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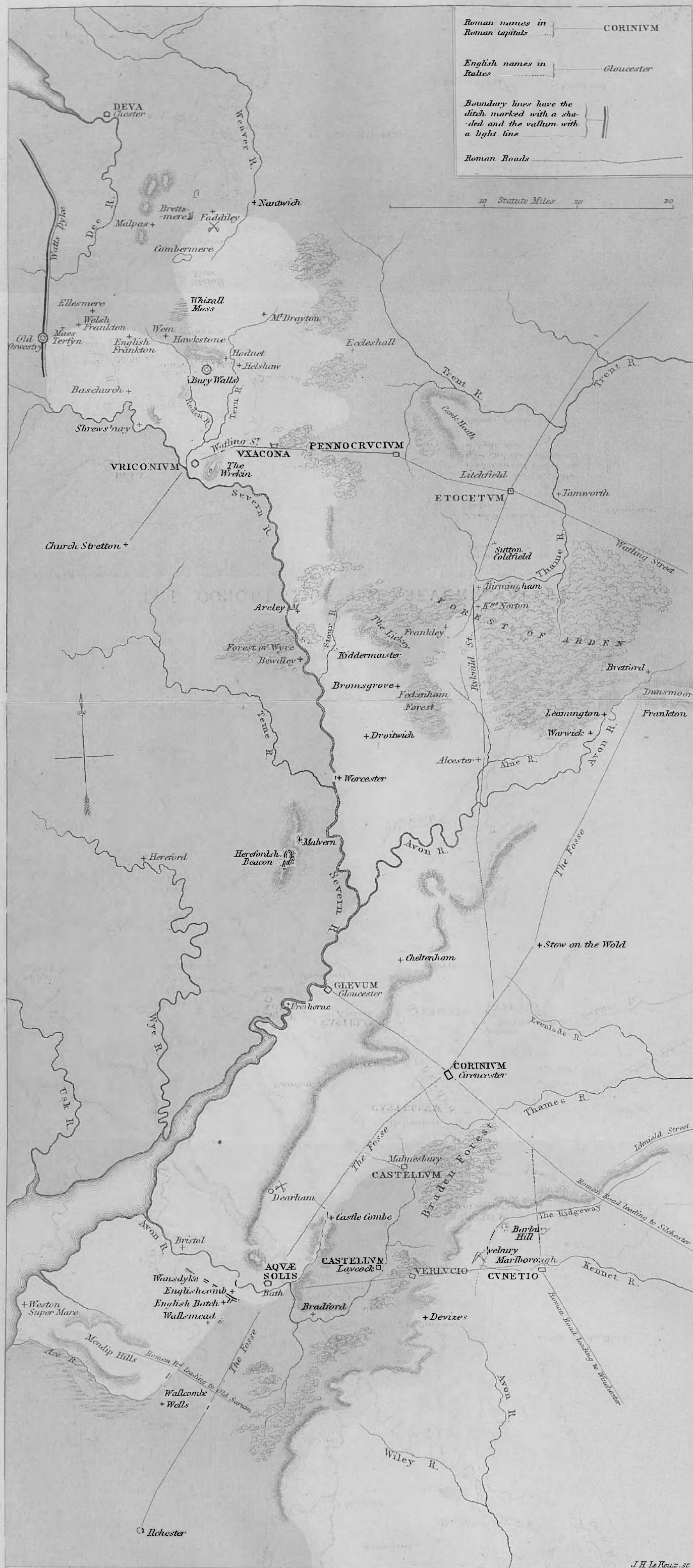
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## The Archaeological Journal.

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### ON THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF THE SEVERN VALLEY.

By EDWIN GUEST, LL.D., Master of Gonvil and Caius College.

PREVIOUSLY to the battle of Deorham, the whole basin of the Severn and a large portion of the Cotswold, that is of the high upland drained by the Thames, were in the possession of the Welshmen. Their great fortress to the eastward was Cirencester, and some of the later battles between them and their English neighbours had been fought on the line of country which lies between that town and Winchester. The marches separating the two races in this part of Britain, though they had been subjected to several changes, still remained on the whole much as they had been settled half a century before. But there is reason to believe that about the year 571 the kings of Wessex received an accession of strength, that enabled them to carry the war into the very heart of the Welsh territory. I do not stop to inquire whence came this increase of strength, but thereby they were enabled in the year last-mentioned to push their inroads as far north as Bedford, and six years afterwards to lead an army into the rich and beautiful valley, the conquest of which forms the subject of the present paper.

The nature of the country and the circumstances of the times enable us to point out with much probability the direction which the expeditionary force must have taken. It must have advanced along the Roman Road leading from Winchester to Cirencester, and then skirting the borders of Braden forest have reached the Fosse. Down this great highway they passed, ravaging or in the

language of the times, *harrying* the country right and left. West of the Fosse, and on a chain of hills which commands magnificent views of the Severn-valley, lies the village of Deorham. Near it is an ancient earthwork, where as we may conjecture the men of the neighbourhood had retreated with their cattle and other valuables, and where our ancestors were preparing to attack them, when the Welshmen came to the rescue, and the battle of Deorham was the result. It is thus commemorated in the Chronicle.

A. 571. Now Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought with the Brits, and three kings they slew, Commagil and Condidan and Farinmagil in the place that is called Deorham, and they took three cities, Gleawan ceaster and Ciren ceaster and Bathan ceaster.

Various conjectures have been hazarded with respect to the three kings, whose deaths are here recorded. Sharon Turner and Villemarqué consider Condidan to be the same person as the Kyndylan whose death is bewailed in an old Welsh *marwnad*, or elegy, which we shall shortly have occasion to notice more particularly. But it appears clearly enough from the elegy that Kyndylan was slain near Shrewsbury, and therefore could not possibly be the Condidan who according to the Chronicle was slain at Deorham in Gloucestershire. Equally unsatisfactory are the attempts which have been made to identify the other two princes Commagil and Farinmagil. But there is one conjecture with respect to these princes which seems to merit attention, though I do not remember to have seen it noticed elsewhere. When we read that three kings were slain at Deorham, and that the three cities of Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath surrendered, it is a natural inference, that the three Welsh princes were lords of the three cities, and that it was together with the men of these cities and of the dependent districts they fought and lost the battle of Deorham. It is matter of some little interest to know, that in all likelihood the last Welshman who bore rule in Gloucester was named Commagil, or—to give the name its latinised form, which may have been to *him* the most familiar—Cunomagulus.

The conquest of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath must have made the whole valley of the Severn, east of the river and south of Arden, English ground. It is clear from exist-



ing remains that during the Roman period Bath was a wealthy and flourishing town ; Gloucester, as we know both from Ravennas and from an inscription found at Bath, was a Roman colony ; and with respect to Cirencester, there was probably no town at that time in Britain—York, London, and Colchester excepted—which in importance either civil or military could rank before it. These towns must have represented the district. With the exception of some insignificant road-side stations between Bath and the Severn-ferry, there is hardly another place in this part of Britain, whose Roman name has come down to us. It is just possible that one of the *Alaunæ* and one of the *Salinæ* mentioned by Ravennas may have been intended for our modern Alcester and Droitwich, but they must have been places of little note, and quite unequal to stem the flood of invasion that had set in upon them. There was no spot where the poor Welshman could find a shelter till he reached the great forest-district which spread over the modern counties of Warwick and Worcester.

The southern limits of the new conquests may, I think, be defined with much precision,<sup>1</sup> but in the north the limits can only be determined, and that vaguely, by a consideration of the topography and physical conditions of the country. Where there are so many elements of uncertainty it would be idle to discuss the reasons which led me to lay down the boundaries as they appear in the map. But I am well acquainted with the district, and reasons more or less satisfactory can be given for all the apparently strange wanderings of the pencil. They were not the result of mere accident or caprice.

The possession of Gloucester would naturally tempt our ancestors to cross the river. If we may trust Welsh legend, they carried their inroads, even at the early period of which we are treating, as far westward as the Wye. But the history of the English conquests west of the Severn involves questions of great difficulty, and cannot be discussed incidentally. To avoid premature discussion I have in the map marked all the country west of the river as Welsh territory.

Seven years after their first settlement in the Severn-valley our ancestors made another inroad upon the Welsh-

<sup>1</sup> Vid. *Jour. of Arch. Inst.*, vol. xvi. p. 105.

men. This inroad and the battle it led to forms the subject of the following entry.

A. 584. Now Ceawlin and Cutha fought with the Brits in the place that is called *Fethan leag*, and there Cutha was slain, and Ceawlin took many towns and countless booty, and angry he turned him thence to his own country (*to his agenum*).

