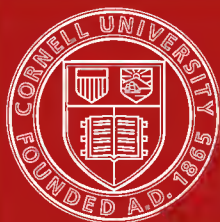




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No. IX.

*The History of
Gruffydd ap Cynan*

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THE
HISTORY
OF
Gruffydd ap Cynan

THE WELSH TEXT
WITH
TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION, AND NOTES

BY
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PREFACE.

THIS edition of the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* is the result of studies pursued under the guidance of the late Professor John Strachan, lecturer in Celtic at the University of Manchester from 1905 until 1907. Before his death Professor Strachan had read through the text which I had prepared and taken great trouble in correcting the translation. In all obscure or difficult passages I have therefore been enabled to rely upon interpretations favoured by his experience and scholarship.

On points of difficulty with regard to the text and translation which presented themselves after Professor Strachan's death I have benefited greatly from the help of Professor Anwyl of Aberystwyth.

The text has been punctuated to correspond with the translation, and where the reading of the manuscript is doubtful, square brackets have been used to denote it.

The Notes and Introduction were seen by Professor Strachan only in a very imperfect state. In developing them I have received the aid of Professor Tout and Professor Tait who, in the midst of pressing and multifarious duties, have at all times willingly discussed difficulties and suggested corrections. Professor Lloyd of the University College of Bangor has also read a portion of the work in manuscript, and has supplied me with some valuable hints, notably with regard to the dating of the text. The length and character of the Introduction might in the ordinary way justly provoke comment. A precedent may, however, be suggested in Dr. Todd's Introduction to his edition of the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* which I found of such service in mastering an unfamiliar subject that I was induced to imitate it on a smaller scale in this little Welsh book. At any rate

it is hoped that the Introduction may suffice to elucidate the contents of the text, especially for English students, in a way that detached notes alone could not do, and to establish the real importance of the reign and achievements of King Gruffydd in Medieval Wales. The general lines of research in this field have already been suggested by Professor J. E. Lloyd in his masterly essay *Wales and the Coming of the Normans*, published in *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIV., 1899—1900, and by Professor Tout in his short but pregnant article on Gruffydd ap Cynan in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. To both of these works I owe acknowledgment as also to Mr. Anscombe's tables of Welsh Pedigrees in the *Archiv für Celtische Lexicographie*. Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans has generously helped me to overcome the difficulties of the various manuscripts and exerted his good offices to obtain for me access to the two manuscripts upon which my text is based, while I have made extensive use of the valuable *Report on Welsh Manuscripts* which he drew up for the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

I have further to record my indebtedness to those who kindly placed manuscripts at my service, namely, the late W. R. M. Wynne, Esq., Sir John Williams, Bart., of Plas Llanstephan, the Committee of the Cardiff Free Library, and the Chief Librarians of the Welsh National Library, of the British Museum, and of the Bodleian Library. Nor should I fail to mention the kindness of Mr. Charles Leigh of the Christie Library, Mr. H. Guppy, M.A., of the John Rylands Library, Mr. J. H. Davies, M.A., Registrar of Aberystwyth College, and Mr. R. Ellis, B.A., of the Welsh National Library, who have accepted the custody of manuscripts on my behalf and placed their services always at my disposal.

ARTHUR JONES.

1st March, 1910.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Facsimile I. Peniarth MS. 17	...	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Preface	PAGE V.
Map	<i>to face page 1</i>

Introduction :—

Questions of the text—various extant MSS. of the <i>Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan</i> and their relation to one another—history of Peniarth MS. 17	- - -	I
Latin versions of the <i>Hanes</i> —Nicholas Robinson and Edward Thelwall—All Latin versions identical and probably the work of Robinson—Sir John Wynne's transcript	- - - - -	9
The <i>Hanes</i> originally written in Latin	- - -	14
The date of the Composition—Its lack of anachronisms—Written during the reign of Owain Gwynedd—And before the capture of Waterford—The Archbishopric of St. David's—Sources of information—Not the same as in the case of the <i>Annales Cambriae</i> or <i>Brut y Tywysogion</i> or the <i>Lives of the Saints</i> —Derived from the testimony of eye-witnesses and works of the bards	- - - - -	16
Gruffydd's pedigree—Its importance—Cynan in Welsh and Irish writings—Irish pedigrees—the reliance of Gruffydd upon Scandinavian mercenaries	- - -	30
The alliance of Gruffydd with Rhys ap Tewdwr—Mynydd Carn—its effect upon the Norman expansion—Gruffydd and the Normans—Early years of Norman aggression in Wales—Marcher earldoms—Norman diplomacy—Chester and North Wales	- - -	50
The Period of Gruffydd's imprisonment—Death of		

Robert of Rhuddlan—Attack upon the church of St. Gwenllyw - - - - -	63
Welsh Revolts in 1094—Source of Gruffydd's help—Wars of Rufus in Wales— <i>Hanes</i> an unsatisfactory authority for the Welsh campaigns of Rufus—The failure of Rufus - - - - -	69
The attack upon Anglesey in 1098—Various accounts—Excesses of the Normans—The death of Hugh of Shrewsbury - - - - -	76
Last years of Gruffydd's career—A change of policy—Invasions of Wales by Henry I.—The rising at the end of Henry's reign—Gruffydd's character and the nature of his service to Wales - - -	83
Facsimile II. Peniarth MS. 267	100
Welsh Text from Peniarth MSS. 17 and 267 and Translation in English	102
Notes	159
Bibliography and Table of Abbreviations ...	185
Index	189

CORRIGENDA.

- P. 9, l. 27, for *Mauricius* read *Mauricium*.
P. 10, l. 20, for *episcopus Bangorensis* read *episcopum Bangorensem*.
P. 14, l. 7, for 150 read 50.
P. 40, note 3, for *Gaidhil* read *Gaedhil*.
P. 98, l. 28, for *Chester* read *the Normans*.
P. 109, l. 36, for *Aedh Mac Mathgamhain* read *Aedh ua Mathgamhain* (*recte Mathgamhna*).
P. 123, l. 34, for *Gwrgan* read *Gurgeneu*.
P. 175, l. 30, for *gladdyfhir* read *gleddyfhir*.
P. 177, l. 6, for *Uchhyd* read *Uchtryd*.
P. 177, l. 10, for *Belême* read *Bellême*.
P. 181, l. 20, for *Oredericus* read *Ordericus*.

INTRODUCTION.

The text of the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* has been twice published; first in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (1801-7),¹ and afterwards by the Rev. Canon Williams, of Rhydycroesau, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.² In neither case has any attempt been made to analyse its historical contents or estimate its value. As a consequence its liveliness of tone and minuteness of detail coupled with certain obvious blemishes, if they have not brought it into disrepute, have caused it to be treated with undue hesitation by responsible historical writers. Yet of all periods of history, early Welsh history can least afford to dispense with a single authority, so that an attempt to inquire into the credentials of one of the best written and most interesting of Welsh medieval records calls for no excuse.

There are at least six manuscripts extant containing the text of the biography of Gruffydd ap Cynan, now commonly known as the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan*, namely, Peniarth MS. 17 (=Hengwrt 406), Peniarth MS. 267, MS. Vitellius Cix in the Cotton Collection in the British Museum, Llanstephan MS. 150 (=Shirburn D. 23), and Panton MSS. 2 and 26. The present edition is compiled from the above two Peniarth MSS. 17 and 267 formerly preserved in the famous collection of Welsh manuscripts of the late Mr. W. R. M. Wynne, of Peniarth, near Towyn, but now removed to the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth.

Peniarth MS. 17 is written on vellum in a clear hand

1. *Myf. Arch.*, p. 721.

2. *Arch. Camb.*, third series, xii, pp. 30-45, 112-131.

of the thirteenth century, which Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans regards as typical of the hand practised at the abbey of Strata Marcella. The whole is in Welsh and in a uniform hand, with capitals, ornamentations, title, and corrections in red, but with underlinings in black. On pages 27 and 30 there are "fish" ornamentations in black. On page 1 the chronological list written in the original hand has extensive corrections in a later hand. The manuscript now consists of thirty-two pages in two gatherings, with thirty-one lines on the first page, and thirty-three on all the rest with the exception of the last four, which have only thirty-two. Originally it must have comprised sixty-four pages in four gatherings, but of these gatherings the second and fourth are lost. Unfortunately the text of the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* extended into the second gathering, so that as it has reached us it terminates abruptly on page 16 at the end of the first gathering and in the middle of a sentence beginning *ac ena wede. . .*¹

Peniarth MS. 267 (=Hengwrt 275) is a large calf-bound book of 386 pages of paper containing the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* together with other Welsh historical matter of a miscellaneous character. The text of the *Hanes* covers 55 pages, and is written throughout in a hand of the seventeenth century in the characteristic style of John Jones, of Gellilyvdy, a dot placed under a consonant being used either as equivalent to letters peculiar to Welsh, *i.e.*, *l*=ll, *d*=dd, or to mark aspiration, *i.e.*, *ŧ*=th, *ç*=ch, *p*=ph, or to distinguish the sound of u, *i.e.*, *u*=w, as in *meun* (=mewn), *egluy*s (=eglwys). In the text of the present edition the spelling has been normalised. On the first page of the manuscript is written *John Jones liber autographus*, and on page 329 there is a passage stating that part was written on July 8th, 1641, in the Fleet at London. That portion of the manuscript comprising the *Hanes* begins, *yma y*

1. Cf. *infra*, p. 142 and Facsimile ii.

*dilin hanes Gruffudd ap Kynan yr honn a ysgrifennais if allan o lyfyr Sr Risiard Gwynn or Wydyr yr hun a goussei ei hendaidd ef i venthig y gann fy nhaid if Sion ap William ap Sion: mae paladr ach Gruffudd ap Kynan yn ddifffgiol yma keissiuch yn berffaith yn fy llyfyr acheu if.*¹ At the end of the text, on page 386, is written in lead in a seventeenth century hand 22 *gorffennaf* 1641, and in a different hand from that of the text *Finit Julii 22, 1641, per Jo. Jones de Ysgeifiog,*² transcript per Guil. Mauricium, 1662.³ *Care bonis avibus fine me liber ibis in oevum.*

It appears, therefore, that the Peniarth MS. 267 is one of the many transcriptions of Welsh manuscripts made by that famous Welsh antiquary, John Jones, of Gellilyvdy, "friend and kinsman" of Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt.⁴

The British Museum manuscript Vitellius C ix in the Cotton Library contains the *Hanes* in both Welsh and Latin bound together with a version in Welsh of the burial of King Arthur. It is written on paper in a beautifully regular hand of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, but is undated. The text of the *Hanes* which covers folios 145—154b is punctuated and divided into paragraphs, but not thoroughly or with method. It is damaged by fire, yet although the edges are scorched, little of the text itself has suffered. It follows the Peniarth MS. 17 so exceedingly closely that it must have been directly taken from it or from the same source. It is probably the British Museum manuscript referred to

1. Here follows the history of Gruffydd ap Cynan, which I wrote out of the book of Sir Richard Wynne of Gwydir, which his great-grandfather borrowed from my grandfather Sion ap William ap Sion: the genealogical tree of Gruffydd ap Cynan is defective here; seek a perfect one in my book of pedigrees.

2. *i.e.*, John Jones of Gellilyvdy in the parish of Ysgeifiog. Cf. William's *Eminent Welshmen* sub. nom.

3. Dr. J. G. Evans informs me that whenever William Morris made a transcript, he was in the habit of recording the fact on the MS. from which he took his copy.

4. Cf. Evan's *Report*, vol. i, pt. iii, intro. p. iv.

by Moses Williams in 1732 in a marginal note in Cardiff MS. 50.¹

The Llanstephan MS. 150, which belonged formerly to the Shirburn Collection, was until recently the property of Sir John Williams, Bart., M.D., of Plas Llanstephan, in Carmarthenshire, who has now given his library and manuscripts to the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth. The manuscript is written in a hand of the eighteenth century upon paper, and is in all probability a careless copy of the transcript in the British Museum. It has a few marginal corrections in the handwriting of Moses Williams, but has no date to give any clue as to the time at which it was written. On account of the long illness and subsequent decease of the owner of the Panton Collection of manuscripts, the editor has hitherto found the transcripts of the Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan contained in that collection inaccessible. Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans has, however, examined their contents with great care,² and from his observations it appears that both transcripts are from a transcript made in 1574 by Edward Thelwall, of Plas y Ward.³ Panton MS. 2 appears in *the Common-Place Book of the Rev. Evan Evans*, presumably in the handwriting of Evan Evans himself, and bearing the date 1683. Panton MS. 26 is a very late transcript made in 1774, and, according to Dr. Evans, was the source from which the edition in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* was published.⁴ It purports to have been taken *ex pervetusto codice* or "from the old book of Sir Richard Gwynn, of Gwydir." The peculiar spelling of the name *Wynne* and the mention made of the book of pedigrees drawn up by John Jones, together with the fact that the alleged defect of the genealogical descent given in the *Hanes* is noticed

1. Cf. Evans' Report, vol. ii, pt. i, p. 252.

2. *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pt. iii, pp. 803, 834.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 835. *Myf. Arch.*, p. 734.

4. *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pt. iii, p. 803.

in exactly the same words as were used by John Jones¹ leads one to suspect that the transcript was taken from that of John Jones, of Gellilyvdy (Peniarth MS. 267) rather than from the old vellum manuscript assumed to be the one owned by Sir Richard Wynne (Peniarth MS. 17).

The editors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* have mentioned other manuscript versions or transcripts of the *Hanes* which the present editor has been unable to trace.² Such are the *Liber Plaswardensis* already mentioned,³ *Liber Guillelmi Oweni de Porkington*,⁴ *Lyfyr Rev. R. Davies, of Bangor* (1788), *Lyfyr o Waith Huw Roberts, of Nantclwyd* (1651).⁵ Yet it may be that the editors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology* never actually set eyes upon the manuscripts they mention, seeing that Dr. Evans declares that they took both text and notes and variants directly from Panton MS. 26.⁶

Of the existing manuscript texts of the *Hanes*, Peniarth MS. 17 is the only really old one. Written in the middle of the thirteenth century, it is more than three hundred years older than the next earliest manuscript, that written for Arthur Agard⁷ (1553—1615), and now in the British Museum. It is therefore the only extant manuscript of the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* which has any claims to antiquity, and is consequently of first importance in establishing the genuine character of the later sixteenth and seventeenth century transcripts enumerated above. It is the necessary basis of any

1. Cf. *supra*, p. 3.

2. *Myf. Arch.*, p. 721, note 1.

3. Cf. *supra*, p. 4.

4. There is no trace of this MS. in the English Report of the Historical Manuscript Commission on the Collection of Mr. J. R. Ormsby Gore (Lord Harlech) of Brogyntyn.

5. The Latin transcript in Cardiff MS. 83 (=Philipps 23454) has written in the margin "Nantclwyd, Aug. 8th, 1626." It seems from *Arch. Camb.*, fourth series, vii, p. 264, and viii, p. 98, that the Thelwalls and the family of Nantclwyd were connected by marriage.

6. Evans' *Report*, vol. ii, pt. iii, p. 834. Dr. Evans writes: "Yr amrywddarlenniadau," etc., in the *Myvyrian* is taken from the Panton MS. and the variants were made by the copyist of the Panton MS.

7. Cf. also *infra*, p. 6.

text of the *Hanes* which is to merit the confidence of historians in the nature of the information it conveys with respect to the career of a Welsh king of the twelfth century. Unfortunately its history is obscure. Sir John Wynne in his *History of the Gwydir Family*,¹ writes: "Griffith ap Cynan's troublesome life and famous acts are compiled by a most ancient frier or monk of Wales: this was found by the posterity of the said Griffith ap Cynan in the house of Gwedir in North Wales, and at the request of Morice Wynne, Esquire (who had the same written in a most ancient booke and was lineally descended from him) was translated into Latine by Nicholas Robinson, Bishop of Bangor." Is the manuscript found by Morris Wynne in the house of Gwydir identical with Peniarth 17? There are no grounds for an answer except in mere surmise. To Sir John Wynne, who died in 1627 at the age of seventy-three, the Gwydir manuscript appeared "most ancient." Living in the years 1553 to 1627,² he would not apply that designation to the next oldest extant manuscript, that now kept in the British Museum and supposed to have been written by or for Arthur Agard.³ The vellum manuscript is the only one known to which Sir John's words can apply. It is three centuries older than the Latin version made by Bishop Robinson; and unless there existed another copy equally old, which has escaped all subsequent mention and has absolutely and completely disappeared, the surmise seems safe that Peniarth MS. 17 is the manuscript found at Gwydir by Morris Wynne and used by Robinson in making his Latin translation.⁴ Moreover the translation of the manuscript by Robinson aroused interest in it. In the same century as that in which Robinson made

1. *History of the Gwydir Family*, Oswestry edition, p. 12.

2. *History of the Gwydir Family*, Intro., p. 3 and note.

3. i.e., Vitellius Cix Cotton Collection. Arthur Agard lived 1540—1615. Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, sub nom. The MS. is attributed to Agard in the *Catalogue of MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*.

4. This view is adopted in *Arch. Camb.*, fourth series, vol. i, p. 337.

his translation at least two transcripts were made, that by Edward Thelwall¹ and that for Agard, while Davies in his *Welsh-Latin Dictionary*, published in 1632, includes the "Histori Gruffydd ap Cynan" in his list of *authores*. If then the manuscript was so prominently before Welsh scholars after Morris Wynne discovered it, it is reasonable to expect that, in the event of two manuscripts entitled to be called ancient being in existence and use, the fact must speedily have become known and recorded by such careful copiers and learned antiquarians as John Jones, of Gellilyvdy, and the transcriber of the Panton MS. 26.²

There seems to be some uncertainty as to who was the real owner of Peniarth MS. 17, whether it was the great grandfather³ of Sir Richard Wynne, of Gwydir, or Sion, the grandfather of John Jones, of Gellilyvdy. One infers from the passage already quoted from the *History of the Gwydir Family*⁴ that the manuscript had been preserved by the family and descendants of Gruffydd ap Cynan until the time of Morris Wynne of Gwydir, who was therefore its rightful possessor. But the passage is not clear beyond all doubt, especially as to the sentence, "Who had the same written in a most ancient book."⁵ Does it mean that Morris Wynne *possessed* the life written in a most ancient book, or *caused* the life to be written? At any rate Sir John Wynne is in conflict with John Jones, who affirms that Sir Richard Wynne's great grandfather, John Wynne ap Meredith,⁶ merely borrowed the "book" from Jones's grandfather Sion ap William.⁷ There is nothing to support or controvert this claim of John Jones, but if it is allowed to stand it must be assumed that John

1. *Myf. Arch.*, p. 734b.

2. *Supra*, p. 4.

3. *i.e.*, John Wynne ap Meredith of Gwydir, *ob.* 1553. Cf. *History of the Gwydir Family*, table iii.

4. *Supra*, p. 6.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Supra*, p. 3.

7. *Ibid.*

Wynne ap Meredith never returned the "book," and that it was only after his death that his son, Morris Wynne, found it and naturally thought it had been in the possession of the family for some considerable length of time. Hence it might have come about that the manuscript became the property of the Gwydir family, and John Jones was constrained to satisfy himself with a mere transcript of a manuscript that had once belonged to his grandfather.

Peniarth MS. 17 was still retained in the possession of the Gwydir family in the time of Morris Wynne's grandson, Sir Richard Wynne, for John Jones, of Gellilyvdy, confesses that his transcript is "from the book of Sir Risiard Gwynn or Wydyr,"¹ and the Panton MS. 26 likewise specifies "the old book of Sir Richard Wynne" as the source of its contents.²

From Gwydir the manuscript passed ultimately into the Hengwrt Collection. There is no trace of its fortunes to show how it came to leave the Gwydir Library or to reach that of Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, but in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*³ it is shown that two other Gwydir manuscript transcripts of the *Hanes* found their way to the Hengwrt Collection, and the writer, who adopts the supposition that Peniarth MS. 17 is that referred to by Sir John Wynne, considers that the vellum manuscript accompanied the other two.

Sir Robert Williames Vaughan, who ultimately inherited the Hengwrt collection of manuscripts, was a close friend of Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, of Peniarth, a gentleman of antiquarian tastes. It was arranged by the two friends that to prevent the dispersion of their collections the one who died first should will his manuscripts to the survivor, so that when Sir Robert Williames Vaughan died, the Hengwrt Collection became the property of Mr. W. W. E. Wynne, who in

1. Cf. *supra*, p. 3.

2. Evans' *Report*, vol. ii, pt. iii, p. 835.

3. *Arch. Camb.*, fourth series, i, p. 337.

1859 had it transferred to Peniarth.¹ It was retained by his son Mr. W. R. M. Wynne, at whose recent death the Hengwrt-Peniarth manuscripts passed to the Welsh National Library at Aberystwyth. John Jones's transcripts were bequeathed to his "friend and kinsman" Robert Vaughan,² so that Peniarth MS. 267, which has been used in this present edition to supplement the deficiencies of Peniarth MS. 17, has shared its fellow's fortunes throughout these vicissitudes.

Latin Versions.

A desire for the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* in a form intelligible to English students and those not familiar with Old Welsh forms and phraseology led, in the first instance, to the translations alleged to have been made in Latin by Nicholas Robinson, Bishop of Bangor, between 1566 and 1580 at the request of Morris Wynne, of Gwydir.³ Robinson's ability as a Welsh scholar enabled him to surmount most of the difficulties of the text, especially the interpretation of Irish place-names, and in a few instances has tempted him to make small expansions of the information in the text which have made his translation easily distinguishable. It is well that it should be so, for confusion has arisen as to whether the author of the Latin version was really Robinson or Edward Thelwall, of Plas y Ward.

As early as 1640 William Morris, the Guillelmus Mauricium whose name appears at the end of John Jones's transcript, remarked, "est alia versio huius vitæ per Edwardum Thelwall Plaswardens. circ. an. 1580."⁴ In the Bodleian Library there is a Latin version in the

1. *Evans' Report*, vol. i, pt. ii, Intro., p. v.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *History of the Gwydir Family*, p. 12. It is the Latin version in *Arch. Camb.*, third series, xii, pp. 30—45, 112—131. Morris Wynne died in 1580. For the date of Robinson's occupation of Bangor cf. *Le Neve's Fast*, i, p. 105.

4. *Arch. Camb.*, third series, xii, p. 131. *Myf. Arch.*, 734b, says 1574.

collection given by Mr. Henry Jones.¹ It is written on paper in a seventeenth century hand (said to be the hand of Robert Vaughan), and is stated to be a translation from the Welsh by "Thelwallus," there being a heading to that effect, but in a different hand from that of the text. The Llanstephan MS. 150 contains both Welsh and Latin versions of the *Hanes* written in a handwriting of the eighteenth century, and at the head of the Latin version in a hand resembling that of the note in Cardiff MS. 50, which is said to be the hand of Moses Williams,² there is written, "a Thelwallo juris perito in Latinum conversa." The British Museum MS. (Cotton Vitellius C ix ff 133—143b), which also contains a Latin version in addition to the Welsh, has at the heading, "Jurisperito in Latinum conversa," part of the entry being obliterated by fire. On the other hand, Moses Williams has written in Cardiff MS. 50 over a sixteenth century Latin version identical with that of Llanstephan MS. 50, "In *Latinum tradita* per N. R. *episcopus Bangorensis*," thus assigning the version to Robinson. Cardiff MS. 83 has no reference made to its authorship, nor has Peniarth MS. 276. It is to be noted, however, that, apart from mere errors of copying all Latin versions of the *Hanes* preserved to us, with the exception of one, are absolutely identical. Not only are they identical with regard to the precise Latin words used and the order in which they occur in the sentences, but also with regard to such details as punctuation marks, capitals, brackets, and contracted words. Further, the Latin version in two places contributes information not contained in the Welsh, *e.g.*, the pedigree of Gurgeneu ap Seisyll is

1. Jones MSS., No. 57. Madan's *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, No. 8965. "This is Robert Vaughan of Hengwrte (neere Dollgelley in the Countie of Merioneth's) booke." Cf. also *Arch. Camb.*, fourth series, vi, p. 133. It is noted as missing in the catalogue of Hengwrt MSS., *Arch. Camb.*, iv, p. 133, but Peniarth MS. 276 (= Hengwrt 155) has also the note about Robert Vaughan.

2. Evans' *Report*, vol. ii, pt. i, p. 252, ll. 158—184.

continued to Ithel and Gwerystan, and the place-name *Caer Llwyn Llwyd* is followed by the gloss *hodie Lincolnia*. Since these peculiarities are reproduced in every one of the Latin texts, without exception, there is the strongest presumption that they are all copies of the work of a common author. But who was this author of the Latin version of the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan*? Was it Nicholas Robinson, Bishop of Bangor, as the *History of the Gwydir Family* affirms, or Edward Thelwall, of Plas y Ward, as William Morris asserts?

One manuscript does at first sight seem to be independent of the others. It is Cardiff MS. 83 *The Book of Sir John Wynne*, and is in Sir John's own handwriting. In the first paragraph where the majority of Latin manuscripts have a *cum* clause, the Cardiff manuscript prefers the ablative absolute. Thus it opens: *Regnante in Anglia Edwardo: in Hibernia Terdelecho nascitur in hibernia in civitate Dublinensi Griffinus rex Venedotiae, nutriturque in loco comoti Columkell dicto hibernice Surth Kolomkell, tria miliaria distante a domo matris ac nutricis patereius Conanus erat rex Venedotiae, mater vero Racvella filia Auloedi regis Dublini civitatis et quintae partis hibernie. Prosapia quidem perquam nobili ac regia oriundus erat Gruffinus tum paterna tum materna quemadmodum genealogiae recto ordine a parentibus deductae testantur quarum series sequitur, etc.* In this opening and in other places the text of Sir John Wynne's version gives an impression of being distinctly an independent one. But a careful collation of it with the other Latin texts quickly casts doubt upon the idea. It appears in fact that the bulk of Sir John's text is identical with the others, having the same choice of words and phrases, punctuation marks, bracketings, and the two peculiarities mentioned before as distinguishing the rest of the Latin versions from the Welsh. Without doubt Sir John Wynne had before him both the Welsh version and the Latin translation, and in making his own Latin copy he merely altered passages in the Latin

to suit his own pedantic fancy as to the construction of Latin clauses and to improve perhaps upon the text before him. The chief differences lie at the beginning and the end of the text, and the inference is that he quickly tired of making alterations and contented himself with a close copy. It is therefore in only a restricted sense that Cardiff MS. 83 can claim to be an independent Latin version. Now it is Sir John Wynne who informs us in his *History of the Gwydir Family* that the Latin version was the work of Nicholas Robinson;¹ and the strong resemblance between the text in *The Booke of Sir John Wynne* and that at Peniarth,² which is said to be an autograph of Nicholas Robinson, argues that he had this version in his mind when he made the statement assigning the authorship to Robinson. Robinson was a man of parts and erudition; his interest in things Welsh was profound and sincere; and the record of his labours among Welsh manuscripts is shown in a report he directed to his contemporary Cecil upon the authenticity of extant Welsh writings. He is said, moreover, to have made "a large collection of historical things relating to the Church and State of the Britons and Welsh in folio MSS. formerly preserved in the Hengwrt Library."³ Besides being Bishop of Bangor he held the Archdeaconry of Merioneth, and later that of Anglesey; so that he lived in the heart of the country consecrated to the memory of the exploits of Gruffydd ap Cynan. In fact he was in every way competent to make a Latin translation of an archaic Welsh text, and the claims of his authorship seem to be definitely decided by the fact that the manuscript in his own handwriting is preserved at Peniarth,⁴ and that this is the only transcript

1. Cf. *supra*, p. 6.

2. *i.e.*, Peniarth MS., 434.

