principle, as well as a pride which has nothing to do with either; and the former was theirs. As to their consultation with the Hermit, the same may be said of it; what is told may be true. He may have suggested the criterion of Christian humility, which proved the fatal touchstone of the temper of Augustine. But, valuable as this was, did he suggest nothing more? Did the length of his experience, the gravity of his years, the highly estimated learning and profound sagacity, which a Synod of Bishops thought it expedient to consult, terminate in one suggestion, which at best has more of subtlety than real wisdom? This is not very probable. Bede's account of the transaction, though not the most full, is still very amusing. Augustine declares his pretensions, but the bishops do not acquiesce; he therefore with great condescension works a miracle before them, but notwithstanding this, the hard-headed and hard-hearted bishops remain unconvinced and unaffected. This certainly was very provoking! And he was provoked, if not as a Christian, as a Roman, and was the cause of the martyrdom, if not of them all, of their brethren.

The only record of what passed at their conference, I know of, besides what is mentioned by Bede and Nennius, and their followers, is the report of ¹ the speech of Dinodus, given by Spelman from an antient Ms. in the Mostyn Library.

The mild benevolence and dignified firmness of this speech, imperfect as it evidently is, are perfectly characteristic, and agreeable to what is even acknowledged by the adversaries of Dinodus. It is so meek in the expression, of that independance, which it maintains, without the most remote idea or symptom of concession, as to be gratifying to every liberal feeling. He leaves the inference evident and decisive; but, he leaves it to the opponent to draw it from the words, beautiful for their simplicity of expression, and force of intent; *We are subject to the Bishop of Carleon, and he is our superintendant.* He acknowledged therefore no other supreme head on earth; and when the delicacy of declining would not satisfy, the inflexibility of its purpose was proved by a resistance continued to the time of the Reformation, as far as it was possible.

Besides this arrogant and iniquitous demand of submission to the power of the Roman See; there were also other motives which impeded their agreement, and which are not alluded to by Dinodus in this address, which seems to have been delivered at the first conference. Some of these may have formed a part of the original address, and may have been forgotten, or lost with the remainder. But neither does Bede go farther than to acknowledge, that there were three points on which they differed, viz. the time of observing Easter; the form of Baptism,

¹ The Welsh text of this speech, and the English translation are already given in the Chronicle, page 177. I do not know whether the copy in the British Museum, was ever in the Mostyn Library or not. It may however be the same; but, as I think not, I have said that I had not seen

the original. On the other side of the leaf is the translation of a passage from Giraldus Camb. relative to the See of St. David's, and I am therefore inclined to believe, that the speech of Dinodus is also a translation from some work of Giraldus.

and the joining with those of the Romish church in preaching to the Saxons. The last of these depended on the other two as a consequence, and of course was not an original subject of difference; neither does it properly enter into the question. If the British bishops did not agree in doctrine, they could not join in propagating what they thought erroneous. There were also other differences of ¹ *ceremonies, rites, and customs*, which Augustine promises to suffer, though not according to those of his church.

As to the first point, ² the Britons observed Easter according to the reformed Calendar of Sulpicius Severus, the Romish Church according to that of Dionysius Exiguus. The necessity for these corrections had arisen from the inaccuracy of the old Roman Lunar Cycle of 84 years, which was nearly two days short of the truth. Sulpicius therefore by adding the two days to the end of the Cycle, which happened in his time, subtracted two from the computed age of the subsequent moon, and that day therefore, which according to the former computation, would have been the *sixteenth*, was thenceforth called the *fourteenth*, and Easter observed according to it, as the Sunday after the full moon happened, from the *fourteenth* to the *twenty-second* of March. This rule the British church retained, and hence those who were of its communion were called *Quartadecimani*.

The Church of Rome which had originally used the old Cycle of 84 years, as Usher has fully proved, afterwards, in the sixth century, adopted the Cycle of Dionysius, better known by the name of the Alexandrine Cycle, and according to it observed Easter from the *fifteenth* to the *twenty-first day* of the moon. The accuracy of the Cycle is the

¹ Bede Hist. Ec. lib. 2. c. 2.

² The substance of this account of the time of Easter is taken from Abp. Usher's Antiq. Ec. ch. 17. Previous to the time of Sulpicius, it is probable that, the Gallican

and British Churches followed the rule of Polycarp, and observed it on the fourteenth day of the moon of March, on whatever day of the week it fell, which was the general custom of the Asiatic churches.

enquiry of the astronomer, and as it is undoubtedly desirable and proper that this festival of the church should be observed at its regular time; so the anxiety respecting it has also been of essential service to Chronology. Augustine must probably have known that the Dionysian reformation of the Calendar was not of long date, though ¹ Wilfrid, about a century after, in his disputation with Colman, asserted that the observation of Easter from the 15th to the 21st, was by tradition derived from *St. Peter* himself.

This being the state of the question as to Easter, and the subject resting on a scientific calculation, it could not be expected that the British bishops should at once yield to the mere voice of a foreign authority on so important a point, when their own custom was derived from that of the Gallican Church in the person of Sulpicius. Had it been proposed in a different manner, the event would most probably have proved otherwise; for that such was the custom of the churches of North Britain is evident from Bede's account of the controversy. But in Wales the custom of observing Easter according to the rule of Polycarp continued much longer, as appears from the following passage of the ² *Annales Menevenses*. "Pascha commutata apud Britones super diem Domini-
" cam, emendante Elbodo." *Easterday was changed to Sunday by the correction of Elfod.* This was in ³ A. D. 755, and was probably no more than conforming to the rule of Sulpicius, as a second correction, I presume that of Dionysius, took place in Wales some time after.

As to the second point. The *ceremony of baptism*, says Dupin, (speaking of the discipline of the fourth century) was administered at Easter and Whitsuntide with *abundance of ceremonies*. One of these was the *chrism*, or *anointing with oil*, introduced by Pope Sylvester Ist.

¹ Bede Hist. Ec. lib. 3. c. 25.

² No. 836. Mss. Har. Brit. Museum.

³ Brut of the Princes. W. Arch. vol. 11. p. 473. The adoption of it did nevertheless create great disturbances and tumults, possibly on a supposition that it was a dereliction of the old rule of the church, and symptomatic of a defection towards

Rome. Elfod also had something ambitious in his disposition, for he endeavoured to make the Sees of St. David's and Llandaff subject to Bangor, but it was resisted on the plea, that those Sees were of older privilege and independent in their jurisdiction.

according to Caranza. The British church probably retained the primitive form, and the innovations of the Church of Rome were in this respect a conscientious ground of dissent, and a very just one. It is also worthy of notice, that this is I believe the only occasion, on which this point is introduced as a ground of difference.

Of the lesser differences referred to by Augustine, that of the Tonsure was, in the succeeding age, held to be the most considerable. The custom itself of polling or shaving the heads was, in those times, necessary for the sake of cleanliness to those, who led a monastic life, and the whim of some enthusiast having caught at the idea of a resemblance in the circle of hair left, when the crown of the head was bared, to the Crown of thorns, this mode of tonsure was quickly adopted, and in an age of religious insanity, when every childish allusion of the kind became the basis of a religious rite, it shared the common success of such silly conceits. At length the particular mode of tonsure became the badge of adherence to the church of Rome, and hence the question acquired that importance which we find attributed to it. The British clergy it appears, shaved or polled the whole head except a small portion of hair, which they left over the forehead. The subject is too trifling in itself to waste a thought upon it; but, as it was the cause of so much absurd discussion, it required to be noticed, in order to shew that the British clergy differed, even in this respect, from the Roman; that they do not appear to have annexed any superstitious ideas to their mode; and that they retained it, as not conforming to the Church of Rome.

As the three points urged by Augustine were the only points of difference held by him to be essential; and it cannot be doubted, but that he was well informed on the subject, it follows incontrovertibly, that, as to the essential principles of Christianity, he and his successors had nothing to object; and this is a splendid and glorious testimony of the facts, (and they are facts extremely inconsistent with a previous corruption) that the British church was at this time uncontaminated

by Heresy, and was independant of the church of Rome. The extent of the enquiry then, as to the former, is thus narrowed into the enquiry as to errors of the church of Rome, which the British church did not fall into; and this, with God's help, I will endeavour to ascertain, as far as may be necessary, as I proceed.

The refusal of the British bishops to unite with those of Rome was, as it might well have been expected, followed by an inextinguishable animosity on the part of the latter, which immediately declared itself in the threats of Augustine; threats horribly accomplished by the massacre of the Monks of Bangor soon afterwards. Bede says, that Augustine was dead when this happened; but, whether or not, the massacre may justly be attributed to his suggestions. This event made coalition impossible, and if it be permitted to consider the permission of it as providential with regard to effects at a later, and then distant period, it conduced to preserve the Constitution of England, and to the success of the Reformation.

The antient British church thus divided from Rome, maintained itself for some time in Scotland, and I believe much longer than it is generally thought to have done. In Ireland it continued to the reign of Henry II. and in Wales protected by those mountains, which preserved the spirit of independance unsubdued till the country was united with England under a Tudor, it was kept alive and cherished, and at once coalesced with the Reformation.

Greatly as the British church had been afflicted by the loss of so many pious men at Bangor, those who survived the massacre were not the less zealous; and it may well be supposed that their zeal became the more active and determined.

That they did not confine it to Wales is proved by the resistance which Wilfrid met with from the Mercian, and other Bishops of England. It may however be objected, that Bede has given the credit of the conversion of the Mercians to the clergy of the Scottish church,

in such a manner as apparently excludes those of Wales from any share of the labour. It is true he does so. The reason of this is evident from what he says concerning Osrich and Eanfride, the sons of Edwin, both of whom forsook the Church of Rome after their father's death. " ¹ Wherefore the historiographers and writers of that time have " thought it best, that *the memorie* of those apostate kings being " *utterly forgotten*, the self-same year should be assigned to the reign " of the king that followed next." And again he says on the same subject, " ² " It was agreed upon by one accord of *all writers* that *the* " *name* of those that forsoke Christ, his fayth *shuld be utterly rased out* " of the rolle of Christian kinges, *neither any yere of their raigne registred.*"

Here then we find it to be an *acknowledged principle*, that in cases deemed to come under this description, *history* was to be *defalcated* and even *falsified*; and it cannot be doubted but that, as the Welsh clergy, after the conference with Augustine, kept aloof from the Romish church, they and their church were *so* considered. Whereas the greater part of the bishops of North Britain were induced to join them, and they being originally of Scottish, that is Irish descent, the same policy *e converso* required that every possible compliment should be paid to the Scottish church. With what a jealous attention should such historiographers be read? And is it not reasonable and just to believe that though such men may have wished to blot out their memory, and in a great degree have done so, a few of the Scottish church alone could not have been the sole instruments, but that their brethren of Wales should also have concurred in the same pious labour! Happily some proof of it exists, and it has already been laid before the reader.

From this time the remainder of the history of the British church down almost to the time of the Reformation, is the history of continual

¹ Bede Hist. Ec. lib. 3, ch. 1. Stapylton's Translation. ² Ibid. ch. 9.

inroads made upon it by the Romish clergy as far as the power of the English monarchs could support them; and that they could go no farther than as they were thus supported, proves the persevering adherence of the Welsh to their antient church. To extirpate it was the great object of their adversaries, because it was a *permanent exception* to the *supremacy* of Rome, as well as hostile to its peculiar doctrines; and there can be little doubt but that the wars against Wales were promoted by them for these reasons. It would not be consistent with the present purpose, to trace the regular progress of these usurpations, and it must therefore suffice to note the instances in which they were the most prominent, together with some of their consequences.