In their accounts of this battle Ethelwerd, Florence, and Malmsbury merely copy the Chronicle. Huntingdon tells us that Cuthwine (the Cutha of the Chronicle) fell overpowered with numbers, and that the English were defeated and took to flight; but that Ceawlin again brought the army into order, and inspiring them with a stern determination, at length came off the conqueror.<sup>2</sup>

I know not whence Huntingdon obtained his knowledge of these particulars, but there is so much that is probable in his story, that I would willingly receive it as true. Fordun labours hard to mix up Aidan King of Scots in all the leading events of this period. He makes him the ally of Maelgwn King of Gwynneth at the battle of Fethan leag,<sup>3</sup> and the ally of Cadwallon at the battle of Wodensburgh,<sup>4</sup> when Ceawlin was defeated. Unfortunately for the zealous Scotchman, Maelgwn died<sup>5</sup> nearly forty years before the battle of Fethan leag, and Cadwallon flourished in the seventh instead of the sixth century. According to Fordun<sup>6</sup> the battle of Fethan leag was fought at Stanemore in Westmoreland. The motive which led him to fix on this locality is an obvious one. On Stanemore is "the Rie Cross," which certain Scotch writers maintain to be the ancient and proper *limes*<sup>7</sup> between Scotland and England. It was accordingly selected as a suitable place for a meeting between a Scottish

<sup>2</sup> — rursus reparato exercitu cum fugam sui abjurassent, tandem prælio victores vicit. Hist. Ang. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Scotichron. iii. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. iii. 29.

<sup>5</sup> A.D. 547. Ann. Cambriæ.

<sup>6</sup> Scotichron. iii. 28.

<sup>7</sup> Usher, whose great demerit is the deference he occasionally shows to our historical romancers, after describing the incidents of the battle of Fethan leag as he found them in the Chronicle and Huntingdon, quotes Fordun as his authority for fixing the locality at Stane-

more. Ant. c. 14. Chalmers, whose great object is to bring his Scotchmen as far south as possible, tells us that "coming to the aid of the Cumbrian Britons, Aidan defeated the Saxons at Fethanlea, at Stanemore in 584," and he gives as his authority, not his countryman Fordun, but "Saxon Chron. p. 22, Usher's Princ., pp. 870, 1147, which quotes the English Chronicles." Vid. Caledonia, i. 282. Frauds of the same kind may be found in every third or fourth page of Chalmers' History.

king and the invading Southron. But it would be waste of time to dwell longer on these fables.

Henry and Hume represent Somerset and Devon as the scene of Ceawlin's conquests, and therefore I presume would locate Fethan leag in one or other of these counties; while our later historians,<sup>8</sup> almost to a man, identify Fethan leag with Fretherne near Gloucester. I know of no reason for fixing on this locality, except the resemblance supposed to exist between the words *Fretherne* and *Fethan*. But who can point out any known process of corruption by which Fethan could be transformed into Fretherne? Moreover, if we suppose Fretherne to be the place of the battle, where can we find room for the "many towns and countless booty" that were taken after the victory? What significance can we give to the statement that "after the battle Ceawlin turned him thence to his own country?" Frithern was situated in the very heart of the district conquered by the English seven years previously. It lay in the midst of the triangle dominated by the three great fortresses of Gloucester, Bath, and Cirencester, and when they fell must necessarily have fallen with them.

Where then must we look for the place which has given rise to so much conflicting statement? Before we answer the question, it will be necessary to notice a law, which prevails very widely in English topography, and to which I have already on more than one occasion called the attention of the reader. Anglo-Saxon names of places are, almost universally, feminine nouns ending in *e* and forming the genitive case in *an*. When connected with other words, they generally appear as genitives, but sometimes combine with these words and form simple compounds. Thus the Welsh *Glow*,<sup>9</sup> which in Roman geography takes the form of Glev-um, was converted by our ancestors, according to the genius of *their* language into Glew-e, and they called the town sometimes *Glewan ceaster*, that is, the chester or city of *Glew-e*, and sometimes *Glewe-ceaster*, of which Gloucester is

<sup>8</sup> Sh. Turner, H. of Anglo-Saxons, 1, 3, 5; Lingard, H. of A. Saxons, 12; Lapenburg, Anglo-Saxon Kings; B. Thorpe, Flor. Vigorn. 8, n; Mon. Hist. Brit. Sax. Chron., p. 304, &c. I should mention that the editors of the last mentioned work append a query—"Fritherne?" Mr.

Thorpe, who hesitates about "Deorham in Gloucestershire?" has no difficulty about Fretherne; "the place of the battle was Fretherne in Gloucestershire."

<sup>9</sup> Kair. Glow., id est, Glouceceastria. H. Hunt. lib. i.

the corruption. Now, in Anglo-Saxon topography, the genitive form was used in the great majority of instances, but in modern usage the simple compound prevails almost to its entire exclusion. There are indeed a few names of places which still retain the genitive. Thus Cheltenham is certainly a corruption of *Celtan ham*, the hamlet of the *Celt-e*—*Celt-e* being no doubt the Anglo-Saxon name for the Chelt, the river, or rather brook, which flows through Cheltenham. Instances, however, of these genitive forms are now extremely rare. They have in almost all cases given way to the simple compounds.

The reader will now have little hesitation in recognising a genitive case in the first element of the name *Fethan leag*, and, in considering such name as equivalent to The lea of Feth-e. If we suppose the place still to retain its ancient appellation, the name would according to analogy take the form of a simple compound, Fethe-ley. In certain of our dialects *th* in the middle of a word is often represented by *d*; thus, in the North of England, for *father*, *mother*, *another*, &c., they very commonly say *fader*, *modder*, *anudder*, &c. If the place we are in search of were situated in one of these districts, we might expect to find its name modified accordingly.

Now, just within the borders of Cheshire, at the entrance of the Vale Royal, and some three miles west of Namptwich, is a village called Faddiley. In the neighbourhood of this village I believe the battle of Fethan leag was fought.

Of course identity of name does not necessarily prove identity of place. Let us, then, inquire how far the selection of Faddiley, as the place of this battle will meet the requirements of the story, as they may be gathered from the Chronicle.

If the battle were fought at Faddiley, Ceawlin must have advanced up the Severn valley, and entered Shropshire somewhere in the neighbourhood of Areley Magna. Thence he must have marched to the Tern, and up the valley of that river to the borders of Cheshire; and crossing the line of watershed, he would, a few miles further on, find himself at Faddiley. Such was the most direct route to Faddiley from the Vale of Gloucester, and such I believe to have been the only practicable route at the time in question. Now the valley of the Tern is the very heart of Shropshire, a district full of rich pastures and peopled villages, and



abounding in ancient remains, both Roman and British, which show that its advantages were as highly appreciated in the sixth as they are in the nineteenth century. Here, then, we have a country, which might readily furnish the "many towns and countless booty" mentioned in the Chronicle; and as Faddiley is some ninety miles distant from Gloucester, the statement that after the battle Ceawlin "turned him thence to his own country," has an appropriate meaning. Even the strange statement that he returned in anger, seems to admit of explanation, on the hypothesis that has been started. If we suppose that in the ardour of success some of his officers pushed on unbidden into the Vale Royal, and so exposed themselves to an attack from Chester, we can understand the anger which Ceawlin must have felt at an act of imprudence, that led to the loss of a brother, and might, but for the energy with which he hurried to the rescue, have led to the destruction of an army.

Let us now see how far the conclusions we have arrived at agree with the revelations which are furnished us by the light of Welsh tradition. Unsubstantial forms they are, but they may nevertheless be the shadows of real and substantial history.

There is extant an old Welsh *marwnad*, or elegy, which bewails the death of a certain Welsh prince named Kyn-dylan. The poem is generally ascribed to Llywarch Hen, who is said to have lived in the sixth century. It was edited by Owen Pugh, chiefly it would seem from the Red Book of Herghest, a MS. of the fourteenth century, now the property of Jesus College,<sup>1</sup> Oxford; and was published by him, first, in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, and secondly, with a translation in a separate volume, which contains a collection of Llywarch Hen's poems. It was afterwards edited likewise with a translation by Villemarqué, in his "*Bardes Brétons*," professedly<sup>2</sup> from the Black Book of Carmarthen,

<sup>1</sup> The courtesy with which this society have at all times made it available for the purposes of literature, is too well known, to need any eulogy from me.

<sup>2</sup> Comme les autres pièces de Liwarc'h celle-ci est tirée du Livre noir de Hengurt, confronté avec le Livre rouge de Herghest. *Bardes Bretons*, p. 124. The Black Book, generally known as the Black Book of Carmarthen, is the most valuable

of the Hengwrt MSS. This celebrated collection, which formerly belonged to the Vaughan family, is now the property of Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, M.P. for Merionethshire. It is matter of public interest to know that these precious relics are now in the possession of a gentleman, who most thoroughly appreciates their value.

a MS. of the twelfth century. The first editor modernised the orthography, and frequently altered the wording of his MS.; and as one-third of his translation is open to question, these are liberties which a critical reader will be slow to pardon. But if the reader be dissatisfied with Owen Pugh's edition, the edition of Villemarque is little likely to secure his confidence. The peculiarities of the language must, I should think, arrest the attention of every one that has studied the comparative grammar of the Celtic dialects; and the perplexities they occasioned me were so great, that I was at last driven to take a journey into Merionethshire, with the view of comparing the printed text with its supposed original. I went over the Black Book, page by page, but could find in it *no trace whatever* of the Elegy on Kyn-dylan. There were three poems in the MS. with which the name of Llywarch Hen was connected, but only in occasional stanzas did they exhibit any correspondence with the poems that appear in Villemarque's volume. I mention the fact, but offer no explanation of it. When I add, that Owen Pugh in his edition of the Marwnad frequently gives us various readings, taken professedly from the Black Book (Llyfyr du), the reader will probably agree with me in thinking, that any attempt to unravel these difficulties had better be postponed to a more fitting opportunity.