3. Cf. *Nat. Dict. Biog.*, sub nom.

4. The Rev. Canon Williams of Rhydycroesau affirms the identification of Robinson's handwriting. Cf. *Arch. Camb.*, third series, xii, p. 131. *History of the Gwydir Family*, p. 12, note 3. Dr. J. G. Evans is silent upon the matter, cf. *Evans' Report*, vol. i, pt. iii. In *Arch. Camb.*, third series, xv, p. 362, it professes to have been compared with an autograph signature of Robinson's and found to be in the same hand.

to which no author's name has been attached. The question is no doubt complicated, inasmuch as Thelwall and Robinson were contemporaries. Robinson was Bishop of Bangor from 1556—1584,¹ and Thelwall's transcript was dated 1574.² But, on the other hand, Sir John Wynne, who was born about 1550,³ was also his contemporary. There was bound also to have been some intimacy between the Bishop of Bangor and the heads of a great house like the house of Gwydir, and Sir John Wynne must surely have been well acquainted with the doings and commissions of his father, Morris Wynne, whom he alleged to have invited Robinson to make his Latin version of the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan*.⁴ Sir John Wynne's testimony is to be preferred therefore to that of William Morris who in 1641 attributed "another version of this life" to Thelwall.⁵

As to how it was that later copyists came to assign the Latin version to Thelwall it is easy to explain. It has been pointed out that one of the earliest extant manuscripts of the *Hanes* is the copy in the British Museum. It is said to have been transcribed either by or for Arthur Agard, who lived 1540—1615, Deputy Chamberlain in the Exchequer, and deeply versed in antiquarian lore.⁶ Apart from the old vellum text and the Latin version of Robinson's, the only other early manuscript that can be traced is that of Plas y Ward made by Thelwall in 1576. The Plas y Ward copy must have been the source, therefore, of Agard's copy, and knowing of no other it would be quite natural for Agard or his copyist to attribute the Latin version to Thelwall who had made the Welsh transcript. Thus Thelwall was regarded as an author when in all probability he was merely a transcriber.⁷ The error of authorship would

1. Le Neve.

2. Cf. *Myf. Arch.*, 734b.

3. *History of the Gwydir Family*, p. 1.

4. *Supra*, p. 6.

5. *Supra*, p. 9.

6. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, sub nom.

7. *Arch. Camb.*, third series, xii, p. 35.

thus be transferred from the one to the other, and it is significant that the entry of Thelwall's name in the Bodleian transcript is made in a later hand and in different ink from those of the text. Thus arose the confusion of authorship with regard to the Latin version, a confusion which led Moses Williams in the case of Llanstephan MS. 150 to attribute the same text to both of the two different claimants.

The Biography originally written in Latin.

Despite the fact that the earliest extant MS. of the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* is written in Welsh, there are reasons for concluding that the work was originally written not in Welsh, but in Latin.¹

It is a well-known fact that in Wales, as in other countries, many of the place-names are mere applications of words current at one time or another in the language of the country, which are carefully descriptive of some natural or geographical characteristic of the place itself or which commemorate some significant historical event associated with it. Such words are *Perveddwlad* or *middle country*, a name applied to the seaward portion of Gwynedd lying between Dee and Conway; *Pontrhydygroes* or *The Bridge of the Ford of the Cross*, the name of a village situated where the road to the abbey of Strata Florida crossed the Ystwyth in Ceredigion. Now a Welshman reading such names in a Welsh text—and it is safe to presume that Welshmen alone read Welsh texts in the Middle Ages—would at once grasp their significance without the need of any translation or explanation. And yet in the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* such simple Welsh place names as Bron yr Erw, Gwaet Erw, Caer Llwytcoed and Mynydd Carn, all easily comprehensible to the Welsh reader, where they occur in the Welsh text, are carefully glossed *in Welsh*. Take

1. Cf. also *Y Cymmrodor*, xiv, p. 152 and note.

as an example the name Mynydd Carn, the name of the spot where Gruffydd overcame Trahaiarn. The text reads, "The people of the country call the mountain upon which the battle took place 'Mynydd Carn,' that is to say, 'Mynydd Carnedd.'" As the words stand in the text the repetition is superfluous since Carn and Carnedd are synonymous, meaning "a cairn or heap of stones."¹ And so far is this repetition from fulfilling any adequate purpose that a subsequent gloss "for a huge cairn of stones is there, under which was buried a warrior in olden times,"² has been deemed necessary by the author to the aid of the reader's understanding; whereas to a Welshman the meaning would have been conveyed by the word "carn" alone, a word which was a common designation of innumerable mounds of the same kind scattered about the country. Similarly *Bron yr Erw* is explained as *Erw yr Allt*, although both *Bron* and *Allt* denote a natural mound or hillock. The question then is why should the author put himself to this unnecessary labour, and the only answer is that he was writing not in Welsh for the Welsh reader, but in Latin for the wider circle of readers who might or might not know the significance of Welsh place-names. In the Latin text the place-names would be recorded in their ordinary Welsh form and then translated into their Latin equivalents by way of explanation for those ignorant of Welsh. It is the device adopted throughout by Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Itinerarium Kambriae* and *Descriptio Kambriae*, where he writes, *Kairarvon, id est, castrum de Arvon*;³ *Silvestria de Coleshulle id est Carbonis colle*;⁴ "Porthmaur Meneviae id est Portu magno";⁵ "Ridhelic quod Brittannice Vadum salicis."

Now in the case of the *Hanes*, we must note how in translating the original Latin text into Welsh the

1. Cf. Silvan Evans' *Dictionary*, sub. nom.
2. *Infra*, p. 13L.
3. *Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 124.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

translator, while preserving the name in its original Welsh form, blindly translated the Latin equivalents also and thereby presented the Welsh reader with Welsh names explained in Welsh and in terms absolutely synonymous and sometimes identical with those of the original name. This explanation would likewise account for the fact that the prophecy of Merddin after being stated in Welsh (and therefore presumably comprehensible to those for whom a Welsh translation would be designed) is given also in Latin. It might be noted also that in the title of the work the Latin form *historia* is preserved where the copyists of later date employed the Welsh *hanes neu buchedd*,¹ and that in presenting an entirely fictitious derivation of the place-name *Rheims* from the name of the Latin hero Remus the Welsh text still preserves, whether from ignorance or carelessness the ablative form of the Latin substantive, *i.e.*, *Remo*, which of course would be the actual form in which it would occur in a Latin text. The supposition, then, is that the *Hanes* was originally written in Latin at an early period, and only at a later date was translated into Welsh in the form in which we now possess it.² Nor is there anything improbable in this supposition of an original Latin text of the *Hanes*. For the work is on the face of it that of a cleric to whom Latin would be the language of scholarship and religion, and the natural medium for a composition of this kind.

The Date of the Composition—its Sources of Information.

Ashas been already mentioned,³ the earliest manuscript of the *Hanes* belongs to the thirteenth century; and since Gruffydd died in 1137, it must have been written a

1. *Eman y dechreu historia hen Gruffydd ap Cynan*, the opening words of the *Hanes*, are merely the Welsh translation of *Hic incipit Historia antiqua Gruffydd ap Cynan*, the customary formula at the beginning of the mediæval chronicles. Cf. also p. 179, note 2.

2. Prof. Lloyd holds this view in *Y Cymmrodor*, xiv, p. 152 and note.

3. *Supra*, p. 5.

century and a half later than the death of the hero whose actions it professes to record. If it were the original text it could hardly command confidence in the minute details it often offers. But granted that there once existed a Latin original as has been demonstrated above, it is permissible to assume that the Latin text would be considerably older than the Welsh translation now represented by Peniarth MS. 17. Even then the approximate date of the composition of the *Hanes* remains as obscure as the identity of the author himself.¹ Of formal evidence of this date there is none, and the internal evidence is of the most meagre description. For in applying himself to chronicle the doings of this Welsh prince of the twelfth century, the biographer has set himself a task the narrow limits of which he has never once transcended. He set himself to recount the qualities and achievements of the life of one prince in an age when every lord of royal descent was dubbed a prince, and so rigidly has he adhered to his theme that he hardly mentions men of rank who played important parts in movements in which his hero was concerned. He has allowed only the barest account of Gruffydd's famous sons to distract his attention from the fortunes of the father, and is strictly silent as to the progress of English affairs and those great universal movements such as the crusading movements which convulsed Europe but in which his hero had no part. In short, the biographer of Gruffydd ap Cynan has been quite guiltless of perpetrating any anachronisms or casual irrelevancies which might afford a clue to the date of the composition of his text. This together with the fact that the *Hanes* has omitted some important events in Gruffydd's career might be adduced in support of the supposition that it was written very shortly after his

1. He was certainly a Welshman, as his ejaculation "Oh brother Welshmen!" shows. His knowledge of places in Gwynedd and his ignorance of those of Powys and Deheubarth suggest that he was a native of Gwynedd.

death, before the fame of Gruffydd's contemporary princes had spread beyond their own locality and incidents and legends touching Gruffydd himself had not become matter of common knowledge in Wales. It is true, too, that on the face of it the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* bears the traces not of the patient biographical essay of a scholarly mind but of a professional panegyric after the fashion of a court bard but subdued by clerical influence; although one is loth to see in it a mere funeral oration prepared for an occasion; for surely in singing the praises of the ancestor the praises of the descendants under whose patronage it would be written would never have been forgotten by a politic churchman. The achievements of Gruffydd's two sons Owain Gwynedd and Cadwaladr were real and glorious even in Gruffydd's days, and the fact that the *Hanes* is content to give them such meagre notice¹ seems ample proof that it was written under conditions of complete independence of court influence, and perhaps at a time when those achievements had been forgotten.²

Nevertheless as Professor Lloyd has pointed out,³ what little evidence we can gather seems to prove that the *Hanes* must have been written during the reign of Owain Gwynedd, and, as is shown by the list of English kings which ends with Stephen,⁴ during the reign of Henry II. in England. In the first place the author attributes the description he gives of Gruffydd's personal appearance⁵ to the information tendered by Gruffydd's friends, whence it may be presumed that they were living when the *Hanes* was written. Then there is only

1. *Infra*, pp. 23, 141, 155.

2. Prof. Lloyd writes: "I am inclined to attribute its composition to the filial affection of Owain Gwynedd and to explain the absence of any reference to his exploits by his well-known modesty and good feeling.

3. *Wales and the Coming of the Normans* in *Y Cymmrodor*, xiv, p. 152 and note.

4. *Infra*, p. 109.

5. *Infra*, p. 133.

one generation mentioned as having passed since the enormities of the French were committed, for they were remembered by "sons after their parents." Further, although the writer of the *Hanes* treats at length of Irish pedigrees and ancient Irish history and of Gruffydd's dealings with Irish and Scandinavian princes, and frequently mentions the kings of Waterford and Dublin, he never betrays any sign that he was aware of the conquest of Ireland by what was really a Welsh expedition, a conquest providing Giraldus Cambrensis with the theme of the most remarkable of his writings.¹ The *Hanes* must therefore have been written before the landing of Fitz Stephen's expedition in Ireland. At any rate it must have been written before the capture of Waterford by Strongbow in 1171,² for it says that the Kings of Waterford, descendants of Harald Haarfager, were ruling in Waterford "to this day."³ It would be possible that a Welsh cleric living in some sequestered spot might be unconscious of the march of events in Ireland; but it is scarcely credible that one who gathered so much Irish information as did the writer of the *Hanes*, and had such excellent means of acquiring knowledge of Irish matters as the maritime communications between Gwynedd and Dublin provided, could be long in learning of the fall of Dublin and Waterford before an invading army, if such incidents had happened in his time. It is still less credible that, knowing of the capture of these two Irish cities, he should conceal such important knowledge in his frequent references to Ireland. The conclusion then is that the *Hanes* was written before these events took place, so that the phrase "kings of this city *since then to this day*"⁴ becomes a statement of actual fact and not a mere empty and conventional Biblical phrase imported into the narrative regardless of truth.

1. *i.e.*, *Expugnatio Hibernica*.

2. *F. Mast*, p. 1177.

3. Cf. also *Y Cymmrodor*, xiv, p. 153 and note.

4. *Infra*, p. 107.

It is noteworthy that in referring to St. David's the *Hanes* speaks of the *archbishopric* of St. David's.¹ Its original Latin shape, its numerous Biblical illustrations, and its pious ejaculations, stamp the *Hanes* as so obviously the work of a cleric that this curious fact of its calling St. David's an archbishopric begins to have significance. For even granting the alleged ignorance disgracing the Welsh clergy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,² a cleric must have known the difference between a bishopric and an archbishopric. Indeed, the writer of the *Hanes* shows a few lines afterwards³ that he does so by speaking of the *bishop* of St. David's. Within the memory of authentic history St. David's had never received or exercised either the dignity or the privileges of an archbishopric. But the reawakened sense of the unity and distinction of the Welsh people accruing from their struggle against the Normans discovered itself, more than in any other way, in a steadily accelerating movement for the dissociation of the Church in Wales from subservience to the See of Canterbury. Under the influence of Giraldus Cambrensis the chapter of St. David's even ventured to realise its ambitions, and between the years 1176 and 1202 carried on a fierce altercation with the Norman kings, the archbishops of Canterbury, and even the Pope in support of its claims to metropolitan powers. There is no doubt that this attempt made a great impression in Wales.⁴ Giraldus pleaded his cause in Powys and Gwynedd, and the great Llewelyn ap Iorwerth spoke in his favour before large gatherings of Welshmen. Only at this period (1176—1202) would anyone have thought of calling St. David's an archbishopric in a reputable historical narrative, and at first sight one is inclined to doubt whether it is not to this period that the

1. Cf. *infra*, p. 125.

2. Cf. *Gir. Camb.* ii, Intro., lxii, iii, pp. xi—xiv.

3. *Infra*, p. 125.

4. *Quem praeferit tota Wallia. Gir. Camb.* iii, p. 119. Cf. also *ibid.*, i, pp. 43, 113, 115; iii, 197, 210, etc.

composition ought to be relegated. But it must be remembered that the growth of patriotic feeling in Wales was renewed as early as 1094,¹ long before Giraldus appeared in Welsh affairs, and that Geoffrey of Monmouth himself came under its influence;² and whether or not there had always been preserved among the Welsh people a tradition of the ancient metropolitan dignity of St. David's, Geoffrey of Monmouth could not fail to give the idea currency by solemnly according St. David's that dignity in his *Historia Regum Britanniae*, a work that must have been written during the lifetime of Gruffydd ap Cynan.³ It is clear, then, that to explain the phrase "archbishopric of St. David's" as it occurs in the *Hanes*, it is not necessary to suppose that the biographer wrote as late as the period when Giraldus roused the enthusiasm of Wales for St. David's or was at all indebted to his writings. If the *Hanes* was written before 1171 the writer would yet have before him the example of Geoffrey of Monmouth or at anyrate might yet be under the influence of those forces and ideas prevailing in Wales which led Geoffrey earlier than 1137 to style St. David's an archbishopric.

Of course it is evident that too much stress ought not to be laid upon the fact that the *Hanes* makes no reference to the conquest of Ireland. As must be shown later, there are many other events strictly pertinent to Gruffydd's career of which the *Hanes* takes no notice, a circumstance which proves that the author's sources of information were very limited. What were those sources of information? The sources of written information accessible to a historical writer in Wales at this time cannot have been very extensive—meagre chronological compilations like the *Annales Cambriae* and the *Brut y Tywysogion*, lives of saints and heroes, pane-

1. Cf. *Infra*, p. 69.

2. *Infra*, p. 26.

3. Orderic Vitalis, writing in 1136-7, quotes from it.

gyrics and elegies in verse made by the bards, and those books of pedigrees noticed by Giraldus Cambrensis.¹

It must be admitted at once that the author of the *Hanes* cannot be accused of drawing his information from the same sources as the later compilations of the *Annales Cambriae* or the *Brut y Tywysogion*. The *Brut y Tywysogion* notices chiefly the events of Powys and has a bias in favour of Powys. The *Hanes* is concerned with Gwynedd and would have to trust to information culled in Gwynedd; for the meagre reference made to Gwynedd in the two compilations mentioned, to events in Gwynedd in the earlier years of Gruffydd's career, and to details of Gruffydd himself, shows conclusively that they would be of no use in the earlier part of the narrative where the *Hanes* had fuller reports from elsewhere. On the other hand, where the *Brut y Tywysogion* and the *Annales* are full of information, the *Hanes* is ignorant of important Welsh movements synchronous with Gruffydd's own career, and even of particular events in the later years of Gruffydd's own life. We search the *Hanes* in vain for any account of the erratic career of the famous Owain ap Cadwgan although on at least two critical occasions he was closely associated with Gruffydd ap Cynan. The sanguinary feuds of Powys and Ceredigion in the reign of Henry I., the rebellion of Robert of Bellême, the triumph and fall of Gruffydd's ally Rhys ap Tewdwr are passed unmentioned, as is the base truckling of Gruffydd ap Cynan to Henry the First in his persecution of the South Welsh prince Gruffydd ap Rhys.² Some of these eminent people are mentioned by name as they make their appearance from time to time in various parts of the story, but beyond that there is no suggestion of their

1. *Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 168. *In libris eorum antiquis et authenticis sed tamen Kambrice scriptam; eandemque memoriter tenent, a Rotherico magno usque ad beatam Virginem et inde usque ad Silvium, Ascanium, et Æneam, et ab Ænea usque ad Adam generationem linealiter producant.* Cf. also *ibid.*, 167, 200.

2. *Brut y Tywys.*, pp. 121—122. For a fuller account see *Gwentian Chronicle*, pp. 97—99. Cf. *infra*, p. 88.

real importance. And above all, as has been already pointed out, the *Hanes* displays its independence of the sources of the two Welsh chronicles in its unpardonable ignorance of the career and exploits during Gruffydd's lifetime of his two sons Owain and Cadwaladr, of their conquests in Meirionydd and Ceredigion, and of their glorious victory at Aberteivi, one of the few pitched battles of Welsh history and the crowning triumph of Gruffydd's own career. Yet all these events are treated at length in the pages of the *Brut y Tywysogion* and the *Annales Cambriae*, and no writer acquainted with their sources of information could neglect them. Further the *Hanes* omits the only incident recorded of Gruffydd ap Cynan in the various lives of the Saints,¹ and if there were any other written records in Gwynedd from which a biographer in the twelfth century could cull his matter, they have left no traces behind them. To those writings of Norman or English origin which treat at all of Welsh affairs, the *Hanes* can scarcely have been indebted, even if there were facilities enabling Welsh clerics to consult such works as the *Ecclesiastical History of Ordericus Vitalis*. Some of the events noted by Orderic, as the attack upon Rhuddlan, occur also in the *Hanes*: others are omitted, and still others, as the attack upon Anglesey in 1098, differ widely in material from the accounts given in the *Hanes*. Thus from extant sources, Latin and Welsh, it is impossible to say what written records, if any were used by the biographer of the *Hanes* to supply the intimate detail of his work.

On the contrary, taking into account the romantic character of the narrative, its lack of chronological precision, and the vagueness of much of its information, it may be permissible to doubt whether he had recourse to any formal documents whatever. Perhaps his remarks as to Irish persons and incidents and the fact of their appearing in the *Hanes* in so large a proportion, coupled with the proximity of the Irish and Welsh

1. *Infra*, p. 66.

coasts and the uncommon intimacy of Gruffydd's relations with Ireland might suggest that the writer of the *Hanes* had access to Irish sources as was the case with the other Welsh chronicles.¹ The complexity of Gruffydd's Irish pedigree as given in the *Hanes* does indeed imply a certain amount of research into Irish records, but research not so much on the part of the author of the *Hanes* as perhaps on the part of the court bard whose duty it was to seek out and preserve such matter. Moreover the form in which this pedigree has come down to us is very inaccurate, as if it had been twisted and embellished by process of time and imagination rather than by the carelessness of a professional bard and must have come from hearsay rather than from formal consultation of authorities. For the rest, the Irish references are of a vague nature such as would hardly distinguish information gathered from a close personal acquaintance with the Irish records themselves. Thus there is nothing to say who in the multiplicity of Irish Murchads was the special Murchad to fit out Gruffydd's first expedition (p. 113); Gruffydd flies for help to the "King of Ireland" at a time when Irish kings were as plentiful as nuts in a good summer; and "the man who was ruling at this time" caused the traitors who betrayed Gruffydd in 1098² to be maimed. Further, the *Hanes* does not follow the spelling of the Irish records, but rather adopts a phonetic spelling, such as *Ethumach gawyn* for *Aed ua Mathghamhna*,³ *gurmlach* for *Gormflaith*, *diermit* for *Diarmaid*, *Muen* for *Mumhain*, *laine* for *Laighen*; which leads to the conclusion that the biographer was writing down spoken words strange to his ears. Now the singular independence and detachment of the *Hanes* as an historical narrative, as well as the fact that it contains so much detail which can be shown to be substantially or approxi-

1. Cf. *Ann. Camb., Intro.*, pp. xv—xvi.

2. *Infra*, p. 149.

3. *F. Mast*, p. 1021.

mately true favours the supposition already offered, namely, that the original biography was written at an early date after Gruffydd's death, a time not so far remote from his death as the age of the earliest extant manuscript of the *Hanes* might allow. At such a time there must have been many still living who had shared the fortunes of Gruffydd ap Cynan in his later years and could offer the evidence of contemporaries or eye witnesses. Such would be those "intimate friends of Gruffydd"¹ whose testimony the *Hanes* acknowledged as the source of its detailed description of Gruffydd's personal appearance, and who must have been alive when the *Hanes* was written. One might add to their evidence that of the common source of much miscellaneous information for mediæval chroniclers, the gossip of travellers and pilgrims,² and the gleanings of local tradition. For the strength of the latter is apparent from the incidents of the invasion of Anglesey in 108 that Giraldus Cambrensis was able to acquire in a hurried journey through the country; and the author of the *Hanes* himself assures us that the enormities of the French were such as to provide food for gossip for generations. Nor can there have been an absolute lack of miscellaneous poetical matter to aid the biographer. True, the works of Meilyr Brydyt³ are the only ones treating at length of Gruffydd's achievements that have preserved for us. But mixing as Gruffydd did in the life of Ireland whose numerous learned poets and historians were deemed worthy of mention in the Annals of the land, it would be strange indeed if a man of his

1. *Infra*, p. 133.

2. For instance, Ynys Seiriol or Puffin Island attracted many pilgrims from among the Scandinavians of Ireland. The pilgrims were accustomed to spend the night at the *hospitium* of Penmon on the mainland, which eventually became the church of Penmon. A son of Gruffydd ap Cynan was abbot of Ynys Seiriol in 1130 and therefore would come in close contact with the Irish and Scandinavian Pilgrims. *Arch. Camb., second series*, xiv, p. 47, also *ibid.*, first series, iv, pp. 198 and following, and Rees's *Welsh Saints*, p. 212.

3. *Myf. Arch.*, pp. 140, 142.

pretensions had not his own bardic historians in Wales.¹ A glance at the Irish *Annals of the Four Masters* is sufficient to show how much of the history of the time must have been preserved in verse, and another glance at the pages of the *Hanes* with its little romances and poetic touches, especially in the description of the conduct and issues of the battles, shows its indebtedness to similar sources. It has been noted, too, how the success of the Welsh resistance to Norman invasion had given an impetus to the spirit of racial unity in Wales, which discovered itself in fierce endeavours to strike off the alien Norman fetters, in high schemes of ambitious princes for Welsh unity, and in attempts no less ambitious for the independence of the Welsh Church.² Reinforced by the example of Norman luxury and its own traditions of bardic emphasis, this revival expressed itself also in an outburst of patriotic song, extravagantly eulogistic of the Cymric princes and permeated with an acrid and not irrational prejudice against the greedy invaders. Geoffrey of Monmouth himself, although not specially addressing his works to Welshmen, did not escape the infection, so that his *Historia Regum Britanniae* became in part a fallacious record of "British" prowess against a constantly humiliated Saxon adversary. To this outburst of literary activity it is not unnatural to refer the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* and to insist that those same influences stirring the chronicler of the *Brut y Tywysogion* and even the phlegmatic *Annales Cambriae* to some attempt at historical fulness and literary grace³ fired also some worthy churchman to this eminently patriotic piece of writing, a commendable companion in prose to the fiery verse of Cynddelw and Gwalchmai. Tradition, indeed, has made Gruffydd the very hero of

1. Such as Gellan, who is named in the text, p. 139.

2. *Supra*, p. 20.

3. Cf. Aneurin Owen's Introduction to the *Gwentian Chronicle* in *Arch. Camb.*, third series, x, 1864.

this revival, both military and literary, as the prince who used the knowledge acquired among the minstrels of Ireland to extend the knowledge of musical instruments and poetical forms in mediæval Wales¹ in the same manner as he employed the arts of war gained in a life of endless campaigning to secure the bounds of his kingdom. It was natural, therefore, that his glory should be sung in verse² by men like Meilyr Brydyt or Gellan "chief harpist and musician in the fleet."³ The strange thing would be that more should not exert their skill in his praise. In his *Remarques sur les vieux poèmes historiques gallois*⁴ Professor Loth has pointed out that certain of the poems of the *Red Book of Hergest* concern themselves in a vague high-flown manner with Gruffydd ap Cynan, speaking of him as "passionate," "vehement and handsome," "although solitary not craven," possessed of a "beneficent mien" and "throwing lustre on his kindred."⁵ Another poem deals with the descent upon Meirionydd and Ceredigion made by Gruffydd's sons (1113—1135),⁶ another may refer to the expedition made by Rufus against Gruffydd when he reached Mur Castell,⁷ while others notice the attack upon Deganwy⁸ and the part played by the sons of Edwin in Anglesey.⁹ The theme of these songs would provide ample matter for a grateful cleric to write of one who likewise "made Gwynedd to shine with lime-washed churches like the firmament with stars,"¹⁰ the story of whose life was the story of the trials and

1. Cf. Stephen's *Literature of the Cymry and Gwentian Chronicle*, p. 113.

2. The author notes Virgil's eloquence in verse as well as that of Cicero in prose. *Infra*, p. 139.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Rev. Celt.*, xxi, pp. 28—58.

5. Skene's *Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 224.

6. *Rev. Celt.*, xxi, p. 45.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

10. *Infra*, p. 155.

triumphs of Gwynedd itself and interesting to "the sons after their fathers."

The *Hanes* takes a place superior to those "large and ambitious superstructures of fable reared upon a basis of truth more or less broad and firm according to circumstances."¹ Yet it possibly remains as one of many historical stories written to amuse as well as instruct. The romantic and spirited style of its narrative coupled with the wealth of trivial but picturesque detail it presents has been responsible for the measure of suspicion it has met with from students of Welsh affairs. But the closer it is compared with contemporary records, English, Welsh, or Irish, the less will it be seen to merit contempt or condemnation. Events may not always follow in their proper order in the narrative; some of its statements may be perfunctory and misleading. These are things inherent in such a class of composition. The fabric is woven from substantial materials even though the pattern is mistaken. A glorification of an individual, the very nature of the compilation accounts for its deficiencies, for every endeavour is made to give the greatest prominence to the virtues of the hero and to conceal his failings. It will be seen that the part played by Gruffydd is on occasions exaggerated, and feats are ascribed to him to which he has no real, or at most only partial claim. Throughout the story only those actions are recorded which redound to his glory: other events and other individuals of importance in Welsh history are omitted, as much, perhaps, because Gruffydd's fame might suffer as because the occurrences of Powys and Debeubarth had no place in a career confined exclusively

1. Cf. Stevenson's preface to *Radulphi de Coggeshulle, Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. xxi. Reared upon a basis of truth more or less broad and firm, according to circumstances, is erected a large and ambitious superstructure of fable, the marvels of which are due to the inventive power of the *trouveur* . . . Each of these narratives, be it prose or poetry, possesses, along with a substratum of history, a large proportion of the alloy of fiction; and these are so intermixed and intermingled that it is always difficult to specify the exact line at which the history ends and the fiction begins.

to Gwynedd. Hence, although during Gruffydd's life Wales laboured in a singularly chaotic state, the *Hanes* does not afford us a single ray of independent light such as it could have cast upon the history of the times to explain motives and ideas. Nor does it picture in any degree of fulness the policy by which the diplomatic Henry the First secured his hold upon his turbulent Welsh neighbours; so that as an aid to the elucidating of the growth of Norman influence in Wales it is only partly satisfactory. Its chronology, too, is sometimes more than desperate. Not only are incidents, entirely distinct in point of time, confused or compressed into a single event as in the case of the invasions of Rufus, and the attack upon the castle of Aberlenniog, but also, as in the case of the expedition against Rhuddlan recorded by Ordericus Vitalis in 1088, the actual sequence of events is violated by antedating single occurrences. But the author of the *Hanes* had access to certain historical knowledge shared by no other Welsh record as his reference to Warenne of Shrewsbury, Walter de Lacy, Gurgeneu Ap Seisyll, Godfrey of Man shows,¹ and this must be borne in mind before any point of detail is rejected as altogether worthless from any lack of corroborative evidence. The validity of most of the detail presented can be substantiated from other sources, and it is in this detail that the value of the *Hanes* lies, especially in so far as it illuminates the intimacy of Ireland and the Norse settlements with Welsh affairs, and the character of the opposition that a Welsh prince had to meet from the Norman invader. Nor must sight be lost of its use as a supplement to existing authorities both English and Welsh in the main outline of the story of Wales in the years of the Norman conquest. It is exceedingly important as a corrective to such Welsh records as the *Brut y Tywysogion* which is ever vacillating in its sentiments, now exulting with the Welsh,

1. *Infra*, pp. 119, 123, 137.

then covering them with its completest contempt. The *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* supports the Welsh side consistently and fervently, apologising for the lapses and rejoicing in the successes of its hero. It reflects a feeling purely Welsh¹ and preserves in a manner lacking elsewhere the spirit of implacable enmity and profound disdain which animated the Welsh throughout in their resistance to the enormities of the invader.