The massacre of Bangor having been represented as judicial infliction of divine wrath, accomplishing a prophecy of Augustine, the necessity of it being known, in order to give him credit for a prophetic character, has probably been the cause of its being rescued by Bede from oblivion; though as Mr. Warrington has very justly observed of the subsequent defeat of Edefrid who perpetrated it; ¹ "There was something singular in the fortunate event of that day as an act of retaliative justice, and as it severely punished, *in the sight of Bangor*, the recent desolation of its monastery." This remark is the more impressive as Dinotus himself was a spectator of the victory. But the massacre of Bangor was in reality only *the beginning* of the persecution. From that time forward, through the same malignant and ever active policy, the fury of those who made inroads into Wales, whether Saxons or Danes, was aimed in the most pointed manner at, and fell with its most savage effect upon, the churches and ecclesiastics. Whether they entered the country as foes in general to it, or as adscititious aid to a party of the natives, every occasion was marked by this species of ravage and persecution, as the following extract from the Welsh Chronicles, published in the Archæology of Wales, will fully and lamentably evince.

- ¹A.D.720. The Saxons destroyed the churches of Llandaff, Monmouth, and Llanbadarn ; and killed Aidan, bishop of Llandaff. B. T.
754. They killed Cynfelach, bishop of Glanmorgan. B. T.
860. They broke down all the Churches and Monasteries in Gwent, Glanmorgan, Demetia, and Cardigan. B. I.
864. The Ecclestics were partly destroyed, and partly expelled. B. S.
893. The Danes destroyed Llan-Illyd fawr, Cynffig, and Llan-carvan.
904. St. David's was ravaged. B. T.
944. The bishop of St. David's was killed by the Saxons. B. I.
961. Rhodri ap Morgan, being made bishop of Llandaff contrary to the Pope's will, was poisoned. B. T.
978. The Saxons ravaged the churches in Lleyrn and Clebynog-fawr. B. T.
980. St. David's was ravaged by the Danes, B. T.
986. The Danes ravaged Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset, and landed in Gwyr, and destroyed the monastery of Cennydd, and other churches. B. T.
987. The fraternities (or as the Chronicle terms them *families*) of Llanbadarn, St. David's, Llan Illyd, Llan Garmon, Llan Rhystyd and Llan Dydock, were destroyed by the Danes and Saxons. B. T.
991. St. David's destroyed a third time. B. S.
996. St. David's was burned and the bishop killed. B. T.
1011. St. David's was ravaged. B. S.

¹ In this extract, the letters B. S. denote *Brut y Saeson*. B. T. *Brut y Twyso-* gion, and B. I. *Brut Iewan Brechfa*.

- A.D. 1021. St. David's was plundered, and Demetia ravaged, by the Danes.
1071. St. David's and Bangor were ravaged. B. I.
1079. St. David's was ravaged. B. T.
1087. The shrine and treasures of St. David were stolen by *persons unknown*. B. T.
1088. The church was again plundered, and the town burned.
1106. Walter, Bishop of Gloucester, with his followers, destroyed the Churches at Llandewi Brefi, and others. B. I.
1156. St. Mary's and St. Peter's Churches in Anglesey, were laid in ruins by the Saxons, which they were directed to do by *a divine revelation*. B. S.

Such is the horrible detail of a continued persecution for four hundred years, in order to establish Popery in Wales. The bishops and clergy were butchered, or driven into exile; and their churches and monasteries plundered and destroyed; and still, with a just satisfaction it may be said, it was not able completely to effect its object in its own way. It did unhappily reduce the natives of the country almost to a savage state; because that man without religion becomes savage. It destroyed their own religious instructors; but they retained an abhorrence for those who were the cause of their destruction. Perhaps no country of equal extent has suffered more, if so much, in defence of pure Christianity; but she has seen an ample Christian retribution contributing blessings, by means of her children, to those who had persecuted them. Tyndal translated the Bible, and the Tudor's established the Reformation.

Intrusions into the churches of Wales began early.

- A.D. 872. On the death of Einion, bishop of St. David's, Hubert, a Saxon was intruded.
1089. Joseph, bishop of the same See was deposed by William Ist. and Wilfrid intruded.

A.D. 1112. On the death of Griffri there, Bernard was intruded, and the See lost its privileges.

The first church, at least of any note, of which the Romish clergy gained possession, in what was then Wales, was that of Llandaff, which they did in the eleventh century, and it appears from the book of this church, that they began immediately to seek out authorities for claiming endowments in the writings of their predecessors, and produced some said to be Teilo's; but whether these were so, may well be doubted. Their next step was to commute penances for grants of land; and in some cases, probably where they feared resistance, if a chieftain was subjected to ecclesiastical censure, he was mulcted of his land, and *banished*. By such means in the next century, almost the whole county of Glanmorgan became the property of the church of Llandaff. To give this church the credit of sanctity, the remains of Dubricius and others were brought thither from the Isle of Bardsey, where till then they had remained undisturbed.

Until the time of Henry II. the See of St. David's had, notwithstanding the intrusion of Barnard into it by Henry I. maintained its metropolitan jurisdiction over the Churches of Wales. In order to overthrow this, the monastery of Ewenny seems to have been built as an advanced post, and the remains of this structure at present shew it to have been a post of danger. The building still exists, though much injured, and is of the regular castellated form, flanked with towers, and the entrance guarded by a portcullis. But to give some colour to the pretensions of Canterbury Baldwin, the Archbishop, undertook his peregrination through Wales. The pretext was a levy for the crusade, but the real purpose was, that by celebrating the divine service in the episcopal churches of Wales, he might assume a power over them. The Welsh clergy remonstrated strongly against his being permitted to come into Wales, but the princes, with the exception of the spirited and sagacious Owen Cyfeiliog, were, by some means or other, induced to

permit it. Baldwin however was not without fear of the punishment due to his iniquity. Though there was an easy and a shorter road to Abergavenny from Coed Grono, he took the longer and more difficult; and there can be little doubt but that it was to avoid danger. At St. David's, Giraldus affirms that he said mass, and departed before day, evidently from a similar just apprehension. At Bangor he both officiated, and afterwards carried off the Bishop *by force*, and having returned to Chester, there excommunicated Owen Cyfeiliog. Such was this usurper's infamous progress through Wales.

It must be said, so far to the credit of Giraldus, that, though he attended Baldwin in this progress, he was so zealous for the rights of the See of St. David's as to maintain, in a tract on the subject, that it was independent of the jurisdiction of Canterbury. And it is rather singular that, though he was aware, and has recorded, that from the time of Sampson to that of Wilfrid, the first of the intruded bishops, the former bishops had been consecrated without a pall; he should not have perceived that, if Sampson himself had been consecrated by a pall; his successors would not have been deficient in obtaining one; and that he ought to have concluded, that the pall was an innovation at Dole, and never known at St. David's before the time of Wilfrid; and consequently that the churches of Wales had been always independent, not only of Canterbury, but of the Popes. But Giraldus depended for the history of Wales on books published by the Romish clergy, or by their permission; he was also in fact bigotted to the Romish religion, and though an honest, firm, and active character, zealous for what he thought right, desirous of information, and well read in the learning of his time; his mind was little more than a common place book, well stored with what he could collect; but he was not nice in the choice, neither did he make much advantage of it by any original thoughts of his own. Penetration

into political motives¹ did not certainly belong to him, or he would have seen through Baldwin's, and it is probably to the want of it that we owe much of the information he has left.

² Though Barnard and two more had been nominated to the See of St. David's, and consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, none of them had ventured to appear in Wales before Baldwin had been there, nor probably did any for some time after. It was therefore partly also with a view to facilitate their residence, that Baldwin made his hazardous attempt; and the apprehension that, if Giraldus were bishop, it would increase the danger to an English successor, that prevented his being so.

After this time, bishops for St. Asaph and Bangor were consecrated by the Archbishops of Canterbury, but I much doubt whether any one of³ them ever was able to reside on his See to the time of Henry VII. so great was the antipathy of the Welsh.

The Romish monasteries were somewhat more successful; and the great ones at Ystrad Flur, or Stratflur, Valle Crucis, Basingwerke, and many others, were established in the twelfth century; but mostly, if not always, where they could be immediately within reach of the protection of the English, and favored by English connections of the Princes.

¹ This is to me a convincing proof, that the tract *on the mode of subduing Wales* was not his; and it is evident from his explanation of an elegant intimation, given by Owen Cyfeilioe to Henry II. of a knowledge of his policy. The substance of the anecdote is this. Owen and Henry dining together at Shrewsbury, Owen placed his bread at a small distance, and having cut it into small pieces, ate them up one by one. Henry saw that Owen alluded to him, asked Owen why he did so, to

which he answered, I am following your Majesty's example. This says Giraldus meant that Henry's avarice induced him to keep the Sees long vacant, whereas its plain meaning was, that Henry followed the maxim *divide and conquer*. Itin. Camb. lib. 2. cap. 12.

² Ibid. lib. 2. ch. 1:

³ John Trevor, who was Bishop of St. Asaph, in the time of Owen Glendower, and built the bridge of Llangollen, may be an exception.

It cannot indeed reasonably be imagined, that the Welsh remained tranquil spectators of the ruin of their own churches and monasteries, and the usurpations of those of the Romish church, or that they would desist wholly from retaliation in kind when it might be in their power; and though Christianity will not encourage it even against those who instigate a persecution for religion; in simple justice it could not be blamed. The instances are however very few, but they shew that the abhorrence of the Romish church was lasting.

A. D. 959. Owen, a Son of Howel Dda, ravaged the monasteries of Llan Illtyd and Nantcarfan, because he found English monks there.

1107. Owen ap Cadwgan killed a bishop, and perhaps some of his followers.

1175. ¹ "The clergy of St. Asaph complained against Godfrey their bishop, for non-residence, and he resigned;" probably because of the danger; and at a later period still, Owen Glendower destroyed the Cathedrals of Bangor and St. Asaph. They were not rebuilt till the reign of Henry VII.

In the time of Giraldus, Cardiganshire and consequently the greater part of North Wales was included in his appellation of *Heretica regio*, the *Heretical district*, and even in the remonstrance of Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, to the Archbishop of Canterbury; he addresses him as Primate of *England*, which necessarily excludes Wales, and the Archbishop declines a direct answer, in lieu whereof he writes what is to be *intimated* only to the Prince of Wales.

From all these circumstances then it is manifest that the Welsh resisted the intrusions and usurpations of the Romish church, as long as and wherever it was possible, notwithstanding the power of England

¹ Henry's Hist. of England.

and the connections frequently subsisting by marriages between the Welsh and English Princes, which were perhaps more to have been feared in this respect.

It now remains to state, as far as the slender resources will permit, some particulars respecting the antient British church, and how far she preserved herself free from the errors of Rome, and as in so doing, I must avail myself of what may be derived from the accounts given by Giraldus and others of the antient church of Ireland. It is necessary for this purpose to make some observations on Jocelyn's Life of St. Patrick, to which, as well as the spurious Gildas, Usher has most unfortunately given an implicit, and I am sorry to say, a blind confidence. I have, in a preceding dissertation, I hope, proved fully, that the writings, now known under the name of Gildas, are a forgery, and I now hope to prove the same as to this Life of St. Patrick.

When Henry the II^d. had first determined on the conquest of Ireland, he adopted the efficient policy to engage his subjects by making it a religious war. He obtained a ¹ Bull from Pope Adrian, conferring Ireland on him as a grant of the Pope; enjoining him to plant the Romish religion there, and exacting the tribute of Peter-pence from that country when conquered. Henry did not put his plan seriously in execution till after the death of Becket, and his doing so then appears to have been intended to pacify the Pope. This might fairly be presumed from the ardour and effect with which he established the power of Rome there; and it is confirmed by Giraldus, who says that Henry sent his son John ² "not to the East, but to the West; not against the Saracens, but against Christians." It was then literally a *Crusade* against Ireland, as a country, whose christianity was considered as an

¹ This Bull, with the translation of it, is given in my *Review of the Policy and peculiar Doctrines of the Modern Church of Rome*.

² Hunc filium suum, non in Orientem sed in Occidentem; non in Saracenos sed in Christianos — transmisit. Hib. Exp. ch. 35.