As the copy of the poem in the Red Book is the oldest I am acquainted with, I have taken it for my text; and in so doing, have been anxious to give a transcript of the MS., which shall be correct, not merely to the letter, but also as regards the junction of words, and the punctuation, blundered though it may be. The only liberty I have taken has been in ranging the lines rhythmically, whereas the MS. has the lines in each triplet written continuously.

My translation is intended to be *literal*. In the versions of Owen Pugh and Villemarque we frequently have the second person instead of the third, verbs inserted *ad libitum*, and the rendering in very many cases so loose, that it is impossible to say what construction they have put upon the original. We are sometimes at a loss to know what is the meaning they wish to convey by their translation, and even when the meaning of a triplet taken by itself is tolerably clear, it is often difficult to discover its relevancy, or its connection with the triplet preceding or succeeding. Some

of these difficulties may be inherent in the poem itself, as it has come down to us. We know from Gyraldus Cambrensis, and it might be easily shown from existing MSS., that many of these old Welsh poems were subjected to great alterations at the hands of successive transcribers. Triplets were transposed and interpolated, and it is quite possible that Llywarch Hen would only occasionally recognise his own handywork in the poem before us. Still, however, the transcriber of the fourteenth century must have seen a certain coherency between the several portions of the poem he was copying; and one part of the duty of a translator will be to point out such coherency as far as he is able. I trust that the present translation, literal though it be, will present to the reader a more intelligible and connected story than can be gathered from the preceding ones.

The poem is written in what is termed the *triban milwr*, or soldier's triplet, that is, in the oldest known form of Welsh versification. Its style is essentially lyrical. One of its peculiarities distinguishes all the poems of Llywarch Hen, or rather I would say distinguishes that school of poetry of which Llywarch Hen was the type—I mean the custom of beginning several consecutive stanzas or triplets, sometimes to the number of ten or more, with the same ejaculatory phrase, which forms as it were the key-note of the stanza. The same images often recur, and the same thought is often presented in slightly varying forms in these consecutive triplets, and owing to such parallelism, we may not unfrequently discover the meaning of a line, which might otherwise occasion us much difficulty. Sometimes the sentence proceeds in the second person, “Kyndylan, thou wert, &c. ;” but more frequently in the third, “Kyndylan, he was, &c.” In many cases no verb whatever can be discovered, and the triplet is made up of mere ejaculations.

I have appended to my translation copious notes explaining the grounds on which it rests, and affording the reader the means of correcting it when erroneous. A translation of one of these old poems without such accompaniment has always seemed to me to be little better than a fraud upon the reader.

In the opening stanzas the aged poet imagines himself escaping with the females of his family from the scene of carnage. He has reached some eminence, and rests awhile

to contemplate the ruin of his country. The mangled body of his slaughtered chieftain first rises to his view; but he shrinks from the image he has conjured up, and chooses rather to picture him at the head of his Welshmen watching the invaders from the mountain's slope, it may be from the sides of the Wrekin, till goaded by the cries and taunts of his injured countrymen, the fiery chief rushes down upon our ancestors, and meets his death at their hands upon the plain.

Sefvch allan vorynnion<sup>3</sup> asyllvch werydre 1 Stand forth, maidens, and survey the land  
gyndylan : of Kyndylan,  
llys benn gvern neut tande : Pengwern's palace, is it not in flames?  
gvae ieueinc<sup>4</sup> aidun brotre. Woe to the youth that longs for good  
fellowship !

Vnprenn agouit<sup>6</sup> arnav 2 One tree<sup>5</sup> with the tendril on it  
odieinc<sup>7</sup> ys odit : Is escaping it may be—  
ac auyuno<sup>8</sup> duv derffit. But what God shall have willed, let it  
come !

Kyndylan callon iaen gaeaf : 3 Kyndylan, with heart like the ice of  
awant tvrch trvy y benn : Winter  
tu<sup>10</sup> arodeist yr cvrrvf trenn. With thrust of wild boar<sup>9</sup> through his  
head—  
Thou<sup>11</sup> hast dispensed the ale of Tren !

Kyndylan callon godeith wannwyn. 4 Kyndylan, with heart like the fire<sup>12</sup> of  
ogyflo<sup>13</sup> yn amgyuieith.<sup>15</sup> Spring,  
yn amwyn tren tref diffeith. By the common oath, in the midst of the  
common speech,<sup>14</sup>  
Defending Tren that wasted town !

Kyndylan befyrbost kywlat. 5 Kyndylan, bright pillar of his country,  
kadvynave<sup>16</sup> kit<sup>17</sup> dynnyave cat. Chain-bearer, obstinate in fight,  
amucsei<sup>18</sup> tren tref y dat. Protected Tren his father's town !

<sup>3</sup> *Morwyn*, W. *ion* pl. The frequent absorption of the *w* is a marked feature in the language of this poem. Vid. *amucsei*, st. 5, *iv*, st. 15, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Both O. Pugh and Villemarqué make this a plural noun. But the plural form seems occasionally to have been used with a singular meaning. Vid. *Youonc*, Norris' Corn. Voc. The verb is certainly singular.

<sup>5</sup> That is, himself and family. As Shropshire was an *argoed*, or woodland, these similes are characteristic and appropriate. Vid. st. 16, 45.

<sup>6</sup> O. Pugh, without authority, substituted for this word *gwydd-vid* the woodbine, and in so doing is followed by Villemarqué. I take the last syllable of *go-ut* to be the same as the last syllable of *gwydd-vid*, and *go* to be the diminutive prefix we find in *go-bant*, *go-vron*, &c.

<sup>7</sup> *dianc*, W. The Breton *o* prefixed to infinitives gives them a participial meaning like the Welsh *yn*.

<sup>8</sup> *my-n-u*, W., 2nd future, 3rd pers. sing.

<sup>9</sup> That is the English enemy. O. Pugh makes *Tvrch* a proper name !

<sup>10</sup> This word is not clearly written in the MS. O. Pugh reads *ti*, but without authority. Vid. *peithuac*, st. 28.

*Rhoddi*, W.

<sup>11</sup> The change from the third to the second person is remarkable. It seems to intimate a sudden change of feeling on the part of the poet.

<sup>12</sup> The *goddaiith*, or fire kindled in spring to consume the dried gorse, was subjected to many regulations by the Welsh laws. <sup>13</sup> *cyflw*, W.

<sup>14</sup> That is, in the midst of his Welshmen.

<sup>15</sup> *gyflaith*, W. I have endeavoured to give the force of the prefix *am*.

<sup>16</sup> *cadwynawg*, W.

<sup>17</sup> The prefix *cyd* ; in modern Welsh the compound would take the form of *cyn-dyneawg*. This form actually occurs in the next stanza.

<sup>18</sup> *amwisg-aw*, W., to wrap round, to shroud. The *w* is absorbed, vid. st. 1. note <sup>3</sup>, and the letters *sg* are transposed.

Kyndylan beuyrbvyll <sup>1</sup> ovri.<sup>2</sup>  
kadvynave kynndynnyave llu :  
amucei tren hyt travu.

Kyndylan callon milgi  
pan disgynnei <sup>3</sup> ygkymelri <sup>4</sup> cat :  
calaned <sup>5</sup> aladei.<sup>6</sup>

Kyndylan callon hebave.  
buteir <sup>7</sup> ennwir gynndeiryave.<sup>8</sup>  
keneu kyndryvn kyndynyave.

Kyndylan callon gyvthhwch  
pan disgynnei ympriffch <sup>9</sup> cat.  
kalaned yndeudrvch.

Kyndylan gulhvch <sup>11</sup> gynnificat llev.  
blei dilin <sup>12</sup> disgynniat :  
nyt atuer <sup>13</sup> tvrch tref y <sup>14</sup> dat.

Kyndylan hyt tra attat yd adei.  
y gallon mor wylat :<sup>16</sup>  
gantav <sup>17</sup> mal y gvrvf <sup>18</sup> y cat.

Kyndylan powis borfor wych yt :  
kell esbyt bywyt ior :<sup>19</sup>  
keneu kyndryvn kvynitor.