The Pedigree of Gruffydd ap Cynan.

It was especially desirable for Gruffydd and his immediate successors, sprung as they were from a disinherited exile in Ireland, the home of pretenders and adventurers, that his legitimate descent from the ancient royal stock of Gwynedd should be set forth in its clearest and amplest form. For in the early middle ages a person with an hereditary title to kingship had real and powerful claims upon the loyalty and devotion of a people; and on the other hand those who adopted the title and privileges of kingship without the sanction of a royal extraction were tolerated with impatience by their subjects and were continually exposed to the successful intriguing of the dispossessed royal stock. This was so even among those vagrant Scandinavians with whom Gruffydd was associated from childhood—to such an extent that a nobleman, though he were actually possessed of the power of a monarch, often from prudence refrained from assuming the title of king and was content with a less sounding designation.² In Wales, also, where status and birth played an unusually powerful part in determining the relations between individuals, the persistence with which the heirs of the royal stock retained their footing in Gwynedd in the face

1. Professor Lloyd writes: "It is more secular in tone than the *Brut*, though no doubt the work of a cleric, and really gives us, I think, the atmosphere of the courts of Owain and Cadwaladr. Cf. *supra*, p. 18, note 2.

2. *Chron. Man*, p. 143, note 4.

of the repeated usurpations of the tenth and eleventh centuries, is a proof of the strength of the inherent claims of a royal descent. In the case of Gruffydd ap Cynan, they gained him a hearing in his first attempt to press his claims in Gwynedd. They cast a prejudice against Trahaiarn his most formidable opponent, and gave Gruffydd himself the part of defender of the honour of Gwynedd against the pretensions of Powys. Moreover, at the height of the invasions of Gwynedd by the Normans, as King of Gwynedd he became the natural rallying point of the Welsh resistance to foreign subjugation. His claims, too, as king upon the services of Welshmen no doubt made it easier for him to obtain faithful Welsh subjects to inhabit his depopulated estates,¹ and they stood him in good stead when his escape from Chester was effected.² Certain it is that his persistent attempts to regain the throne of Gwynedd which had passed from the power of the natural heirs of the kingdom could never have enjoyed complete success had Gruffydd not represented in his person the return of the old royal stock of Gwynedd to oust usurpers like Trahaiarn ap Caradoc and Owain ap Edwin whose alien rule humiliated the honour of the kingdom.

Apart, then, from the majesty in which his long and illustrious descent would enshrine Gruffydd ap Cynan, the *Hanes* displays a certain logical sense in giving such prominence to his pedigree. As a means of establishing his position, and, having established it, of conserving it, his undoubted hereditary title to rule in Gwynedd was of signal importance in his lifetime, and at his death of no less moment to the heirs of his kingdom threatened by jealous subordinates, refractory tributaries and foreign antagonists.

The chief difficulty with regard to Gruffydd's descent on the Welsh side is the obscurity attending the person

1. *Infra*, pp. 123, 151.

2. *Infra*, p. 133.

and career of his father Cynan son of Iago.¹ The *Hanes* says nothing of him beyond the fact that he was King of Gwynedd and married Ragnailt daughter of King Olaf of Dublin.² The *Brut y Tywysogion* and the *Annales Cambriae* tell us nothing at all either of his reign in Gwynedd or the causes of his exile in Ireland. Both refer to Gruffydd as Gruffydd ap Cynan, but in their notices of him in the earlier years of his career write of him as "gwyr Iago,"³ "nepos Iago,"⁴ as if they were ignorant of his father's name.

In the year 1016 a certain Llewelyn ap Seisyll had ruled in Gwynedd with great success although it would seem that he was an usurper. He was succeeded by Iago, Gruffydd's grandfather, who restored the old succession, but was slain in 1037. Now the fact that after Iago Gruffydd son of Llewelyn ap Seisyll immediately occupied the throne of Gwynedd and that he belonged to a vigorous family that had already once usurped the royal power may suggest that Gruffydd ap Llewelyn led the opposition against Iago and caused his downfall. Naturally Cynan, the son of Iago and natural heir to the kingdom, would be obliged to flee. The reason of his exile in Ireland is therefore comprehensible. But neither of the Welsh sources mentioned say anything of this flight or of its causes, or notice any memorable actions performed by Cynan during his retirement. Only the pages of the so-called *Gwentian Chronicle*, a late record of doubtful authenticity, afford him any notice.⁵ Here it is stated that although the rightful King of Gwynedd "none would join his party in Wales, for his family was not beloved on account of their cruelties in slaying and putting out the eyes of

1. Cynan's mother is said to have been named Avandred. Cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, x, p. 130. *Arch. Camb.*, fifth series, viii, p. 242.

2. Cf. *infra*, p. 103.

3. i.e., grandson of Iago. Cf. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 48. The translation in the Rolls Series is wrong here.

4. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 27.

5. Cf. *Arch. Camb.*, third series, vol. x.

those that opposed them in their irregularities.”¹ This same record insists that Cynan made two attempts to regain his throne and that he so far succeeded as to set hands upon his rival Gruffydd ap Llewelyn. He was however driven back by “the men of the country” who beat off “the Irishmen” with great loss. Cynan’s second attempt was frustrated by tempestuous winds at sea which caused the greater part of his men to be drowned.

We seem to catch a glimpse of Cynan in the Irish chronicles, the *Annals of Ulster*² and the *Annals of Loch Cé*.³ The former erroneously calls him “grandson of Iacob,” but the parallel passage in the *Annals of Loch Cé* shows that Cynan son of Iago was intended by referring to Mac Iacob. In the midst of the difficulties besetting Gruffydd ap Llewelyn in 1063 Cynan crossed again to North Wales, and, if we can trust Irish sources for information on Welsh events, was enabled a second time to lay hands upon Gruffydd ap Llewelyn and kill him.⁴ Thus the Irish Annals are the only authorities of repute that tell us anything about Cynan, Gruffydd’s father, and they only call him “son of Iago” without stating his real name.

The remainder of the pedigree of Gruffydd ap Cynan on the Welsh side is obviously gleaned from the common bardic stock. The register preserved by the court bard in every prince’s household and the many lists descending through Adam to God which the astonished Giraldus Cambrensis beheld in his tour through

1. *Arch. Camb.*, third series, x, p. 59.

2. *Ann. Ult.*, ii, p. 14 and note 3.

3. *Ann. Loch Cé*, i, p. 60. *MacLeobelein ri Bretan do marbad la MacIacob. The son of Llewelyn, king of Britain was slain by the son of Iago.*

4. The Welsh and English chronicles say that Gruffydd ap Llewelyn was slain *dolo suorum*. Cf. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 25. *Flor. Wig.* i, p. 222. The *Gwentian Brut* affirms that he was slain through the treachery of Madoc Min, bishop of Bangor. Cf. *Gwentian Chronicle*, p. 57. Cf. also Professor Lloyd’s note *Y Cymmrodor*, xiv, p. 153.

Wales,¹ would suffice to arrange the conventional genealogical line given in the *Hanes*.

This is not the place for a detailed inquiry into the methods and sources of the copious lists of Welsh pedigrees abounding in public and private libraries in Wales. But it must be obvious that upon the results of an analysis of the pedigree of Gruffydd ap Cynan must depend to some extent the reputation and validity of the *Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan* as an historical source. John Jones of Gellilyvdy challenges its validity, saying, "The genealogical tree of Gruffydd ap Cynan here is defective: seek a perfect one in my book of pedigrees," and in the Peniarth MS. 17 extensive corrections have been made in the pedigree in a late hand.² The most systematic attempts to investigate these Welsh pedigrees are those of Mr. Egerton Phillimore in *Y Cymmrodor*³ and Mr. Anscombe in the *Archiv für Celtische Lexicographie*.⁴ The latter lists are taken from the pedigrees in *Harleian* MS. 3859 of the twelfth century, the pedigree of *Concenn* (c. 850), *Fermail* (c. 1050), *De Situ Becheniauc* (c. 1225), *Cognacio Brychani* (c. 1650), *Llyfr Llewelyn Offeiriad* (c. 1300), *Llyfr Achau Lewys Dunn* (c. 1600), *Progenies Keredic regis de Keredigan* (c. 1225), the pedigrees from the Mostyn text of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c. 1285), and the *Bonhed Gwyr y Gogled*.⁵

As given in the *Hanes*, Gruffydd's pedigree divides itself into four parts, centring in Beli Mawr or Magnus, *i.e.*:—

- I. The descent of Beli Mawr from Brutus.
- II. The descent of Rhodri Mawr from Beli Mawr through Rhodri's *father* Mervyn Vrych.

1. *Gir. Camb.*, v, p. 168. Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 167, 200.

2. Cf. *supra*, p. 3.

3. *Y Cymmrodor*, 1888, vol. ix, p. 141 and foll.

4. Ed. Stokes und Meyer, Nutt, London, 1900.

5. *Arch. für Celt. Lex.*, bd. i, p. 514.

III. The descent of Rhodri Mawr from Beli Mawr through his *mother* Etil daughter of Cynan of Castell Tindaethwy.

IV. The descent of Gruffydd ap Cynan from Rhodri Mawr.

I. It is interesting to find that the *Hanes* preserves the fiction of the descent of the British kings from Brutus, a fiction maintained by Nennius and expounded so brilliantly by Geoffrey of Monmouth.¹ But whatever the sources of the genealogical information of the *Hanes* its account of the descent of Beli Mawr from Brutus "prince of Rome"² is sufficient to establish its independence of the *Historia Regum Britanniae*, although at the same time it may help to illustrate the amount of quasi-historical matter forming the groundwork of Geoffrey's writings. Thus from Brutus Tywysog Ruvein to Membyr the *Hanes* follows the succession in Geoffrey. After Membyr, the latter drags in Evrawc to explain the founding of Caer Evroc. Brutus Ysgwyt Ir appears in Geoffrey's *Brut* as Brutus Daryan Las. From Brutus Ysgwyt Ir to Regat daughter of Llyr there are the same number of names in the *Hanes* as in Geoffrey's *Brut*, but Bleiddut and Run (Rud) change places and for Lliwelyt Geoffrey has Lleon. Riwallaun and Gurust are both found in Geoffrey's *Brut*, but from Gurust the lines of descent are uncompro-misingly different. It is unfortunate that it is so, for none of the lists of Welsh pedigrees now extant notice the line of descent of Beli Mawr from Brutus, so that there is no means of testing the accuracy of the pedigree in the *Hanes* or establishing it against the rival claims of Geoffrey's list. Beli Mawr indeed seems to be the ultimate source of all Welsh lines of royal descent at least in the direct male line. His father is not mentioned in them. Instead he is represented as the

1. Giraldus also notices this fiction of the bards. Cf. above, note 1, p. 105.

2. Cf. *infra*, p. 105.

son of Anna daughter of "Yr Amherawdyr Rufein"¹ "consobrina Marie virginis"² and daughter of Uther Pendragon.³ As for the father of Beli Mawr we have to turn to Geoffrey's *Brut* to find that as in the *Hanes* he is given as Manogan. Of course the lists have here arrived at the high altitudes of romance and invention, and one cannot take things seriously, but it is strange that the author of the *Hanes*, if he knew of the connecting link between Beli Mawr and the daughter of Uther Pendragon, should have omitted to set forth his hero's descent from the great Arthur and so have added still further lustre to Gruffydd's already illustrious descent.

II. The descent of Rhodri Mawr from Beli Mawr through Mervyn Vrych is contained only in one list, that from *Llyfr Llewelyn Offeiriad* a fourteenth century manuscript in the Jesus College collection. It agrees very closely with the *Hanes* and one suspects that the *Hanes* may have been used by Llewelyn yr Offeiriad in making his compilation. It is interesting to find in support of its validity that while omitting most of the names in this particular line of descent the Harleian MS. No. 3859 contains the descent of Gorwst Ledlumm from Coel Hen. On page 203 of the *Archiv für Celtische Lexicographie*⁴ it will be found that Keneu is omitted; but at the same time another list from the Harleian MS.⁵ agrees with the *Hanes* and *Llyfr Llywelyn* in retaining him. In four places the

1. *i.e.*, The Emperor of Rome, *Archiv für Celt. Lex.*, Bd. iii, p. 65, No. 838.

2. *Ibid.*, Bd. i, p. 191, No. 12.

3. *Ibid.*, Bd. i, p. 536, No. 445. Cf. also *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, p. 84 seq., where Mr. Egerton Phillimore and Dr. J. G. Evans have published the Pedigrees contained in the *Llyfr Llewelyn*.

4. Bd. i, p. 203, No. 175.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 195, No. 70.

Llyfr Llewellyn differs from the *Hanes*. The descent from Beli Mawr to Grad is given thus:—

Hanes Gruffydd ap Cynan. *Llyfr Llewellyn Offeiriad.*

Beli Maur.	Beli Maur.
Aflech.	Aphlech.
AƆallach.	Auallach.
Endoleu.	Endolen.
Endos.	Eudos.
Endigant.	Elud.
Enteyrn.	Kyndeern.
Rideyrn	Tegant.
Riuedel.	Kyndeern.
Grad.	Kwnedyl.
	Grad.

For the rest, *Llyfr Llewellyn* has (1) Tepwll between Urban and Deyweint or Eweint;¹ (2) Coyl Hen between Coel Gotebauc and Keneu;² and (3) Ceit instead of Gweir between Dwc and Tegit.³

III. The descent of Rhodri Mawr from Beli Mawr through Etil, daughter of Cynan Tindaethwy is dealt with both in Harleian MS. No. 3859 and likewise in *Llyfr Llewellyn Offeiriad*. The connection between the latter and the *Hanes* is still more apparent here, for they agree most closely in spelling and in the expanding of words contracted in the Harleian pedigrees, and where the

1. *Archiv für Celt. Lex.*, Bd. iii, p. 100, No. 1239.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 70, No. 892.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 69, No. 887.

Hanes and the Harleian MS. disagree the *Hanes* is corroborated by the *Llyfr Llewelyn*. That disagreement is slight, and concerns the immediate predecessors of Padern Peisrud. In the Harleian MS. the sequence is Kein, Tagit, Padern Peisrud. In the *Hanes* and *Llyfr Llewelyn* it is Kein, Guidaó, Iago, Padern Peisrud.

IV. Lastly, the descent of Gruffydd ap Cynan from Rhodri Mawr is dealt with in the *Pedigrees from the Mostyn 'Historia Regum Britanniae'*¹ and in *Llyfr Llewelyn*. Both of these differ from the *Hanes*. Thus:

<i>Hanes.</i>	<i>Mostyn.</i>	<i>Ll. Llewelyn.</i>	<i>Gir. Camb.</i> vi., p. 200.
Rhodri.	Rhodri.	Rhodri.	Rhodri.
Anaraó.	Anaraó.	Anaraó.	Mervyn.
Meuryc.	Idwal Voel.	Idwal Voel.	Anaraó.
Elissed.		Meuric.	Meyric.
Idwal.		Idwal.	Edoual.
Iago.	Iago.	Iago.	Jago.
Cynan.	Cynan.	Cynan.	Conan.
Gruffydd.	Gruffydd.	Gruffydd.	Gruffydh.

It will be seen at once that the *Hanes* differs from the other lines by the inclusion of Elissed. But Rhodri Mawr had three sons, Anarawt, Meuric, and Elisse,² so that the *Hanes* has made the simple mistake of including Anarawt's two brothers as his son and grandson respectively. Apart from this error the line in the *Hanes* corresponds exactly with that of the *Mostyn MS.* But it hardly agrees with the other lines from the *Llyfr*

1. *Archiv für Celt. Lex.*, Bd. i, p. 536 seq.

2. *Ibid.*, Bd. iii, Nos. 982, 1193, and *Brut ye Tywys.*, p. 21. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 18.

Llewelyn and the *Descriptio Cambriae*. We are now, however, in historical times, and it is possible to construct the descent of Gruffydd ap Cynan from the entries in the *Brut y Tywysogion* and the *Annales Cambriae*, that is to say, by the laborious but extremely interesting experiment of reading through the chronological lists of events given in those two compilations and tracing the lines of royal successions wherever the name of any of the royal houses is noticed. It is a method of constructing a genealogy more certain in Welsh history, since the entries in the Welsh chronicles never mention an individual without giving at the same time the name of his father.

Working on these lines, it will be found that so far upward as Idwal Voel the line of succession which can be traced in the *Brut y Tywysogion* corresponds with that of *Llyfr Llewelyn*,¹ and therefore differs from that of the *Hanes* and the *Mostyn MS*. The difficulty in the case of the *Bruts* is to link Idwal Voel with Rhodri through Anarawd, for there is no issue attributed to Anarawt in the records, and Giraldus asserts that he died without issue.² Still we find sufficient evidence to see that the burden of proof lies with the pedigree given in the *Llyfr Llewelyn* as against that in the *Hanes*, which must therefore be regarded as defective.

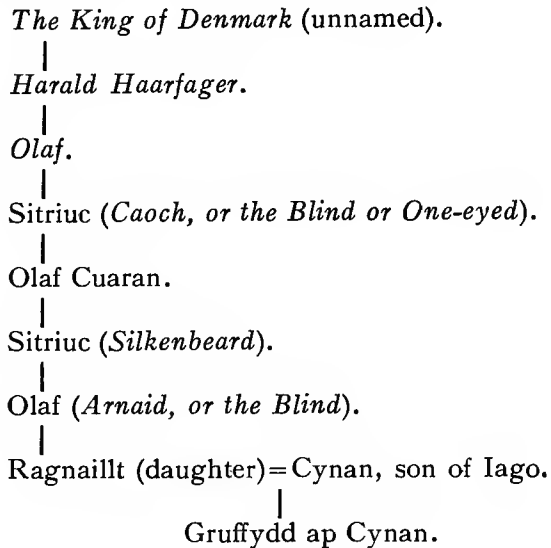
Gruffydd's Irish Descent.

By marriage with Ragnailt, daughter of Olaf Arnald, who with his grandson Mathgamhain was slain in 1012, Cynan gave as an inheritance to his offspring a formidable claim to family connection with the Irish and Scandinavian kings of Ireland.

1. *i.e.*, Gruffydd, son of Cynan, Cynan son of Iago, Iago son of Idwal (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 39), Idwal son of Meurig (*ibid.*, p. 33), Meurig son of Idwal (*ibid.*, p. 27; *Ann. Camb.*, p. 19), Idwal son of Rhodri (*Brut y Tywys.*, pp. 21, 25).

2. *Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 167. But his posterity is noticed both in Harleian MS. 3859, in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* in the *Llyfr Llewelyn*. Cf. *Arch. für Celt. Lex.*, Bd. i, pp. 191, 536, iii, 6. 63.

His descent from the Scandinavian kings of Dublin and Leinster is, according to the *Hanes*, as follows:—



From Ragnailt, daughter of Olaf Arnaid, whose name appears in the list of fair women of Ireland drawn up in the book of Leinster,¹ as far as Sitriuc Caoch, the line of ascent with the grandson named after the grandfather² is typically Scandinavian, and its complete accuracy can be verified from Irish sources.³ But upwards of Sitriuc Caoch it is not reliable. It is legendary or fictitious, and can only be accepted as the result of a vague idea prevailing in the twelfth century amongst the Scandinavians of Ireland that there was some affinity of kinship binding their own kings with the royal houses of Lochlann or Norway. The tales embellishing the pedigree may have been gleaned by Welshmen from the

1. *Book of Leinster*, 141a, 994.

2. *Chron. Man.*, pp. 143, 144.

3. Cf. also the pedigrees in Todd's appendix to *War of the Gaidhil with the Gaill*, App. D, p. 278.

Scandinavian mercenaries who were at Gruffydd's side throughout his campaigns, and who presumably settled under him at the peaceful close of his reign.¹ They are therefore of import, especially since they commemorate certain movements and persons of great significance in the history of Scandinavian development, and discover the link of sentiment and tradition binding the colonies to a mother country whose dominion they had long since repudiated.

Thurkiaul or *Thurkyl* must be the *Turgesius* of Giraldus Cambrensis, and the reputed founder of the Norse power in Ireland.² He became king of the Foreigners of Ireland 815—830, and occupied the northern half of Ireland with his capital at Armagh.³ After causing terrible destruction of life and property, especially among the religious communities, he fell into the hands of the King of Meath, who in 845 drowned him. As for the ingenuous tale recounted by the *Hanes* of how his original name *Alyn* came to be altered to *Thurkyl* because he killed Prince Thur, it is so conscious an attempt at an explanation of a name strange to Welsh ears that it can be immediately rejected as fictitious, at least so far as it illustrates the derivation of the name *Thurkyl*. The name is a common one in Scandinavian history, and in the case of Turgesius cannot have had any significance beyond that of an ordinary distinctive name. In its origin, however, it may have commemorated some myth of the great Scandinavian god *Thor*,⁴ and the author of the *Hanes* seems to have combined with his explanation some bardic legend current at the time with regard to the Ring of Tomar, which is mentioned in Irish annals,

1. "Welshmen, Irishmen and the men of Denmark." Cf. *infra*, p. 157.

2. *Annos igitur circa triginta Norwagiensium pompa, et Turgesii tyrannis in Hibernia perduravit; et deinde gens Hibernica, servitute depulsa, et pristinam libertatem recuperavit, et ad regni gubernacula denuo successit.* *Gir. Camb.*, v, p. 186.

3. *G. and G.*, p. 9. Also Intro., pp. xlii—lvii; *Norsemen in Ireland*, i, p. 10.

4. *Norsemen in Ireland*, i, p. 12. "*Thor steinn*, i.e., the stein of Thor, because he was an ardent worshipper of Thor."

and which is supposed to have been a symbol of the worship of the Scandinavian deities as distinct from the Sword of Carlus, the emblem in Ireland of Christianity.¹

Although the *Hanes* is obscure in its treatment of the early Scandinavian invaders of Ireland—and in truth no source is at all clear upon this subject—it seems to claim that Turgesius or Thurkyll and Harald Haarfager were brothers. In the *Heimskringla* Turgesius is the son of Harald. Thurkyl and his brother Frode, in the course of a Viking cruise to the coasts of Scotland, Ireland, and Bretland, “were the first Northmen who took Dublin.”² The authority of the *Hanes* is discounted by its error in making Rollo another brother of Harald Haarfager, while Dr. Todd has proved that the Saga of Harald Haarfager in the *Heimskringla* has placed Turgesius a century too late.³ The Saga vouches for the fact that Harald did make expeditions to the West. It notices two of them. In the first expedition he visited the Shetlands, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides, and “plundered far and wide” in Scotland. He journeyed as far south as the Isle of Man, which was evacuated at his coming from sheer terror of his name. In the second expedition he is said only to have visited the Orkneys, so that if the great ravaging of Ireland implied in the *Hanes* is not an exaggeration it must have occurred during the first expedition. Moreover, it must be remembered that it was during the reign of Harald Haarfager (861—893) that those great migrations of Norse exiles took place which resulted in the colonising of the western Isles of Britain, called in the *Hanes* the Islands of Denmark, providing bases for the numerous Viking fleets to renew the attacks upon Ireland which had ceased with the drowning of Turgesius.

Olaf, son of Harald Haarfager and father of Sitriuc

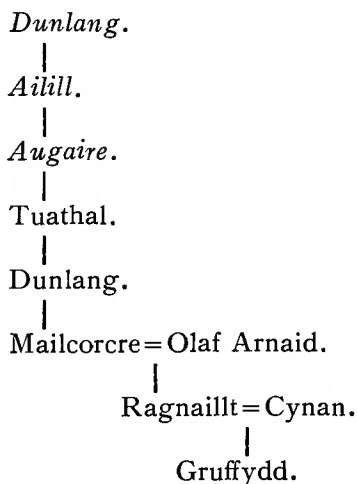
1. *Norsemen in Ireland*, i, p. 15.

2. *Heimskringla*, i, p. 304. Cf., however, *G. and G.*, Intro., p. lii and notes.

3. *G. and G.*, Intro., pp. xlii—lvii.

Caoch, is historically a doubtful personage. True the *Heimskringla* credits Harald with a son Olaf from a wife Swanhilde,¹ but no evidence exists in either Scandinavian or Irish sources to connect this Olaf with the founding or conquest of Dublin. Perhaps the Olaf intended is Olaf Hvité, or the White, a kinsman of Harald Haarfager, and styled "son of the King of Lochlann," and usually known as King of Dublin. He died in 871, but his descendants did not retain the kingship of Dublin.² That passed to Ivar Beinlaus, son of Regnar Lodbrog, an ally of Olaf Hvité in his western expeditions.³

Through his grandmother Mailcorcre Gruffydd was connected with the kings of Leinster, or more precisely, of West Liffey. Thus :—

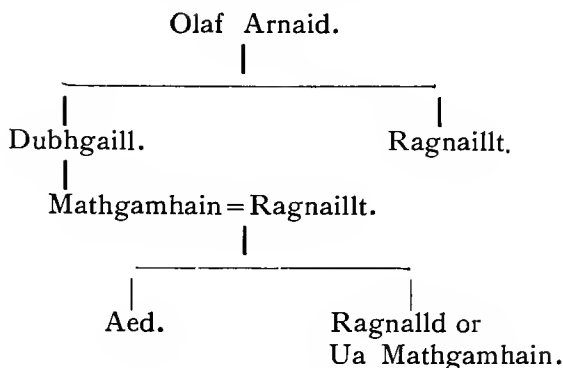


The line given in the *Hanes* ascends no further than Tuathal. The rest of the pedigree is supplied from the *Book of Leinster* (p. 39, cols. b and c). A son of

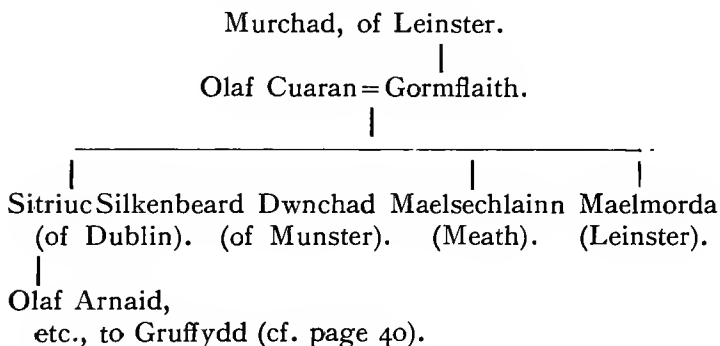
1. *Heimskringla*, i, p. 289.

2. *G. and G.*, p. 264.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 268.



Gruffydd's connection with the royal blood of Leinster and Meath is set forth thus:—



Here, again, the *Hanes* is confused. Maelsechlainn or Malachy II. was Gormflaith's second husband, not her son.¹ Maelmorda, created King of Leinster by Brian Borumha,² who was another of Gormflaith's husbands,³ was son of Murchad and so Gormflaith's⁴ brother. The ascent of Gruffydd's pedigree through the Scandinavian kings of Dublin and Olaf Cuaran to Gormflaith corresponds with the information of Irish sources. An entry

1. *G. and G.*, Intro., p. cxlix, and note.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, 143 and Intro., p. clxii. *Chron. Scot.*, p. 253.

in *Chronicon Scotorum*, p. 269, runs: "Gormlaith, daughter of Murchadh, son of Finn, mother of the king of the foreigners, *i.e.*, Sitric and the King of Mumhain, *i.e.*, Donnchadh, son of Brian.