Heresy as bad as Infidelity. Giraldus accompanied John on this expedition, A. D. 1185 to Ireland, (where it should seem he had previously been) and ¹ brought back with him materials for the Tracts on Ireland, which he says it took him five years to write. The first edition of these was dedicated to Henry II. and consequently published before the end of the year 1189, in which Henry died. Giraldus has been charged with destroying Irish Mss. but it is probable that, as he acknowledges his having brought over materials for his Tracts with him, and still more so from his having recorded several things not very favorable to the later views of Rome, that he only brought to Britain such as he wanted, and that they may since have been lost. Giraldus then must have made his collections before A. D. 1186. This point it is necessary to determine with respect to what follows.

Jocelyn wrote the Life of St. Patrick at the instance of Thomas, Bishop of Armagh, and Malachy, Bishop of Down; and, as Usher says, ² had published it before A. D. 1185; he thinks ³ in A. D. 1183. It may possibly have been begun and communicated to those bishops about that time, but I much question whether it was published before 1190, as it will presently appear that Giraldus could not have known any thing of it. I am on the contrary inclined to believe, that it was not written till after the works of Giraldus were well known.

It is very evident, from what Jocelyn has written, that Giraldus had been most laudably diligent in acquiring information on every subject respecting Ireland, and studying its history, and not less so in recording the result; probably all he could learn, and that fairly, as he collected it, without vouching further for it, as to what might appear extraordinary. Having said thus much, I will now state, several circumstances affirmed by Giraldus, as to the Church of Ireland, and then compare them with Jocelyn's statements, and those of others of his church.

¹ Ibid. ch. 31.

² Antiq. Ecc. p. 461.

³ Ib. p. 425.

Giraldus.

Jocelyn.

¹ The Norwegians under Turgesius, ravaged the country and destroyed almost all the churches.

² Our English people insist that Gurmund conquered Ireland; but *the Irish, and their written histories*, though they say much of Turgesius, are *perfectly ignorant* of Gurmund. Some suppose they were the same person under different names, but the difference of their deaths makes this *impossible*. It is therefore *more true, and more probable*, that *whilst Gurmund reigned* in Britain, he sent Turgesius to attack Ireland. The Irish have recorded his name only from whom it suffered so many evils. Either therefore he *never was* in Ireland, or made but a *short stay there*.

³ According to *the most antient histories* Casara, the grand-daughter of Noah, &c.

⁴ St. Patrick, a native of Britain, went to that Island, viz. in the time of Laeger, the son of Neil the Great. He made Armagh his See to be *as it were* a Metropolitan residence.

⁵ But there were *no Archbishops* in Ireland, but Bishops only, who in turns consecrated each other until the arrival of John Papyrio, the Pope's legate, *a few years ago*, who brought four Palls to Ireland, one of which he placed at Armagh.

⁶ The whole number of the books or treatises concerning the wonderous acts of St. Patrick, is said to have been sixty-six; the greatest part whereof *perished by fire*, during the reigns of *Gurmund and Turgesius*. Four however, concerning his virtues and miracles, are found, written partly in Latin, and partly in Irish.

⁷ St. Patrick was consecrated Bishop by Pope Celestine.

⁸ St. Patrick established his *Archiepiscopal chair* in the same City (*Armagh*) and determined that it should be the metropolitan and chief See of Primacy.

⁹ Benignus succeeded him in the *Pontificate* and *Primacy*.

¹ Top. Hib. lib. 3, ch. 37.

² Ibid. ch. 38.

³ Ibid. ch. 39.

⁴ Ibid. ch. 16. If any inference may be drawn from the name of the Church said to be founded by St. Patrick in the island of Lough Derg, where his purgatory is, it would be that he was a Welshman. The name of this Church according to Ware

is *Regles*, which is merely a corruption of the Welsh *Yr eglwys*, or as it is often pronounced *R'eglwys*, that is *The Church*.

⁵ Ibid. cap. 17.

⁶ Usher Ant. Ecr. p. 425.

⁷ Ib. 437.

⁸ Ib. p. 446, 448, &c.

Ib. 455.

Here it may be observed, 1st. If there were any truth in what Jocelyn says of the destruction of the Mss. it is most probable that Giraldus would have mentioned it. Whereas Giraldus quotes the old histories and even some legends (if they are not interpolations) without the least reference to any loss of Mss. It is impossible not to be struck with the similarity of this plea in Jocelyn and the spurious Gildas. Each laments the *loss of Mss.* by the ravages of enemies, and for the same good purpose, viz. to have the more liberty to write what he pleased, and there can be little doubt but that many were destroyed for this purpose. He also assumes, that Gurmund was in Ireland, which Giraldus declares *was not to be found in the Irish histories.* 2d. Giraldus knew that St. Patrick went over from Wales, and says nothing of St. Patrick's having been at Rome, which he certainly, from his attachment to Rome, would have done, had he known it. Neither does Pope Adrian in his Bull notice it. But in the time when Jocelyn wrote, the precedent of Armagh had become necessary, and I do not think it going too far to consider it as then invented, and afterward interpolated into other authors, or that it will appear so after what I have yet to notice.

3d. Giraldus expressly asserts, that Ireland had had no Archbishops until Papyrio brought the four Palls for the four Sees, which were then for the first time Archiepiscopal; and yet Jocelyn makes St. Patrick and his successor both Archbishops and Primates. But to proceed:

Giraldus.

¹ All the Saints of that country (viz. Ireland) are confessors, and there is no Martyr amongst them, a circumstance not easily found in any other country, and it is amazing that there has not been one who cemented the foundation of the church with his blood.

Jocelyn.

² In those days the Saints concealed themselves in holes and caves from those (*Gurmund and Turgesius*) who all day long *put them to death*, as sheep for the slaughter.

¹ Top. Hib. lib. 3. ch. 28.

² Usher Ant. Ec. p. 474.

The expedition of Turgesius was a lucky thought to Jocelyn. It took the Mss. out of the way, and might have furnished him with Martyrs, if any below the rank of an Abbot would be dignified with the title. It is rather unfortunate for his authority, that Giraldus, though he has stated that *the churches* were ravaged, has also stated that *none of the Irish saints were Martyrs*.

The plain inference, and I believe the just one, is, that the Romish clergy, as soon as they acquired any power in Ireland, and also in Wales, destroyed many Mss. that made against their pretensions, and interpolated others; and that having thus cleared the way, this work of Jocelyn's, like that attributed to Gildas, was drawn up on purpose to favor those pretensions. And hence as well as from the forged charters of Canterbury, Glastonbury, &c. we have an additional reason, to be extremely cautious in giving credit to the writings of the Romish clergy, wherever the interest of their church has any connection, however remote with the subject; though they may be correct as to other circumstances; which is frequently the case.

After what has been said, it may be permitted to consider Giraldus as a sufficient authority for the discipline and doctrines of the antient church of Ireland, and he will claim particular attention because of their identity with those of Britain. The following peculiarities of the Irish are noticed by him.

1st. Though ¹St. Patrick had made Armagh his episcopal residence, and *as it were* a Metropolitall Sec, ² there were no *Archbishops* in Ireland untill John Papyrio, the Pope's legate, brought four Palls thither, for those who have been, since that time, the four Archiepiscopal Sees.

2d. ³The Irish did not pay tithes, or first fruits, in the same manner as those did who were of the church of Rome.

¹ Top. Hib. lib. 3. ch. 16.

² Ibid. ch. 17.

³ Top. Hib. lib. 3. ch. 19. The tithes seem to have been occasional, or free-will offerings, if regular. Taliesin speaks of the paying of them as a duty.

3d. ¹ They married within the degrees prohibited, not only by the Romish church, but by the Levitical law; if it was a general rule that a man might, according to their custom, marry his brother's widow; but perhaps it was only in the case permitted by Moses.

4th. ² The ceremony of marriage was different from that of the Romish church.

5th. ³ The lay-brethren of monasteries, whom they called Ecclesiastics, were not subject to Celibacy.

6th. ⁴ The Bishops were almost all chosen from the monasteries.

7th. ⁵ The lands of the church were subject to taxation by the princes, and the clergy to claims of hospitable entertainment, and to the portion of a fine imposed on any lay-relation for the death of any one killed by him.

8th. ⁶ They differed from the Church of Rome as to the forms of baptising, catechising, testamentary bequests, and masses for the dead.

9th. ⁷ They did not use the sign of the cross, or venerate the cross, or images. ⁸ Neither would their bishops eat with those who used to make the sign of the cross, when blessing the food; but threw out the food as polluted.

Giraldus says nothing of the observance of Easter, and it is therefore to be presumed, that the rule of Dionysius Exiguus had been adopted in Ireland, as well as in Wales, as more correct than their former mode of computation, which it really was. But it may still be observed, as to some of the above particulars, that, as the Irish had established no Metropolitcal jurisdiction, and neither venerated the cross, nor reliques, or saints, all of which were done by Rome in the

¹ Top. Hib. lib. 3. ch. 19.

² Ibid. ch. 22.

³ Ibid. ch. 26.

⁴ Ibid. ch. 29.

⁵ Hib. Exp. lib. 1. ch. 33.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. ch. 17.

⁸ Vita Wifredi. See the passage in the Review of the Policy and Doctrines of the Modern Church of Rome.

time of Pope Celestine, it is not very possible to believe that Palladius or St. Patrick had ever been sent by him. It is much more probable, that the passages respecting it in Prosper, &c. are interpolations; and I believe they are so.

The British church, as the same with that of Ireland, must consequently be considered as differing from Rome, nearly in the same respects, though from its proximity to the Romish clergy, as well as to the continent, some few ideas may have been borrowed from their neighbours by the Britons, from which the Irish were free. Thus probably the idea of constituting Caerleon at first, and afterwards St. David's, as an Archiepiscopal See was borrowed, and perhaps that of the invocation of saints, if it was at all admitted by the British church itself. But it is difficult to ascertain this. The poets after the ninth century use it, and it occurs the more frequently in their works as they are of a later date to the fifteenth; but the saints are chiefly St. John, St. Michael, and St. David.

The British church, even to the twelfth century, paid no veneration to reliques of the saints. This is proved by the book of Llandaff, which records ¹ that, in A. D. 1120, the teeth of St. Elgar the Hermit, and in A. D. 1132, the relicks of St. Dubricius were translated from the Isle of Bardsey to Llandaff. The place where they had been buried having previously been ascertained by the testimonies of the old people, and very old writings, and ¹ *permission obtained* from Griffith ap Cynan, King of Gwynedd, and David, bishop of Bangor.

¹ Dentes illius (*Elgari*) ab Enlli (*Bardsey*) insulâ, die illâ, quâ relliquiæ S. Dubricii, translatae sunt ad Landavium ab Urbano ejusdem Episcopi, et consensu Radulphi, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et assensu David Banchoensis Episcopi, et Griffudi Regis Guenedotiae.

Vita Elgari in Libro Ms. Landav.

The Gwyneddians must have been highly entertained with this solemn mummery.

² Quod vero post modum investigatum est, et acquisitum monumentis seniorum, et antiquissimis scriptis literarum, quo loco sepultus est infra sepulturam sanctorum virorum Enlli; quoque situ firmiter humatus est; et a quo, et qualiter quorumque principum tempore. Lib. Landav. Ms.