Kyndylan wynn uab kyndryvn :  
ny mat <sup>20</sup> wisc baraf am y dryvn :  
gvr ny bo gvell no morwyn.

6 Kyndylan, bright intelligence departed,  
Chain-bearer, obstinate in the host,  
Protected Tren as long as he was living.

7 Kyndylan with heart of greyhound,  
When he descended to the turmoil of  
battle,  
A carnage he carved out.

8 Kyndylan with heart of hawk,  
Was the true enraged  
Cub of Kyndruyn, the stubborn one.

9 Kyndylan with heart of wild-boar,  
When he descended to the onset of  
battle,  
There was carnage in two heaps.<sup>10</sup>

10 Kyndylan, hungry boar, ravager, lion,  
Wolf fast-holding of descent—  
The wild boar will not give back his  
father's town !<sup>15</sup>

11 Kyndylan ! while towards thee fled  
His heart, 'twas a great festival  
With him, like the press of the battle !

12 Kyndylan of the Powis purple gallant  
is he !  
The strangers' refuge, their life's anchor,  
Son of Kyndruyn, the much to be  
lamented !

13 Kyndylan, fair son of Kyndruyn,<sup>21</sup>  
No fitting garb is the beard about the  
nose—  
Will a man be no better than a maid ?

<sup>1</sup> pefyr, W. pwyll, W.

<sup>2</sup> obry, W.

<sup>3</sup> discyn-u, W.

<sup>4</sup> cymhelri, W. The *g* "eclipses" the *k* in *gkymelri*, as it does the *c* in *gcallon*, st. 17. In like manner we have the *t* eclipsed by *n* in *ntauavt*, st. 46. This orthographical expedient, though now confined to the Irish, was at one time very generally used in other languages. Vid. the author's paper on Orthogr. Expedients, Phil. Trans. vol. iii. p. 1. Before a guttural, *yn* appears to lose its final *n*; *y-gkymelri*, st. 7, *y-goet*, st. 35, &c. Before a labial, *yn* becomes *ym*; vid. *ympriffch*, st. 9, *ymbed*, st. 22, *ymbronn*, st. 52, &c.

<sup>5</sup> celanedd, W.

<sup>6</sup> ladd, W.

<sup>7</sup> byddai'r, W.

<sup>8</sup> cynddeiriawg, W.

<sup>9</sup> priffch, the first push, the onset; *hwch*, W., a push.

<sup>10</sup> That is, I suppose, right and left. *trwch*, W., means a cut, a thickness, a depth. Perhaps a better rendering would be, in two swathes.

<sup>11</sup> *goulo*, Bret. empty; *gul* may be a connected word.

<sup>12</sup> I consider this word to be the root

of *dylyn-u*, to cleave to, just as *glyn*, adherent, is the root of *glyn-u*.

<sup>13</sup> *adver-u*, W.

<sup>14</sup> One difficulty in translating the poems in the Red Book arises from the different words represented by this letter. Here it evidently represents the Welsh *ei*.

<sup>15</sup> Stanzas 7, 8, 9 describe, it would seem, Kyndylan's rush down the mountain. From st. 10 we learn the result; the wild-boar, *i.e.* the English enemy, will not give back, &c.

<sup>16</sup> *gwylad*, W.

<sup>17</sup> *gant*, Bret.

<sup>18</sup> *guryf*, W.

<sup>19</sup> *eor*, Bret. *heor*, W.

<sup>20</sup> *mad*, Bret.

<sup>21</sup> In stanzas 11, 12, the poet describes the large heart and noble sympathies of his chieftain. The two following stanzas, according to my rendering, contain the taunts which Llywarch addressed to Kyndylan, in order to induce him to rush down to his rescue. In stanzas 15, 16, Llywarch's better nature gets the upper hand, and he bids his chief watch for the general welfare, and leave him to his fate. Throughout the poem Llywarch represents himself as the cause of his chief-



Kyndylan kymvyat<sup>1</sup> vyt:  
ar meithyd<sup>2</sup> na bydy lvyt:<sup>3</sup>  
amdrebvill<sup>4</sup> tvll<sup>5</sup> dy ysgvyt.

Kynddylan kaedi yriv.  
ynydav<sup>6</sup> lloegyrwys hediv:  
angeled am vn nydiv.<sup>7</sup>

Kyndylan kaedi ynenn.  
ynydav lloegyrwys drvy dren:  
ny elwir coet o vn prenn.

Gan vy gcallon 'i mor dru.<sup>9</sup>  
kyssylltu ystyllot<sup>10</sup> du:  
gvynn gnavt kindylan kyngnan<sup>11</sup> canllu.

14 Kyndylan! a cause of grief thou art—  
Set forward will not be the array,  
Around the pressure of the covert of thy  
shield!

15 Kyndylan, keep thou the slope,  
Till the Lloegyrwys come to-day,—  
Anxiety on account of one is not fitting.

16 Kyndylan, keep thou the top<sup>8</sup>  
Till the Lloegyrwys come through Tren—  
'Tis not called a wood for one tree!

17 My heart has great misery  
In joining together the black boards—  
Fair is the flesh of Kyndylan, the common  
grief of a hundred hosts!

Pengwern, as is well known, was the old Welsh name for Shrewsbury, and accordingly at Shrewsbury we must fix the *Llys Pengwern*. The attempt to identify the town of Tren will raise questions more difficult to answer, and which had better be deferred till we come to consider what is meant by "the White Town," of which we shall find mention made further on in the poem. *Lloegyr* is the Welsh name for England, and that *Lloegyr-wys* meant the men of England, or in other words our own ancestors, seems clear enough, though even on this point Owen Pugh has contrived to raise a difficulty. In his dictionary he tells us "the English or the inhabitants of modern Lloegyr are always called Saeson and never Lloegyrwys after the name of the country." It would be easy to disprove this assertion from other poems which Owen Pugh has edited; but in truth there are always abundant means at hand of setting Owen Pugh at issue with himself. In the preface to his edition of this very poem, he describes the Lloegyrwys as "probably Saxons and Roman Britons united;" and Villemarqué, following his lead, calls them "les forces combinées des Saxons et des Logriens." Neither of these writers advances a single argument to show

tain's death. Vid. st. 46, 57, &c. The association which connects the stanzas 13, 14, with the two preceding ones is not very easily traced. The mention of Kyndylan's generosity seems to have reminded the poet of the circumstances under which he last claimed that prince's aid; and the past comes before him with all the vividness of present reality.

<sup>1</sup> *cymhwyd*, W.

<sup>2</sup> I have construed *ar meithyd* as if it were a derivative of *arfaeth*. This latter word is compounded of *ar* and *maeth*.

<sup>3</sup> *llyydd*, W.

<sup>4</sup> *traywyl*, W.

<sup>5</sup> *tuell*, W.

<sup>6</sup> *daw*, W. 3rd pers. sing. fut. of *daw-ed*. The subst. aggr. *lloegyrwys* seems here to be put in agreement with a verb singular. Vid. p. 210, n. <sup>10</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> *gwiw*, W. Vid. p. 204, n. <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> That is, keep your post on the mountain till the enemy attacks you.

<sup>9</sup> *droug*, Bret.

<sup>10</sup> *estell*, W.

<sup>11</sup> *graen*, W.

there really was any such combination of forces, and I can see no good reason why the Lloegyrwys who invaded Shropshire, might not have been as free from Welsh admixture, as their ancestors who landed ninety years before in Southampton water.

The triplets which follow those we have quoted furnish us with the sequel of the tragedy. They bring successively before us the ruined hall, the eagles sailing over the field of battle, the rescue of the body, and the secret burial.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno  
heb dan heb wely :  
wylaf<sup>1</sup> wers,<sup>2</sup> tawaf<sup>3</sup> wedy.

18 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to-night,  
Without fire, without bed !  
I'll weep awhile, afterwards I shall be  
silent.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.  
heb dan heb gannwyll :  
namyn duv pvy<sup>4</sup> am dyry<sup>5</sup> pvyll.

19 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to-night,  
Without fire, without candle !  
God except, who will give me patience !

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.  
heb dan heb oleuat :<sup>6</sup>  
elit<sup>7</sup> amdav amdanat.

20 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to night,  
Without fire, without light—  
Let there come spreading silence around  
thee !

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll y nenn.  
gvedy gven gyweithyd :<sup>8</sup>  
gvae nywna<sup>9</sup> da aedyuyd.<sup>10</sup>

21 Kyndylan's Hall ! dark is its roof  
After the fair assemblage !  
Alas, it makes not well its end !

Stauell gyndylan neut athwyt<sup>11</sup> hebwed.  
mae imbed<sup>12</sup> dy yscvyt :  
hyt tra uu<sup>13</sup> ny bu doll<sup>14</sup> glvyt.<sup>15</sup>

22 Kyndylan's Hall, art thou not bereft of  
seemliness ?  
In the grave is thy shield !  
As long as he was living, there was no  
break in the shingle.