The connection of Gruffydd ap Cynan with the ruling family of Dublin and the kings of West Liffey as presented by the author of the *Hanes* seems valid and acceptable. It has been said before that the marriages of Cynan with Ragnailt, of Olaf Arnaid with Mailcorcre, lack corroboration in the Irish sources. It is not difficult, however, to accept the word of the author of the *Hanes* as to these immediate relationships of Gruffydd ap Cynan, since they are the ones Gruffydd and his followers would longest remember and which bardic researches could mostly discover after his death.

Gruffydd's relationship with the kings of Ulster is obscure and impossible: with the kings of Meath, Leinster, and Munster it is more apparent than real—and naturally so. It can be imagined that the writer of the *Hanes* or those who afforded him information had no facilities for a full and accurate knowledge of Irish genealogy such as they would have in the case of the Welsh and Scandinavian pedigrees. From accounts in the *Hanes* itself Gruffydd ap Cynan seems to have had small intercourse with the great Irish rulers like Muirchertach ua Brian of Munster. On one occasion at least, when Magnus landed in Anglesey in 1102, Gruffydd received this antagonist of Muirchertach with great cordiality. Wherever Irish help for Gruffydd is noticed in the *Hanes* it is obtained at the hands of the Scandinavian rulers in Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford, all sadly reduced in power after the battle of Clontarf in 1014 and the subsequent struggle with the native Irish, and more often than not in violent hostility towards the high king of Ireland. The fact that Gruffydd was thus closely associated with the Scandinavians, coupled with the undeniable fact that despite the trumpeting of the *Hanes* he was a man of no significance in purely Irish

affairs, and is never once noticed in extant Irish annals, would argue at once that his bards would not be enabled to avail themselves of the aid of the many learned Irish historians whose deaths are copiously chronicled in such works as the *Annals of the Four Masters*. At any rate, granted that Gruffydd ap Cynan did cause diligent search to be made into the pedigrees of the Welsh noblemen the account of his Irish descent could not but be curiously garbled by the time it reached the writer of the *Hanes*. Like so much else of its important information, the *Hanes* sets forth Gruffydd's pedigrees with sufficient of the inaccurate and the fanciful to drag its authority into suspicion and enough truthful detail to retrieve it.

Born and reared in the midst of the Scandinavians of Leinster and closely related as he was to the ruling house in Dublin, it was natural that Gruffydd should imbibe their sentiments and adopt their manners; so that in the early days of his attempts upon Wales he presented himself to his indignant countrymen rather as an ambitious adventurer than as a Welsh prince coming to his own again.

His claims to the kingdom as the grandson of Iago might be valid enough, but it is doubtful whether they would have availed him very much without the presence at his side of a formidable force of these Norse mercenaries. It was to them that he trusted, and by them he maintained what little supremacy he enjoyed. So great was the aid they rendered him that his appearance in Wales was as much that of a foreign conqueror as that of Hugh of Chester or Rein the Scot.¹ Norsemen and Irishmen were by his side in every battle; they formed his bodyguard in times of peace; they plundered the Welshmen at their pleasure. So deeply was Gruffydd indebted to their services that he dared neither oppose their wishes nor restrain their license even though

1. Cf. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 37. Rein the Scot represented himself as a son of a prince of Ceredigion, Maredudd; was received by the men of Deheubarth as their lord; but was defeated and driven away by Llewelyn ap Seisyllt at the battle of Abergwili.

the loss of his new-gotten throne was involved in their unpopularity. A national Welsh prince he was not in the contention he was embarking upon with Trahaiarn. Two hundred and twenty greedy Norsemen and Irish formed his household.¹ Upon his mission to meet the Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury his company is composed of "foreigners."² In battle he flourishes the double-edged axe,³ the distinctive weapon of the Dane and Norwegian. He rules the Welshmen "with a rod of iron,"⁴ but indulges his mercenaries in their "customary privilege of plunder."⁵ They return to their country with ships full of spoil seized from his subjects in Gwynedd.⁶ Circumstances such as these amply explain his weak hold upon his Welsh kingdom in his earlier years and the persistence of the people in conspiring for his expulsion. He based his power not upon the affections engendered by a beneficent rule in the hearts of a grateful people freed from insult and oppression, but upon the hired support of strange potentates whose ships "filled with Danes and Irishmen" had long carried ruin and misery to Wales. Throughout the singular vicissitudes preceding his final settlement in Gwynedd he plundered and harried in Welsh districts with the cruel fury of a Norman, and it is therefore not surprising that the men of Gwynedd contemplated his presence with impatience and in the heat of his oppression, disregarding his claims of descent from their ancient kings, expelled him from their midst.

The easy success of the first attempt made by him to secure a footing in his grandfather's kingdom of Gwynedd proclaimed as much the weakness of Wales in the face of foreign aggression as the prescience of Gruffydd in seizing an opportune moment for his

1. *Infra*, p. 119.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 133, where the thumbs of the foreigners are broken by the Normans.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 155.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

6. *Ibid.*

enterprise. The coalition of forces negotiated by him against Trahaiarn, whilst it was an earnest of that aptitude for diplomacy which profited him so greatly in later years, was at the time of his landing in Anglesey in 1075 a matter of no supreme difficulty. It comprised noblemen of Anglesey who were defying Trahaiarn from sanctuary; the people of Lleyn and Arvon who resented the rule of the Powysian Prince Cenwric ap Rhiwallon; and, lastly, the cunning Robert of Rhuddlan, most potent of allies, who saw in the mutually destructive contentions of the Welshmen a grand chance of becoming proprietor of the whole of North Wales. Animated by a fierce resentment against Trahaiarn and by a keen sense of its own interests, the coalition was bound to be an entire success. Cenwric was slain, and Trahaiarn driven into his own lands in Meirionydd and Ardudwy.

A victory restoring the martial prestige of Gwynedd could not fail to redound to the popularity of Gruffydd ap Cynan, and the early dissipation of that popularity shown by the assassination of his Norse household is therefore all the more remarkable and imputes ill-treatment of the Welshmen either on the part of Gruffydd or his mercenaries. The hatred formerly manifested towards the rule of Trahaiarn was now directed against what appeared to be conquest by an utter stranger who promised to introduce in Wales the alien rule of the Norsemen in Ireland. Thus it came about that the coalition which had exalted Gruffydd was quickly dissolved. The nobles of Gwynedd, impatient of a new master, and the mass of the people, resentful against the Scandinavian household of the new monarch, were driven to the support of Trahaiarn. The disaster of Gwaet Erw was avenged in the victory of Bron yr Erw, and Gruffydd fled in confusion to Ireland. Immediate help from Ireland and a fresh attack upon Gwynedd, although it gave him a temporary footing within the kingdom, merely resulted in the ignominious spectacle of Gruffydd a prey to the insubordination of his own

Norsemen. Into a country labouring in chronic debility and confusion from the contest of Gruffydd and Trahaiarn the Norman forces for the first time forced their way, and after the terrible ravages they committed the land was left to its own devices for six years, while the prime cause of its misery hid his confusion in the courts of friendly kings in Ireland. Thus while it is true that Gruffydd's intimate relations with Ireland continually held out to him the means of attacking his opponents in Wales, and that Irish and Norse allies formed his main support in the three critical situations in his career, at Gwaet Erw, at Mynydd Carn, and at Aberlleiniog in 1094, their presence and behaviour fatally weakened his claims upon the national spirit which was even then gradually asserting itself against Norman tyranny, and which in the end always proved the mainstay of the North Welsh provinces. The phrase in the *Hanes*, "Welshmen, Irishmen, and Danes lamented the decease of King Gruffydd," may imply that he retained his friends and allies to the end and that they were a necessary protection against the scheming of other Welsh princes like the lords of Tygeingl; but it is none the less true that his hold upon Gwynedd was only secured after 1098, when a pacific policy enabled him to dispense with foreign aid. When he stood at the head of Welsh forces in Snowdon to oppose Henry I. in 1116 he aroused enthusiasm as a Welsh champion; when in his latter years he set himself to improve rather than to exploit Gwynedd, he gained support as a statesman and benefactor.

*The Alliance of Gruffydd ap Cynan with Rhys ap .
Tewdwr.*

One of the great feats of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn and the one demanding his constant vigilance was the conquest of those southern regions of Wales which had hitherto stood jealously aloof from Gwynedd. His

fiercest opponents had been the royal house of Morgannwg and the princes holding sway over Gwent and Ystrad Tywi, and it was only after he had slain Howel of Morgannwg in 1042 and devastated Ystrad Tywi that he was assured of the governance of the South. But just as his death let loose all the disintegrating forces in the North, so it plunged the South into chaos.

After the death of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn in 1065 there were three disputants for supremacy in the South, firstly, Bleddyn, who no doubt together with the title inherited the ambitions of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn and desired to comprehend South Wales in his sway; secondly, Caradoc ap Gruffydd, King of Gwent; and, thirdly, the representatives of those houses of Morgannwg and Ystrad Tywi who had been abased before Gruffydd ap Llewelyn. After 1068 there appeared other aspirants for estate and dominion in South Wales in the persons of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Hereford and their sons and followers whom the Norman king had stationed in the Welsh marches for this purpose.

Of these competitors, by far the most active and dangerous was Caradoc of Gwent, an unscrupulous and uncompromising foe to any superior. He it was who, after the triumph of Harold in Gwynedd, defied him by burning his hunting lodge and slaughtering his servants.¹ No less active was he in his efforts against his countrymen, and in 1071, by invoking the aid of the Earl of Hereford and his lieutenant Walter de Lacy, he demolished a strong coalition, including Cadwgan and the princes of Glamorgan.² It was nothing to him that these controversies of the Welsh princes allowed the Normans to advance their outposts well into Brecheiniog. Roger, son of William Fitzosbern,³ through treason, forfeited the earldom of Hereford, and the loss of his aid

1. *A. S. Chron.*, p. 162.

2. *Ord. Vit.* ii, p. 218. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 47.

3. William died in 1071. *Ord. Vit.*, ii, pp. 235, 405.

depressed the influence of Caradoc in favour of his rival Rhys ap Owain, prince of Morgannwg,¹ who became sufficiently powerful not only to encompass the death of Bleddyn in 1075 but to withstand the vengeance of Bleddyn's cousin and successor Trahaiarn and his son Cadwgan, who waged an unflagging feud against him. Caradoc therefore sided with Trahaiarn against Rhys of Morgannwg, undeterred by the later successes at the battles of Camdwr² and Gwennotyl.³ As the *Hanes* shows, Trahaiarn was at this point hard put to it to save his power in Gwynedd itself, routed as he was by the powerful forces marshalled against him by Gruffydd ap Cynan.⁴ But freed for the moment by his victory at Bron yr Erw⁵ from the distracting presence of this rival, Trahaiarn could take up the fight against Rhys of Morgannwg, who, routed and a fugitive from the battle of Pwllgwdyg in 1075, fell into the hands of Caradoc of Gwent and was put to death.⁶ Thus, apart from the steady encroachments of the Normans into Gwynedd and Powys, Trahaiarn was raised to the summit of his glory, and was supreme in that portion of Wales still retained in Welsh hands.

As the affairs of the North had been determined ever since the death of Iago,⁷ grandfather of Gruffydd ap Cynan, without regard for the claims of the real heir to the throne, so in the South power had been bandied between various princely houses to the entire exclusion of the titular sovereigns of Deheubarth, the scions of the ill-fated house of Dinevor. But no sooner had Trahaiarn overcome the opposition of Rhys of Morgannwg than the heir of the house of Dinevor Rhys ap Tewdwr appeared to assert his claims in South Wales.

1. Cf. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 49. Rhys ap Owain and Rhydderch ap Caradoc held South Wales.

2. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 27, sub an. 1073.

3. *Ibid.*, sub an. 1075.

4. Cf. *Intra*, p. 115.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 119. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 49.

6. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 27, sub an. 1076.

7. Cf. *supra*, p. 32.

The *Gwentian Chronicle*¹ asserts that, like Gruffydd ap Cynan, he spent his youth in exile and that he came from Brittany to assume the rule of his dominions. As lord of Dinevor and a direct descendant of Rhodri Mawr, he had powerful claims in the southern lordships. As the husband of Gwladus, the daughter of the Powysian Prince Rhiwallon,² he may have had pretence to estate in Powys. Further, he had both the will and the spirit to enforce those claims, and in 1081³ Gruffydd ap Cynan, himself an exile, found the unfortunate Rhys in sanctuary at St. David's, a fugitive from a strong coalition including the forces of Gwent, Morgannwg, and Powys under Trahaiarn and Cadwgan. Whether he had asserted his rights too vigorously or whether he was the innocent victim of a covetous league, it was at an opportune moment for him that Gruffydd ap Cynan appeared at St. David's.

After being kidnapped by his own vikings, and wandering from court to court in Ireland,⁴ when happenings in South Wales offered a fair pretext he had been at length enabled to persuade the King of Waterford,⁵ whose forces were ever harrying the opposite Welsh coasts, to set him at the head of a considerable body of mercenaries for an attack upon St. David's. It was therefore an astonishing coincidence that both these descendants of Rhodri Mawr, both with unblemished titles to estate, both children of exile, both frustrated by the same enemy Trahaiarn, should thus become acquainted in adversity. It was natural that they should join forces against a common enemy, and the hired valour of the Normans who appeared in the ranks of

1. *Gwentian Chronicle*, p. 65.

2. Cf. *Brut y Tywys.*, sub an. 1106. "Gwladus, daughter of Rhiwallon, mother of Nest." But Nest was the daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr (*ibid.* p. 83) so that Rhys ap Twdwr and Gwladus must have been husband and wife.

3. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 51, sub. an. 1079.

4. Cf. *infra*, p. 123.

5. Cf. *infra*, p. 169, note 1.

Trahaiarn was unable to withstand the force of the motley following of Norse, Irish, and Welsh, which Gruffydd opposed to it at the battle fought at Mynydd Carn in 1081,¹ and the victory that followed was enhanced by the extinction of their chief antagonist Trahaiarn, who was cut down by one of Gruffydd's Irishmen.² Within the limited scope of Welsh affairs the victory of Mynydd Carn announced with such poetical flourish in the *Hanes* was pregnant with possibilities. With the death of Trahaiarn Welsh affairs were once again in the melting pot. In the South, while the ruin of the eastern lordships, like Gwent and Brecheiniog, meant the unchallenged rule of Rhys ap Tewdwr, it meant at the same time the demolition of a barrier hitherto opposed to the Normans of Shrewsbury and Hereford, and consequently the opening of an easy road hitherto closed to Norman conquest. After the battle of Mynydd Carn Norman and Southwalian were face to face in a decisive struggle. In Gwynedd, likewise, where the Earl of Chester and Robert of Rhuddlan were no less eager foes of the Welsh, the death of Trahaiarn, against whose defence the Normans seem to have made little headway, left Gruffydd ap Cynan, a stranger, as sole Welsh champion to grapple with Hugh of Avranches for final predominance. Yet both Rhys ap Tewdwr and Gruffydd ap Cynan were to prove themselves able men; they had claims of birth which could gather formidable forces of Welshmen about them; and after the battle of Mynydd Carn had seen the deaths of so many lords whose conflicting ambitions ruined the solidarity of the Welsh defence against the Normans, the two conquerors had a unique chance of re-uniting Wales by persevering in the alliance which had been attended with so much initial success. In 1094 Gruffydd ap Cynan was to achieve much in alliance with Cadwgan ap Bleddyn. But Rhys ap Tewdwr was a more capable warrior and of

1. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 27.

2. Cf. *infra*, p. 129.

stronger character than Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, and in 1081 Wales had not yet been so weakened by extensive castle building as she was in 1094; so that there was every chance of offering a vigorous resistance to the Normans under exceptionally favourable circumstances. It was all destroyed by the capture of Gruffydd at Rhûg soon after the battle.¹

Gruffydd and the Normans.

The story of the Norman advance upon Gwynedd is treated in a disappointing fashion in the *Hanes*. Other records such as the *Domesday Survey*, the *Brut y Tywysogion*, and the *Annales Cambriae* are extremely meagre in relation to this subject, but they have of course no special reason for enlarging on it. It is otherwise in the case of the biography of one who was in perpetual conflict with the Normans and whose career was synchronous with the rise and fall of Norman power in Wales. One might confidently have expected a fuller and more precise account of their actions and of the different stages by which they consummated the conquest of Gwynedd than the *Hanes* really presents.

In 1066 the Normans entered upon the conquest of England. By 1068 they found themselves in conflict with Welshmen who could not neglect so fair an opportunity of reviving the plundering raids into the marches which the confusion of England offered them.

As ally of the English earls Edwin and Morkere, two weak and unreliable men, Bleddyn raised troops against the Normans in 1068 and supported an elaborate conspiracy against William² that led to fierce if futile insurrections throughout northern and western England. The conduct of the two earls who made a speedy and ignominious peace did not deter the Welsh of the Marches from another alliance with the English in the

1. Cf. *infra*, p. 133.

2. *Ord. Vit.*, ii, p. 193.

following year, when, in company with the men of Cheshire, they entered and ravaged Mercia and burnt Shrewsbury after a short siege. Although the insurgents fell back before the advance of a Norman force, it was not until the spring of 1070, after driving an invading force of Danes from the North of England, that William the Conqueror crossed the Pennine Chain with his war-worn followers, and in the face of most formidable difficulties of weather and country, pacified the western districts of his new kingdom and exacted vengeance of the Welsh by the same ruthless statesmanship as had marked his recent campaign in Northumbria. At a critical moment in the history of his new conquest, when the most trifling unrest might fan the smouldering resentment of the English into ardent rebellion it was of prime importance that the Conqueror should adopt every measure to prevent further Welsh inroads into English territory and to ensure a rigorous discipline in that portion of the island which had hitherto initiated every revolt against him. His task proved an easy one. In the first place the undying animosity of English and Welsh, briefly restrained by a common cause against the Norman was soon to revive in his favour: in the second place he had much land at his disposal in these Marcher regions, acquired either by right of heritage from Edward the Confessor or by forfeiture on the part of opponents like Harold, Edwin, and Morkere: he had moreover, a numerous company of expectant Norman soldiers who had loyally suffered hardships in his cause. Therefore he established along the Welsh border three great earldoms in the hands of tried fighters and administrators, and at one stroke secured the integrity of his western frontier and recompensed the fidelity of some of his followers. Thus were set up the three famous Marcher earldoms of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford.

In Chester was placed Gherbod of Flanders, who was quickly succeeded in 1070 by Hugh of Avranches, a

faithful partisan, a skilful soldier, a resourceful negotiator, but as the Welshmen speedily discovered, a cruel, cunning, implacable foe. Conspicuous for courage, ability, and experience, he was given an arduous duty in a dangerous country: in reward he received unusual privileges rendering him a lord in an organised and consolidated state making war and moving expeditions on his own initiative, and capable of dealing with any crisis as it arose.

He was supported by lieutenants no less capable than himself. Men like Robert of Rhuddlan and Robert of Malpas¹ enforced order in his domain and since all land taken from the Welsh increased the personal estate of the captor, made it their duty to rally all their resources to press back the Welsh foe and to convert a policy of defence into a movement of aggression.

Robert of Rhuddlan, a Norman of lesser consequence than his cousin Hugh of Chester, built the first Norman castle of Rhuddlan and seized the cantred of Tygeingl as tenant and deputy of Earl Hugh. He "defended the frontier against the barbarians. For fifteen years he severely chastised the Welsh and seized their territory: notwithstanding that, proud of their ancient independence they had refused all tokens of submission to the Normans. Making inroads into their country, through woods and marshes, and over mountain heights, he inflicted losses upon the enemy in every shape. Some he butchered without mercy like herds of cattle, as soon as he came up with them. Others he threw into dungeons where they suffered a long imprisonment or cruelly subjected them to shameful slavery."² And as was the character of Robert of Rhuddlan, brave, harsh, unscrupulous, so was that of other Normans established in authority along the Welsh marches, like Warenne the Bald, sheriff of the Earl of Shrewsbury, William

1. *Ord. Vit.*, ii, p. 219.

2. *Ibid.*, iii, p. 284.

Pantoul, Picot de Say, Roger Corbet, and Walter de Lacy, who quickly advanced into Wales, founded castles and estates, and became in due course persons of influence in the dealings of Norman and Welshman.

The special circumstances of the dealings of the Normans with Wales, and especially the fact that in the early years following the settlement of England the kings afforded the Marcher earls little or no help, made the Norman conquest of Wales piecemeal and sporadic. Each earl or subordinate conquered within his immediate neighbourhood and only gradually subjected the distant portions of the land.¹ A strong force would burst unexpectedly into a district, effect great damage, and having reconnoitred the land, would retire before the inhabitants could gather in force. Raids in far regions like Ceredigion were long in attaining abiding results, but in the case of Gwynedd, Gwent, Brecheiniog, and Powys, such raids were repeated by a strong force of occupation which established a castle, not merely as a means of preserving Norman footing in the district, but likewise as a point of departure for further expeditions and further settlements. Thus from Chester, Rhuddlan Castle was fortified, whence Robert set out to fortify Deganwy,² which in course of time supplied the basis of attacks upon Gwynedd resulting in the founding of castles in Anglesey, Arvon, and Meirionydd.³ Thus while the conquest of Wales was far less comprehensive than that of England, it was nevertheless effected in the only way that the broken nature of the country and the stubborn temper of the Welsh people would allow.

Along the valleys and river courses the Norman castles maintained a line of advance for the conquest of the whole country; when the Welshmen in an access of enthusiasm threatened to drive their enemies from every foot of Welsh soil, these castles still remained as a point

1. Cf. Freeman's *William Rufus*, ii, p. 69.

2. *Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 283.

3. Cf. *infra*, p. 133.

of refuge for the fugitive Normans, impregnable against the inferior arms of the Welshmen. In them the Norman still held a point of vantage in the face of disaster, whence flowed a fresh stream of conquest after the flood of reaction had subsided. And if force failed, the Norman was quick to use diplomacy in a field where so many complicated quarrels gave it uncommon chances. As a lord marcher he became the ally of one side in a faction fight he may himself have fomented, and awaiting patiently the mutual destruction of the Welshmen, he claimed their possessions as an easy prey. Or as a free lance in the service of a Welsh prince, he received for his services a portion of land which soon became the site of a castle whence in course of time and by every artifice he devoured the fat lands of his patron, and reduced him to beggary on the hill tops.

In the early career of Gruffydd ap Cynan every one of these phases of Norman conquest can be illustrated, although there is no adequate and circumstantial account of the advance upon Gwynedd immediately following upon the appointment of Hugh of Avranches as Earl of Chester. The castle at Chester had been built by William the Conqueror after he had driven the Welsh out of Cheshire.¹ Gherbod of Flanders the first Norman Earl of Chester² after firmly opposing the Welshmen and Cheshire men was called away to Flanders where he died. In 1070 Hugh of Avranches took his position as Earl of Chester, when the March ran up to the river Clwyd. It is probable that many of his tenants were Welsh, since Gruffydd ap Llewelyn had wrung from Harold all land as far as the Dee and the maritime regions of Tygeingl never paid geld; while the Welsh lords of Tygeingl, the sons of Edwin, retained their footing in that cantred even under Norman rule.

Orderic asserts that Robert of Rhuddlan warred against the Welsh for fifteen years, and since he died

1. Cf. *supra*, p. 56.

2. *Ord. Vit.*, ii, p. 219.

in 1087 he must have been appointed Hugh's "commander of troops" and "governor of the whole province" in 1072. There are dark hints in the pages of Orderic¹ of "great slaughter among the Welsh," "frequent excursions and encounters," "indiscriminate pillage and slaughter," "desperate engagements," expeditions "over field and mountain" ending in "glorious booty." Robert drove back the Welsh and "by the king's command"² the old Welsh stronghold of Rhuddlan, the capital of Englefield, was fortified and placed under his charge. Here around the castle there grew a new borough of eighteen burghers who were granted the laws and customs "which are in Hereford and Breteuil." The lands of Tygeingl or Englefield and their profits Robert divided with Earl Hugh who claimed half of the church and mint of Rhuddlan, of the produce of the iron mines, the mill and the woods, and of the fishery of the Clwyd. In all, from Englefield and the borough of Rhuddlan Earl Hugh drew an annual revenue of six pounds ten shillings. The other moiety of Tygeingl and Rhuddlan was held in fief of Earl Hugh by Robert who enjoyed the annual revenue of seventeen pounds three shillings.

The rivalry between Gruffydd and Trahaiarn with its strange issues constituted the most promising opportunity for the further aggrandizement of their neighbour Robert. In the first three years of his sojourn as tenant of the Earl of Chester it is not likely that Robert could have made much headway in his attack upon North Wales beyond the Clwyd. The Norman troops of Robert which advanced to Gruffydd's aid at the battle of Gwaet Erw came only from Tygeingl,³ which seems to show that Robert had not extended his sway beyond the borders of that cantred. He was busy establishing

1. *Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 283.

2. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 283. *Decreto itaque regis, oppidum contra Guallos apud Rodelentium constructum est.*

3. Cf. *infra*, p. 115.

and organising his borough and castle. It was a difficult task in itself to subdue the Welsh of the northern Marches after the license of the early years of the English conquest, and in Bleddyn of Powys Robert had had an opponent strong enough to face the mere border bands Robert could array against him. Indeed as has been already indicated, Orderic precisely asserts that the Welsh refused all tokens of submission in the pride of their ancient independence. But the mutual destruction of the two Welsh combatants Gruffydd ap Cynan and Trahaiarn in 1075 left North Wales at his mercy. True the excursion made by the Normans into Gwynedd after the battle of Bron yr Erw was a mere marauding excursion not uncommon in Marcher warfare,¹ inspired by the chances of the occasion and beyond slaughter and sheer destruction profiting the Earl of Chester nothing.

For as yet the place was too difficult of access for his castles to be set up in the midst of an obstinately hostile population. Yet it must have been at this time, when the Welsh forces were weakened after Gwaet Erw and Bron yr Erw, that Robert of Rhuddlan was enabled to advance beyond the borders of Tygeingl and seize the two cantreds of Rhos and Rhuvoniog, so bringing the whole of the Perveddwlad under Norman rule. He secured his new conquests in the customary Norman manner by a castle at Deganwy. From them he derived a revenue of twelve pounds, for apart from a strip of country in extent twelve leagues by four they were worthless, consisting of woods and bogs unfit for cultivation.²

Despite the terrible nature of the first advent of the Normans into the Snowdon district³ Robert did not seem, if the *Hanes* is to be trusted in this respect, to have been sufficiently powerful to take possession of the

1. *Supra*, p. 58.

2. Cf. *Domesday*, p. 269.

3. Cf. *infra*, p. 124.

country until the death of Trahaiarn at Mynydd Carn in 1081. Trahaiarn had proved himself a strong enemy; he was undoubtedly the ablest of contemporary Welsh princes; the presence of the Norman arbalisters in his ranks seems to point to a cessation of his bickerings with the Norman lords; so that his death exposed Powys and Gwynedd to the full force of the Norman invasion. Only the arrival of Gruffydd ap Cynan with his formidable gang of mercenaries stood between Robert of Rhuddlan and the conquest of the whole of North Wales. Hence the treacherous meeting arranged by the Normans at Rhûg which removed even this obstacle to the Norman advance.

It seems more probable that Robert of Rhuddlan and not Hugh of Avranches was the instigator of the ruse to gain possession of the person of Gruffydd. Orderic, indeed, credits Robert and not Hugh of Chester with holding Gruffydd in chains.¹ In the returns of the Domesday Survey Robert of Rhuddlan is represented as holding all North Wales of the king, in addition to the land the king gave him in fee but excluding the lands of the bishoprics of Bangor and St. Asaph.² For so large an estate he was liable to an annual rent of forty pounds. Had Hugh of Chester organised the capture of Gruffydd, as the *Hanes* maintains, he and not Robert of Rhuddlan would have laid claim to his captive's dominions. As it was, Robert of Rhuddlan not only claimed Gwynedd but Arwystli also, which Welshmen testified to the surveyors to be part of North Wales³ but which the Earl of Shrewsbury held, having seized it presumably on the occasion of Gruffydd's capture.