Hence then it appears, that these relicks had little value in the estimation of the Welsh in the time of Griffith ap Cynan, and had been suffered to rest undisturbed and unsought for (as those of St. Alban had done, to the time of Ossa) until the Romish clergy violated their repose, to make them objects of veneration in their church of Landaff as a means of increasing its respect. The church of St. David's had previously been plundered in A. D. 1087, of its treasures, and of the body of St. David, with the coffin in which it had been interred; for this, I presume, is what the Welsh Chronicle terms his *shrine*; and, as an English bishop had been there, probably was so by him. In the following year it was again plundered by Saxons, who came by sea, and burned the town. By whom these treasures were stolen, the author of that Chronicle says, was *not known*; but William of Malmesbury has disclosed the secret. ¹ The altar and the relicks of St. David are enumerated by him as being in his time at *Glastonbury*, having, as he reports it, been obtained for that monastery in the time of king Edgar, by a matron of the name of *Ælswitha*, from a relation of hers, then bishop in Rhos, i. e. St. David's. It was indeed ravaged about that time; but the Chronicle probably fixes the true date of the theft, for it appears from ² a Welsh poem, that the altar was at St. David's in the time of Rhys, Prince of South Wales, who died A. D. 1196.

Of the various political means used to spread the influence of the Romish religion, that of extending the prohibited degrees of marriage was one of the most refined and subtle. The intent of this measure has been stated (if I recollect rightly) by Hugo de S. Victore, to be that, “by obliging persons of noble birth to seek foreign connections, the religion of the church of Rome might be propagated;” and it was probably on

¹ De Antiq. Glaston. Eccl. p. 229, and 205. Ed. Gale.

² This poem was written in praise of St. David by Gwynfardd of Brecknock.

It is published in the *Archæology of Wales*, vol. 1st. and is, with an English translation, annexed to a *Dissertation on the Pelagian Heresy*, printed lately at Caermarthen.

this principle that so many marriages of the Welsh and English nobility, though in general hostile to each other, were permitted; and hence some intercourse between the Welsh and the Romish priests must have followed, and in many cases have been attended with influence, which it certainly was as to the building of monasteries. Other temporary occasions may also have had similar effect; but it is at least very dubious as to the instances of respect for the Papal See, which are said to have existed previous to the extirpation of the Welsh clergy. It is possible, that one of so feeble a mind as Cadwalladr, may have been induced by artifice to go to Rome, though the story has much of the air of a legend. But I believe I may safely assert, that Howel Dda *did not* go there for the confirmation of his laws, notwithstanding its being said that he did by Caradoc of Lancarfan, and in postscripts to his laws. For, is it credible, that the bishops of St. David's, Bangor and St. Asaph, who must then have been at variance with the Romish church, should have accompanied him? Yet this is a part of the tale. Moreover, in the collection of laws which bear his name, there are several which no Pope would have sanctioned, as being evidently retained from the times of Paganism, especially the laws relative to marriage, and those of divorcement, which appears to have been an allowed act at the end of seven years (the law providing for the woman) or sooner; but, if the separation originated with her, with a diminution of advantage to her. This law prevailed to the time of Llewelyn, the last Prince of Wales, and he is reproached with it by the Archbishop of Canterbury, ¹ that the Welsh repudiate their wives upon the authority of Howel Dda, contrary to the Gospel law; and, a little farther on, he politely observes, that ²the Welsh avenge injuries according to the mode instituted by Howel Dda, to

¹ Uxores legitimæ, Howeli Dda patrocinio, contra Evangelium dato repudio, repelluntur.

² Domini Howeli Dda, qui talia remedia in lege suâ quam vidimus, instituit, auctoritate quam ei Diabolus delegavit.

whom the Devil had delegated his authority. Neither would ¹ the law have been approved which gives all the property of a bishop at his death (except what was for his use in study, or officiating, as books and his dress) to the king. Much less would ² the law have been so, which declares, that no land in tenure can be held without being subject to the king's authority; or another, which enjoins that the satisfaction for an injury done by the dependant of a bishop to the dependant of a lay-lord, should be adjudged in the lay-lord's court; and *vice versá*. According to the Wynnstay Ms. containing a specification of the Charter of Howel Dda, the first of the four powers reserved to himself, in the formation of his laws, was, to maintain his own prerogative *over* his bishops and abbots; and that he intended this is manifest from several of his laws, though in the Seabright Ms. this was altered into maintaining *the prerogative of the bishops and abbots*. Such intentions, or such laws, would have infallibly been condemned at Rome; and had his laws been really approved there, the mode, and the form of the sanction would have been recorded with ostentation, and very different effects in Wales must have followed.

This it was necessary to state, to correct the erroneous representation which has misled many writers of respectability; and to obviate the objections which might arise from it. I now proceed to shew that, even in the times when Popery did prevail in Wales, the primitive church and its doctrines were not wholly forgotten.

When the Romish authority was first established at Llandaff, the bishops and clergy there were anxious to obtain the relicks of the Welsh confessors, (as the Welsh had no martyrs) in order to induce the Welsh to frequent it. The veneration thus paid to the relicks, by degrees excited something of a similar fashion in religion (for even religion has

¹ Welsh Arch. vol. I. p. 400.

² Ibid.

unfortunately had its fashionable modes) amongst the Welsh; but it was followed in a manner very different from the one intended. Those of the Welsh church set up the saint of their own archiepiscopal See in opposition to the adopted saints of Llandaff; and St. David, was made the successful rival of St. Dubricius and St. Teilo. Every excellence was attributed to him, every miraculous power, that the other saints were supposed to have possessed, was magnified in his favour; and his altar and his shrine were soon splendidly adorned, and the treasures of his church must have accumulated with astonishing rapidity, or they could not have been so repeatedly the object of plunder. The celebrity of, and the objects of admiration at, this church, are so well and fully described in the poem above-mentioned, that I shall content myself with referring to it for the particulars. The zeal of the writer for the Patron saint is strong and lively; he admits no competition; and only at the conclusion does he bring in the Virgin, St. John, and St. Michael, with him, whom the Welsh had not long before, begun to look up to, as an intercessor. St. Peter is not even mentioned, and when the poet warns his reader to adhere to St. David, he warns them to fly from the golden crosier as from fire. By this crosier, it is evident, he means that of the Romish church; for, as the crosiers of Curig, &c. were believed to have healing powers, it is not consistent to imagine, that he would wish these to be avoided by any but the impious.

The few remaining particulars are chiefly extracted from a book much in use in the XIVth. and XVth. centuries, as appears from the existence of several copies. This is a translation of the *Liber Elucidarius* of Anselm, in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and his disciple, and which was of great repute. It is mentioned by a Welsh poet of that time, as being a distinguished book in the library of Hopcyn ap Thomas; and it is also mentioned by Fordun as a book well known.

I.

Disciple. “ In what manner are they (*the elements*) his flesh and
“ blood.

Teacher. “ *The holy man* says, that they are certainly the same
“ body, that was born of the Virgin.”

Here the Welsh translator has left *the holy man*, viz. the Latin author, to answer for the doctrine, as to which it is evident he had his doubts.

II.

Disciple. “ Ought men to obey such clergymen (*as lead bad*
“ *lives.*)

Teacher. “ So far as they enjoin what is right, they ought to be
“ obeyed; as it agrees with *the word of God*, and not as it agrees with
“ their will.”

This observation implies, that the word of God was studied as a rule of conduct at the time; and that it was so by the Welsh, and that they had made it a ground of objection to popery, is confirmed by a regulation of Joseph, who became bishop of Llandaff, A.D. 1030; “¹ who ordered the clergy to teach the people, without fee or reward, “ to read the scripture; *but that they should not enter into any reasonings concerning it.*”² Even this seems to have been necessarily permitted, as his predecessor Bledri had enjoined the same, but without any such restriction.

III.

Disciple. “ Is it good to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or
“ elsewhere?”

Teacher. “ It would be better to employ the money necessary for
“ such a pilgrimage for the use of the poor.”

¹ Chronicle of the Princes. W. Arch. vol. II. p. 506.

² Ibid p. 505. ad Ann. 1023. This reasoning on the Scriptures, so fatal to the church of Rome, appears to have subsis-

ted for a considerable time and with effect, even in Ireland. For in the fourteenth century, Richardus Radulphus, archbishop of Armagh, published his Summa Questionum, the object of which was to

The author comments not only freely, but rather severely, on the various classes of society, and spares none; though he considers the labouring class as the most virtuous. The tract is well written for the age, and has considerable merit.

In some other tracts of the same age, the doctrines of the church of Rome are more prominent. One of these is a delineation of the faith and duties of a christian, which consists of a paraphrastic exposition of the creed, decalogue, and Lord's prayer, taken from Hugo de St. Victore. In that of the creed, the power of absolution is attributed to bishops *only*. The first commandment is thus curiously expounded. "*Thou shalt have no other God but me.*"

"In this commandment, God, the Father Almighty, forbids the practice of any unctions, impositions of hands, secret arts, or charms, *forbidden by the church.*" It appears from this limitation, that there were some secret arts, and charms, not forbidden by the church, and accordingly a rule for the *Sortes Biblicæ*, or, *dixination by the bible*, is given in the same compilation. The second commandment is omitted.

It appears however from their writings, that the Bards in general maintained a decisively religious disposition; and though latterly not averse to the invocation of saints, their divine poems are chiefly addressed to God, and to Christ; and display a strong sense of moral duty, and of the important doctrine of the atonement. One of these poems (by David Gyrriog, whom Mr. W. Owen refers to the ¹ middle of the fourteenth century) leads to a curious circumstance; viz. that, though bishops were appointed in England to the Welsh Sees, the Welsh, at the same time, had bishops *of their own* nominated to them. The

establish the Doctrines of the church of Rome on the literal sense of Scriptures, in opposition to the Armenians, who admitted the Scriptures only as the rule of faith. Monsieur Simon, to whose 13th Letter I am indebted for the notice, supposes these Armenians to be the Armenians of the time of Radulphus. Had Mr. S.

known that the Irish are according to their tradition, Armenians, by descent, he might have discovered the fact, viz. that Radulphus was opposing Doctrines then held by Christian teachers, natives of Ireland, in opposition to Rome.

¹ Camb. Biography.

poem is addressed to Madoc ap Jorwerth, Bishop of Bangor, and the poet thus addresses him.

Verse 1. ¹The living God has given us a man of learning to preside over us, a divine worthy of splendid encomium; intelligent of mind is he who inhabits the splendid hall; he is the physician of sinners, and the benefactor to souls.

Verse 2. He is the guardian and lord of the Catholic choir of Bangor; the benevolent oak (*object of reverence*) of an affectionate multitude. Twice the privilege of Dubricius the golden headed has the pure and blessed authority of Madoc.

Verse 3. Under the heavens I shall not find one like him, for, in correct language, he discusses every point with full intelligence, and fidelity, with the singularly copious knowledge of Ynyr as to the law which is the source of his privilege, and the scriptural language of Pëblic.

Verse 6. North Wales has to boast of the blessed graces of Curig; it is the supporter of every golden institute of Patrick, and happy is it, that it now has a man celebrated for his talents, active and sincere in his labours.

Verse 10. Bangor has a liberal lord, who will not suffer the wisdom of Tewdric to be obscured.

In these extracts all the names (that of Madoc excepted) are names of saints of the Welsh church, who lived in the fifth century; and it is *their* doctrine, and *their* privilege, which the poet represents as maintained by Madoc. Moreover, no such name as Madoc occurs in the list of the bishops of Bangor; and as Guiau had been taken away by force, and the people would not be likely to attend afterwards to an English bishop, I think myself justified in the inference, that the

¹ See the Original in the Welsh Arch. Vol. 1. p. 526.

Welsh continued to elect bishops of their own; and that, when it was possible, these bishops resided at Bangor, though for Bede's good reason, they would not be recorded by the Romish church.

One more instance I have to add from Gruffydd ap. Jevan, ap Llywelyn, who wrote about A. D. 1500.

Ni all angel penfelyn,
Na llu o Saint, lles i'n;
Na neb, ond un a'i aberth,
A roes ini rās a nerth.—*Flores Poetarum.*

Not an angel with golden locks, nor a host of saints will profit us; nor any other, save him who, by the sacrifice of himself, has given us grace and strength.

This is the latest document on the subject, which has come within my knowledge, and, as it is well known that the antient registers of churches of Britain have been mostly carried off, or destroyed, by the Romish clergy, it is consoling to have found so much.