Stauell gyndylan ys dygaryat<sup>16</sup> heno.  
gwedy yr neb pieuat<sup>17</sup>  
——<sup>18</sup> a anghau<sup>19</sup> byrr ymgat.<sup>20</sup>

23 Kyndylan's Hall is forlorn to night,  
Since there has been no one owning it—  
—— ah ! death will not leave me long !

Stauell gyndylan nyt esmvyth heno.  
arben carrec hytwyth :  
heb ner. heb niner heb amvyth.<sup>22</sup>

24 Kyndylan's Hall is not pleasant to-night,  
On the top of Carrec Hytwyth<sup>21</sup>—  
Without Lord, without company, without  
feast !

<sup>1</sup> gwyl-aw, W.

<sup>2</sup> gwers, W.

<sup>3</sup> taw, W. *tar*. Bret., silence. The  
verb seems to be now obsolete in both  
languages.

<sup>4</sup> pwy, W.

<sup>5</sup> dyro-i, W.

<sup>6</sup> goleuad, W.

<sup>7</sup> el-u, W.; imp. mood.

<sup>8</sup> cyweithydd, W.

<sup>9</sup> gwn-a, W.

<sup>10</sup> dyfeth, W.

<sup>11</sup> ath-u, W.

<sup>12</sup> imbed. Vid. p. 204, n. 4.

<sup>13</sup> This must be read *vu*, or in Welsh  
orthography, *fu*. Generally the *v*'s in

this MS., are to be pronounced as *u*'s,  
and the *u*'s as *v*'s.

<sup>14</sup> tawl, W.

<sup>15</sup> clawd, W.

<sup>16</sup> digariad, W.

<sup>17</sup> piaw, W.

<sup>18</sup> I cannot well make this word out.  
Villemarqué quotes the Red Book as  
reading *wi*. The word may possibly be  
*gwi*.

<sup>19</sup> ankou, Bret.

<sup>20</sup> ymgad-u, W.

<sup>21</sup> This seems to have been the old  
Welsh name of the Castle-Hill at Shrews-  
bury.

<sup>22</sup> ammwyth, W.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.  
heb dan heb gerdeu:<sup>1</sup>  
dygystud<sup>2</sup> deurud<sup>3</sup> dagreu.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.  
\_\_\_\_\_ <sup>4</sup> heb deulu.  
hedyl men yt gynnu.<sup>5</sup>

Stauell gyndylan amgvan<sup>6</sup> y gvelet.  
heb doet<sup>7</sup> heb dan:  
marv vyglyv.<sup>8</sup> buv<sup>9</sup> muhunan.<sup>10</sup>

Stauell gyndylan ys peithuac<sup>11</sup> heno.  
gvedy ketwyr<sup>12</sup> uodave:<sup>13</sup>  
eluan kyndylan kaeave.

Stauell gyndylan ys oergrei<sup>14</sup> heno.  
gvedy y parch ambuei:<sup>15</sup>  
heb wyr heb wraged<sup>16</sup> ae catwei.

Stauell gyndylan ys araf heno.  
gvedy colli y hinaf:  
y mavr drugauc duv pawnaf.<sup>18</sup>

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll y nenn.  
gvedy dyua oloegyryws:  
kyndylan ac eluan powys.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.  
oblaat kyndryn:  
kynon agviavn agvyn.

Stauell gyndylan amerwan,<sup>19</sup> pobawr  
gvedy mavr ymgynyrdan.<sup>20</sup>  
aweileis av dy bentan.

Eryr eli ban ylef<sup>22</sup>  
llewssei<sup>23</sup> gyvr llynn:  
creu callon kyndylan wynn.

25 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night  
Without fire, without songs—  
Tears are the trouble of my cheeks!

26 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night  
\_\_\_\_\_ <sup>4</sup> without family—

27 Kyndylan's Hall pierces me to see it,  
Without roof, without fire—  
Dead is my chief, myself alive!

28 Kyndylan's Hall lies waste to-night,  
After warrior's contented—  
Elvan, Kyndylan, Kaeau!

29 Kyndylan's Hall is piercing cold to-night,  
On account of the honor that befell me—  
Without the men, without the women it  
sheltered!

30 Kyndylan's Hall is still to-night,  
After the losing of its Elder—  
The great ——— <sup>17</sup> God! what shall I do?

31 Kindylan's Hall! gloomy is its roof,  
Since the destruction by the Loegyryws  
Of Kyndylan and Elvan of Powis.

32 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night  
On account of the children of Kyndryn—  
Kynon, and Gwiaun and Gwyn.

33 Kyndylan's Hall pierces me every hour—  
After the great gathering din at the fire  
Which I saw at thy <sup>21</sup> fire-hearth!

34 Eli's eagle, loud his cry,  
He has swallowed fresh drink,  
Heart-blood of Kyndylan fair!

<sup>1</sup> *cerdd*, W. *PL cerddi*. Vid. n. <sup>11</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *dygystudd*, W.

<sup>3</sup> *deurudd*, W.

<sup>4</sup> Some words have been evidently omitted in the MS.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot construe this line.

<sup>6</sup> *gwan-u*, W.

<sup>7</sup> *toad*, W.

<sup>8</sup> *glyw*, W.

<sup>9</sup> *byw*, W.

<sup>10</sup> *myhunan*, W.

<sup>11</sup> *peithuawg*, W. *u* seems occasionally to take the place of one of the narrow vowels, *i*, *y*, &c. Vid. *muhunan*, st. 27; *tu* for *ti*, st. 3; *vgverin* for *ei gverin*, st. 54, &c.

<sup>12</sup> *cadwr*, W. *cedwyr*, pl.

<sup>13</sup> *boddawg*, W.

<sup>14</sup> *oergrai*, W.

<sup>15</sup> *buai*, W. The pluperfect tense seems to have been used occasionally with the sense of the perfect. Vid. *llewssei*, st. 34.

<sup>16</sup> *guraig*, W. *gureigedd*, pl.

<sup>17</sup> Owen Pugh reads *drugaraug*, but I do not know on what authority; and Villemarque, following him, has *trugarok*. These words of course represent the Welsh, *trugarawg*, merciful. I cannot construe *drugauc*.

<sup>18</sup> *gwna*, W.

<sup>19</sup> *erwan-u*, W.

<sup>20</sup> O. Pugh translates this word by "re-echoing clamour," Villemarque by "tumulte." *Dyar* means a din; and supposing this word compounded with *cy* the *d* would be changed to *n*, and we might account for the two middle syllables of *ymgynyrdan*: the prefix *ym* would further give us *ymgynyrr*, a surrounding din. The last syllable is I suppose the Welsh *tan*. If so it should be written as a distinct word.

<sup>21</sup> The change of person does not admit of an easy explanation.

<sup>22</sup> *ylef*, W.

<sup>23</sup> *llew-a*, W.; pluperfect, 3 sing. Vid. *buei*, st. 29.

Eryr eli gorelwi<sup>1</sup> heno  
y<sup>2</sup> gvaet gvyr gwynn novi;<sup>3</sup>  
ef ygoet<sup>4</sup> trwm host ymi.

Eryr eli aglywaf<sup>6</sup> heno.  
creulyt yv nys beidyaf<sup>7</sup>  
ef ygoet trwm<sup>9</sup> host arnaf.

Eryr eli gorthrymet<sup>10</sup> heno.  
dyffrynt meissir mygedavc:  
dir brochmael hir rigodet.<sup>13</sup>

Eryr eli echeidv<sup>14</sup> myr.  
nythreid<sup>15</sup> pyscavt<sup>16</sup> ynebyr.  
gelvit<sup>18</sup> gvelit<sup>19</sup> owaet gwy.

Eryr eli gorymda coet.  
kyuore kinyaua;<sup>20</sup>  
ae llavch<sup>21</sup> llvydit<sup>22</sup> ydraha.<sup>23</sup>

Eryr penngvern penngarn llvyt.  
aruchel yatles.<sup>24</sup>  
eidic amgic.

Eryr penngvern penngarn llvrt.  
aruchel y euan.<sup>25</sup>  
eidic amgic<sup>27</sup> kyndylan.

Eryr pengvern pengarn llvyt.  
aruchel y adaf<sup>28</sup>  
eidic amgic agaraf.

Eryr pengvern pell galwvnt<sup>29</sup> heno.  
arwaet.gvyr gvylat;<sup>30</sup>  
ry gelwir trenn tref difavt.<sup>31</sup>

35 Eli's eagle screams aloud to-night,  
In the blood of fair men he wallows!  
He is in the wood<sup>5</sup>—a heavy grief to  
me!

36 Eli's eagle I hear to-night—  
Bloody is he—I defy not<sup>8</sup>—  
He is in the wood, a heavy grief to me!

37 Eli's eagle let him afflict to-night  
Meissir's<sup>11</sup> vale illustrious—  
Brochmael's<sup>12</sup> land!—long let him affront  
it!