Robert of Rhuddlan did not hold his new conquests of the Earl of Chester but directly of the king. Aberffraw the residence of the kings of Gwynedd was his. In breadth and traditions his estate was that of a prince.

1. *Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 288, *cepit Grithfridum regem.*

2. *Domesday*, p. 269.

3. *Ibid.*

Only fate and the persistence of Gruffydd ap Cynan prevented his becoming a prince in Wales. Perhaps his success had given Robert some idea of attaining to power and independence there, for only the most pressing ambition could have persuaded him to side against his king Rufus, and his own overlord Hugh in the first year of Rufus' reign.

The Period of Gruffydd's Imprisonment.

The *Hanes* says in one passage that Gruffydd was a prisoner at Chester for twelve years, and a few lines afterwards that he escaped after an imprisonment lasting sixteen years, a discrepancy which may well be attributed to forgetfulness. But either statement is incompatible with the known facts of his history. It is true that if the battle of Mynydd Carn was fought in 1081 and Gruffydd was ensnared immediately after it, then an interval of twelve years roughly must have elapsed between his capture and the insurrection of 1094. It is obvious, therefore, that the author of the *Hanes* must have been ignorant of any feats to be attributed to Gruffydd during this long interval and could only account for his inactivity by the assumption that he was held in durance during the whole period, and that his escape was only effected upon the eve of the great struggle of 1094 and the ensuing four years. From other sources, however, we know of at least three notable achievements of Gruffydd ap Cynan that must have occurred during the period of his reputed imprisonment, namely an attack upon Rhuddlan castle, a raid into the region about Deganwy in repelling which Robert of Rhuddlan met his death, and a piratical descent upon the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Usk.

The restraint exercised by the strongest king over his barons in the eleventh century was of an uncertain character, and William the Conqueror, the craftiest and most uncompromising king of his time, was hard put to

it to preserve order among his tenants in chief in England and Normandy. In his reign, even, the difficulties that were to accrue from the possession of both England and Normandy, were discovering themselves in disputes and petty mutinies. Moreover the obligations under which he laboured towards those who had followed him through the critical years of the conquest and settlement of England had induced him to grant with unusual freedom large estates and feudal privileges, until the more important of his barons pretended to the wealth and estate of princes. There was among them an insistent temptation to regain the anarchic freedom and license long enjoyed by their kind in Normandy before the fierce discipline of William had restored order. Their ambitions were allowed small encouragement during the Conqueror's reign, but at his death in 1087, when the spectacle of royal dominions divided between two sons promised trouble, the feudal revolt burst forth in full force. At once the baronage divided into two camps. Part under Odo of Bayeux, the king's uncle and Earl of Kent, favoured the cause of the elder brother Robert, a shiftless quixotic prince who succeeded to the dukedom of Normandy.¹ A few faithful ones like Hugh of Chester loyally observed the dead king's wishes and gave their support to Rufus. But in the Welsh Marches, the cause of Odo and Duke Robert was especially strong, maintained as it was by Roger Earl of Shrewsbury, Robert of Rhuddlan, Osbern FitzScroop, Bernard Neufmarché, Roger de Lacy, and Ralph Mortimer.² Both sides needed every available man, so that while the Normans of the Marches and their troopers were in the South of England where Rufus was besieging Rochester, the Norman strongholds in Wales were left with inadequate garrisons. It was the first opportunity for the Welshmen to retaliate against their enemies, and

1. *Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 269.

2. *Ibid.*, iii, p. 270.

Gruffydd ap Cynan swept through the Perveddwlad, taking huge spoil of men and cattle, and besieging Rhuddlan castle itself.¹ Returning humiliated from Rochester—for the rebel forces had been obliged to surrender to Rufus—Robert of Rhuddlan heard the exasperating news of this further disgrace at the hands of his old opponent Gruffydd who had taken the castle of Rhuddlan and, after burning it, had retired into Gwynedd. The terrible threats by which Robert gave expression to his chagrin upon this occasion were no doubt amply realised.²

But on the third of July³ in this self-same year of 1088, while Robert enjoyed his noontide sleep in his castle of Deganwy, he was aroused by the cries of his tenants whose property had fallen a prey to a sudden onset of pirates from the sea. For Gruffydd ap Cynan with three ships had landed under the Great Orme and spread his men over the countryside in an effective looting expedition. Beasts and even men fell to their lot and the success of the attack was only marred in the last instant by the ebbing of the tide which left the vessels stranded. It was at the moment when Gruffydd was loading his plunder in expectations of the return of the tide that Robert was apprised of his presence and appeared at the top of the Great Orme attended by a handful of followers. After despatching messengers to summon aid he had hastened without proper equipment to contest the retreat of the pirates. But the time consumed in the journey from Deganwy was just sufficient to allow of the tide flowing and the refloating of the Welsh vessels. In an access of ungovernable rage at seeing the enemy about to escape, although deserted by his own men, he scrambled down the cliffs accompanied by his armour-bearer. On the shore his headlong career was awaited by the Welsh who had refloated their

1. *Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 280.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, iii, p. 284.

vessels. To slay the esquire was simple, but Robert himself fought pluckily until, borne down by the fury of the javelins hurled against him, his head was carried in triumph at the masthead of the victor's vessel.¹

Thus perished the tormentor and conqueror of all Gwynedd, "a brave and active knight, free of speech, a formidable enemy, but generous and celebrated for his many deeds of valour," one who favoured the Church, constantly treating the clergy and monks with great respect, and "giving liberal alms to the poor according to his means."² He had handsomely discharged his duty of pacifying the March and subjecting the Welsh. He had enjoyed the distinction of attaining in Gwynedd a limit of success that raised him from the position of a mercenary adventurer to that of tenant-in-chief of the crown,³ and although in his contention with Gruffydd ap Cynan he had in the issue been worsted, the substantial nature of his earlier triumphs represented by his castles paralysed the martial powers of Gwynedd until Gruffydd was an old man, and Hugh of Chester was dead. Yet there is nothing to show that he took measures to conciliate his Welsh subjects. He treated them as he regarded them, as barbarians, and it is to the traditions of cruelty associated with his conquest that one must ascribe the readiness with which the repeatedly unsuccessful attempts of Gruffydd ap Cynan to oust the Normans found support and ultimate triumph.

It seems likely that to this period between the escape of Gruffydd from prison and the death of William of Normandy must be relegated a similar incident in Gruffydd's career as an adventurer. An account of it is preserved in a manuscript⁴ copy of the life of Saint Gwynllyw.⁵ Driven from Wales after a battle and in

1. *Ord. Vit.*, iii, pp. 284-285.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Supra*, p. 62.

4. British Museum, MS. Cotton, Vespasian A xiv, vellum, 12th-13th century.

5. Rees' *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 151-153.

great fear of some treachery meditated towards him by his enemies, Gruffydd ap Cynan sailed to the Orkney Islands. Here in conjunction with the Scandinavians of the islands he arranged a hostile descent upon Wales. As in the case of the earlier attacks made by Gruffydd from Ireland, this raid from the Orkneys was partly piratical and partly designed to re-establish himself in his kingdom.

Twenty-four ships sailed down the Irish Sea, and after a long and terrible journey reached the estuary of the Severn. The crews cast anchor at the mouth of the Usk and rowing ashore scattered over the plains and in the woods, taking great quantities of spoil and making many captives.

In the midst of their depredations the men from the Orkneys came upon the church of Saint Gwenllyw bolted and barred, and thinking it contained valuables, forced an entrance and carried off with the rest of their booty everything of worth the church contained. The misfortune suffered by the country folk was of no pressing concern, but the sacrilegious affront offered the patron saint of the church demanded the immediate intervention of Providence. In vain the pirates sailing to the open sea exposed their sails and manned their oars. Fierce winds beat down the former and contrary currents broke the latter. In the tempest the ships ran one upon the other, and the terrors of the journey were but intensified by a frightful spectacle looming in the heavens of a man riding upon horseback, continually pursuing them. Cries of remorse were of no avail. Every vessel perished with the exception of two which belonged to Gruffydd personally. For Gruffydd himself, as in the first attack upon Gwynedd, leaving to his allies the risks of the enterprise from which he was to benefit, had awaited the issue upon the sea-shore. He personally had not lifted a hand to desecrate the Saint's property and he was spared the shipwreck which had punished his rash companions.

To attack the Welsh coast in 1087, the year of Robert's death, Gruffydd must have been at large sufficiently long before that date to reorganise his forces, and, as the presence of the ships indicates, to obtain fresh support from Ireland. Moreover if the statement of the *Hanes* is accepted that after the plundering of Gwynedd by the Normans in 1075 Gwynedd was eight years a desert,¹ neglecting the brief time that Gruffydd ruled in Gwynedd² after his success at Mynydd Carn, it would seem that 1083 was the approximate date of his deliverance from Chester; so that the long interval of twelve years imprisonment is undoubtedly false. The *Hanes* has itself to blame. It antedates the attack upon Rhuddlan by making it appear to take place immediately after the victory of Gwaet Erw in 1075;³ while an incident that one suspects must be the attack upon Deganwy is postponed until an account is given of the rising of 1094.⁴ The *Hanes*, indeed, seems to have a dim notion, in recording the proceedings of Gruffydd prior to that revolt, that he endured the perils of an adventurous career in many parts of Wales, and one is inclined to see in the fight at Porthodni⁵ a shadow of the raid upon the mouth of the Usk.

However the three incidents mentioned above illustrate in an unmistakable way the piratical side of Gruffydd's career and the countenance he gave to the violent practices of the Scandinavian bands in their attacks upon the Welsh coast. The *Hanes* is not oblivious of this lawless aspect of its hero's character, and in a hesitating fashion confesses that he was a discredited failure, a fugitive rejected in his own land. The slender details it preserves of his actions during the interval between his escape from prison and his success in 1094 depict a

1. *Infra*, p. 125.

2. "A few days." *Ibid.*, p. 131.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

lot similar to that of other Welsh chieftains who dragged out a precarious existence in the seclusion of the wild hill country and by occasional fierce sallies endeavoured to regain their lost dominions and revenge themselves upon the Normans. The Norman castles at Bangor and the ancient city of Caernarvon and in fertile Anglesey assured Robert of Rhuddlan and, on his demise, Hugh of Chester of all that was of value in the lands of Gwynedd, while Gruffydd wandered about as a common robber chief "doing damage ever to Earl Hugh." Without plan, policy, or resources it was inevitable that he should be brought to bay by the garrisons of the castles and driven from the land to seek safety again in Ireland.¹

The Welsh Revolt of 1094.

Gruffydd's failure in Gwynedd was not an isolated disaster in Wales. Arwystli, the lordship of Trahaiarn, had fallen to the Earl of Shrewsbury;² Bernard Neufmarché had built his castle on the hill of Aberhonddu and claimed the conquest of Brecon;³ Ralph Mortimer had seized Elvael, and Ewyas was already the estate of Walter de Lacy. In Morgannwg Robert Fitzhamon had established himself at the expense of quarrelling Welsh princes.⁴ When Gruffydd ap Cynan was driven to ply again his old occupation of piracy the position of his former ally Rhys ap Tewdwr as Lord of Deheubarth seemed unchallenged. But Rhys had grown old, and had surrounded himself with a ring of noblemen who had felt his might and resented his supremacy. In spite of many triumphs he fell a victim to Bernard near Brecheiniog.⁵ Already Ceredigion had been the scene of two Norman forays in 1073 and 1074,⁶

1. Cf. the details given in the *Hanes, infra*, p. 135.

2. Cf. *Domesday*.

3. *Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 43.

4. *Gwentian Chronicle*, p. 73.

5. *Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 43. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 31. *Ann. Camb., sub. an.*, 1091.

6. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 26.

but in both cases the attacker, Hugh of Montgomery, had withdrawn. With the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr in 1093 the Normans again burst into Ceredigion, this time to possess it.¹ After twenty-five years of warfare it seemed as if the Welsh resistance had at length been beaten down, and the whole country was at the mercy of the aggressors.

In the meantime England itself under Norman government was in difficulties. The revolt against Rufus in the early months of his reign was a forerunner of further complications that were to arise from the jealousy alienating the Conqueror's three sons from one another, from the violent behaviour of Rufus towards his barons and clergy, and especially from the bad blood existing between Rufus as King of England and Robert as Duke of Normandy. Rufus eagerly coveted Normandy for himself and neglected England in his great efforts to obtain his brother's dukedom. While he furthered his designs England was drained of money and men, afflicted by plagues and famines, and exposed to the inroads of its Welsh and Scottish enemies.

The Welsh princes, on their part, were not slow to take advantage of the weakened state of England in order to regain their prestige and lost possessions. In England the Norman castles were sources of "fire, robbery, and daily slaughter," and the conduct of their owners had done most to stir up rebellion against Norman rule. Wales cannot have received better treatment, unprotected as she was by royal clemency and at the absolute mercy of men like Robert of Rhuddlan; so that small contentions sank to insignificance in the face of more pressing evils, and Wales was thoroughly prepared once more to fight for freedom.

Now Gruffydd ap Cynan, following up his ambitions

1. *Franci primatus Demetiam et Keredigean tenuerunt et castella in eis locaverunt et abinde totam terram Britonum occupaverunt. Ann. Camb., p. 29.*

with a remarkable constancy in the face of unfailing misfortune kept in close touch with English affairs. The contest between Rufus and his brothers had flickered intermittently since 1090 and the misery of England and the troubles of its boisterous ruler were intensified by contentions with Scotland. In 1094 the quarrel with Robert of Normandy again approached a crisis, and with Rufus absent in Normandy and England distracted by famine and drained of men and money by constant warfare, Gruffydd's chance came. Of his two most dreaded enemies Roger Earl of Shrewsbury was dead.¹ His successor Hugh was suspected of intriguing against his royal master. Hugh of Chester, who had likewise become involved in the quarrel and supported the youngest brother Henry, was with the king in Normandy.²

So fair an opportunity was likely to be lost from lack of adequate support. For at the moment when Irish and Scandinavian help would best have availed him it was withheld by warfare in Ireland. After the death of Olaf in 1034, while on pilgrimage,³ a feud with the Scandinavians of Waterford seems to have ended in his relatives being driven out of Dublin, and one of the members of the royal house of Waterford taking the government. But in 1052 the Irish annals declare that "Earchmarcach son of Ragnhall went over the sea and the son of Mael-na-mbo assumed the kingship of the Foreigners after him."⁴ His name was Diarmaid; and though his connection with the Scandinavian houses is not evident⁵ he was a mighty warrior and greatly restored the warlike prestige of the Scandinavians in Ireland.⁶ Not only did his son invade the Isle of Man⁷ in 1060, but Diarmaid himself regained a hold

1. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 31, places his death in 1093.

2. *A. S. Chron.*, p. 198.

3. *F. Mast.*, p. 831.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 861.

5. *Ibid.*, note k.

6. "Lord of Leinster and the Foreigners." *Ibid.*, p. 881.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 879.

upon Leinster. His great opponents however were the kings of Munster, the grandsons of Brian Borumha, and for forty years the two royal houses engaged in a desperate struggle. Muirchertach ua Brian especially plagued the Scandinavians of Dublin, and so successful was he that he incurred the enmity of almost every section of Ireland and was badly beaten in 1090.¹ His defeat roused the men of Dublin once more and called into the field a new opponent Godfrey King of Man and the Isles. He assumed the kingship of Dublin and in company with the men of Meath and Ulster inflicted a crushing defeat upon Muirchertach ua Brian in the very year that Gruffydd sought his help.² Since the battle of Mynydd Carn the effete kings of Dublin had offered him little aid, but in Godfrey, a descendant of the old house³ and in some remote degree a relative of Gruffydd, he had a powerful patron who could muster ninety ships in Dublin alone.⁴ Had Muirchertach triumphed, Godfrey could not have rendered any outside assistance, but after the victory of 1094 he could dispense men and ships handsomely.

Thus with the help of his Norse friend Godfrey, Gruffydd was enabled not only to capture one of Hugh's castles,⁵ but also to give the signal for a general insurrection in Wales. The country quickly responded to his call, and while Gruffydd re-took Gwynedd, Cadwgan ap Bleddyn and his men of Ceredigion and Dyved captured the strongholds of middle and southern Wales, leaving only Pembroke under Gerald of Windsor, and Rhyd y Gors under William FitzBaldwin inviolate.⁶ In the excitement of success the Welsh hastened into England itself. The men of Gwynedd harried Cheshire, while Shropshire

1. *F. Mast.*, pp. 933, 935, 939.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 946.

3. *Chron. Man.*, p. 145.

4. *F. Mast.*, p. 947.

5. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 35. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 29, *sub. an.*, 1092.

6. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 29. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 35.

and Hereford paid in widespread slaughter and destruction the penalty of many a Norman crime in Wales.¹ For the moment the Normans were powerless against so fierce an insurrection.² The only serious attempt to arrest the destructive career of the Welshmen was made by Hugh, who had succeeded his father Roger as Earl of Shrewsbury, who now encountered and defeated a party of the enemy.³ But against his success was to be set the triumph of Cadwgan at Yspwys⁴ and the ravagings of the Welsh on English soil. The gravity of the situation was accentuated by a conspiracy among the King's own barons to depose him in favour of Stephen of Aumâle.⁵ Reckless though he was Rufus dared not disregard it. A sudden end was put to his quarrels, and crossing to England he prepared to chastise the insolent conspirators and to blot out by one decisive effort any possibility of a revival of Welsh military aspirations.

The Wars of William Rufus with Wales.

In discharge of its function of glorifying Gruffydd the *Hanes* would have us understand that William Rufus made only one invasion of Wales, and that on account of and to subdue Gruffydd ap Cynan. In this it may be excused, since it is only of one expedition—and that not one led by Rufus—that it is definitely mentioned that it proceeded against Gwynedd,⁶ although the English chronicler *Henry of Huntingdon*, speaking of a third expedition to Wales by Rufus seems to infer that he “passed through all the territories of Wales.”⁷ On the other hand, the *Brut y Tywysogion*, the *Annales*

1. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 35, *frequenter villas cremabant, praedas agebant, et multis ex Anglis et Normannis interficiebant.*

2. *A. S. Chron.*, p. 198.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 57.

5. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 38.

6. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 57.

7. *Henry Hunt.*, p. 218.

Cambriae, and *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* unite in placing only two invasions to his credit.¹

Further than this the *Hanes* seems to present an account of the invasion concocted from all the attacks made upon Wales by the Normans under Rufus and Henry I. Thus the terrible threat made by Rufus "to abolish and destroy utterly all the people" is noted also with regard to the second invasion² of Rufus and the first invasion of Henry I.³ The statement that Gruffydd held the life of the Norman king in his hands seems apposite rather to the second invasion of Wales by Henry I. in 1121 when his force was entrapped by Maredudd ap Bleddyn of Powys in a "wooded cliff," and the king himself was struck by an arrow.⁴ Lastly, we have little evidence outside of the *Hanes* that Rufus penetrated to Mur Castell,⁵ although on the authority of the *Brut y Tywysogion* we know that Henry I. encamped here on his first invasion of Wales.⁶

In 1095 the castle of Montgomery fell before the Welshmen.⁷ The slaughter that followed was more than the fiery Rufus⁸ could tolerate. Although it was late in the year⁹ and the revolt of his barons in the north was not yet subdued, he hastily summoned a fresh army, and entering Wales in October perambulated the whole country until the first of November with the army, which had been divided into detachments. His failure to deal the Welsh a decisive blow is lamented in the pages of the

1. *Brut y Tywys.*, pp. 59, 61. *Ann. Camb.*, pp. 29, 31.

2. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 31: *eorum omnium minans excidium. Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 41: *ut omnes masculini sexus internecioni daret.*

3. *Brut y Tywys.*, pp. 112 and 115: *Desiring to destroy utterly the whole of the Britons so that they should never retain the British name.*

4. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 147.

5. Cf., however, R.C. xxi, p. 51, where Professor Loth regards one of the poems of the *Red Book of Hergest* as applying to the occupation of Mur Castell by Rufus.

6. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 115.

7. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 39.

8. *Ibid. Rex iratus.*

9. *Mediante autumno. Ann. Camb.*, p. 30. *A. S. Chron.*, p. 199, says the expedition lasted from St. Michael's Mass until All Hallow's (Nov. 1st).

English chronicles. "He captured only one cow," says the *Hanes* in bitter derision. Elated by their success the Welshmen reiterated their depredations in the Marches. Even Gwent and Brecheiniog, so exposed to attack from the Marches considered it safe to rise in rebellion in the wake of the Normans, and they successfully beat off the attack that followed their contumacy.

Now that the attack had rolled back from Gwynedd, Gruffydd ap Cynan ceased to figure in the subsequent events, and the attack seems to have concentrated in the south under Cadwgan and his sons.

Meanwhile, in his other dominions the affairs of the Red King had assumed a more favourable complexion. The rebellion of his barons in Northumbria had been violently suppressed. Duke Robert, his feather-headed brother and rival, had gone eastwards on a crusade. Only in Wales was his authority defied, and with a fair opportunity he determined to recover the lost laurels of his previous campaigning. In January, 1097,¹ he returned from Normandy and commenced his preparations for a thorough expedition in Wales. By Eastertide² his army was assembled, and with terrible threats to extirpate the whole of the male stock³ of Wales and to stamp out the very language of his tormentors, he passed upon his last expedition into Wales. But be his oath never so drastic or his armament so complete, fortune still deserted him. In the slender records of the time there is a mere faint echo of the skirmishing of this last campaign of Rufus. There was the same profitless marching of heavily-armoured men among the solitudes of the Welsh hills,⁴ the same unsatisfactory conflicts in narrow passes and obscure woods, the same unwearied monotony in the complaint of the English chronicles,

1. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 41.

2. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 41.

3. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 41.

4. *Brut y Tywys.*, sub. an., 1093.

“he returned home after losing a great number of men and horses.”¹

Rufus had persisted in arraying the expensive and cumbersome feudal army in a country where it was impossible to manœuvre, where provisions were scarce, and convoys a precarious means of subsistence. It was as difficult to feed men and horses as it was to come to hand-grips with the enemy; so that the failure of his first enterprise was faithfully repeated in the second. The events of his reign never again allowed him to retrieve his ignominy, and when in 1097 he passed out of Wales his followers were still held in open defiance. He left the task of reconquering Wales to the pleasure of the lords marcher whom he commanded to return to the method of conquest by castles.²

He had, indeed, left the contest in hands fully competent to continue it. Of all those who had suffered by the Welsh rising of 1094 none had endured more than the Earl of Chester, whom Gruffydd ap Cynan had stripped of the whole of Gwynedd, and whose lands in Cheshire had not been spared in the orgy of vengeance. At the outbreak of the revolt in 1094 he was absent in Normandy,³ and presumably remained with the King, who spent Christmas at London. So clever and experienced a soldier could never have been dispensed with by Rufus in the troubled years of 1095 and 1096, and in 1097 he was again absent in Normandy fighting the King's battles.⁴ He had at any rate been given no fair opportunity of coming to close quarters with his old foe Gruffydd, much less of organising or leading such an expedition as now devastated Gwynedd in 1098.

The unanimity of the rising had gradually disappeared. There still remained the alliance between Cadwgan and

1. *A. S. Chron.*, p. 201. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 41. The writer of the *Hanes* would have us understand that Gruffydd was the hero who caused his discomfiture.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

4. *Ord. Vit.*, iv, p. 20.

Gruffydd which had its source no doubt in necessity rather than in inclination, for the presence in the invading force of Hugh of Shrewsbury coming to restore the rule of Montgomery in Powys, Ceredigion, and Dyved, was a sufficient menace to Cadwgan to cause him to throw in his lot with an old enemy.¹ Thus the situation developed into a trial of strength between the two great earldoms of Chester and Shrewsbury on the one hand and the two Welsh kingdoms of Gwynedd and Ceredigion on the other.

In recounting the campaign that ensued the *Hanes* follows in the main the story presented in other authorities,² except that given by Ordericus Vitalis, who differs so materially from the rest that his account may for the most part be neglected. Owain and Uchtryd, lords of Tygeingl,³ the brothers of Gruffydd's wife Angharad, and among the chief actors in the recent rising,⁴ went over to the enemy,⁵ and guided them into Gruffydd's kingdom so as to prevent all possibilities of ambuscade. But a unique feature of the narration of the *Hanes* is the mention of the fleet which the earls employed to transport their forces along the coast into Gwynedd. No other account mentions this fleet. Nevertheless, before rejecting this idea of a Norman fleet attacking Gwynedd it must be borne in mind that already in 1091 Rufus had used a fleet in his attack upon Scotland,⁶ and in the case of Gwynedd, it was the means adopted not only by Harold in 1063,⁷ but also later by Henry II.⁸ On both of these latter occasions the fleet set out from Bristol, but the mention in the *Hanes* of the

1. Cadwgan had supported Trahaiarn at Mynydd Carn and therefore must have been hostile to Gruffydd.

2. Cf. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 42. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 61. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 31. *Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 129. *Ord. Vit.*, iv, 29—32. *Chron. Man.*, pp. 58, 156.

3. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 141.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

6. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 28.

7. *A. S. Chron.*, p. 161.

8. *Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 130.

taking of a ship from Chester bound to Ireland shows that there was a maritime port at Chester capable of supplying Hugh with sufficient ships for his purpose.¹ Moreover the presence of this Norman fleet was the chief justification for the evacuation of Gwynedd by Gruffydd. In the face of an invasion by the usual land routes, the Welsh forces could have offered a more effective fight in the recesses of Snowdon, where they could engage at advantage or adopt those elusive tactics that were usually successful in Welsh warfare. All the time there would be an open retreat from the sea coast, and fair supplies from Anglesey. But the appearance of the hostile fleet meant the severing of the line of retreat and of the channel of supplies. There was no possible choice left but to abandon the favourable Snowdon country for the exposed shores of Anglesey, a course which would never have been adopted but for the pressure of some threatening force on the flank and rear. The suggestion, therefore, that the Norman invasion of 1098 was advanced along two lines, one in ships along the coast, and the other guided by the Welshmen of Tygeingl by land, is not unacceptable. It was as much to guard the easy landing on Anglesey as to aid in any hand-to-hand fighting on land that an Irish fleet was requisitioned.

The events following the treachery of the Irish mercenaries and the landing of the Normans in Anglesey are set forth in the *Hanes*. The Welsh leaders Gruffydd and Cadwgan together with the famous Owain ap Cadwgan never waited to contest the landing of their opponents, but sought a humiliating safety in flight, leaving their forces to their own devices.²

The events that followed the arrival of the Norman, vividly pictured in the narration of the *Hanes*, throw a lurid light upon the incidents of the bloody struggle that raged for so many years in the seclusion of the Welsh

1. Note also the mention of ships in *Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 286. *Classe tamen parata piratas per mare fugientes persequabantur.*

2. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 31.

mountains. The details of the *Hanes* are reinforced by the stories in *Florence of Worcester*¹ and *Giraldus Cambrensis*.² Florence tells of a priest, by name Cenredus, accused of conveying information and advice to the Welsh, whose eye was torn out and tongue cut off and who was otherwise maltreated by the Normans, who yet regained his speech by the intervention of an outraged Providence, three days after. Giraldus relates how Hugh of Shrewsbury kennelled his dogs for the night in the church of Saint Trefrydog and found them in the morning raving mad. These are trifling incidents, but they show the bitter resentment colouring the Welsh traditions of this gloomy ending to the insurrection.

The arrival of King Magnus in the height of the turmoil is accepted by all the narrators as purely accidental.³ He is known in the Sagas as Magnus Barefoot and Magnus the Great,⁴ and was the son of Harold Hardradr. Already in 1093 he had made one journey from Norway to the western Norse settlements to restore his dominion over the Orkneys and the western islands,⁵ and on that expedition had not only driven Gruffydd's friend Godfrey from the Sudreys,⁶ but had also made an alliance with the King of Leinster, Muirchertach ua Brian, whose daughter he married.⁷ *Orderic Vitalis* declares that the second expedition of 1098 had been entered upon to obtain satisfaction from Muirchertach, who had broken his treaty with him. He subdued the Orkneys and most of the islands of the west coast of Scotland, ultimately capturing the Isle of Man,

1. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 42.

2. *Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 129.