If to this calamitous desolation of their religious instructors I have correctly attributed the disorderly conduct, the ignorance of a just and well connected policy in Wales (and I am persuaded that this was the cause) I have the consolation of confirming it by attributing the present state of Wales, (which has by those, who were not natives of the country, been praised, and justly, for its regularity,) to the instruction of the lower orders by the Welsh circulating charity schools, which diffused religious knowledge, and established religious principle throughout the principality, so that its influence has descended to another generation.

I cannot here avoid adding a few words as to the churches of Scotland and Ireland. As to the former, it appears, that it was an early object of the Romish church, to induce it to an union; and the compliments paid to it by Romish writers shew that they succeeded in some degree, though, I think far less than what is represented. This I am led to believe from the direction in which the

arms of the Danes were at first chiefly employed, viz. against Cumbria, Wales and Cornwall, and their rage against¹ the churches. Does not this seem to have been the result of a policy, in the advisers of the Saxons, to have given the Danes to understand, that they would consent to their obtaining possessions in those countries, and that the greatest obstacle the Danes would meet with would arise from the clergy there. Whether this idea be well founded or not, they certainly acted as if it was.

It also appears to me, that the learning of the Romish clergy in Britain was in fact principally derived from that of the antient British church. Bede and Alcuin were Northumbrians; Asser, a Welshman; Erigena, either a Welshman, or of Scotland; Gerbert was of the monastery of St. Fleur, which adhered to the rule of Columban, and Grimbald, of Rheims, which was, or had been, connected also with the British church. The learning of Pelagius, Asser, Erigena, and Gerbert, is sufficient to prove that this church was conspicuous for learning; and, with every reasonable allowance for that of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and his exertions, the cause of literature appears to have been no less indebted to the Britons, and perhaps wholly so, for Theodore seems to have been sent over on purpose to rival them; and Bede probably benefited in consequence, by residing in a country where learning was prevalent.

The church of Scotland maintained its own independence to A. D. 1175, when the Pope issued a Bull, declaring the bishops of Scotland subject to York. Previous to that time it appears, that the existing bishops consecrated the new bishops; for in A. D. 1159, Richard, bishop of

¹ May not the destruction of the churches to make room for the New Forest, by William Rufus, have been a part of the same policy? It is not even noticed by Walsingham, a staunch Romanist; nor does any ecclesiastical censure from Rome

appear to have been issued. Were these churches then averse to Rome? if they were, as I think probable, the reason both of their destruction, and of Rome's silence on the occasion is apparent.

St. Andrew, was so consecrated. In A. D. 1176, the clergy of Scotland denied that they had *ever* been subject to Rome; and even Scot, who made the appeal, which became a pretext for the Bull, was elected Bishop of St. Andrews *by the Monks*. Dr. Henry complains that the history of the church of Scotland, about this time, and for some time before, is very imperfect, as might be expected. Memorials of its independence would have been dangerous evidences against the church that destroyed it, and it was safer to¹ destroy them. Still tradition is not easily exterminable, and national traditions of important events are generally true and lasting, and I am inclined to believe that the tradition of the Scottish Church was well known, and that this, and an hereditary antipathy to Rome, had a strong influence in disposing the Scotch, as well as the Welsh, to embrace the reformation so suddenly and generally. But this I can at present only say as my opinion, and a suggestion for the consideration of others.

The Irish church appears, by combination of policy the most assiduous, and power the most active, to have fallen a very speedy victim. The Irish bishops were invited to a council, decrees were passed, and we have here little or nothing more of them; but we soon find the Romish clergy in possession of the principal Sees. The transactions of the council of Armagh, the first noticed by Giraldus, though he terms it a council, to which all the clergy of Ireland were convoked, are related by him in a manner that must excite suspicion. The only resolution he records is one for the liberation of English slaves. What more passed there is left to conjecture, and the conjecture cannot be very favourable when it is observed, that at the next council (that of

¹ In A. D. 1469, the Parliament (of Scotland) again directed that the King's laws, the Regiam Majestatem, the acts, statutes, and other books, should be put into a volume and authorised, and *all*

other collections of law be destroyed." Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. 1. p. 773. There can be little doubt but that the memorials of the antient Church underwent a similar fate.

Cashel) the bishop of Armagh *refused to attend*, and the decrees establishing the Roman church were passed. The subsequent Synod of Dublin had it seems little to do, except fulminating Anathemas against all who should oppose Henry. They seem like Macbeth to have had it all; and it may be feared

“ They play’d most foully for it.”

At least Giraldus has found means honestly to let it be known, that the Irish church was then no longer without its martyrs. Surely it is full time that those, who are still attached to the Romish church, should extricate themselves from its subjection, which has every way been their misfortune, and return to the pure Christianity of their original church. Happy, most happy, should I be, could any thing that I have written so point out what that originally was, and the cause and means of its subversion, as to lead to their serious consideration of the subject. Of the rational consequence little doubt can be entertained.

The subject is itself worthy of more extensive research, and of being presented under a more individual form; but led to it as I have been by unexpected notices, it appeared to be a duty not to suffer them to escape without drawing some advantage from them, or giving some intimation of the real history of the Antient British Church, which has hitherto been so obscure. If the enquiry has been laborious, which it certainly has, I may be allowed to feel some pleasure in having been able to vindicate that church from aspersions unmerited and calumnious, and to do some, though very inadequate justice, to that perseverance, with which, under severe and long protracted persecutions, my countrymen adhered to their primitive faith. It is a singular circumstance, that they should never, as I believe, have been wholly subject to Rome,

temporal or spiritual; and may the same Providence which has preserved the Welsh as a nation, and as depositaries of revealed truth, continue to them its gracious protection, and enable them to profit by the experience of the ages past, and by the signal blessings which in the present they enjoy.

ADDITION

TO

THE NOTES.

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P. 5. In one Ms. of Dares Phrygius, the name Pandarus is written Pandrasus.

P. 23. *The Twelve Compeers.*—A similar institution is mentioned in the fragments of history, attributed to Cato the elder, as having existed in the first period of Roman history.

Ex his (Scythiis) venisse Janum cum Dyrin et Gallis progenitoribus Umbrorum—in tractu Umbriæ fundasse regiam, et angustalem Tyrrhenam, non longe a regiâ dicasse: ubi ad salutandum regem *duodecim* coloniæ Nonis lunaribus convenirent. Inde duodenis coloniis fasces ad continendos rudes scribunt. Ed. Lugd. 1560.

In the above extract from Cato, the expression *Nonis lunaribus* deserves notice, as it marks the mode in which the months came originally to be divided into Calends, Nones, and Ides; which, as I have not seen it elsewhere clearly pointed out, I will here attempt to explain. In a lunation, the figure of the moon at the end of the first quarter, and at the full, are regularly the same; and this interval of time is also regularly a lunar week. Hence the number of Ides, which began with the second quarter, that is with the half moon, is regular also; always eight days, on a rough calculation, or one quarter. From the full to the next new moon, as the moon is in the wane, so also the numbers of the days were marked by a decreasing series, the extent of which varied according to the interval from the full, to the time when the next new moon became visible, and was proclaimed to be so: and, as this interval is variable, so also must that be from the first appearance of the moon to the first quarter; and hence the variable enumeration of the nones. The first attempt to ascertain the length of a lunation seems to have been made by reckoning the interval from full to full; and it should seem, that having first applied a retrograde numeration to the longer portion, in reference to the wane, they then applied it to the lesser portions also.

P. 36. *Angned.* This word is said to signify the *Mount* or *Hill of Pain*, in the original language, and it may be presumed that this language is the Gaelic. It may then be presumed that the word *Angned* is a compound of *Ard*, a hill, and some other word signifying pain, as *Goinad*. Whether there be any hill bearing

such a name as Ardgoiad at present in the North of Britain, I have not been able to learn.

P. 42. *Aganippus*. This is not likely to have been a Gaulish name, but is much more probably the corrupt reading of some monkish writer. The original probably had a Gaelic or Pictish name, such as *Eogan Fiosad*, i. e. *Owen the Wise*, or perhaps *Eogan Pictus*, i. e. *Owen the Pict*; which some copyist, or his reader, better acquainted with the name Aganippe, may have metamorphosed into a similar name.

P. 44. *Below the River*. This can be the description only of the sepulchral cell, which might have perhaps been worked beneath part of the bed of the river. But the passage seems to be defective or corrupted, though all the copies agree as to its present sense, for the temple itself is said to have been a magnificent structure, and the games celebrated at it would have required such. Gibson mentions the discovery of an old temple, and a large quantity of the bones of beasts near it, but this proves nothing. The author of the Chronicle considers the original temple as dedicated to Janus, and the Romans may have so dedicated it, for it is a well-known fact that they expelled or destroyed the druidical priesthood, and abolished their rites, wherever it was practicable, and it is probable that they substituted their own. This temple was probably dedicated originally to *Huan*, that is, *the Sun*, a name easily confounded with *Janus*, when Latinised into *Huanus*.

P. 45. This annual ceremony of the artificers which is but very imperfectly described by our author, and which, from this early notice of it, must have been of great antiquity, was evidently of the same kind with that known, even so late as the middle of the last century, if I am not mistaken, under the name of *riding the Franchises*. Upon this occasion the artizans of a corporation went in procession, and those of each trade exhibited a kind of booth, or shop, on a car, in which there was one or more working at the trade. Giraldus Cambrensis relates that a singular practice of this kind took place annually at a church dedicated to Saint Elmedd (more properly Elhedd) near Aberhodni; viz. that on her festival the congregation began a kind of song and circular dances in the church, and church-yard, and soon fell into a delirium, in which each person exhibited the gestures of his, or her, daily occupation. This was a remnant of the old heathen superstition; and it is very remarkable, that the sect of *Jumpers* among the Methodists began in the neighbourhood of Aberhodni; so that this frantic religious gesticulation, which began in Heathenism, and joined with Popery, has now coalesced with Methodism. In so retired a situation this extravagant custom may have continued uninterrupted, and unnoticed whilst confined to it, and it most probably has done so.

P. 65. Line 22. *Blegoryd*. An intimation respecting this king, which appears in the other copies, and should have been introduced into the translation, has by

an oversight been omitted. They remark that "he was celebrated for a skill in vocal and instrumental music, which had never been equalled, and that he was therefore called *The God of Mirth*." This is a very early notice of instrumental music amongst the Welsh. My very learned and highly esteemed friend General Vallancey, has in the last, and very valuable volume of his *Collectanea*, mentioned on the authority of Selden, that "The Britons had not the use of the harp until the time of Gruffydd ap Cynan." But Selden was most decidedly wrong, for the harp is mentioned by Taliesin several times. In his own mythological history he says,

Mi a fum fardd telyn,
I Theon Llychlyn.

Hanc's Taliesin, Arch. Vol. I. p. 20.

"I was harper to Theon of Llychlyn."

Bum tant yn nhelyn.

Cad Godden, Ibid. 29.

"I was a string in a harp."

And in another poem he mentions his skill in the other two national instruments of music;

Wyf telyniwr,
Wyf bardd, wyf pibydd, wyf crythawr.

Mar. U. Pendragon, Ibid. p. 72.

"I am a bard, I play on the harp, the pipe, and the Crwth."