38 Eli's eagle keeps the seas;  
He will not course the fish in the river's  
mouth<sup>17</sup>—  
Let him call—let him look out for the  
blood of men!

39 Eli's eagle traverses the wood  
At dawn to feast—  
His greed—may his boldness prosper it!

40 Pengwern's eagle with the grey horn-  
beak,  
Very loud his echoing voice  
Eager for the flesh, &c.<sup>25</sup>

41 Pengwern's eagle with the grey horn-beak,  
Very loud his call of defiance  
Eager for Kyndylan's flesh!

42 Pengwern's eagle with the grey horn-beak,  
Very loud his clamour.  
Eager for the flesh of him I love!

43 Pengwern's eagle! from afar is his call to  
night—  
For the blood of men is his look out—  
Truly will Tren be called the ruined  
town!

<sup>1</sup> *goralw*, W. 3 sing, old form.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. *ygkymelri*, st. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *noft-aw*; 3 sing, old form.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. *ygkymelri*, st. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* in his coffin.

<sup>6</sup> *clwy-ed*, W.

<sup>7</sup> *beiddiaw*, W.

<sup>8</sup> This and the 12 following triplets contain, as I construe them, a mere outpouring of despair. In his prostration, the poet bids welcome to the evils that are overwhelming him.

<sup>9</sup> I take this to be the same word as *trwm* in st. 35, though with a different orthography.

<sup>10</sup> *gorthrym-u*, W.; imp. m. 3 sing.

<sup>11</sup> *Meissir*, as we gather from the latter part of the poem, was Kyndylan's sister.

<sup>12</sup> This must be the celebrated Brochmael Ysgythrawg, King of Powis.

<sup>13</sup> *rhigodd-i*, W.; imp. m. 3 sing.

<sup>14</sup> *cadw*, W.

<sup>15</sup> *treidiaw*, W.

<sup>16</sup> *pysgod*, W.

<sup>17</sup> The meaning seems to be, usually he keeps the seas, *now* he does not chase the fish, but looks out for the blood of men.

<sup>18</sup> *galw*, W.

<sup>19</sup> *gyliaw*, W.

<sup>20</sup> *ciniawa*, W.

<sup>21</sup> *llawg*, W.

<sup>22</sup> *llyrydd-aw*, W.

<sup>23</sup> *traha*, W.

<sup>24</sup> *adlais*, W.

<sup>25</sup> Some words are here evidently omitted in the MS.

<sup>26</sup> I have construed this word as if it were a derivative of *hew*. O. Pugh, in his edition spells it *ieuan*. There is an adjective *ieuan*, clamorous.

<sup>27</sup> *cig*, W.

<sup>28</sup> *aedd*, W., a din; *adaf* may be a derivative.

<sup>29</sup> A derivative of *galw*.

<sup>30</sup> A derivative of *gwel-ed*.

<sup>31</sup> *difoed*, W.

Evyr penngvern pell gelwit heno.  
arwaet gyvr gvelit :  
ry gelwir trenn tref lethrit.<sup>1</sup>

Eglvysseu bassa yorffwys<sup>2</sup> heno.  
ydiwedd<sup>3</sup> ymgynnwys.<sup>4</sup>  
cledyr<sup>5</sup> kat callon argoetwis.

Eglvysseu bassa ynt faeth heno.  
vyntauavt<sup>7</sup> ae gynaeth :<sup>8</sup>  
rud ynt vy rwy vy hiraeth.

Eglvysseu bassa ynt yng heno.  
yetiued kyndryrn :  
tir mablan kyndylan wynn.

Eglvysseu bassa ynt tirion heno.  
ygvnaeth eu meillyon :<sup>10</sup>  
rud ynt vy. rvy vyingcallon<sup>11</sup>  
Eglvysseu bassa collasant eu breint.<sup>12</sup>  
gvedy y dyua o loegyrwys :  
kyndylan ac eluan powys.

Eglvysseu bassa ynt diua heno.  
ychetwyr<sup>13</sup> ny phara.<sup>14</sup>  
gyvr awyr ami yma.

Eglvysseu bassa ynt baruar<sup>15</sup> heno.  
aminneu wyf dyar :  
nid ynt vy rvy vyggalar.<sup>17</sup>  
Y dref wenn ymbrodd y coet.  
ysef yv yhefras<sup>18</sup> eiryoet :  
ar wyneb y gvelit y gvaet.

Y dref wen ynythmyr<sup>19</sup>  
y hefras yglas vyuyr :<sup>21</sup>  
y gwaet adan draet y gyvr.

44 Pengwern's eagle ! from afar let him call  
to night—  
For the blood of men let him look out—  
Truly will Tren be called the town of  
flame !

45 Bassa's Churches ! there rests to night—  
There ends—there shrinks within him-  
self,  
He, that was the Shelter in battle—  
Heart of the men of Argoet !<sup>6</sup>

46 Bassa's churches are enriched to-night—  
My tongue hath done it !  
Ruddy<sup>9</sup> are they, overflowing my grief !

47 Bassa's churches are close neighbouring  
to-night  
To the heir of Kyndruyn—  
Grave-yard of Kyndylan fair !

48 Bassa's churches are lovely to-night—  
Their clover hath made them so—  
Ruddy are they, overflowing my heart !

49 Bassa's churches have lost their privilege  
Since the destruction by the Loegyrwys  
Of Kyndylan and Elvan of Powys.

50 Bassa's churches are to make an end to  
night—  
The warriors are not to continue—  
He knows who knoweth all things, and I  
here know.

51 Bassa's churches are still to-night—  
And I am to cry !  
They<sup>16</sup> are not—overflowing is my lament.

52 The White Town in the bosom of the  
wood !  
There has ever been of its lustyhood,  
On the surface of the grass, the blood !

53 The White Town in the country-side !  
Its lustyhood—its grey thoughtfulness—<sup>20</sup>  
The blood under the feet of its warriors !

<sup>1</sup> *llethrid*, W.

<sup>2</sup> *gorffowys*, W.

<sup>3</sup> *diwedd-u*, W.

<sup>4</sup> *ymgynnwys-aw*, W.

<sup>5</sup> *cledwr*, W.

<sup>6</sup> The Welsh seem to have given to Shropshire the name of Argoed, or Woodland.

<sup>7</sup> *tafawd*, W. The *t* is here eclipsed by the *n*.

<sup>8</sup> *gun*, W. ; pret.

<sup>9</sup> That is, with blood.

<sup>10</sup> *mellion*, W. ; subst. aggr. Vid. st. 15, *loegyr-wys*.

<sup>11</sup> Here *ng* eclipses the *c* of *callon*.

<sup>12</sup> *braint*, W.

<sup>13</sup> *cadwr*, W. ; *cedwyr*, pl.

<sup>14</sup> *para*, W.

<sup>15</sup> *parwar*, W.

<sup>16</sup> That is, the warriors mentioned in the preceding stanza.

<sup>17</sup> *galar*, W.

<sup>18</sup> *evras*, W., means plump ; and in his Dictionary O. Pugh makes the word a substantive on the authority of the passage in the text. He there defines it the "plumpness of youth." Villemarqué reads *gyrvas*, but I believe without any authority.

<sup>19</sup> *tymhyr*, W., properly means one's native district.

<sup>20</sup> That is, its grey-headed seniors. O. Pugh construes "its blue sons of contemplation," and supposes that the bards are meant !

<sup>21</sup> *myfyr*, W.



Y dref wen ynydyffvynt  
llbawen yvydeir<sup>1</sup> vrth gyvanrud<sup>2</sup> kat :  
vgverin<sup>3</sup> neurdyrynt.

Y dref wenn rvng trenn athrodwyd.  
Oed gnodach ysgwytt tonn :  
yndyuot o gat nogyt ych yechwyd.

Y dref wenn rvng trenn athraual.  
Oed guodach y gauet :<sup>5</sup>  
Ar wyneb gwellt noc eredic brynar.<sup>6</sup>

Gvynn yvyt<sup>7</sup> freuer mor yv diheint.<sup>8</sup>  
heno  
gvedy colli keuneint :<sup>9</sup>  
oaffavt<sup>10</sup> vyntauavt<sup>11</sup> yt lesseint.

54 The White Town in the valley !  
Joyful its troop with the common spoil  
of battle—

Its people are they not gone ?

55 The White Town between Tren and  
Troddwyd !

More common was the broken shield  
Coming from battle, than the evening  
ox.<sup>4</sup>

56 The White Town between Tren and  
Traval !

More common was the blood  
On the surface of the grass, than the  
ploughed fallow !

57 Alas ! Freur ! how sad is it, to-night

After the loss of kindred !

By the mishap of my tongue were they  
slain ! &c.

Freur, as we learn from the latter part of the poem, was Kyndylan's sister. I do not, however, intend to trace out the various members of this chieftain's family ; nor shall I speculate as to the rank or power they possessed among their countrymen. All that we can know on these matters must be gathered from the poem ; and, as we have no means of comparison, we have no sure ground whereon to base any critical inference. Such inquiries moreover would throw but little light on the subject immediately before us. Indeed the latter part of the poem contains so little that is of historical interest, that it would hardly repay us for the time and trouble which must be spent in unravelling its difficulties. I shall not therefore proceed further with my translation.