3. Munch surmises that either Gruffydd asked aid of Magnus or that Magnus had news of the doings in Anglesey from other fugitives. *Orderic* infers that Magnus had committed depredations on the Welsh coasts for some time, and that the Normans gathered forces especially to oppose him. Cf. *Ord. Vit.*, iv, pp. 30—32

4. *Norsemen in Ireland*, ii, p. 9.

5. *Chron. Man.*, p. 60.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

7. *Ord. Vit.*, iv, p. 29.

where he stayed some time organising his conquests.¹ It was during this expedition of 1098, while he was engaged in the Isle of Man, that he made an expedition southward to Anglesey and found it in possession of the Normans. The *Hanes* and the *Brut y Tywysogion* infer that Magnus was at first unaware of the condition of things, and that it was only after he was fully informed of the brutality of the Normans that he consented to hostilities in order to avenge the maltreated Welshmen. But this hostility to the Normans is inconsistent with the fact that although he discomfited them by slaying their leader Hugh of Shrewsbury, he yet finally quitted Anglesey without further troubling the Normans or indemnifying the Welsh.² The *Bruts* can only account for this tame departure by referring it to "a sudden determination." The truth seems to be hinted at in *Florence of Worcester* and the *Annales Cambriae*, and explicitly stated in *Orderic* where Magnus signifies his pacific intentions in approaching Anglesey by raising at his mast-head a red shield, a sign of peace.³ The Norman earls, however, viewed the arrival of the Norse fleet with an alarm which was quite natural when it was remembered that Gruffydd had fled to Ireland for help and that the Norsemen had been his constant allies against them. It was they who began the ensuing conflict by refusing Magnus a landing.

Magnus approached the land in the foremost vessel and partook in a mutual discharge of arrows between those on shore and those on the sea. All the narrations except that of *Orderic* insist that it was Magnus himself who directed the fatal shot that ended the short career of Hugh of Shrewsbury. But the *Saga of Magnus Barefoot* says that Earl Magnus, seeing Hugh advancing, pointed him out to a man from Halagoland,⁴ who was

1. *Ord. Vit.*, iv, p. 29.

2. *Ibid.*, iv, p. 32, *infra*, p. 147. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 31.

3. *Ibid.*, iv, p. 30.

4. *Orderic* attributes the shot not to Magnus but "barbarus Nord-wigena."

shooting by his side, and persuaded him to take aim at the Earl simultaneously with himself. One arrow struck the nose-piece of the helmet and bent it to one side while the other entered the eye and killed the Earl immediately. It was impossible to say precisely whose was the arrow that transfixed the Earl, but the Halagolander, out of compliment, attributed the honour to King Magnus. On the other hand Giraldus Cambrensis,¹ narrating the tradition still extant in the island ninety years after the event, not only affirms that it was Magnus who shot Hugh, but says that seeing him fall from his horse into the sea he cried exultingly, "Leit loup" ("let him leap").

The result of the death of Hugh of Shrewsbury was the discomfiture and flight of the whole Norman force, but there is some disagreement as to its effect upon the future of Anglesey. The Welsh records all agree upon the immediate departure of the Norsemen and the subsequent triumph of the Normans over the Welsh whom they enslaved. Orderic maintains that so far was Magnus from entertaining any resentment against the Normans that when he heard of the disaster his hand had wrought he joined his lamentations with theirs asserting that his armament was directed not against the English, but the Irish, with the object of colonising his own domains and not of invading the country of others, and as an earnest of his repentance offered Hugh of Chester peace and security.² On the other hand, Giraldus Cambrensis³ declared that from the day of the death of Hugh of Shrewsbury Norman rule ceased in Anglesey. The *Chronicle of the Kings of Man* relates that after the flight of Hugh of Chester, Magnus subdued the island for himself and received gifts of the

1. *Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 129.

2. *Ord. Vit.*, iv, p. 32. *Exercitum, inquit, non propter Anglos, sed Hibernos ago, nec alienam regionem invado; sed insulas ad potestatem meam pertinentes incolo.*

3. *Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 129. *Et ab hac in posterum hora potestas Anglorum in Monia cessavit.*

grateful Welsh.¹ The version of Giraldus is comprehensible in the light of after events, for the return of Gruffydd in the year following these events² was the beginning of a period of prosperity for Gwynedd during which her princes successfully conserved the sanctity of Anglesey, the source of their sustenance and wealth. As for the statements of the *Chronicle of the Kings of Man*, there seems this much probability in them, that since the Normans turned their backs in flight, those who related the adventures of Magnus, to exalt his glory, might therefore claim that he subjected the island, while the wretched Welshmen, between the upper and nether millstone, would promise anything, even allegiance to the Norsemen, for a temporary salvation from the tortures of their enemies. In his last expedition of 1103 Magnus Barefoot called at Anglesey for wood,³ which Gruffydd ap Cynan allowed him, but beyond this and the fact that Anglesey was long included in the list of Norse possessions in Britain⁴ there is nothing to show that the island avowed even a titular subordination to the Norsemen. At any rate the gratitude of the Welsh was entirely premature, for the speedy departure of Magnus saw them all, "young as well as old, reduced to be Saxons."⁵ Among them there might be some of Hugh's serfs from the Perveddwlad, escaped during the recent troubles, and there is much probability in the suggestion of the *Hanes* that the captives were concentrated beyond the Clwyd, since in a thinly populated region like Wales, persons would form more valuable plunder than property, and at least would serve to repopulate the regions wasted by Gruffydd's forays.

1. *Chron. Man.*, p. 58.

2. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 32.

3. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 73.

4. *Chron. Man.*, p. 158.

5. Cf. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 63, *Ann. Camb.*, p. 31.

The Last Years of Gruffydd's Career.

The startling close of the movement initiated by Gruffydd for the expulsion of the Normans from Wales left him in such a position that he seemed to have lost all the fruits of his strenuous exertions and had his task, now of twenty-three years' standing, to perform again from the beginning. A singular stubbornness of character and a firm conviction of ultimate success must have marked one who would again and without shrinking face that task with all its associations of humiliation and hardship. Yet Gruffydd ap Cynan returned in 1099, and made peace with the Earl of Chester, who left him in possession of the now war-blasted isle of Anglesey. In three years circumstances were to assume a more propitious aspect. The only enemy he had to fear, Hugh of Chester, died in 1101,¹ William Rufus was killed in the previous year, and after a sharp and vigorous rebellion on the part of Robert of Bellême who succeeded Hugh of Montgomery, the earldom of Shrewsbury was suppressed, leaving Chester, the only survivor of the three great earldoms of the March, in the hands of Hugh's son Richard,² a mere youth. There was therefore no immediate menace to Gruffydd's actions in the remoter regions of Gwynedd. Henry I. had too much to cope with in the contumacy of Robert of Bellême at home, and his troubles with Normandy abroad, to offer him much active opposition. Moreover, for the next fourteen years the violent trend of affairs in Ceredigion due to the reckless ambition of Cadwgan and his two brothers Maredudd and Iorwerth, the lawlessness of Cadwgan's son Owain, and the constant bickerings between the princes of Powys and the Norman officials who now begin to make their appearance in Welsh affairs, distracted the King's attention, so that when Gruffydd ap Cynan at length

1. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 32. *Ord. Vit.*, iv, p. 111. *Ann. Cest.*, p. 17.

2. He perished in the *Blanchenef* in 1120. Cf. *Ord. Vit.*, iv, p. 111. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 74.

became menacingly aggressive his actions were obscured in the turbulence of Powys.

In these renewed hostilities, which began in 1101, the second year of Henry's reign, with the revolt of Robert of Bellême, Gruffydd ap Cynan, once so active, plays no prominent part. Nor is it to his discredit that the chronicler can find no exciting detail in the round of his existence as lord of Anglesey, since there was little profit and less honour to be gained by complicity in the purposeless bickerings of the young Powysian princes. In his forty-third year and with the memory of his previous failures always before him, prudence forbade the jeopardising of the only solid result of twenty-five years of unflagging endeavour, under any but pressing circumstances. The whole experience of his calamitous career proved the folly of provoking unnecessarily the enmity of the Norman king, and once he had realised this, the natural prudence of his disposition changed his policy. Violence had failed repeatedly; the loyalty of his Norse and Irish supporters was never to be trusted; his own countrymen, when not in active opposition to him, behaved towards him with selfish indifference. He changed his policy from one of violent aggression to one of peaceful expansion, and tacitly acquiesced in Norman rule. It was no more humiliating to rule at the bidding of Hugh of Chester than at the pleasure of Norse and Irish hirelings. It is significant that after his betrayal in Anglesey in 1098, we hear no further of the support of these Norsemen,¹ and it can be inferred that Gruffydd was content at last to confide in his personal popularity as a national leader with an unblemished pedigree. Long since in 1081 before Mynydd Carn, Rhys ap Tewdwr lord of Deheubarth had admitted his title to supremacy among the princes of Wales.² In 1094 the alliance the

1. He may have retained them in smaller number or under greater discipline for the *Hanes* says Welshman, Irishman, and the Danes lamented his death like the mourning of the Jews.

2. *Infra*, p. 127.

princes of Powys made with him was tantamount to the recognition of his claims upon Gwynedd by those old foes of his. Now, in the pacification of 1099, his rule was acknowledged in Anglesey by the Normans themselves, and he could rely upon the newly-awakened national spirit, the Welsh abhorrence of the rigours of Norman servitude, and his own prestige as a martyred champion of Welsh honour to gain him the service and allegiance of the men of Gwynedd. Thus with a change of policy came a change of position, and the reckless pirate became the prudent prince.

In accepting the lordship of Anglesey Gruffydd wisely bowed to the fact that the extent and success of his rule and the prospects of its extension depended absolutely upon the goodwill of Hugh and the character of the conditions, favourable or unfavourable, in which Hugh was placed for enforcing his will in Gwynedd. In 1087 when Hugh had been absent at the siege of Rochester, and in the period from 1094 to 1098¹ when he was occupied in England and Normandy, Gruffydd had triumphed. When he returned, Gruffydd was humiliated. But now Hugh was grown old and had waxed so corpulent as to be unable to ride on horseback with comfort, so that he became nicknamed "the Fat."² He was unable to support the troubles of empire in the wilds of Gwynedd where the pasture lands of Snowdon and the cornfields of Anglesey offered no fit return for the dangers of his garrisons ever liable to be cut off from distant Chester by hostile neighbours. Moreover he had thoroughly depopulated the land; and deprived of its cultivators it was valueless. So it was a sign of his indifference to rule in Gwynedd that he did not trouble to restore the castles demolished by the Welsh in 1094, and that he received Gruffydd against whom he had fought for twenty-five

1. Hugh of Chester was absent in Normandy as late as 1097. Cf. *Ord. Vit.*, iv, p. 20.

2. *Ord. Vit.*, iv, p. 31. In *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 61, the epithet "Fat" is erroneously applied to Hugh of Montgomery.

years into his peace. Two years later, after a long illness,¹ he died at Chester, and was succeeded by his son Richard, a young and handsome youth,² whose weaker grasp could not retain the full sway of the parent, and Gruffydd slowly and peaceably took back his old possessions on the mainland, the while the attention of the Normans was devoted to the anarchy in Powys.

It is unfortunate that no record has been preserved, even in a work devoted to his memory, of the process whereby he effected this expansion of his territory. The *Hanes* declares that he did so by the aid or through the skill of Herveius, Bishop of Bangor, but what is the precise meaning of it is not clear. Herveius may have assisted in some official transaction as a witness or interpreter or an arbitrator, but it is not likely that he would have made any individual effort to advance the power of the Welsh in his diocese, since in 1109 he was practically driven from his See by the hostility of the Welshmen,³ However, the aspirations and actual prosperity of Gwynedd frightened the Earl of Chester.⁴ His complaint was made at a time when the affairs of Ceredigion under Owain ap Cadwgan had attained such a pitch of disorderliness that Henry was bound to interfere on behalf of his Norman subjects in Wales. In 1114 the armies of the King of England and the King of Scotland⁵ were brought together to Snowdon to smother a tiny mountain kingdom, and once again Gruffydd ap Cynan found himself in direct conflict with the royal forces and the fortunes of his career at this late hour still trembling in the balance.

The invasions of Wales by Henry the First are accorded scant notice in the English chronicles, being treated as of no unusual interest or importance. Henry

1. *Ord. Vit.*, iv, p. 111. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 67.

2. *Ibid.*, iv, p. 111, *pulcherrimus puer*. *Ann. Cest.*, p. 16, says he was only seven years of age.

3. Cf. *Will. Malms. Gest. Pont.*, p. 325. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 90.

4. *Brut y Tywys.*, sub. an., 1111.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

of Huntingdon¹ notices only the second invasion in 1121, but Florence of Worcester² and the *Annales*³ mention two expeditions in 1114 and 1121. Orderic⁴ speaks of a third expedition which the King proposed to organise from Normandy in the last year of his reign, but which was prevented by Henry's death. The most circumstantial account of the first invasion is given in the *Brut y Tywysogion*, and differs in effect from that set forth in the *Hanes*. The version given in the former states that the expedition was directed not merely against the aggressive behaviour of Gwynedd, but also against the long train of disturbances marking the career of Owain ap Cadwgan. Thus Owain took his stand with Gruffydd in Snowdon just as his father Cadwgan had done on a similar occasion, while Maredudd, his cruel uncle, first temporised and then guided the English forces. The attack was conducted by three divisions, one under the King himself, a second under the Scottish King Malcolm, and a third under the Earl of Cornwall, who commanded in his troops not only soldiers from England, but also the Welshmen of Deheubarth. These three divisions closed upon Snowdon, and the final situation was that Owain was faced by Henry at Mur Castell in Ardudwy, while Gruffydd was opposed to the Scottish King at Pennaeth Bachwy. The two Welshmen supported one another firmly, and refused to make an individual surrender until Maredudd persuaded Owain that Gruffydd had come to terms. Hearing this Owain submitted and was well received by the King, while Gruffydd, hitherto defiant, surrendered in despair and was admitted into the King's grace only upon the payment of a heavy tribute.⁵

1. *Hy. Hunt.*, p. 230.

2. *Flor. Wig.*, pp. 67, 76.

3. *Ann. Camb.*, sub. an.

4. *Ord. Vit.*, v, pp. 43, 45

5. All the English chronicles agree as to the absolute surrender of Gruffydd. The *Hanes* merely glosses over the humiliation of its hero.

Such was Gruffydd's last hostile encounter with the King of England. He had not come badly out of it, for, beyond a fine as a symbol of submission, Henry seemingly did not trouble to ask for the restitution of the land filched from the Earl of Chester, and thence onwards Gruffydd was left in peace to work his will in North Wales. Nevertheless the time for the hair-brained adventures of his youth was long since gone, and bitter experience had inculcated the inconvenience of aggravating the royal anger. Rather than incur it again he did not scruple to violate the sanctity of hospitality even towards a young and confiding relation. In 1115 his nephew Gruffydd ap Rhys, the son of Rhys ap Tewdwr, and the brother-in-law of Gerald of Windsor, sought and obtained his protection against the Normans of South Wales who accused him of stirring up sedition. He had undoubted claims upon the men of Deheubarth as the representative of the house of Dinevor; he was a man of great charm of personality; and Henry thought it worth his while to put an end to his career. He therefore asked Gruffydd ap Cynan to take him dead or alive, and Gruffydd was prudent or weak enough to accept the commission. This is probably the occasion mentioned in the *Hanes* on which Gruffydd visited the royal court, and "the boon and affection and acknowledgment" and "the cantred of Lleyn and Eifionydd and Ardudwy and Arllechwedd"¹ might therefore be the reward of his perfidy towards his brilliant young nephew, who fortunately escaped from his uncle to conduct a campaign against the Norman lords of South Wales that fully justified their previous suspicions of him.

Yet it sufficed for Gruffydd that he had retained Henry's favour, and so far had his influence prospered that in spite of Henry's set policy of filling the Welsh bishoprics with Normans as a means of combating

1. Cf. *infra*, p. 151. The *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 121, merely says he promised much to Gruffydd.

national spirit, he was enabled to obtain the election in 1120 of David to the See of Bangor at the expressed desire of his clergy and people.¹ One is inclined, therefore, to reject the statement in the *Hanes* that the second invasion of Wales undertaken by Henry in 1121 was directed against the King of Gwynedd. The *Annales* distinctly assert that it was intended against Powys,² and in the detailed narration of the invasion given in the *Bruts*,³ Gruffydd is made to play a less heroic but more discreet part than is accorded him in the eulogistic *Hanes*. It was the activity of the Powysian princes, and especially of Maredudd, the last surviving and harshest of the three perverse sons of Bleddyn, who had overrun Meirionydd and invaded the Four Cantreds, that made Powys the object of attack. Maredudd wished to avail himself of the powerful aid of Gruffydd ap Cynan, but Gruffydd not only rejected his overtures but also threatened active opposition if Maredudd attempted to enter Gwynedd. It was therefore Maredudd and not Gruffydd who laid the ambush for Henry. The men in ambush were young archers, one of whom shot the King in the breast and might have done him an injury had not the arrow glanced off the armour. Whatever may have been the King's fear because of this incident, Maredudd had to come to terms with him. Henry exhibited no uncommon severity towards the malingerer, contenting himself with a stupendous fine of ten thousand head of cattle which Powys, impoverished by twenty-seven years of interminable hostings, could never be expected to pay. The troubles of his own kingdom were too pressing; he was too conscious of the futility of disciplining the Welsh princes by the ordinary methods of punishments; his worldly aspirations were still obscured in the loss of his son in the "Blanchenef"

1. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 74. *Eadmer*, p. 259.

2. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 37, *Henricus rex in Powisenses movit exercitum*.

3. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 146.

in the previous year; and perhaps he was aware of the growing hostility between Powys and Gwynedd that threatened the mutual destruction of the two combatants. At any rate, so far as royal interference was concerned, Wales was abandoned for the rest of his reign to its own pleasure, and in that interval all the wranglings and cruelties and futilities that had afflicted her since the advent of the Normans seemed reflected. The immunity of the English borders from the Welsh raiders had been successfully secured by Henry, but at the expense of a misery and bloodshed in Wales whose effects both Welshman and Norman were to bewail. Alone of those daring spirits who raised the standard of Welsh freedom in 1094, Gruffydd ap Cynan, secure in the friendship of the Norman King, survived to contemplate with satisfaction the reward of a constancy which had transferred him from the displeasing circumstances of exile to the enjoyment of regal power in his native mountains. His powers had increased with the prosperity of his kingdom. Although in 1114 he had consented to pay tribute to Henry, the fact that David was elected to the See of Bangor in 1120 by the voice of Gruffydd and of the clergy and people of Wales proves not only that he was in favour at Henry's court, but also that his position in Gwynedd was that of an independent lord with a privilege in the choice of the election of the bishop equal to that of a prince.

Nor was his success at an end. For, although Gruffydd's modest policy did not repeat the mistake of attempting more than his means would warrant, which was the essential cause of the failure of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, it never allowed a legitimate opportunity to pass neglected. Not that Gruffydd himself ever took the field again after his last contest with Henry. But he was fortunate in having in Owain and Cadwaladr two vigorous and accomplished sons capable of conducting any martial enterprises he might allot them. They won their spurs as responsible commanders against Maredudd

two years after his humiliation by Henry the First,¹ when they descended upon Meirionydd which he had wrested from his young nephew,² and transported its inhabitants and their possessions into Lleyn and proposed with the eager will of youth to mete out similar treatment to his people in Powys.

For yet another twelve years Gwynedd had rest from war, and then fighting broke out with incredible fury. For in 1135 the reign of Henry the First ceased and was succeeded by the stormy period of Stephen, during which all the forces of anarchy and confusion paralysed the Norman government.³ Never was it made so apparent how much the misfortune of England helped the Welsh resistance to the Normans. Once again the Welsh population rose to shake off the Norman yoke, and repeated the efforts that had led to the disaster at Anglesey. "Emerging in troops from diverse places, they hurry with hostile intentions, now here, now there, with depredation, fire, and sword; they emptied the towns, burnt homesteads, slew men."⁴ In vain did Stephen exert himself, and at great personal expense pour knights and archers into Wales; the enemy routed them at every point; Richard FitzGilbert *summum primate*,⁵ Constable of Gloucester, who, in virtue of his office, enjoyed in Wales the prestige of a monarch, was ambushed with a great posse and slain as he hastened to his estates in Ceredigion.⁶ It was the flood-tide of the affairs of Gwynedd, and Gruffydd, released from his obligations by Henry's death, watched at home while Owain and Cadwaladr fell upon the defenceless Ceredigion, ever since the rape of Nest a prey to the greedy

1. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 146.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

3. According to *Ord. Vit.*, v, pp. 43 and 45, the insurrection began in 1135, and Henry was only prevented by death from making a third invasion of Wales.

4. *Gest. Steph.*, p. 10.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Cf. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 97, who places his death in April 15th. Also *Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 47.

Normans who under the Constable of Gloucester had studded it with castles.¹ The time had come when Gwynedd could furnish her princes with an army worthy of their rank and enterprise, with mounted and armoured men mingling with the spear-armed Welsh infantry.² Nor were the Norman castles any longer the insurmountable obstacles they had proved in Gruffydd's earlier days and they fell repeatedly before the successful arms of his two sons. The news of the death of FitzGilbert, the proprietor of Ceredigion, recalled the full force of Gwynedd for a second expedition. But the Normans who in the days of the outbreak of 1094 had been few, isolated, and weak, were now numerous, unanimous, and fully determined in the defence of a fertile land estimated hardly inferior to the most fertile portions of Britain. And so despite their many discomfitures they advanced with strong reinforcements to contest the right of the King of Gwynedd to rule in Ceredigion, in an army comprising not only the knights who held of Gilbert in Ceredigion, but likewise the knights of Caermarthen and Pembroke like Robert FitzMartin and the FitzGerald and the Flemings whom Henry had planted in Rhos, "all the Marchers and all the Normans from Neath to Teivy," for a final gigantic struggle with the Welsh for supremacy and prestige.³ Against them the Welsh, as ever at the commencement of a great enterprise, represented an harmonious combination. Under Owain and Cadwaladr there fought the princes of Powys, and the men of South Wales, fresh from their triumph in Gower,⁴ led by the brilliant and warworn Gruffydd ap Rhys who, single handed, and betrayed by Gruffydd ap Cynan, had defied and humiliated the Normans of Wales for two years. So constituted, the two armies met at Cardigan

1. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 105.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

3. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 97. *Gest. Steph.*, p. 10. *Ann. Cam.*, sub. an., 1136. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 159.

4. *Gest. Steph.*, p. 10.

or Aberteifi in the second week of October, 1136, when the Welshmen, advancing in three columns threw the Normans into confusion and flight, and in the midst of the great slaughter enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing the fugitives precipitated into the river Teify, because of the breaking of the bridge. The Welsh triumph was speedy and complete, and the two sons returned to their old father with a full measure of spoil and captives, to complete the consummation of Gruffydd's long and arduous life. In the following year he died at the age of eighty-two, undisputed ruler in an enlarged kingdom stretching on the east to the Clwyd, and on the south to the borders of Deheubarth, and including Ardudwy and Meirionydd, the lands of his old rival Trahaiarn, and Ceredigion, the kingdom of his late ally Cadwgan.

In comparison with the great men of his age Gruffydd cannot be counted a great man. If anything is to be inferred from his recorded actions, his character was not so flawless as his personal charm. The biographer compares him to all the great heroes of old, to Agamemnon, Romulus, Caesar, and King Arthur. But to none of these does he approximate either in point of character or of achievements. There is nothing heroic about him. In the whole of a chequered career abounding in breathless adventures no memorable act of chivalry is to be found, no thought showing magnanimity, no spark of patriotic self-denial. The life to which he had devoted himself, the strenuous exacting life of a military adventurer seeking the glories of a throne and the allegiance of a kingdom called for unusual courage and warlike resource. In both, at moments of crisis, Gruffydd showed himself singularly lacking. He dallied in his ships while his men fought against Cenwric : he fled from the field at Bron yr Erw : in 1098 he deserted his people in a most craven fashion leaving them to suffer the punishment his own ambition had called down : rather than forfeit the favour of Henry the First he acquiesced in the betrayal of his nephew

Gruffydd ap Rhys, unmindful of the time when he himself was hounded "like a weary stag" and lamented the hardship of Norman persecution. Nor as a leader of men did he appear to a greater advantage, for his real skill in organising a movement was nullified at every turn by his want of control over his own men whom he could never restrain from plundering the very people whose allegiance and indulgence were most necessary to his success.¹ He had none of the fierce valour of a Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, the solid grandeur of a Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, or the gentle manliness of a Llewelyn ap Gruffydd. But while there were plenty of dashing leaders and courageous warriors in Wales, Gruffydd ap Cynan was distinguished in a marked degree by qualities possessed by few among his contemporaries, sublunary qualities of persistence and prudence that won him ultimate success. During his chequered career, his expulsion from his kingdom upon five separate occasions had inured him to the inconveniences of the passage of the Irish Sea. He was acquainted with the terrors of a Norman dungeon. Measuring his strength with most of the champions whom the Conqueror had set to keep the Marches, he had practised the arrogance of the victor and supported the humiliation of the fugitive. He had resisted the attacks of two Norman kings. He had seen three risings of his countrymen wax and wane. Yet in the face of every form of hardship, disappointment, and vicissitude he persevered in that aim of reigning in the kingdom of his father which had been inspired within him at his mother's knee.² Alone in the midst of a crowd of feather-headed princes and noblemen who made war without policy, entered upon enterprises without sincerity, and led Wales in a giddy whirl of anarchy, Gruffydd ap Cynan was a man with a definite purpose, to accomplish which he was fully determined. And after that purpose was realised, he confessed the limits

1. *Infra*, p. 123.

2. *Infra*, p. 111.

of his power by a policy not heroic but prudent and just to his subjects, and, content to temporise, withdrew himself from the rivalries and bickerings that dissipated the strength of his friends in Powys. By such means he gave his kingdom rest from the melancholy broils of his earlier years. Whatever the distinguishing marks of his character may have been, truculence or timidity, incapacity or misfortune, he had given inestimable service to the cause of the Welshman against the Norman. For his reign was coeval with the period of the fiercest attacks of the Normans upon Wales after their coming to Britain, and there is hardly an event in that struggle in which he had not participated. When he reached the shores of Abermenai in 1075 the full force of the invasion beat upon a Wales unprepared for it by reason of its lack of union, its paucity of resources, the fatal jealousies of its princes, the lack of confidence engendered by its defeat at the hands of Harold son of Godwine. His own forceful ambition led to the collapse of Wales in 1093 when the flower of European chivalry had cast down the "barbarian" in every region of Wales, so that there was left no champion to defend it. But instead of despairing of an unequal struggle, buoyed up by an uncommon fortitude and faith in the mutability of things, he regained for the Welshmen the strongest corner of their country. For Snowdon was the backbone of future Welsh independence, and the ultimate refuge of Welsh adversity. Deheubarth was ever an easy prey to an invader, the valour of its inhabitants notwithstanding; but no enemy tempted the paths of Snowdon with impunity, and had the rule of the Earls of Chester been allowed to mature there, Wales would have fallen as quickly and as completely before the Normans as did England.

This, then, was Gruffydd's service in Welsh history: that in the great crisis of the Norman invasion, when the whole future of Wales was in the balance, when his brother princes of Powys betrayed their duties by

trifling, he stood firm and wore down the attack of the strongest of the opponents, giving his country a chance to reassert herself with a perfect vigour when the opportunity appeared: that he quickly built up a strong, compact, organised and prosperous realm about Snowdon which was the sole means for Welsh rehabilitation, which cradled the two Llewelyns, and withstood conquest during another century and a half. It was therefore a fitting consummation of a career spent in sharp and continual conflict that his eyes should close upon the sight of a worsted enemy, and his hearing fail in the midst of a Welsh shout of triumph.¹

Yet on the other hand there was a certain danger in closing Wales against the Normans and the social influences following in their track. For it must be remembered that the eleventh and twelfth centuries formed an era of great social, intellectual, and material advancement in Europe just emerging from the rude state into which she had been plunged by the disruption of the Roman and Carolingian empires. The great religious revival spreading from Cluny and stimulating men to a larger humanity and pleading the cause of delicacy and refinement against the brutality of the age, was succeeded by the institution of new monastic orders and ideals like those of the Carthusians and Cistercians, and the orders of regular canons. They were the great days of Hildebrand, Anselm, and Saint Bernard, of the Crusades and Military Brotherhoods, of the up-growth of schools and the origin of the universities, of a great intellectual revival in law, medicine, mathematics, theology. Throughout Europe the coarser horrors of the early years of the Middle Ages were disappearing before the refining tendencies of the time.