These poems were written about 500 years before the convention of the Bards by Gruffydd ap Cynan. One of the Triads probably much older than the laws of Howel Dda says, that "The three ornaments of a family are a book, a harp, and a sword, and that neither of these can be seized on a decree of distress by a court of law." (*Arch. Vol. III. p. 289. Triad 34*) and even in the laws of Howel himself, the possession of a harp is said to be one of the distinctions of a gentleman; it is therefore the more extraordinary that Selden could fall into so great an error. I may also add, that the very name of the instrument, in Welsh, is not borrowed from any other language. It is *telyn*, a derivative from *tel*, a string, and signifies literally *a stringed instrument*. Had they adopted the instrument from any other nation, why should they have thus, contrary to general custom in such cases, not have adopted a known name with it, but have given it even a derivative in their own language? The fair inference is, that they did not adopt it, but invent it, and it may also be urged, that it will not be an easy matter to find a name so clearly appropriate in another language; certainly not in the Hebrew. As to the name *Crwth* its simple

signification in Welsh is a *box*, which agrees sufficiently with the form of the instrument to be the origin of the name without going further. It may however be the same as the Rabbinical *Krut*; for, as we are told that musical instruments were invented before the deluge, it may well be supposed, that the inventions were not lost by it, as indeed it is implied by the very names retained after it, and this is confirmed by the widely extended use of the cithara and pipe. The former is found, though not of the same, of similar form, in Hindustan, and in all Europe, and the latter even in the savage isles of the Pacific Ocean. This can scarcely be accounted for, unless we admit that the Antediluvian inventions were known to, and carried with them by, those of the earliest emigration after the flood.

I hope I may here be allowed to add a few words as to what I have said of the Coin, called *Cciniog*, in my sketch of the Early History of the Britons. I could certainly never have suspected that a coin should bear the impress of a *churn*, had not the General mentioned it; as such an implement bears no reference to commerce, to dignities, to national traditions, or to religious ideas; which are the usual subjects of the devices. Neither was it very usual for antient coins to bear the name of the devise, unless it were a proper name. Whether the Hebrew *Kesita*, had any impression of a lamb is uncertain, and still more so whether it took its name from that animal; the Greek *Bous* and *Cissophorus* are of better authority, but a *churn* is so anomalous a device, that were it not seriously said to have been stamped on the coin, I should have thought it merely intended as a little good humoured bantering of the simplicity of the avowal of the Welshman that he knew but of one coin, which had a name properly Welsh. The Welsh have the terms *PUNT* (*a pound*) *SWLLT* (the *Solidus*, or *Shilling*) and *DOGN* (the *Token*) a tributary contribution which was of a fixed value; but as the words are frequently used for a general value, though the two first are at present in use for a determinate value, it is uncertain whether there was ever any coin to which either of these names were given. This *token* was called *DOGN PALADR*; that is the *SPEAR-TOKEN*, and may possibly have borne some resemblance to a spear. Mr. Hager, in his publication on the Numismatical History of China, says, "Some traditions notice a more antient coin," (than the round brass coin invented A. C. 1100.) "which, from its resemblance to a *Sword*, " was called *kin-tuo-tsien*, and there are tributary nations, which still retain the " custom of offering little *knives* to the Chinese." See the *Classical Journal*, p. 50. Some antient *triangular* coins are said to have been found in Wales; and if so they may have been of this kind, as resembling the head of a spear; but I know nothing farther of them. As to the *Cciniog*, *Cunog* would in Welsh be a regular diminutive of the legend *Cuno*. Of the Irish coin or name I had no knowledge, and as some of the Britons spoke the Gaelic dialect, it still remains to be known whether it originated in Britain or Ireland, as the name is, it seems, common to both; a question, which

should therefore, in justice to both parties, be submitted to a jury *de medietate linguæ* of antiquaries.

P. 77. *Odnea*.—The following account of this tower is taken from a publication called “*A Description of the Maritime Parts of France*,” published by Jefferys, London, 1758.

“The *Tour d’Ordre* was originally a light-house, built by order of the Emperor Caligula when he was at Boulogne, and pretended to make preparations for sailing with his fleet to Britain. It was an edifice worthy of Roman grandeur, and well deserved to have its memory preserved, which Father Montfaucon has done to good purpose in a Dissertation he read before the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, January 7th, 1721. We shall only notice the following particulars.

“This tower was built upon the promontory or eminence which commands the harbour, in the form of an octagon. Each of its sides according to Bucherius, was almost twenty-seven feet in length, the whole circumference being 214, and its diagonal almost 39. It had twelve *entablements* or galleries, all visible on the outside, except the lowest, which was covered by the fort the English had built about it. Each *entablement* was taken off the breadth of the wall below it, and formed a kind of gallery of a foot and a half in breadth. By this means it decreased gradually as other light houses do to the top.

“The layers of stone and brick were varied in this manner. 1st. Three layers of such stones as are to be found on the coast, of an iron-grey colour, next two layers of a yellowish and softer stone; over them two rows of bricks very red and hard, each being two inches thick, a little more than a foot long, and something more than half a foot broad. This order continued throughout the whole building.

“The name given to this tower for several centuries has been *Turris ordans*, *Turris ordensis*—the learned Thuanus calls it *Turris ordinis*.

In consequence of quarries having been opened in the rock on which the tower stood, it was undermined by the sea into which it fell, July 29th. 1644.”

P. 86, Note 3d. Gloyw Wlad-lydan is in the Chronicle of the Princes, (W. Arch. Vol. II. p. 516) said to have been a son of Lludd, and if so he must have been brother to Cassibelan. There may have been several of the name; but as the name of Gloyw seems to be a corruption of Claudius, the statement of Nennius is the most probable.

P. 91. Note 1, On the subject of the Roman Flamens, see Stillingfleet’s *Antiquities of the British Church*, where it is fully discussed. The following Triad give a more distinct and probably a more true account of the settlement of the principal sees, viz. “The three Archbishopricks of Britain were, 1st. Llandaf, by the grant of Lleurwg (*Lucius*) ap Coel ap Cyllin, who granted lands and the legal rights of the country to the first converts to Christianity. 2d. York by a grant of Constantine, the

first Christian Emperor of the Romans. 3d. London by a grant of the Roman Emperor Maximus. These Primary Sees were afterwards fixed at Caerleon on Uske, Gelliwig in Cornwall, and Caer Rianedd in the North. At present they are so at St. David's, York, and Canterbury." As Caerleon on Uske was a principal station of the Romans, I must acknowledge that upon farther consideration, it appears to me that the Welsh Archiepiscopal See must have been there as it naturally would, and that as the Chronicles state, it was removed from thence to St. David's as more secure, because of the proximity of the Saxons to Caerleon; and it may therefore be very dubious whether Llandaff has any other title to the priority assigned to it than a fiction of the monks or that place.

P. 98, note 3d. The error originated with Pryse, who has (by mistaking the sense of a Triad, which notices Cynan Meriadawg) represented a Cynan, who never existed, as having emigrated to Gaul in the time of Constantius, and Langhorne immediately adds to this account a reference to the former Maximus, which seems to have been suggested by the name of Cynan. He has however noticed the latter in the proper place.

P. 100, line 12. *Maximus and Cynan went to Gaul.* The settlement of Cynan in Gaul has been considered as a very dubious circumstance, if not destitute of any sufficient testimony for it; and Mr. Turner in his Saxon history, has given Lobineau's objections to the tradition. Lobineau's work I have not been able to see; but the objections, as stated by Mr. Turner, do not appear to me to go farther than to oppose the tradition upon an hypothesis, which is itself a mistaken one; viz. that the settlement of Cynan was an *extensive* one. If however the explanation I have given of the legend of Ursula be correct, these settlers could have been but few in number; probably not more than two or three hundred, a number which could not give much umbrage to the Roman Præfects, or interfere much with the government of that part of Gaul. However few the number of the followers of Cynan might be, they would consider Cynan as their king; and as of a British royal family, he and his successors would be considered by all the emigrants from Britain, as their lawful sovereign. The case may perhaps be paralleled by a more modern instance. About forty years ago there was a Prince, in the County of Kerry, in Ireland, acknowledged as such by the lower order of inhabitants of that part of the country, who brought him presents of corn, &c. as tribute, and paid him the deference due to royalty; yet this no way interfered with the government of Ireland, nor was noticed by it. Such also was probably the first state of Cynan's settlement, and when the later emigrations from Britain increased it, which, as the country must have been almost left desolate by the Romans, could well be done; the emigrants would coalesce with the former, and constitute one people. As to the writers of legends, the spurious Gildas, or even Bede, they are not much to be relied on in

what relates to the Britons, and I believe that, as to simple historic facts, the traditions of a country are much safer guides, than writers at a considerable interval of time later.

P. 101. My conjecture that the names *Gunwas* and *Melwas* ought to read *Chunwys* and *Alanwys*, and signify Huns and Alans, is much strengthened by two circumstances noticed by Stillingfleet in his *Antiquities of the British Church* (page 2878; ed. Lond. 1685.) viz. 1st. that "Maximus charged Valentinian with making use of Huns and Alans against him, which was not denied by Ambrose, when sent by Valentinian on an embassy to him." 2d. That, "both the author of the *Eulogium*, and *Giraldus Cambrensis* say, that Valentinian entered into a league with the Gothic Picts, and helped them with shipping to convey them into the northern parts of Britain, on purpose to withdraw Maximus's army out of Gaul."

They seem to have maintained themselves in the Orkneys to the time of Arthur, for in p. 147, we find *Gwynvas*, a king of Orkney, and in p. 152, *Gillamori*, king of *Alawnt*, or, as I suppose, the *Alans*.

P. 103. Note 1. This Severus is probably the one mentioned by *Nennius*, ch. 24, as having had some kind of government or dominion over Britain. "Octavus, alius Severus; aliquando in Britannia manebat, aliquando ad Romam ibat; et ibi defunctus est."

P. 117. Note 1st. Since this note was written, I have been informed that the word *hur* is used for *he*, in a small district on the border of Shropshire, not far from Welshpool, and another near Ellesmere in Shropshire.

P. 132. G. M. says that *Pasgen* and *Gillamori* were slain.

P. 133, *Addition to note 1st*. It appears from the account given by *Trebellius Pollio* of the exhibition given to the people by *Gallienus*, that Dragons were exhibited as distinctive emblems on Roman standards at that time. As therefore *Uther* was held to be related to the family of the Roman Emperors by a common descent; the assumption of the dragon, as his ensign, was probably intended to indicate this, and to attach the Roman families to himself. It should also seem that such shews as that of *Gallienus* had become fashionable in the remote provinces, and were imitated by *Uther* and his son *Arthur*.

P. 141. *Prydwen*. The *Annales Menevenses* say that "Arthur bore the cross of our Lord three days and three nights upon his shoulders," and takes no notice of the image of the Virgin. Thus we have the gradations of superstition.

P. 145. Note 4. The true name was probably *Pir*, which with an article prefixed would be *y Pir*, and corruptedly *Eppir*.

P. 147. Note 3. *Gurloes*. This word seems to be a compound of *CAER*, a city. *Rowland* notices a *Caerleb*, in Anglesey.

P. 149. The following Extracts relative to Arthur, from the Ms. I. G. L. may perhaps be of use to elucidate the history of romance.

“ On the death of Uther Pendragon, a difficulty arose as to a successor, some of the chiefs acknowledging Arthur to be his son, and others denying it. The difficulty is said to have been happily terminated by divine interposition. A marble block, in a cleft of which a sword was stuck, was conveyed either to Winchester or London (for authors are not agreed as to the place) and on this block there was an inscription indicating, that whosoever could draw that sword out of the block was the proper person to be king. Neither do they agree better as to another point; viz. whether this stone was exhibited in the church, or in the assembly of chiefs in the field. But this (*says Mr. Jones*) is of no consequence, since all agree that the chiefs failed in their attempts to extricate the sword. It so happened, however, that the son of Arthur's foster-father (Cynhyrgain the bearded) either in a quarrel, or in a trial of skill in arms, for it is not clearly ascertained which, broke his sword; and Arthur recollecting that he had seen a sword in the stone, though without knowing its importance, hastened to fetch it for his foster-brother, and having drawn it out of the stone without trouble, gave it to him. The foster-brother however knew its value, and claimed the privilege attached to it; but his father ¹ Cynhyrgain, insisted on its being returned to the cleft in the stone, that it might be publicly proved, that he could draw it out in presence of the chiefs. Thus the deceit was discovered, for the son failed, and Arthur having once more drawn it out, thus satisfied the chiefs of his pretensions, and was elected king.”