Bassa's Churches were no doubt a group of small churches, such as we find at Glendalough and other places in Ireland. The hallowed spot where the last Welsh Lord of Pengwern received a hurried and a blood-stained burial, may probably be recognised in Baschurch, a small town or, rather, village lying some seven miles north of Shrewsbury. Names of places on the Welsh border appear to be in many cases little more than loose translations of the Welsh names that pre-

<sup>1</sup> *byddair*, W.

<sup>2</sup> *anrhaeth*, W., spoil ; *cyfanrhaeth*, common or public spoil. O. Pugh and Villemarqué give us *cyvamug*, but I do not know on what authority.

<sup>3</sup> *v* seems to be the same word as is generally found spelled *y* in the MS.

<sup>4</sup> That is, returning from pasture.

<sup>5</sup> This is evidently the same word as

is elsewhere spelt *gwaet* or *gvaet*.

<sup>6</sup> *braenar*, W.

<sup>7</sup> *gvyn ei fyd* is still used as an adverbial expression in Welsh.

<sup>8</sup> *dihawnt*, W.

<sup>9</sup> *cyfnai*, W. ; *cyfneiaint*, pl.

<sup>10</sup> *anffawd*, W.

<sup>11</sup> *tafawd*, W. ; the *t* is eclipsed by the *n*.

ceded them, and Baschurch renders with sufficient precision the Welsh phrase Eglwysau Bassa.

It may help us to fix the locality of the "White Town," if we first ascertain what meaning was generally given to the phrase in the early times of which we are now treating. Whithorn in Galloway, where St. Ninia the Welsh apostle of the Southern Picts fixed his episcopal seat in the fourth century, was by our Saxon ancestors termed *hwt ærn* or White Cell. Bede tells us that the place was commonly called "*Ad candidam casam*," because Ninia had there "built a church of stone after a fashion new to the Britons."—Hist. Ecc., c. iv. From this passage it seems probable that the church was called *candida casa* as early as the fourth century, when Ninia built it; and it is clear it was so called when Bede wrote, that is, a little more than a century after Ceawlin's inroad. We may infer that in the sixth and seventh centuries the term *white* was applied to buildings of hewn stone, in contradistinction to houses built of timber or mere dry walling. Now Shropshire was an Argoed,<sup>1</sup> or woodland, and the vast number of wooden houses still to be seen in its towns and villages shows the kind of material which must always have been the most available for constructive purposes. Its ancient towns were no doubt mainly built of timber. There is but one place in the district which we know, or with any show of probability can suppose, to have been built after the Roman fashion; and I believe Uriconium to be the "White Town," whence issued the bands of warriors whose prowess is dwelt upon with such mingled pride and sadness by the poet.

That an ancient highway—either a paved road or a drift-way—ran alongside the Severn and entered Worcestershire, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Areley Magna, is almost certain: and equally so is it, that such highway crossed the Tern and passed through Uriconium. Through the same town ran the Watling Street. A traveller therefore from Pengwern, or from the upper part of the valley of the Tern, would pass that river immediately before reaching Uriconium; and when he reached the town might, as his occasions led him, either proceed further south, or pass eastward along the Watling Street. It was probably with reference to the two routes thus open

<sup>1</sup> Vid. st. 45.

to the traveller that the poet uses the phrases, "The White Town between Tren and Trodwyd," "The White Town between Tren and Traval." Traval and Trodwyd may have been noted places on the other side of Uriconium, on the line of these two highways—Trodwyd<sup>2</sup> being probably some forest-defile. That the poet considered Tren to be the name of a river as well as of a town appears from a triplet in the latter part of the poem, which speaks of the confluence of the Tren and the Tridonwy, that is, as I take it, of the Tern and the Roden.

If the river Tren was our modern Tern, we must look for the town of Tren somewhere in the neighbourhood of this river. In the topography of every country, towns and villages readily take the name of the stream that flows past them; and the reader will easily call to mind some brook that gives its name to more than one village on its banks—epithets such as *great, little, wet, dry, &c.*, being used for distinction's sake. On this very river we have a village called Tern; but it certainly has no pretensions to represent the town of Tren we are now in search of. It is clear that Kyndylan of Shrewsbury must have been lord of the whole surrounding country. His usual place of abode may have been on Carrec Hytwyth, but the great town, "his fathers' town," which figures so largely in the poem under the name of Tren, must have been the capital of his district. There was but one place which in Roman times had any pretensions to be so considered, and I believe that Tren and the "White Town" alike represent the Roman Uriconium.

It may be asked, if Tren and Uriconium be the same place, how can we account for the difference of name? The objection is a very reasonable one, and requires on our part a very careful answer.

Most of our Roman towns have in their neighbourhood earthworks, supposed to be the remains of the more ancient British towns which they supplanted; Colchester has the earthworks at Lexden, Dorchester, the Maiden Camp, Chichester the Brill, and so forth. We are generally told that these Roman towns grew out of the camps which were constructed during the siege of the neighbouring stronghold. I believe this to be a mistake. Temporary camps may some-

*Gwydd*. (W.), trees; *trawd* (W.), a journey, a passage; hence it would seem *Trodwydd*, the wooded pass.

times be traced near these strongholds, and that they were constructed by the besiegers is very probable. But such camps differ both in their character and in the circumstances of their position from the towns, whose origin we are now investigating. The latter are mostly situated in the valley near the river, and often two or three miles from the scarped heights, which generally represent the British fortress; while the temporary camps, at least such as have fallen under my notice, lie only just beyond flight-shot from the fortress, and were evidently constructed more for the annoyance of the besieged, than with any view to the convenience of the besiegers. The towns were probably erected as the different provinces, one after another, bent the neck to the yoke, and consented to receive the "præsidia castellaque,"<sup>3</sup> which the Proprætor for the time being might think necessary to secure their obedience.

For one of these garrison-towns Uriconium seems to have been originally intended; though it was probably inhabited in the sixth century by a population consisting for the most part of Romanised Britons. It lay about a third of a mile from the Tern, near its junction with the Severn, and about three miles from the Wrekin, on or near to which we have reason to believe was a native town, the old British capital of the district. This native town there can be little doubt continued to exist beside the Roman town, till the inroad of Ceawlin involved both in one common ruin.

We must not suppose that the British earthworks or "camps," as they are sometimes called, necessarily included within their circuit the whole of a British settlement. There are instances in which only scanty traces of habitation are found within the ramparts, while outside of them extend lines of hut-circles for a mile or more—showing clearly that the fortress was only used when the presence of an enemy made it necessary. The remains of an earthwork may still be traced on the Wrekin, and they represent no doubt the *dinle wrecon* or stronghold of the Wrekin of which mention is made in the latter part of the poem. It is probable, however, that the greater part of the British town lay at the foot of the hill to the westward, and that the space between it and the Roman town on the banks of the Tern was more

<sup>3</sup> Tac. Agric. 20.

or less thickly covered with buildings, cemeteries, tileries, &c., such as we find traces of near other Roman stations, Caister for example. The whole of this space, the Roman town included, seems to have taken the name of the British town, and to have been called *Uriconium*. But no doubt the people of the neighbourhood made nicer distinctions. As the Londoner distinguishes between London and Westminster, so would they distinguish between the *dinle wrecon* and the Roman town, to which they seem to have given the name of the river beside which it stood. In the British town was no doubt much of the old British rudeness, and much of Italian refinement in its Roman neighbour. The relations between the two may have been very similar to those that exist between the "Irish town" and the "English town" in some of our Irish cities.

A like case of confusion between the general and the special name occurs in the Itinerary. The 5th iter, which proceeds northwards from London, gives the distance between *Cæsaromagus* and *Colonia* as twenty-four miles; the 9th iter, which proceeds to London southwards, and according to our ablest antiquaries traverses the same ground as the 5th iter, gives us the distance from *Camulodunum* to *Canonium* as eight miles, and from *Canonium* to *Cæsaromagus* as twelve—in all twenty miles. That *Colchester* represents the *Colonia* of the 5th iter seems to be generally admitted; and that it represents the *Camulodunum* of *Tacitus* and of the 9th iter is maintained by writers of so much weight and by arguments so convincing, as to leave little room for doubt upon the subject. To account for the discrepancy of name we must suppose, that the Roman town was specially called *Colonia*<sup>4</sup>—*the Colony*—because it was the first and the most important colony founded by the Romans in the island; and that the entire settlement took the name of *Camulodunum* from the British town at *Lexden*, to which it owed its origin. Some of the difficulties connected with this iter remain to be explained, but the principal ones, and among them we must rank the difference in the distances, may be accounted for on this hypothesis.