Now the Normans, a ubiquitous and quick-witted people, acquainted with the life and thought of the East as well as Europe, had many diverse benefits for the

1. *Supra*, pp. 92, 93.

backward inhabitants of Britain, and into every field of national activity infused a new energy and resourcefulness. Yet from these movements fraught with the utmost importance for the future welfare of mankind, Wales was entirely cut off by language, remoteness, and exclusiveness, and left to herself might have continued in her old round of life regardless of developments elsewhere. Despite the brutality of the Normans, their pious generosity, shown in their many religious establishments, and their natural shrewdness, seen in the pains they took to improve their new possessions,¹ contributed handsomely towards the material and intellectual advancement of Wales; so that there might have been a danger that in saving the honour Gruffydd ap Cynan had sacrificed the welfare of his people. It was then fortunate that the comparative tranquillity of the last thirty-six years of his reign gave him a chance to consult the material interests of his kingdom, and associate with his memory a revival of Welsh culture as well as of martial prowess. There is no adequate account of his services in this respect except the vague inarticulate assertions of the *Hanes*. The meagre resources of war-swept Gwynedd preclude expectations of great achievements. That the great movements agitating the outside world of Europe had small interest in Wales is manifest from the absence from the Welsh records of references to the great personalities in the controversies of the time. But the example of what Norman lords were doing elsewhere in Wales could not have been without effect. So Gruffydd's kingdom "shone with lime-washed churches like the firmament with stars," and in the generosity of his last moments his charity transcended the limits of his prejudice and if he could not endow handsome edifices of his own creation his gifts were scattered among the religious foundations even of his old enemy Hugh at Chester and Roger at

1. *Gesta Steph.*, p. 9.

Shrewsbury. His monarchical magnificence expressed itself in courts and banqueting halls in emulation of the new Norman castles, and as Norman enterprise brought Welsh lands into cultivation, so Gruffydd likewise filled Gwynedd with orchards and gardens until the pastures of Snowdon and the cornlands of Anglesey filled Giraldus Cambrensis with wonder. Moreover his reign heralded the dawn of an era of activity in literature and music. He found time to rejuvenate the art of minstrelsy, to introduce new musical methods and ideas, to regulate in statutes still preserving his name and memory the status, qualifications, fees, and apprenticeship of the bards,¹ and by his own achievements and those of his sons, furnished engaging themes for their intricate metres. He had, indeed, opened for Gwynedd a new life of prosperity and enjoyments unpromised in the stormy presages of his early behaviour, and although its maturity graced the sway of his successors, Gruffydd might count it to his own merit that his policy of friendship with the Norman kings had left Gwynedd free and unprejudiced to assimilate those lessons brought by the Normans to every people with whom they came in contact. Whether their effect was as great under Gruffydd's rule and whether Gruffydd accomplished as much for the ultimate welfare of his people as if Gwynedd, like England and the eastern and southern regions of Wales, had remained fully subject to Chester is a matter for mere speculation.

Yet considering the uncertainty of his fortunes and the poverty of his means, Gruffydd ap Cynan had performed a remarkable feat in erecting in a land practically uninhabited and devoid of dwellings a new kingdom reflecting the old prejudices, following the old traditions, capable of braving the attack of Henry the Second, and maintaining its bounds against its old enemies of the March: a kingdom, at first under the

1. *Infra*, p. 180, note 4.

heel of its neighbour Powys, at length recognised in its autonomy by the Norman kings of England as well as by its sister kingdoms of Wales, and justifying its existence by an intellectual and material prosperity in vivid contrast with its condition when Hugh the Wolf left its confines a desert polluted by "a great slaughter of corpses." Gruffydd had made many mistakes and regretted many failures, but the pompous rhetoric with which the chronicler has celebrated his greatness was but the meed of a successful career. He died in 1137 "the king and sovereign and prince and defender and pacifier of all the Welsh, after many dangers by sea and land, after innumerable spoils and victories in war, after riches of gold and silver and costly garments, after collecting together into Gwynedd, his own country, those who had been before scattered into various countries by the Normans, after building in his time many churches and consecrating them to God."

lyt yj lymoot **Oruffud**, ag ywem fap
 febrin, ag llyt y wraut ag eu blaen
 ag eu galu. c

De pan wu hancit hynny gwyx **Oruy-**
 ned a **Donys** a hyl dufunassant
 y wtroynobu idunt hep daryf tung,
 ag wtr hynny y mudassant ar gluydi

Donys nylt amgen **Adroalain**
 a **Haridud** y wraut ag eu hancu
 yantuit hyl ar **Oruffud**. c

Ag yna wedd hynny hyl gwygor yd
 astant hyl y **Con** ag hynny a **Oruy-**
ffud, ag yna yd yndiffassant meyb
 ymcan tac a, rei dangyl hynny o

welgy. **Donys** y **Oruffud** y do bod
 un lony ar hynny g ogyf ar eu hincion yn
 boct idau o **Oruffud**, ar rei hynny y
 wraut ar for yn orbyn hynny y
 yant. c

De pan doct hynny ar yc ynd yd anfo:
 nassant nyntid lencu idau hyl ar y
 lony ar y do bod y gamochyau **Oruy-**
ffud y wraut idau idau pan rei
 hynny ar anau, a dyfot alladunt
 nyntid, yc afymynt o da, ag y
 fely y daryf, wedd lencu onadunt

y dupl

The History of Gruffydd
Son of Cynan

HANES GRUFFYDD AP CYNAN.

Eman e dechreu historia hen Gruffud vab Kenan vab Yago.

En dŷdŷeu edward vrenhin lloegŷr a therdelach vrenhin ŷwerdon e ganet gruffud vrenhin gwŷned en ŷwerdon en ninas dulŷn ac ŷg kŷmŷt colomcell ŷ magwŷt^a ŷ lle a elwir ŷg gwŷdelec sŷrth colomcell. (A tri^b milltir ŷŷ henne ŷ urth ŷ lle ŷd oed ŷ vam ae vamvaeth.) Y dat oed kenan vrenhin gŷŷned. Ae vam oed ragnell^c verch avloed vrenhin dinas dulŷn a phŷmet rann ŷwerdon. Ac urth henne bonhedicaf gur oed ŷ gruffud hŷnnŷ, o vrenhinŷaul genedel a llinŷoed goruchel, megŷs ŷ tŷsta ac a bonhed ŷ reeni.

Canŷs mab oed gruffud ŷ gŷnan vrenhin m. ŷago. m. idwal. m. elised.^d m. meurŷc.^e m. anaraut. m. rodri. m. etill^f verch kenan o gastell dindaethue. m. idwaldere m. catwalader^g vendigeit. m. catwallaun. m. catvan. m. ŷago m. beli.^h m. run. m. maelgwn.ⁱ m. catwallaŷn llauhir. m. einnŷaŷn ŷrth. m. cuneda vrenhin. m. edern m. padern peisrud. m. tagit. m. ŷago. m. guidauc. m. kein. m. gorgein. m. doli. m. gurdoli. m. dwuŷn. m. gorduŷn m. anwerit. m. onuet. m. diuwng. m. brŷchwein. m. ewein. m. auallach. m. aflech. m. beli. mawr.

Rodri maur. m. mervŷn vrŷch. m. gurŷat. m. elidir. m. sandef. m. alcwn. m. tagit m. gŷeir. m. dwc. m. llewarch

^a *ŷ lle . . . Colomcell* omitted in LL. ^b *thair* LL and J. ^c *Racvell* LL. ^d omitted in J. ^e *meurŷc mab idwal voel.* J. ^f *Essyllt* LL and J. ^g *Cytwaladyr m. Bendigeit.* LL. ^h *Run m. Beli m. Maelgwn* LL. ⁱ *Maelgwn Gwynedd* J.

THE HISTORY OF GRUFFYDD SON OF CYNAN.

1. *Gruffydd's Descent from the Royal Houses of Wales, Ireland, and Norway.*

IN the days of Edward¹ King of England and of Toirdelbhach² King of Ireland, Gruffydd King of Gwynedd was born in Ireland in the city of Dublin, and he was reared in the commot of Columcille,³ a place which is called among the Irish " Swords " (this is three miles from the place where lived his mother and his foster-mother). His father was Cynan, King of Gwynedd,⁴ and his mother was Ragnailt,⁵ daughter of Olaf, King of the city of Dublin and a fifth part of Ireland.⁶ Therefore this Gruffydd was a man most nobly born, of royal race and most eminent lineage, as testifies likewise the pedigree and descent of his family.

For Gruffydd was a son of King Cynan, son of Iago, son of Idwal, son of Elised, son of Meuryc, son of Anarawt, son of Rhodri, son of Etil daughter of Cynan of Castell Dindaethwy, son of Idwalre, son of Catwalader Vendigeit, son of Catwallawn, son of Catvan, son of Iago, son of Beli, son of Run, son of Maelgwn, son of Catwallawn Llauhir, son of Einnyawn Yrth, son of King Cuneda, son of Ederne, son of Padern Peisrud son of Tagit, son of Iago, son of Guidauc, son of Kein, son of Gorgein, son of Doli, son of Gwrdoli, son of Dwuyn, son of Gorduwyn; son of Anwerit, son of Onuet, son of Diuwng, son of Brychwein, son of Ewein, son of Auallach, son of Aflech, son of Beli Mawr, etc.

Rodri Mawr son of Mervyn Vrych, son of Gwryat, son of Elidir, son of Sandef, son of Alcwn, son of Tegit,

hen. m. elidir lledanwŷn. m. meirchŷaun gul. m. gorwst ledlum^m. m. keneu. m. coel gotebauc m. tecvan gloff. m. deŷeweint. m. űrban. m. grad. m. riuedel m. rideŷrn m. enŷeŷrn m. endŷgant.^a m. endos m. endolen m. avallach. m. aflech. m. beli maűr. m. manogan. m. eneit m. kerwŷt. m. krŷdon m. dŷvŷnarth. m. prŷdein. m. aet maur. m. antonius. m. seirŷoel. m. gurust. m. riwallaun.^b m. regat. uerch lŷr. m. rud. m. bleidud. m. lliwelyt m. brutus ŷsgwŷt ir.^c m. membŷr. m. madauc. m. llocrinus. m. brut tŷwŷssauc o ruvein. m. silinus. m. ascanius m. eneas ŷsgwŷt wŷn. m. anchises. m. capis. m. assaracus. m. trois. m. herictonius. m. dardanus. m. iupiter. m. sadurn. m. celius. m. cretus. m. ciprius.^d m. iauan. m. iaphet. m. noe hen. m. lamech. m. mathusalem. m. enoc. m. iaret. m. malaleel. m. cainan. m. enos. m. seth. m. adaf. m. duw.

Bonhed gruffud o barth ŷ vam. Gruffud vrenhin. m. raonell^e verch avloed vrenhin dinas dulŷn a phŷmhethran ŷwerdon ac enŷs vanaű a hanoed gŷnt o deŷrnas prŷdein. A brenhin oed ar lawer o enŷssed ereill, denmarc, a galwei, a renneu, a mon, a gŷŷned ene lle ŷ gwnaeth avloed castell cadarn ae dom ae fos etwa en amlűc ac aelwit castell avloed vrenhin. Yg kŷmraec hagen ŷ gelwir bon ŷ dom. Avloed enteu oed vab ŷ sutric vrenhin. m. avloed vrenhin cuaran.^f m. sutric. m. avloed vrenhin. m. harfagŷr vrenhin. m. brenhin denmarc.

A bit honneit bot harald harfagŷr ae deu vroder ŷn veibeon ŷ vrenhin llŷchlŷn, ac alŷn ŷ vraűt oed vrenhin

^a *Enid* between *Endygant* and *Endos*. J. ^b m. *Cunedda*. J. ^c *Brutius darian law*. J. *mab Œvroc*, LL and J. ^d m. *Cetun*. J. ^e corrected in the text over the line to *ranilld*. *Racvell* in LL. J. incorporates the correction in the text and reads *Ranillt Raonell*. ^f *Cirian* LL.

son of Gweir, son of Dwc, son of Llewarch Hen, son of Elidir Lledanwyn, son of Meirchyaun Gul, son of Gorwst Ledlum, son of Keneu, son of Coel Gotebauc, son of Tecvan Gloff, son of Deyeweint, son of Urban, son of Grad, son of Riuedel, son of Rideyrn, son of Enteyrn, son of Endygant, son of Endos, son of Endoleu, son of Avallach, son of Aflech, son of Beli Mawr, son of Manogan, son of Eneit, son of Kerwyt, son of Kryton, son of Dyvynarth, son of Prydein, son of Aet Mawr, son of Antonius, son of Seiryoel, son of Gurust, son of Riwallaun, son of Regat daughter of Llyr, son of Rud, son of Bleidud, son of Lliwelyt, son of Brutus Ysgwyt Ir, son of Membyr, son of Madoc, son of Locrinus, son of Brut prince of Rome, son of Silvius, son of Ascanius, son of Aeneas Ysgwyt Wyn, son of Anchises, son of Capis, son of Assaracus, son of Trois son of Herictonius, son of Dardanus, son of Jupiter, son of Sadwrn, son of Celius, son of Cretus, son of Ciprius, son of Iauan, son of Japhet, son of Noah Hen, son of Lamech, son of Methusalem, son of Enoc, son of Jaret, son of Mahaleel, son of Cainan, son of Enos, son of Seth, son of Adam, son of God.

The pedigree of Gruffydd on his mother's side. King Gruffydd, son of Ragnailt the daughter of Olaf,⁷ king of the city of Dublin and a fifth part of Ireland and the Isle of Man which was formerly of the kingdom of Britain.⁸ Moreover he was king over many other islands, Denmark, and Galloway and the Rinns, and Anglesey, and Gwynedd where Olaf built a strong castle with its mound and ditch still visible and called "The Castle of King Olaf." In Welsh, however, it is called Bon y Dom.⁹

Olaf himself was a son of King Sitriuc,¹⁰ son of Olaf Cuaran, son of Sitriuc,¹¹ son of King Olaf,¹² son of King Haarfager, son of the King of Denmark.¹³

Be it well known that Harold Haarfager and his two brothers were sons of the king of Norway, and Alyn his

kyssygreddac ac enwocaf ym phlith holl denmarc, ac a ladaud thur tŷwŷssauc ym bróyder. A thra ýtoed hŷnnŷ ene ýspeillyaŷ ac en tŷnnŷ torch vaur o eur ý am ý uwnŷgŷl mal ý gnotaei ý brenhined ar bonhedigyŷn ý arwein gŷnt, ý glŷnws ý dwŷlaŷ urth^a ý dorch ae glŷnye u urth ý groth. A hŷnnŷ vu ý gwŷrth kentaf a wnaeth duw ýrdaŷ. Ac o henne allan^b ý kŷmerassant ýr holl daenyŷseit evo en sant ac ý hanrŷdedassant or dŷd hŷnnŷ allan; a llawer o egluŷsseu a adeilwt enŷ enw ac ene anrŷded ef ýn denmarc, ar mordwŷwŷr a alwant arnaŷ en wahanredaul, ac a aberthant idaŷ ac a offrŷmant idaŷ llawer o rodŷon pan berŷclont ene mor. E tŷwŷssauc ae lladaud enteu a elwit or gueithret hŷnnŷ allan thur kiaul am lad o honaŷ ý brenhin guiryŷn.

A bit honneit rŷ gerdet ar vor o dri broder ý racdŷwededic hŷnnŷ ý gŷrchu milurŷaeth gan vrenhinŷaul lŷnghes, ac ene diwed wŷnt a doeth^c ý gŷt hŷt en ýwerdon. Haralld harfagŷr eissŷoes a gerdassei kŷn no henne, a dirvaur lu ganthaŷ, ac a damgŷlchŷnus holl ýwerdon gan greulonder, a llad ý^d chiŷdaut ac eu fo, ae goresgŷn ar hŷt ac ar llet. Ac ýd adeilws enteu dinas dulŷn a llawer o dinassoed ereill a chestŷll a lleoed cadarn, ac ý vellŷ cadarnhau a guastatau ý deŷrnas ene chŷl o gŷlch. Ac ŷn oe vroder a ossodes ýn ŷn or dinassoed a adeilassei; er honn a elwit ýn eu hŷeith hwŷ porthlarg; ae etived enteu a vuant vrenhined ý dinas hŷnnŷ er henne hŷt hediŷ. Haralld eissŷoes a wledŷchus tros wŷnep ýwerdon ac enŷssed denmarc ý rei ý sŷd^e ene mor kŷuarŷstlŷs a thal enŷs prŷdein megŷs ý mae enŷssed ciclade ý rung mor tŷren a denmarc.

E trydŷd braut enteu, nŷt amgen rodulf, a gerdus ae lŷnges ý freinc ac eno ý gŷastatau ac ý gorvu ar ý freinc o emlad ac e goresgŷnnŷs rann vaur o freinc a elwir er aurhon nordmandi, canŷs gŷŷr nordwei ae presswŷllŷa. Sef ýu ý rei henne kenedel o lŷchlŷn, ar daear honno a

^a omitted in LL. ^b *allan* omitted in LL. ^c *doethant* LL *wyn a doethant*. J. ^d *ei*. J. ^e *ys ydd* LL.

brother was a king the most worshipful and renowned in all Denmark, whom Prince Thur killed in battle.¹⁴ And while he was despoiling him and drawing a huge torque of gold from about his neck, such as it was customary for kings and noblemen of old to wear, his hands clung to the torque and his knees to his belly.¹⁵ This was the first miracle that God performed for him. From this [time] forward the whole of Denmark took him as a saint and honoured him from this day outwards; and many churches were built in his name and in his honour in Denmark; and sailors call upon him in particular and sacrifice to him and offer him numerous gifts when in peril on the sea. The prince who killed him was afterwards called from this deed Thurkyl because he had slain the rightful king.¹⁶

Be it clear that his three brothers above-mentioned journeyed over the sea with a kingly fleet¹⁷ to seek warfare, and eventually came together to Ireland. Harald Haarfager, moreover, had set out before this,¹⁸ and a mighty host with him, and circumscribed all Ireland with cruelty, and slain its inhabitants and put them to flight, and conquered them far and wide. He built the city of Dublin¹⁹ and many other cities and castles and strongholds, and thus strengthened and settled the kingdom round about him. He placed one of his brothers in one of the cities which he had built; wherefore it is called in their language Porthlairge;²⁰ and his descendants have been kings of this city since then to this day. Harald likewise reigned throughout Ireland and the islands of Denmark²¹ which are in the sea side by side with the island of Britain as the islands of the Cyclades are between the Tyrhennian Sea and Denmark.

His third brother, to wit Rollo,²² set out with his fleet to France and there settled and vanquished the Franks by warfare and conquered a great part of France which is now called Normandy, for the men of Norway inhabited it. This race is from Lychlyn,²³ and this land

rannwt en deudec rann herwýd y barwnyeit ar tŷwýssogýon a doethant en gentaf yr ran^a o freinc a elwir brýtaen neu lýdaó. Wýnt a adeilassant eno dinassoed llawer (Rodum nýt amgen y gan rodulf vrenhin y hadeilýauder^b a enwýt megýs ruvein y gan romulus, a remýs y gan remo) a llawer o dinassoed ereill a chestýll a lleoed cadarn a oruc. O húnno yd henýnt brenhined nordmannyeit a oresgýnnassant loegýr o vrwýder, nýt amgen guilim vrenhin ae deu vab enteu y rei a doethant ene le, guilim gledýf hir a henri ac ýstýphan y nei, y rei a oedent gýtoeswýr y gruffud vrenhin. Ac y vegýs henne y bu vonhed gruffud vrenhin o barth y vam, herwýd tat y vam.

Eilweith, o barthret y henvam, nýt amgen mam y vam, Gruffud vrenhin oed vab y ragnell merch vaylcorcre verch dunlug^c m. tethel vrenhin laine, pýmhetran ýwerdon. Slani^d hagen, mam avloed vrenhin, oed verch y vrien brenhin muen,^e dwý rann o ýwerdon. Ac odena gurmlach oed vam sutric vrenhin. Merch oed honno y vwrchath vrenhin laine, ac y húnno y bu tri meib clotvaur, nýt amgen dunchath vrenhin muen, a sutric vrenhin dinas dulýn, a moelchelen vrenhin midif. Maelmorda eissýoes oed vab yr vrenhines honno o vwrchath brenhin laine. Y Gruffud vrenhin yd oed deu vroder ón vam, brenhined wltw, nýt amgen ranlld m. mathgauýn, yr húnno a enillws dwýrann o ýwerdon ýmpýtheunos a mis oe dewred. Llemhidýd anrýved oed: nýt oed or holl wýdýl a allei na gurthuýnebu na cheffýlýbu idaó ený neit. Y varch enteu oed odidauc ýn amravaellýon gampeu a buander.^f Islimach oed y enw, kemeint y oed eu neit ef ae varch. Tebýcaf oed y cinnar march achel arw ac y bucefal march alexander amperauder. Y braut arall y gruffud oed ethumachgaóýn brenhin ultw.

Can deryw riuaw boned a charant gruffud vrenhin

^a i ran LL. ^b adeiliawtyt LL. ^c Dimlug J. ^d alam LL and J. ^e LL omits dwý rann . . . dunchath vrenhin Muen. ^f juander LL. o vuander J.

was divided into twelve parts according to the barons and princes who first came to the part of France which is called Brittany or Llydaw.²⁴ They built there many cities (Rouen namely was called from King Rollo its builder as Rome from Romulus and Rheims from Remus) and many other cities and castles and strongholds. From him are descended the Norman kings who conquered England by battle, to wit King William and his two sons who succeeded him, William Longsword²⁵ and Henry and Stephen his nephew, who were contemporaries of King Gruffydd. In this wise was King Gruffydd noble on his mother's side, on the part of his mother's father.

In the second place, on the part of his grandmother, that is his mother's mother, King Gruffydd was the son of Ragnailt,²⁶ daughter of Mailcorcre,²⁷ daughter of Dunlang, son of Tuathal, King of Leinster,²⁸ a fifth part of Ireland. Slani²⁹ likewise, mother of King Olaf, was daughter to Brian, King of Munster,³⁰ two parts of Ireland.³¹ And then Gormflaith was the mother of King Sitriuc.³² She was daughter to Murchad, King of Leinster, and she had three renowned sons, to wit Donnchad, King of Munster, Sitriuc King of Dublin, and Maelsechlainn, King of Meath.³³ Maelmorda likewise was a son of this queen by Murchad, King of Leinster.³⁴ King Gruffydd had two brothers of the same mother,³⁵ Kings of Ulster, namely, Ragnall³⁶ son of Mathgamhain, who by his valour gained two parts of Ireland in six weeks. He was a wonderful leaper. There was not among all the Irishmen one who could either withstand or match him in leaping. His horse excelled in various feats and swiftness. Islimach was its name. His leap and that of his horse were equal. It was most like Cinnar, the horse of Achilles and Bucephalus, the horse of the Emperor Alexander. Gruffydd's other brother was Aedh Mac Mathgamhain,³⁷ of Ulster.

Since an end has been made of enumerating the

herwýd být, riuwn weithýon ý vonhed herwýd^a duw; herwýd ý dýweit tat sant ac oe vonhed ef ac o vonhed pob den ýn exponýat a wnaeth ar ý wers honn or sallwýr, “ Chui ýu ý dwýweu a meibeon ý goruchelaf ýu paub.” Urth henne Gruffud oed vab ý gynan m. adaf m. duw.

Wrth henne, en ý bo canmoledic gruffud vrenhin o vonhed býdaul ac ón dwýwaul, kerdwn weitheon ar darogan merdin, vard ý brýtanýeit, o honaó. Ef ae daroganós merdin ef ýnni val hýnn,^b Llýminauc lletfer a daroganer anaeth diarvor dýgosel llegrur ý enw llýcraut llawer. Sef ýu henne en lladin. *Saltus ferinus prae-sagitur uenturus de mari insidiaturus cuius nomen corruptor quod multos corrumpet.*

O garedicaf vrodýr kemrý, coffaadwý ýaón ýu gruffud vrenhin, er hónn ý canmaul ý uonhed býdaul a darogan merdin val hýnn. A chanýs^c derýó henne, brýssýón ýó briodolýon weithredoed herwýd ýd edewit genným trwý hen gývarwýdýt. A christ a vo audur a chýnhelwr ýnn ý henne, ac nýt diana nac apollo.

Wrth henne pan ýtoed gruffud etwa en vab, da ý deuodeu a drýthýll ý vagýat, ac ýn esgýnnó ar vlvýdýned ý ýeuengtít en tý e vam ac en troi^d ýmplith ý chenedel, ýmplith henne ý managei ý vamm idaó beunýd pwý a pharýó wr oed ý dat, a pha dref tat oed idaó, a pharýó vrenhinýaeth a pha rýw dreiswýr a oed ene phressóýllýaó. A phan gíg-leu enteu henne

a hefyd J. *b* yn val hyn LL. *c* A chan deryu J. *d* LL omits ac yn troi . . . vumm.

pedigree and relatives of King Gruffydd with respect to the world, we shall now enumerate his descent, with respect to God; as says the holy father both of his descent and of the descent of every man in the exposition which he made upon this verse of the Psalter, "Ye are gods and sons of the highest are ye all." According to this Gruffydd was the son of Cynan, the son of Adam, the son of God.

With regard to this, while King Gruffydd is commended by an earthly pedigree and a heavenly one, let us now proceed to the prophecy of Merddin, bard of the Britons, concerning him. Merddin foretold him to us as follows:—A leaping wild animal that shall be the subject of prophecy has gone away to our gain; a way-layer from over the sea; corrupter [is] his name [for] many shall he corrupt. This is in Latin:—*Saltus ferinus praesagitur; uenturus de mari; insidiaturus; cui nomen corruptor quia multos corrumpet.*³⁸

O dearly beloved brother Welshmen, very memorable is King Gruffydd, who is commended by the praise of his earthly pedigree and the prophecy of Merddin as above. And since this is finished, let us hasten to his own particular actions as has been promised by us through ancient history. Let Christ be the author and counsellor in this matter, not Diana or Apollo.

2. *Gruffydd defeats Cenwric, Son of Rhiwallon, and Trahaiarn, Son of Caradoc, and becomes King of Gwynedd.*

Wherefore when Gruffydd was still a boy, well-mannered and delicately reared, and attaining to the years of youth in his mother's house and moving amidst her people, during this time his mother related to him every day who and what manner of man was his father, what was his patrimony, and what kind of kingdom and what sort of tyrants dwelt in it. When he heard this

gorthrum y kemyrth a thrist vu llawer o dýdyeu. Ac urth henne y kerdus enteu y lys mŕrchath vrenhin a chŕynaŕ urthaŕ ef en benhaf ac urth vrenhined ywerdon y lleill bot estraŕn genedloed en arglŕydi ar y dadaul deyrnas, ac adolwŕn udunt yn ysmalha rodi canorthuŕy idaŕ y geissyaŕ^a tref y dat. A thruanu urthaŕ a orugant ac adaŕ canorthuŕy idaŕ pan delei amser. A phan gogleu er atep llawen vu a dioluch henne y duw ac udunt wŕnteu, en y lle esgŕynnŕ llong a oruc a dŕrchavael hwŕllŕyeu yr gŕynt, a cherdet mor parth a chemrŕy, a chaffael porth abermenei. Ac ena yd oedent en arglŕydiau, yn enwir ac en erbŕn dŕlyet, trahaearn vab caradauc a chenwric vab riwallaŕn, brenhinŕn o bowŕs ar holl wŕned ae rannŕ y rŕgthunt rŕ daroed udunt.