The transactions of Arthur from the time of his coronation to his marriage with Gwenhwyfar, the daughter of Gogran the Great are described by Mr. Jones, as they are in the Brut.

The Ms. then preceeds to state “ that Arthur, when he had concluded peace with the Saxons, made North Wales his principal residence; that in this country there were many wonderful things, and particularly in an island, which the French book, Sangreal, calls Gurloes; but which the circumstances related of it indicate to be Anglesey. At this time there was, at Bon y Don, a bridge over the Menai. This bridge was guarded by men in armour, and the King of Anglesey fought many hard battles with Arthur. Other books say that, about the same time, there lived in the district of Edeyrnion, which lies between Llangollen and Bala, a chieftain of the name of Caw, who was the father of Gildas the historian, and of Huail. This Huail being of a licentious disposition had an intrigue with one of Arthur's mistresses. Arthur becoming jealous of it, took his sword and lay in wait for Huail,

* The Sir Antour of the Romance of Merlin.

near the place of assignation where he attacked and fought Huail, and in the battle was wounded in the knee. But before they parted, they came to an agreement, in which it was stipulated, that Huail should never give a hint of the wound, which Arthur had received; after which Arthur returned to his hall at * CAERWYS, which the Sangrael calls KERHAAAS. Sometime afterwards Arthur disguised in a female dress, came into a room in Ruthin, where there was a young lady, for whom he had conceived an attachment, and soon after began to dance, and Huail being present recognised him, and observed that such a dance would be a pleasant one, but for a weak knee. This was an unfortunate observation, for Arthur considered it as a breach of the agreement, and in consequence Huail was beheaded on a stone, which has ever since been called † MAEN HUAIL to this day. Arthur had also a hall at Nannerch, and it is said that the church stands on the site of his chapel then called Capel gwiall, or the Chapel of Twigs.

“ During his residence in North Wales, he and his army performed many gallant actions, and more especially between the place called in the Sangrael STRETTMARES, which from the description appears to be YSTRAD-MARCH, and GURLOES, or ANGLESEY.

“ Some books mention that Arthur had, about this time, a fearful dream, viz. that his hair fell off his head; his fingers from his hands; and his toes from his feet, the thumbs and great toes only remaining. To learn what this should portend, he sent for men the most famed for their intelligence; and as they did not chuse to interpret it, he forced them to it by threats and imprisonment. At length therefore they told him, that he was in danger of losing his dominion, and that his restoration to it must be by the means of a lion in steel, the entreaty of a blossom, and the advice of an old man. The first of these is supposed to signify the divine powers. The second was thus fulfilled.

“ As Arthur was hunting in ‡ Denbighshire, he was separated from his followers, and lost his way in pursuing his game; and perceiving the track of the foot of a large beast, and that of a man's foot accompanied it, he followed the tracks, which led him into a cave. Here he found a woman, her son, and daughter, all of gigantic

* Caerwys is in Flintshire, and not far from a mountain which still bears the name of Arthur.

† This stone was in Ruthin, and so called when the Ms. was written, viz. in the beginning of XVIIth century.

‡ This tale seems to be alluded to in a very old but imperfect Welsh poem, called the “ Conversation of Arthur, Cai and Glewlyd.

Arthur oedd chwareu y gwaed gyffreu
Yn neuadd Afarnach, yn ymladd ef a wrach.
Arch. Vol. 1. p. 167.

The bloody contention with an old hag in the Hall of Afarnarch was sport to Arthur. The poem also mentions Cai, Bedwyr, and Bridlaw, as Arthur's friends.

size, hideous in appearance, and vulgar manners. The mother and brother proposed the killing of Arthur, but the daughter's entreaties so far prevailed, that they agreed to spare his life, and dismiss him in safety on the morrow, if he should then be able to mention *three truths*. In the mean time Arthur was set to turn the spit. When it was bed time, the son made Arthur lie on the ground, and he threw over him a hide, which was so heavy, that Arthur was unable to rise from under it. In the morning the son lifted it up, and desired Arthur to rise; and then taking his harp in his hand touched it most skilfully. And now the hag asked Arthur, when he would mention the three truths? When you please, said Arthur. The son therefore broke off his singing and playing, and desired him to mention them. Then said Arthur they are these: You, said he to the son, are the best performer on the harp I ever heard; that is a truth, said the hag. The second said Arthur is, that you and your mother, are the largest and most horrid beings I ever saw; that is a truth also, said the hag. The third is, that if I were once well away from hence, I never would return. On that condition, said the son, you may depart instantly. Thus the King who was deprived of his dominion, so long as he was thus imprisoned, was restored to it by the entreaty of the daughter, who was the blossom alluded to. The Saugreal however interprets the dream differently, and says it was fulfilled in the battles between Arthur, and the kings * Gawnes and Gwelaes.

About this time also, Arthur's subjects were somewhat disaffected, because of his remissness in government, and an old hermit, (the old man who according to the interpreters of his dream, was to assist him) came and rebuked him for his misconduct, and attachment to magicians, whose arts and sciences were *contrary to the laws* of those who had made him king. He also said, that his dream had signified that the lower orders were wholly falling from him, except a few, who imitated his example.

The Ms. next gives an abstract of the battles of Arthur, with Gawnes and Lancelot du Lac, and the institution of the round table, taken from the *Sāng-roial*, as he here writes the name. These it is needless to give here, as the specimens by Mr. Ellis are much more pleasing and satisfactory. The remainder of the history of Arthur agrees in general with the Brut; except where it is mentioned otherwise in the notes to the translation. I have given the extracts at some length, in order to shew the more fully the connection between the Romance tales, and the traditions of the same kind in Wales.

* These names are corruptions of Gwnwas and Melwas, that is the HUNN and ALAN, and are another reference to Welsh History.

But there is also another circumstance which may go far in establishing Mr. Ellis's position. Both the bards and the triads mention a science, or art, under the names of HUD A LLEDRITH, as of distinguishing importance. The meaning of these words is literally ENTICEMENT and PHANTASM. The terms are also used in a good and bad sense, or at least a higher and inferior sense. The first as the science of the bards, and the second as a juggling art of the minstrels. As used by the bards, they appear to have denoted the means of exciting the *Awen* or powers of imagination, somewhat analogous to the invocation of the muse of the Greek and Latin poets; and probably they also denoted invocations or incantations used in the bardic mysteries to raise phantasms, or solicit an inspired knowledge of future events, whether by visions or dreams. That Taliesin laid claim to such knowledge, and such a science is certain. This science, whatever it was, as claimed by the bards, is said, in the Triads, to have been brought by the Cymry with them into Britain, and several names are mentioned as distinguished by their skill in it, from Hu Gadarn to Taliesin. I am not aware that any later bard has claimed it.

The second species of this science was a kind of pantomimic representation by the minstrels. For a knowledge of this I am indebted to the Welsh Chronicle of the Princes, which states that in A. D. 1135, "Gruffydd ap Rhys, having recovered his possession made a noble feast at Ystrad Tywi; to which he invited all who would come in peace from Gwynedd, Powis, Demetia, Glanmorgan, and Mercia. For this feast he provided every delicacy for the palate, every competition of wisdom, every pleasure of song, with, and without the, harp. The poets and singers he entertained liberally, and kept up plays of HUD and LLEDRITH, and every species of exhibition, and exercise."

From the context, no other conclusion can well be drawn, but that these plays of ENTICEMENT and PHANTASM were exhibitions of pantomimic magic, for they are expressly said to be *plays*, literally; that is, played for entertainment. I do not mean the regular compositions so called, though they may have been something of the kind.

This must have been a very different application of the art from the preceding, and if the former may be called the *religious*, this may be called the *profane* use of it. There is scarcely a country or age of any note, in which there has not existed a class of men who made it a profession to amuse the public by exhibitions of various kinds, and frequently so astonishing as to be attributed, at least by the multitude, to supernatural powers. To these, music, singing, dancing, &c. were in some degree necessary accompaniments, for the eye itself is soon fatigued. And

as a trade of artifice must debase the mind in some degree, hence such people were generally of very dissolute manners. Such a class were the minstrels in general, though undoubtedly there may have been exceptions. In Wales the profession was older than the time of Taliesin, and the mysteries of Druidism, affording a copious and not unwelcome subject of ridicule, perhaps to the Christians, or even Druids themselves, making a livelihood by exhibitions of those arts, which had lost their hold as sacred, may have furnished it with many resources, and the exploits of Arthur were a copious subject for their songs and recited poems.

There is extant a poem of Taliesin's, which describes the Welsh minstrels of his day with all the indignation of a regular bard against the perversion of poetry and music to licentious purposes, and the entertainment they met with in the court of Maelgwn Gwynedd. Of this poem the following is a literal translation. The title is *The Indignation of the Bards*.

“ The minstrels are perverse in their practice, and their praise is irregularly given. They celebrate, as a hero, one who merits contempt, and are ever addicted to falsehood; they break the commandments of God, and with deceitful purpose they lead married woman astray by their commendations, and seduce the maidens, fair as Mary. They bring those who trust them to shame, and grieve all men of serious minds. Their time they pass in vanity; in singing by day, and in drunkenness by night. Too idle for labour, they live without it. They hate the church, they frequent the tavern, they conspire with thieves, haunt palaces and feasts, they promote senseless conversation, commend every deadly sin, ramble through every village, town, and district, encouraging every breach of propriety, and destroying every religious principle enjoyed by the Trinity. They worship not on Sunday, or festival; they think not of death, they refrain not from any licentiousness, nor are satisfied without excess in meat or drink. They pay not merited tithe, or offering, and grieve those to whom they are due. The bird will fly, the bee will gather, the fish will swim, the worm will crawl; every creature will, in some respect, labour for its support, except minstrels, idlers, and worthless thieves. Prate not of learning, or poetry, amongst yourselves, for God makes the genius to fail in those who gives themselves to gluttony, and ridicule Jesus and his service. Cease then ye counterfeit bards, false and vile as ye are, for ye know not how to distinguish between truth and lies. Or if ye be bards of the first order, and of divine inspiration, tell your king his transgression. I am a prophet, and a Bard in general of the first order, who know every spot in your king's dominion, I will liberate Elphin from the Stone Tower, and tell your king what will be his fate. A strange monster with yellow teeth, hair and eyes,

“ shall arise from * Morfa-Rhianedd, and shall punish the falsehood of Maelgwn
“ Gwynedd.”

The tradition is, that Taliesin, whose person, as that of a bard, was inviolable, pronounced this composition in the presence of Maelgwn himself; when the king was sitting amongst his minstrels. The monster intended is supposed to be the *yellow plague*, of which Maelgwn died. However this be, no one, who has read the history of minstrelsy and minstrels, could delineate them more justly. And if as such they were known in the time of Taliesin, and favoured at court, the same custom and pleasure in hearing them would naturally be found in the allied halls of Brittany, and the tales of the mother country find their way thither, and be worked up according to the genius and fancy of the minstrel. In such case, if the tale wanted a name more harmonious to the ears of his auditors, or a few heroes, not furnished by tradition, the minstrel would probably borrow them where he could, and give names and characters from the list nearest at hand. And if Arthur was said by tradition to have subdued infidels, as these infidels were Saxons, the change of Saxons into Saracens was a happy and encouraging one, when the Saracens were a terror to France. The magicians of Romance are also originally Welsh, as the name of Merlin proves sufficiently, and it is probable that in the decline of druidism, the Druids exerted all their powers at first to oppose Christianity, and then for their own safety. In this the nature of the country favored them by situations difficult of access, caverns in the mountains, and either the forts and castles of their friends or others, that were deserted by their proprietors. The means of terror also were abundantly possessed by the Druids, and it cannot be doubted, but that they would make use of them, and the description of their effects by the minstrels in a country where they were not known would be heard with avidity. Druidism had been destroyed in France long before the emigration thither of the minstrels (which seems to have taken place with that of most of the principal persons of Wales, on account of the plague, about the end of the sixth century) but if, as is most probable, Merlin was the last Druid of any eminence in Wales, and to his time the druidical artifices had been practised, the minstrels, who went to France, must have had an abundance of subjects to delight and astonish their entertainers in Brittany. The scarcity of Welsh poems of the centuries intervening between the seventh and eleventh, makes it also probable, that many of these were also carried over into Brittany, from which the subjects of Romance may have been taken. But this, it is now to be feared, cannot be ascertained.