<sup>4</sup> If we might suppose that *Colonia* took its name from the river on which it stood (the Colne), the case of *Camulodunum* would be exactly parallel to that

of *Uriconium*. But on this supposition, I should expect, from analogy, that the town would be called *Colonium*, or *Colinium*.



"Pengwern's eagle" must have been a denizen of the woods, which, we may reasonably suppose, at one time covered the banks of the Severn near Shrewsbury. But the harbourage of "Eli's eagle" is not so readily discovered. Villemarqué goes in search of it as far as Ireland, but we may, I think, seek for it nearer home with better hopes of success. Bede tells us, that Alcluyth, the old name for Dunbarton, meant the rock of the Clyde. Hist. Ecc., xii.; Helvellen, there is little doubt, meant the yellow mountain, as Rhiw-velen, that name so common in Welsh topography, meant the yellow slope—the different localities deriving their respective names from the yellow bloom of the gorze that covered them. It would seem then that *Al* or *Hel* was used in ancient British topography to denote a rocky height. Now, some twelve miles up the valley of the Tern there is a high and very remarkable ridge of rocks called Hawkstone. It runs towards the river, but dies away at Hodnet, shortly before reaching it. If this ridge were called<sup>5</sup> the *Hel* or *El*, the strong British fortress in front of it which goes by the name of Bury Walls, might very well, according to analogy,<sup>6</sup> take the name of Elig, and as the final *g* is dropt in Welsh almost as freely as in English, we at once get the name of Eli. Here then we have two British strongholds, one in the valley of the Severn at Pengwern, some five miles from Uriconium, the other twelve miles distant up the valley of the Tern; and the picture of the two eagles each sailing down his valley to the battle-field seems to me to be no less true to nature, than it is striking as a piece of poetry.

In triplet 37 Kyndylan's country is styled the land of Brochmael. I think we may conclude that at the time when the events took place which the poem refers to, a

<sup>5</sup> There is some slight evidence that such was actually the case. Near to Hodnet is a place called Helshaw. We may surmise that of several shaws in the neighbourhood the one which approached nearest to Hawkstone took from it its name, and was called the Hel-shaw.

<sup>6</sup> *Elig* would really be an adjective, and would signify belonging to the *El*. But adjectives of this class are constantly used both in Welsh and in Breton as substantives denoting place. In modern Welsh Shrewsbury is called *Tref Amwythig*, the moated, or the

merry town—Welsh scholars are not agreed as to the etymology—but the important point is that the town is often called *Amwythig*, without the substantive. Phil. Trans. i. No. 6. Avaricum (Bourges) lay on the river *Avar-a*, and Autricum (Chartres) on the river which was called *Autura*. Walckenaer, i. 399. The connection between the names of the towns and the names of the rivers is obvious, and is noticed by Walckenaer, though he does not attempt to explain its nature.

prince named Brochmael held the suzerainty in that part of Britain. There is reason to suppose that he was the same person as the prince of that name who, according to Bede, was present at the Battle of Chester.<sup>7</sup> This celebrated battle was fought, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in 607, but according both to the *Annales Cambriæ* and to Tighernac, in 613, which is probably the true date. If we follow this calculation, thirty-six years must have elapsed between the date of Ceawlin's inroad and Ethelfrith's advance upon Chester; and, though this interval might well be comprised within the reign of one prince, yet it is long enough to make some explanation desirable. The circumstances of the case readily furnish it. The *Annales Cambriæ* inform us that Selim, son of Cynan, fell in the battle of Chester. Now Cynan is always represented as the son of Brochmael, and accordingly it would appear that the grandson of Brochmael was engaged in the battle. It is clear, therefore, that the Welsh king must at that time have been a man in advanced life, a circumstance which explains the fact mentioned by Bede, that he took his station with the monks of Bangor, who had come to pray for the success of their countrymen. Brochmael, therefore, may very well have been King of Powis when Ceawlin attacked Uriconium; and it was probably under the leadership of this Welsh king that the Britons succeeded in arresting the further progress of the invaders at the battle of Faddiley.

I trust I have now advanced arguments sufficient to convince the critical reader that it was Ceawlin, King of Wessex, who destroyed Uriconium. He appears to have wasted the whole valley of the Tern, and perhaps we may say the whole of the district to which we now give the name of Shropshire. But the Britons were still powerful enough to prevent his penetrating either into the valley of the Weaver, or into that of the Dee. For thirty-five years after Ceawlin's inroad, the King of Powis kept his hold of Chester, till in the year 613 he suffered at the hands of Ethelfrith the terrible defeat which Bede has commemorated. From that date the marches between North Wales and England have remained, with occasional variations, much as we find them at the present day.

<sup>7</sup> Hist. Eccl. 2.

Here it was my intention to have brought this paper to a close. But it has been suggested to me that I ought not to pass over without remark certain speculations which have lately obtained a good deal of public notice, and which, it must be confessed, are altogether at variance with the conclusions which I have been endeavouring to establish in the present essay. These speculations were first brought forward by Mr. Thomas Wright, in a paper which appeared in the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (vol. viii. p. 141), and have since been maintained in other papers published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. His views have already met with formidable opponents in Mr. Basil Jones and others, and therefore my present notice of them may be the shorter.

According to Mr. Wright, "the popular story that the people who resisted the Saxons was the ancient Celtic population of the island, is a mere fiction." The scanty remains of that population were the serfs who cultivated the land. The "Britons" who resisted our ancestors were "a mixture of races foreign to the island, and lived congregated in towns." After the open country was overrun by the invaders, the towns lying in that part of Britain which is now called England, for the most part yielded "on composition," and still exist as English towns or cities. But in the west of Britain it was otherwise. "The strong town of Deva or Chester held its ground on the north, and Glevum or Gloucester survived, and a Roman town on the site of Worcester may also have been preserved, but the line of strong towns between Gloucester and Chester—Ariconium, Magna, Bravonium, Uriconium, &c.," with the other Roman towns in Wales, were "utterly destroyed." Who then were the people who wrought all this fearful ruin in the West of Britain?

Mr. Wright, in answer to this question, tells us, that Armorica "was never completely Romanised." Its Celtic population, holding "fiercely to their own nationality, were accustomed to navigation and piracy,"—were indeed "no less piratical than the Saxons themselves." At the beginning of the fifth century they "resumed their ancient barbarism," and "were the heart and nerve of that formidable Bagauderie which threatened the safety of the Roman government in Gaul." When Ætius to a certain extent re-asserted Roman dominion in Armorica, they fled before him, and invaded

the western coasts of Britain. It was "a fiercer invasion and conquest of the country, and much more destructive than the invasion of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons in the other parts of the island." The new barbarians exterminated the Romanised inhabitants of the land, destroyed Uriconium, &c., and settling down in the desert they had made, became the ancestors of the modern Welsh—the old story, that the Britons fled to the continent and gave name to Brittany, being of course a fiction.

No authorities are quoted in support of these statements. They are only assertions and inferences, and may be treated accordingly. As far then as our knowledge goes, the people of Armorica had nothing to do with the *bagauderie*—if by this Mr. Wright means the insurrection of the *bagaudæ* or peasants, of which Aurelius Victor and Eutropius make mention; and just as little had they to do with piracy. They exhibited a spirit of turbulence in their relations with the Roman government; but their country was intersected in all directions with Roman roads, and, as we have every reason to believe, was as thoroughly Romanised as the average of the Gallic provinces<sup>8</sup>—certainly as much so as the western parts of Britain. As to the alleged disappearance of the Celtic element from among the British population, I will only remark, that every Briton who is mentioned either by Bede or by the writers in the Chronicle, as an opponent of our ancestors, bears a name of Celtic origin; and though some of them may have been of Roman descent, yet it is clear from the significance of certain of the names, that the nationality with which they identified themselves was Celtic both in origin and in feeling. Of the circumstances under which the British towns came into possession of our ancestors we know but little. That little, however, directly contradicts Mr. Wright's statements. We know that they wasted many of these towns—Pevensey, Silchester, Verulam, Cambridge, Chester,<sup>9</sup> &c.—and good reasons may be given for the belief that even London itself for awhile lay desolate and uninhabited. The towns in the west of Britain which bore

<sup>8</sup> By this phrase I mean the provinces inhabited by the people, to whom Cæsar more especially gives the name of Galli. The inhabitants of Aquitaine, and of the valley of the Rhone, had been long

before distinguished by their adoption of Roman manners and customs.

<sup>9</sup> According to Mr. Wright, Chester was one of the British towns that were "preserved."

the first brunt of heathen fierceness, were for the most part sacked and burnt ; those which lay more to the westward, and which our ancestors reached at a later period—Maridunum, Venta, Segontium, &c.—long continued to be peopled cities. According to Mr. Wright these last-mentioned towns should have been the first destroyed.

I hope that enough has now been advanced on this subject to shew, that Mr. Wright's settlement of its difficulties has made a re-opening of the question neither superfluous nor uncalled for.