* A Marsh in Carnarvonshire covered by the Sea. A. D. 1097.

P. 174. Why Gormund is called *King of Africa* does not appear with any probability and is therefore left to conjecture. By other writers he is called a Norwegian, which may be considered as true. The only reasons for the appellation of *African* which occur to me, are the following. 1st. The Welsh Chronicles frequently call the Danes *the black Pagans*, and may from the darkness of their complexion, or some tradition of a colony of Africans having taken refuge in Denmark have given them this name; or, 2d. Gormund may have been one of the Normans whose abode was in Gaul, and in the district of Mortagne, which by our old writers is called Mauritania, and probably because that some Moors had taken refuge or settled there.

Page 185. *Heavenfield*. Within a small distance from Oswestry, and near a chapel and well, dedicated to Oswald, there is a field which was formerly, and perhaps is, called in Welsh *Cae Nef*, that is in English *Heaven Field*.

P. 190. *The Saxons, &c.* The following observation of Jefan Brechfa is very important, and gives a most useful lesson to those who would foment divisions in a state.

“ This summer (A.D. 1090) the Earl of Arundel carried off the principal men of Powys, and through the excessive animosities of the Venedotians and Powysians and the ravages of Jestin of Glanmorgan, the Welsh lost their rights and laws, just as they did by the conduct of Vortigern, in whose time ALL the Britons of ENGLAND attached themselves to the Saxon Princes in order that they might enjoy their possessions with peace, tranquility and justice.” Without union neither can rationally be hoped for.

P. 254. Note 1. Line 5. Considering the Irish as a Phœnician colony, I have said they are descended from Haen, and I own I found it difficult to reconcile it with what is said of the Loegrians in the Triads. Partly they may be so; but that generally they are descendants of Magog the son of Japhet, I think is now proved by General Vallancey.

P. 257. Note. *Redshanks*, Mr. Scott, in Note 8 to Canto the third of his elegant Poem on *The Lady of the Lake*, explains the term satisfactorily, thus, “ The ancient buskin was made of the undrest deer’s hide with the hair outwards, a circumstance which procured to the Highlanders the well known epithet of Redshanks.”

P. 504. Line 14. *Druidism*. In the investigation of a difficult subject it is, I presume, always the case that, when the proper clue is once perceived, it will lead to a full discovery of the truth. In this instance I am, on farther reflection, inclined it is so, and it was not only Druidism Germanus came to oppose, but that the true meaning of the word *Pelagianism*, as applied by the Romish writers to Britain,

is *Druidism*, and that it ought to be so understood. For such an use of the word *Pelagianism* they had several reasons which they might deem sufficient. They had represented Britain as completely converted by Lucius and the Romish missionaries; it was their principle to obliterate, if possible, the memory of *Druidism*; and as they might have conceived that the principles attributed to Pelagius had originated in druidical doctrines, the substitution of the word *pelagianism* for *druidism* answered their purpose effectually; it saved the credit of the Romish Church, and prevented enquiries into the history of the Druids.

P. 307. Note 2. St. Patrick was most probably born in Gower. See the Camb. Biography.

P. 311. Line 25. On a revision of this line, I think it will be more accurately translated thus, "Let my propitiation come as the gift of his grace."

P. 330. Note 3. An excellent book of Pedigrees, which, as far as I have been able to compare it with others, appears to be, and is, I think, very accurate in general, says that it was Jefan ap Llewelyn Bishop of St. Asaph who built the bridge of Llangollen. If so, this is another instance of the Welsh having their own bishops, and it is the more probable, as Trevor was appointed by the Romish Church, to which Owen Glendower was an enemy, and would hardly have suffered Trevor to have built that bridge so near his own residence.

P. 333, &c. As the reader may wish to see the originals of the passages referred to in the following pages, they are given here.

P. 333. Note 1. Transmissi sunt cum ipso (Johanne) & eodem navigio Clerici plures, quorum unus specialius a patre cum filio directus; naturalis historiæ diligens perseruator, per biennium tunc in Insulâ & aute moram faciens, tanquam pretium laboris & præmium, tam libri vaticinalis, quam Topographiæ, secum materiam reportavit. Hist Exp. lib. 2. c. 31

P. 334. Note 1. Norwagienses—gentili furore debacchantes Ecclesias feré omnes destruxerunt. Horni autem dux Turgesius vocatus. Top. Hib. lib. 3. c. 37.

P. 334. Note 2. Hibernienses vero, & eorum historiæ scriptæ Turgesium prædicant, Gormundum autem prorsus ignorant. Alii vero eundem fuisse asserunt sed binomium—Sed hoc etiam dissimiles eorum obitus, & finis diversus constare non permittunt. Verior igitur, & verisimilior habet historia, quod Gormundo in Britannæ regno (quod sibi subjugaverat) jam in sceptris agente Turgesium istum—in hanc insulam—transmisit. Gens Hibernica ejus solius—a quo tanta mala sustinuerat, tam nomen quam famam, perpetuæ memoriæ commendavit. Ibid, c. 39.

Vel in Hibernia nunquam fuit (*Gormundus*) vel—modici temporis in eâ moram fecit. Ibid, C. 39.

P. 334. Note 3. Juxta antiquissimas igitur Hibernensium historias, Casara, neptis Noe, &c. Ibid, c. 1.

P. 334. Note 4. Patritius vero natione Britannus, regnante Laegirio, Nelli magni filio insulam (*Hiberniam*) intravit—apud Ardmacham sibi sedem elegit quam etiam *quasi* metropolim constituit, & proprium totius Hiberniæ primatiæ locum. Ib. c. 16.

P. 334. Note 5. Archiepiscopi vero in Hiberniâ nulli fuerant; sed tantum se Episcopi invicem consecrabant: donec Johannes Papirio, Romanæ sedis legatus, non multis retro annis advenit. Hic quatuor pallia in Hiberniam portavit, quorum unum apud Ardmachianam posuit: Alterum apud Dublinium—Tertium apud Cassiliam—Quartum vero in Connactia in Toeniam. Ib. C. 17.

P. 335. Note 1. Omnes sancti terræ istius confessores sunt, & nullus martyr, quod in alio regno Christiano difficile erit invenire. Mirum itaque, quod ubi—fides ab antiquo fundata—pro Christi Ecclesiâ corona martyrii *nulla*. Non igitur est inventus in partibus istis, qui Ecclesiæ surgentis fundamenta sanguinis effusione cæmentaret—non fuit *usque ad unum*. Ib. c. 16.

P. 336. Note 3. Nondum enim decimas, vel primitias solvunt.

P. 337, Note 1. Nondum matrimonia contrahunt; non incestas vitant—Quinimo—fratres, pluribus per Hiberniam locis, fratrum defunctorum uxores, non dico ducunt, sed traducunt; imo verius seducunt, dum turpiter eas, & tam incestuose cognoscunt.

P. 337, Note 2. Ad ultimum vero ad majorem amicitiae confirmationem & quasi negotii consummationem sanguinem sponte ad hoc fustum uterque alterius bibit. Hoc autem de ritu gentilium adhuc habent.

P. 337, Note 3. Notandum autem, quod viri, qui Ecclesiasticâ gaudent immunitate, & quos viros Ecclesiasticos vocant, quanquam laici & *uxorati*—amplas in capite coronas gestant.

P. 337, Note 4. Cum ferè omnes Hiberniæ Prælati de de Monasteriis in Clerum electi sunt.

P. 337, Notes 5 and 6. Statutum est—quod legitima contrahant matrimonia—infantes ante fores Ecclesiæ catechisentur, & in sacro fonte in ipsis baptismalibus Ecclesiis baptizentur—quod nec Reguli, nec comites, nec aliqui potentes viri Hiberniæ nec eorum filii cum familiis suis, cibaria & hospitalitates in territoriis Ecclesiasticis secundum consuetudinem exigant, nec a modo violenter extorquere præsumant—quod pro homicidio a laicis perpetrato, quoties inde cum suis inimicis componunt, clerici, videlicet, eorum cognati nihil inde persolvant—quod universi fideles in infirmitate positi, confessore suo & vicinis astantibus cum debitâ solennitate testamentum

condant—ut cum bonâ confessione decedentibus & missarum & vigiliarum exhibitione, & more sepeliendi, obsequium debitum persolvetur. Itaque omnia divina ad instar S.S. Ecclesiæ, juxta quod Anglicana observat Ecclesia—a modo tractentur—sic etiam exinde vivendi formam accipiant meliorem. Hib. Exp. 1. 2. ch. 34.

P. 337, Notes 7 and 8. Connactenses vero urbibus undique—simul cum Ecclesiis igne consumptis, in *nostræ gentis* injuriam—*cruces & imagines Sanctorum* ad terram deponentes, in hostium prospectum per campestria *projecerunt*. Lib. 2. ch. 17.

Inimici vero, qui hæreditatem sancti Pontificis nostri usurpabant, annuntiantes *nos esse a sorte fidelium segregatos*, et *cos*, qui nobiscum participarent, in tantum communionem nostram *execraverunt*, ut si quispiam Abbatum, vel Presbyterorum nostrorum, a fidei de plebe rogatus, refectionem suam ante se positam *signo crucis* Dei benediceret, foras projiciendam & effundendam, quasi Idolothytum judicabant, & vasa Dei, quibus nostri vesiebantur, *lavari* prius, quasi *sorde polluta* jubebant, antequam ab aliis contingerentur.

Vita Wilfredi ch. 47, Ed. Gale.

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* Where the first name is, as in this instance, erroneously given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, the name, as it ought to be written, is annexed between brackets. K. of B. signifies King of Britain; and n the Notes.

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F I N I S.

ERRATA.

- Page 46, line 17, *for* defeated his brother in battle, *read* his brother in battle defeated.
- 50, line 3, — Marien *r.* Morien.
- ib. line 19, — ships *r.* ship.
- ib. note 1, — Eheulphus *r.* Cheulphus.
- 51, note 1, — Marbenn and Marven *r.* Morben and Morven.
- 54, note 1, — { Brigantic *r.* Brigantii.
pover *r.* pouer.
erecido *r.* crecido.
Bragaza *r.* Braganza.
- 55, line last, — have *r.* has.
- 77, note 2d, — Lubienus *r.* Labienus.
- 78, note 1st. — Pentronius *r.* Petronius.
- 84, line 2d. — send *r.* sent.
- 87, note 1st. — Dio *r.* Dion.
- 96, line 10 — *dele* the inverted commas.
- 101, line 5, — hundred *r.* thousand.
- ibid, note 1, — ~~Ur~~ *ur* *r.* ~~Ur~~.
- 106, line 8, — Cirencester *r.* Silchester.
- 114, note 2, *dele* who seems to have been a German.
- 133, line 4, *dele* to.
- 157, line 6, *for* advice *r.* advise.
- 159, line 9, — Metallus *r.* Metellus.
- 173, note 4, — the Preface *r.* page 216.
- 320, line 9 — twenty-second *r.* twenty-first.
- ibid, line 26 — twenty-first *r.* twenty-second.
- 321, line 7 — 21st *r.* 22d.
- 327, lines 2 and 7, add the reference B. T.
- 336, line 34, *for* Metropolital *r.* Metropolitan.
- 337, note 7, — ch. 17 *r.* lib. 2d. ch. 17 & Vita Wilfridi.



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