Ac ena yd anvones gruffud gennadeu ar wŕr mon ac arvon a thri meib merwŕd o leŕn, asser, a meiryaŕn, a gugaŕn, a guŕrda ereill y erchi udunt dŕuot ar vrŕs y gŕfruch ac ef. Ac hep ohir wŕnteu a doethant a chŕvarch guell idaŕ a dŕwedut urthaŕ, a damunet rŕ doethost. Ena yd adolŕgus enteu oe holl enni udunt hwŕy y ganorthuŕaŕ y gaffael tref y dat, canŕs ef oed eu harglŕyd priodaur, a gurthlad y gŕt ac ef yn wŕchŕr o arveu eu ampriodoryŕn arglŕydi dŕuot o le arall. Ac ene bei tervŕnedic y kŕfruch a gŕahanedic y kŕngor y kerdus drachevŕn y weilgi parth a chastell rudlan, hŕt ar robert rudlan, barwn enwaŕc, dewr, o gedernŕt, nei y hu yarll caer, ae wediaŕ a oruc am ganorthuŕy en erbŕn y elŕnŕn a oedent ar dref y dat. A phan gogleu enteu puŕy oed ef, ac y babeth^b rŕ dothoed, a pha arch oed er eidaŕ, ef a edewis bot en ganorthuŕwr idaŕ. Ac en henne e doeth gureic brud tangwŕstŕl y henw y gares ehun gureic lewarch olbwch^c y gŕvarch gwelŕ y gruffud y char ac y darogan y uot en vrenhin raclaw, a rodi idaŕ y krŕs meinhaf a goreu a pheis wedŕy y gŕneithur o ŕsgin gruffud vrenhin m. llewelŕn vrenhin m. seissill

^a LL omits *y geissyaw . . . canorthuy idaw.* ^b LL omits *ac y babeth . . . eidaw ef.* ^c *Olbiwch i hunn i gares vu hon gwreic Llywarch LL.*

heaviness seized him and he was sad many days. Wherefore he went to the court of King Murchad¹ and complained to him in particular and to the other kings of Ireland that a strange race were ruling over his paternal kingdom, and in sport besought them to give him help to seek his patrimony. They took pity upon him and promised to help him when the time should come. When he heard the answer he was glad and gave thanks for that to God and to them, immediately embarked in a ship, and raised the sails to the wind, and journeyed over the sea towards Wales, and reached the port of Abermenai.² At that time there were ruling, falsely and unduly, Trahaiarn,³ son of Caradoc, and Cenwric,⁴ son of Rhiwallon, Kings of Powys and all Gwynedd, which they had divided between them.⁵

Then Gruffydd sent messengers to the men of Anglesey and Arvon and the three sons of Merwyd⁶ of Lleyrn, Asser, Meirion, and Gwgan, and other noblemen to ask them to come quickly to confer with him. Without delay they arrived and saluted him and said to him, "Your coming is welcome." Then he besought them with all his might to aid him to obtain his patrimony,⁷ for he was their rightful lord, and to fight on his side valiantly with arms to repel their usurping rulers who had come from another place.⁸ After the conference was ended and the council dispersed, he went back to the ocean towards Rhuddlan Castle to Robert of Rhuddlan, a baron famous, brave, and strong, nephew⁹ to Hugh, Earl of Chester, and besought help of him against his enemies who were in his patrimony. When he [Robert] heard who he was, and wherefore he had come, and what was his request of him, he promised to be his supporter.

Hereupon there came a prophetess, Tangwystyl by name, a relation of his, the wife of Llewarch Olbwch, to greet Gruffydd her relation, and to foretell that in the future he would be king, and to present to him the

(canys llewarch y gur hitheu oed wahanredolaf guas ystavell^a a thrýsoryeu y gruffud m. llewelýn). Odena gruffud a esgýnnws y long ac a emchuelus oe reidwýf hýt yn aber menei.

Odena yd anvones emladwýr meibeon merwýd, a oedent yg kelynnac ar nodva rac ouyn gwýr powys a oed yn eu gogyuadau, a bonhedigyon ereill oc eu kenedel, a thri ugeinwýr etholedigyon o degeingyl o gyuoeth y robert a enwýt uchof, a phetwarugeinwýr o enys von hýt yg cantref lleyn y emlad a chenwric vrenhinyn eu treisswr. Odena y kerdassant wýnteu en ystrywus, ac y doethant am y benn en dirýbud, ac y lladassant ef a llawer oe wýr. Ac ena yd oed gruffud en aber menei, nýt amgen y borthloed a dýwetpuýt uchof, en arhos pa dýnghetven a damweinnýei udunt. Ac ena y kerdus or blaen ar vrys guryanc^b o arvon, einnyaon oed y enw, y vynegi chuedyl hýrwýd en gentaf, nýt amgen rýlad y oresgýnnor, ac erchi en goeluein enwedic gureic dec, delat oed y henw, gordderch y vledyn vrenhin kyn no henne : megys y dothoed gýnt nebun wryanc mab y wr o amalech ar y reddec ar dauid hýt en philistum or vrwýder rý vuassei y menyd gelboe a theyrnwýalen a breichrwý saul vrenhin ganthaó : ar breichrwý a rodes dauyd idaó enteu en llawen ene goelvein am y chuedel llewenyd. Odena y doethant en ol gan vudugolyaeth e niuer a anvonessit er kýrch. Ac ene lle yd annogassant wýnteu idaó ef kerdet racdaó, or coel da húnno, y oreskyn mon ac arvon a lleyn ar cantreuoed kýffinyd y loegyr, a chemrýt guryogaeth y gan eu guerín,^c a cherdet y vellý a gogylchýnu holl wýned, y wir dref tat ef a rodassei duw en eu llaw hwý oe drugared ef.

Ac ene bei wneithuryedic y petheu henne, oc eu

a castell for ystavell LL. b gwreang LL. c y gan y briawd guerín LL.

fairest of shirts and the best of tunics made from the pelisse of King Gruffydd, son of King Llewelyn, son of Seisyll¹⁰ (for Llewarch, her husband, was chief chamberlain and treasurer to Gruffydd, son of Llewelyn). Then Gruffydd embarked and returned from his journey to Abermenai.

Then he despatched the soldiers of the sons of Merwyd, who were in sanctuary in Clynnog¹¹ from fear of the men of Powys who were threatening them, and other noblemen and their kinsmen, and sixty picked men of Tygeingl¹² from the province of the above-mentioned Robert, and eighty men from Anglesey to the cantred of Lleyn to fight with King Cenwric, their oppressor.¹³ Then they departed by strategy, and came upon him unawares, and slew him and many of his men. Gruffydd at the time was in Abermenai, that is to say, in the harbour which has been mentioned above, awaiting [to see] what fate should happen to them. Then straightway there set out in haste a youth¹⁴ of Arvon, Eioneon was his name, the first to tell him the happy tidings, that is, the slaughter of his oppressor, and to request as a particular reward for the news a beautiful woman, Delat by name, formerly King Bleddyn's mistress: as of old, there came to David to Philistia a certain young man, a son of an Amalekite bearing the sceptre and ring of King Saul and running from the battle that had taken place on Mount Gilboa: and David gave the armlet to him gladly as his reward for the joyful news. Then followed victoriously the troop he had sent to the attack. At once they urged him to advance, upon this good omen, to conquer Anglesey and Arvon and Lleyn and the cantreds of the marches of England,¹⁵ and to receive homage from their inhabitants, and so to go and perambulate all Gwynedd, the true possession of his father which God from his mercy had delivered into their hands.

When these things had been done, at their instigation

hannoc wý y dýduc dirvaur lu parth a chantref meiryonnýd (ene lle yd oed trahaearn) ený erbýn y oresgýnnór ef y llall. A brwýder a vu y rýngthunt ýg glýnn kýving, y lle a elwir ýg kýmraec góæt erw, neu y tir góætlýt, o achaus y vrwýder a vu ena: a duw a rodes budugolýaeth oe elýnyon en e dýd hónnó, a llawer o vilýoed a digóydassant o barth trahaearn, a breid y diengis enteu, en góynvanus, ac ýchýdic gýt ac ef or vrwýder. A gruffud ae niuer ae hemlýnós enteu trwý vaestired a mýnýded hýt ar gýfinýd e wlat ehun. Ac or achaus hónnó y dýrcheuit gruffud or dýd hónnó allan, ac y gelwit oe obrýn en vrenhin gwýned; ac e llawenhaus enteu megýs caur^a y redec y ford, gan rýdhau góýned or argluýdi a dothoed idi o le arall, ac a oedent ene góledýchu yn enwir; megýs yd amdiffýnnós iudas machabeus gulat er israel y gan y brenhined paganýeit ar kenedloed kýt tervýn a ruthrei en eu plith en vených. A guede góneithur y vellý pob peth y dechreuws gruffud góastatau y deýrnas a llunýethu y góerin ac eu llýwýaó ýg góýalen haearnaul yn ogonyanhus en er argluýd.

A guede llithraó odena ýchýdic o amser, o annoc góyrda y wlat y kýnnóllws llu maur ac y kerdus parth a chastell rudlan y emlad a robert castellwr ac ar marchogyon ereill dýwal o freinc, a dothoedent y diwed hónnó y loegýr ac odena a dothoedent y wledýchu kýffinýd gwýned. A guede býdinaó o honaó a dýrchauael y arwýdýon, yd anreithýus y balli ac y llosket, ac y duc anreith vaur. Llawer o varchogyon llurugauc a helmauc or freinc a diguýdassant y ar eu meirch en emlad, a llawer o bedýt, a breid y diengis ýchýdic onadunt ene twr. A phan gígleyu vrenhin ýwerdon ae varwneit bot mor hýrwýd damwein gruffud eu car ac eu mab maeth a henne, e llawenhaassant wýnteu en vaur.

^a LL omits *caur . . . enwir*.

he took a huge host towards the cantred of Meirionydd (where was Trahaiarn) against his other conqueror.¹⁶ A battle took place between them in a narrow valley, a place which is called in Welsh Gwaet Erw,¹⁷ or "The Bloody Land," by reason of the battle which took place there: and God granted victory over his enemies in that day, and many thousands fell on the part of Trahaiarn, and he, lamenting, escaped with difficulty and a few [men] with him from the battle. Gruffydd and his host pursued him through plain and mountain to the borders of his own land.¹⁸ Therefore Gruffydd was exalted from that day forth, and was rightfully called King of Gwynedd; and he rejoiced as a strong man to run his course, freeing Gwynedd from the rulers who came to it from another place, who were ruling it without a right; as Judas Maccabeus defended the land of Israel against the kings of the pagans and neighbouring nations who frequently made an inroad among them. After so accomplishing everything Gruffydd began to pacify the kingdom and to organise the people and to rule them with a rod of iron gloriously in the Lord.

3. *He Attacks Rhuddlan Castle.*

Thereupon after a little time had elapsed, at the instigation of the noblemen of the country a great host congregated and advanced to Rhuddlan Castle¹ to fight with Robert the castellan and with other fierce knights of the French, who had come lately to England and then came to rule the confines of Gwynedd.² After he had marshalled them and had raised the ensigns, he took possession of the bailey and burnt it and took great plunder. Many French knights, armoured and helmeted, fell from their horses in the fight, and many footmen [likewise perished], and a few of them scarcely escaped into the tower. And when the King of Ireland and his barons heard that so fair a hap as this had come [to] their kinsman and foster-son, they rejoiced mightily.

Ac odena tri meib merwýd a holwýr lleyn a diunassant en erbýn gruffud eu hargluýd priodaur ac a ladassant hýt nos en eu lletýeu ene wlat or gwýdýl deudengwýr a deugeint a varchogyon gruffud ae deulu. A phan gogleu trahaearn henne, en orchýuýgedic ac en foedic, llawenhau a oruc o dývu er anóndep hónnó y rung gruffud ae wýr. Ac ene lle y kerdus enteu ar wýr powýs ac annoc udunt dýuot y gýt ac ef am benn gwýned en amýlder torvoed y dial arnadunt kenwric y gar.

Ac urth henne y doeth gurgeneu m. seissýll,^a brenhin powýs, ae niuer, y gýt a thrahaearn ae niuer enteu, o gýtduóndep y uýnnó goresgýn brenhinyæth gruffud vrenhin. A phan gogleu tri meib merwýd a góyr lleyn ac eiuyónýd henne, y bredýchassant wýnteu gruffud vrenhin eu hargluýd priodaur, megýs guýr anudonyl, anfýdlaón, a chanorthuyau eu gelýnyon a bot en dýwýssogyon^b udunt yr kýuoeth. A deu vroder o von, tuder a gollwýn, a wnaethant en gýffelip y henne wedý kemrýt eu kýuarws ýg kellynnauc vaur y gan gruffud.

A phan gogleu gruffud y brat ar dóundap a oed ene erbýn y gan y wýr ehun y gýt ae elýnyon, y doeth en eu herbýn a guýr mon ac arvon ac ýchýdic o wýr denmarc ar góýdýl ganthaó, a bruýdýr dirvaur a gýuodes. Aerua vaur a vu o bop parth, a llawer a diguýdassant o^c lu gruffud vrenhin, a llawer a dalýassant ene vrwýdýr, cerit y datmaeth, a varudri, týwýssauc y gwýdýl ac argluýd cruc brenan, (sef lle oed hónnó goruchel venýd seint brendan hermidur anrýued a naw cantref ene gýlch). Ac o oreuguýr mon y digóýdassant deng wýr a thriugeint. Ac eissýoes gruffud vrenhin en

^a *Gurgeneu ap Seisyll mab Ithael mab Gwerystan LL.* ^b J omits *tywýssogyon.* ^c LL omits *o lu . . . dalýassant.*

4. *He is betrayed and defeated at Bron yr Erw.*

Then the three sons of Merwyd¹ and all the men of Lleyn united against Gruffydd, their rightful lord, and slew until night in their quarters in the country two hundred and twenty Irishmen of the knights of Gruffydd and his household.² And when Trahaiarn, vanquished and a fugitive, heard this, he rejoiced because this schism had grown between Gruffydd and his men, and immediately he set out with the men of Powys, and exhorted them to come with him to attack Gwynedd in plentiful numbers to avenge upon them Cenwric his kinsman.³

Thereupon came Gurgeneu ap Seisyll,⁴ King of Powys, and his following, together with Trahaiarn and his following, with one mind to seek to conquer the kingdom of King Gruffydd. When the three sons of Merwyd and the men of Lleyn and Eifyonydd heard this, like perjured, faithless men they betrayed King Gruffydd their rightful lord and aided their enemies to be as princes over them in the province. Two brothers from Anglesey, Tewdwr and Collwyn, behaved similarly after receiving their rewards⁵ in Clynnog Vawr at the hands of Gruffydd.

When Gruffydd heard of this treachery and the coalition there was against him by his own people together with his enemies, he came against them with the men of Anglesey and Arvon and a few Danes and Irishmen, and a great strife arose. There was great slaughter on both sides, and many fell from King Gruffydd's host, and many were captured in the battle, Cerit,⁶ his foster-father, and Mac Ruaidhri,⁷ leader of the Irish and lord of Cruach Brandon⁸ (this place is a lofty mountain of Saint Brendan, a wonderful hermit, and nine cantreds around it). Of the noblemen of

eisted ar y varch ene vedin ae gledýf llathreit en medi ae vratwýr ae elýnyon, megýs agamemnon brenhin frigia^a gýnt en emlad tro. Ac ena e kýrchus tuder, guas o von, penn bratwr ruffud, gan frydyaó gleif ac y trosses kýueillýorn ef yu gýrchu ene goryf ol yu gýfrwý. A phan weles góýncu^b barwn o von henne y týnnós ef or urwýder oe anuod hýt y long a oed en aber menei. Ac odena yd aethant hýt en enýs adron (sef lle oed hónnó enýs y moelronýeit). Odena hýt en llwch garmaón en ýwerdon y kerdassant. Ar gývranc honno er henne hýt hedió a elwir bronn yr ero neu erw yr allt er henne hýt hedió.

Na rývedet y bobyl hagen bot gueithýeu gorvot a gueithýeu fo^c yr týwýssogýon herwýd damwein, canýs brat y syd^d er y dechreu. Val henne y gónaeth pobyl yr isrl a vredýchassant ac a rodassant eu brenhin dýledauc ac eu hargluyd, nýt amgen iudas machabeus, y demetrius brenhin anfydlaón; ac enteu, eissýoes val emladwr duw, kýffelip y gaór ac y lew a emdialws ehun eu da or dwý bleit. Ulkessar amperauder ruuein wedý goresgýn o honaó er holl výt ae wastataó o emladeu y lladaud senedwýr ruvein ef o vrat a phuyntleu yg cabidýldý ruvein. Arthur heuyt brenhin brenhined enýs brýdein a rýsswr honneit clotvaur a wnaeth deudec prif emlad en erbýn y saesson ar fichtýeit ac ene gentaf onadunt y bu orchýuýgedic a foaóder ef o achaus brat yg caer lwýtcoet (sef lle oed hónnó dinas e llwýn llwýt): en er emladeu ereill y bu vudugaul enteu, ac y talws er saesson ar fichtýeit y ormeswýr, ket bei henwr ef, chuyl teilung ene gurthuýnep.

^a *Groegwyr* LL. ^b *Gwyn* LL. ^c LL omits *fo . . . herwyd. d ys ydd* LL.

Anglesey there fell seventy-five men. Likewise King Gruffydd sat on his horse⁹ in his troop with his flashing sword mowing both traitors and enemies, like Agamemnon, King of Phrygia, of old in the fight of Troy. Then Tewdwr, a youth from Anglesey, arch-betrayer of Gruffydd, approached with streaming sword and moved aside to come to his saddle-bow behind his saddle. When Gwyncu,¹⁰ a baron of Anglesey, beheld this he drew him unwilling from the battle to the ship that was in Abermenai. Thence they went to the island of Adron¹¹ (this place was the island of Seals). Thence they journeyed to Wexford in Ireland. Thenceforward to this day this contest is called Bron yr Erw or Erw yr Allt.¹²

Yet do not wonder that now the people should be vanquished and now the chieftains should flee because of an accident, for treachery exists from the beginning. In this wise the people of Israel behaved who betrayed and delivered their proper King and their lord, that is to say, Judas Maccabeus to Demetrius, the faithless King; and he [Judas] howbeit as a warrior of God, like unto a hero and a lion, avenged himself well upon both sides. From treachery the Roman senators with styles in the Roman Capitol slew Cæsar, Emperor of Rome, after he had conquered the whole world and had pacified it by [his] battles. Also Arthur, King of the Kings of the Island of Britain, and an eminent renowned hero, wrought twelve notable battles against the Saxons and the Picts: in the first of them he was vanquished and a fugitive because of treachery in Caer Lwythcoed (this place was Dinas y Llwyn Llwyth): in the other contests he was victorious, and deservedly paid in kind his oppressors, the Saxons and the Picts, although he was an old man.¹³

A guedý dýuot gruffud ýwerdon ý kwýnws en dost urth ý brenhin ae dýwýssogýon rac ý vratwýr ae ormeswýr. Ac aniodef vu ganthunt wýnteu henne, ae annoc a orugant idaó ý emchuelut dracheuýn en gýflým a llýnges gýweir o reidwýf a reidýeu ac emladwýr. Ac urth henne enteu a emchuelus parth ae wlat gan rwýgaó dývýnvorod a deng llong arugeint llaón o wýdýl a gúyr denmarc; ac en aber menei e disgýnnassant ac ena ý caussant trahaearn en guledýchu ene wlat.

A phan gicleu trahaearn rý dýuot ý llýnges vrenhin-ýaul,^a tristau ac ucheneidýaó a oruc, ac ergrýn ac ouýn ae dýgýrchus, a mudaó guýr lleýn ac arduduý ac eu da a oruc ataó hýt ýg cantref meirýonnýd, a gavas onadunt. A gruffud enteu ae lu a dugant ý rann arall o leýn ac arvon hýt ým mon val ý gellýnt bot eno en diogel a dan ý amdiffýn ef. Odena ý llidýus ý daýnýsseit ef guýr ý dý ae dýlwýth ehun caný cheýnt eu gordýfneit mal ýr adawadoed udunt, ac ýd anreithýassant can mwýaf mon ý dreis ý arnaó, ac emchuelut ý eu gólat ac eu llongeu en llaón o deneon a goludoed, ae dwýn enteu ganthunt ac nýt oe vod. Ac ný bu lei ena ý gruffud brat ý daenýsseit noc un ý gemrý.

Odena ý tývaud llawer o drwc a govut ýg gwýned: ac emplith henne, wede ýchýdic o amser, ý kýnullós hu ýarll caer a llawer o dýwýssogýon ereill, nýt amgen robert o rudlan, a gúarin o amwýthic, a gualter ýarll henford, ý llu móyaf ene být o varchogýon a phedýt, ac a dugant ganthunt gurgeneu m. seissýll a gúyr powýs, ac a gerdassant ýmýnýded ene doethant hýt en lleýn.

^a*llynghes vrenhinyaul honno* LL and J.

5. *Gruffydd regains Gwynedd, but is kidnapped by his Scandinavian Allies—Hugh Earl of Chester devastates Gwynedd.*

After Gruffydd came to Ireland he complained grievously to the King¹ and his chieftains against the traitors and his oppressors. They considered it intolerable, and urged him to return quickly with a fleet furnished for a voyage with necessaries and fighting men. Thereupon he returned to his country cleaving the ocean with thirty ships full of Irishmen and Danes; and they disembarked in Abermenai and there found Trahaiarn ruling in the land.

When Trahaiarn heard that the royal fleet had arrived, he grieved and sighed, and dread and fear fell upon him, and he removed to him the men of Lleyn and Ardudwy and their possessions into the cantred of Meirionydd²—what he had got of them. Gruffydd and his host took the other portion from Lleyn and Arvon to Anglesey so that they should be in safety and under his protection. Then the Danes, the men of his house and household waxed wrath because they did not obtain their customs [*i.e.*, customary privilege to plunder] as had been promised them, and plundered the greater part of Anglesey in spite of him, and returned to their country with their ships full of men and spoil, and carried him with them against his will. On this occasion the treachery of the Danes towards Gruffydd was not less than that of the Cymry.

Then arose much evil and tribulation in Gwynedd: and in the midst of this, after a short time, Hugh Earl of Chester³ and many other princes, that is to say, Robert of Rhuddlan,⁴ Warenne of Shrewsbury,⁵ Walter Earl of Hereford,⁶ assembled the largest host in the world of horsemen and footmen, and took with them Gwrgan ap Seisyll and the men of Powys,⁷ and traversed

Ac ene cantref hōnnó y lluestassant wýthnos, gan y distryó beunýd ae hanreithýaó a llad aerva vaur o galaned y hadaussant. Ac odena y bu diffeith e wlat wýth mlyned. Ac odena pobel y wlat honno a wascarassant en dielw ar hýt y být yn reidussýon. A llawer onadunt a aethant alltuded^a y wladoed ereill trwý hir vlvýdýned, ac o v Reid y doeth nep onadunt y eu gólat. A honno vu y bla gentaf a dývodýat agarw y nordmannýeit yn gentaf y daear wýned wedý en dývodýat y loegyrr.

Ac en henne wedý bot gruffud bluýdýned en ýwerdon megýs yn trwýdet y gýt a diermit^b vrenhin ac y gýt ar guýrda ereill, ene diwed ef^c a gýnnóllus llýnges vrenhinýaul o borthlarc a rodassei y brenhin idaó en llawn o daenýsseit, a góydýl, a brýtanýeit, a guedý lledu hwýllýeu ar e mor, ar góynt en hýrwýd oc eu hol, ar mor en dangneuedus, ef a doeth y borth cleis ker llaw archescóptý mýnýó. Ac ena y kerdus rýs. m. teudur brenhin deheubarth kemrý ar escop ae athraon a holl clas er argluýd dewi ac un eglóys výnýw hýt e borth. A rýs gentaf a emadrodes val hýnn ar argluýd gruffud, "Hanbých well gruffud, brenhin brenhined kemrý. Atat ti ýd wýf vi en fo. Rac dý vronn y digóydaf ar dal vý glinýeu y erchi dý ganorthóy ath nerth." "Pwý wýt titheu?" hep y gruffud, "ac y babeth rý doethost ema." "Rýs wýf vi," hep enteu, "m. teudur, argluýd y kýuoeth hōnn ýchýdic^d kýnn no hýnn; ac er auron en urthladedic, ac en foedic, ac en divlanedic haeach ýd wýf en emdirgelu ene nodua honn."

"Pwý ath foes di?" hep y gruffud. "Argluýd," hep

^a y alltuded J. ^b Diennic LL. ^c J omits ene diwed ef. ^d LL and J omit ychýdic kýnn no hýnn.

the mountains until they came into Lleyn. In this cantred they encamped for a fortnight, daily destroying and plundering and murdering. They left behind them a great slaughter of corpses. Then the country was a desert for eight years.⁸ Then the inhabitants of this country scattered portionless [and] needy into the world. Many of them went as exiles into other lands through long years,⁹ and scarcely any of them came to their own country. This was the first plague and rough advent of the Normans to the land of Gwynedd after coming to England.

6. *Gruffydd ap Cynan and Rhys ap Tewdwr meet at St. David's—The Battle of Mynydd Carn and Death of Trahaiarn.*

Meanwhile after Gruffydd had been a year in Ireland as a guest of King Dermot¹ and other noblemen, he eventually assembled a kingly fleet from Waterford which the King had given him full of Danes, Irishmen, and Britons, and after spreading sails at sea, and the wind being favourable behind them, and the sea tranquil, he came to Porthclais,² hard by the Archbishopric³ of St. David's. Then came Rhys, King of Deheubarth,⁴ and the bishops⁵ and teachers and all the clergy⁶ of the lord David together with the Church of St. David's to the harbour. First Rhys discoursed thus with the lord Gruffydd, "Welcome Gruffydd, King of the Kings of Wales. To you I fly. Before you I fall upon my knees to beseech your help and your support." "Who are you?" said Gruffydd, "and wherefore are you come hither?" "I am Rhys," said he, "son of Tewdwr, lord of this dominion a little while ago, and now I am as an outcast, and a fugitive, and almost a nonentity, hiding in this sanctuary." "Who is it that put you to flight?" quoth Gruffydd. "My lord," said the other, "three

enteu, "tri brenhin or gwladoed pennaf o gemrý ac eu lluoed a disgýnnassant ým kýuoeth ý diwed húnna,^a a pheunýd e maent ený hanreithýaó." "Pwy," hep e gruffud, "ý brenhined a gerdant trwý dý wýr di ath gýuoeth mor výdinauc a hene?" "Caradauc m. grufud," hep enteu, "o went uch coet ac is coet,^b ae wenhýyssýon, a góyr morgannóc, a llawer o albrýswýr nordmannýeit ganthaó; meilir m. riwallaun ae bowýswýr ganthaó, Trahaearn vrenhin a gwýr arwýstli."

A phan gogleu gruffud enw ý ormeswýr, froeni o gýndared a oruc, a govýn idaó pa beth a rodei er emlad drostaó en erbýn ý góyr henne. "Dý oer," hep ý rýs, "hanner výg kýuoeth a rodaf ýt, ac ý gýt a henne gurýogaeth a wnaf ýt." A chývun a henne vu gruffud; a guedý ý kýfruch húnnaó wýnt a gerdassant ý gýt ý egluýs dewi ýn eu guedi. Ac eno ýd emwnaethant en gýueillýon^c fýdlaón trwý aruoll ý greirýeu. A guedý emdiónaó onadunt ene lle honno a chemrýt bendith er escop, gruffud a gerdus en er un dýd húnnaó racdaó ef ae daenýsseit ae wýdýl a llawer o wýndit riuedi wýth ugeinwýr, a chendelu m. conus o von oc eu blaen. Rýs enteu, ac ýchýdic deheuwýr a gerdus gýt ac wý en llawen ganthaó ý vrýt oe ganhorthóý.

A guedý kerdet dirvaur emdeith diwýrnaut, ýg kýlch gosper wýnt a doethant ý venýd ene lle ýd oed lluesteu ý dýwededigýon vrenhined ucho. Ac ena ý dýwaut rýs urth ruffud vrenhin, "Argluýd," hep ef, "annodun ý vróyder hýt avorý, canýs gosper ýu er aurhonn ar dýd ý syd en trengi." "Annot di," hep ý gruffud dan igýon, "os mýnný. Mivi am býdin a ruthraf udunt hwý." Ac ý vellý ý bu. A dechrýnó a orugant ý brenhined eissýoes, val ý guelsant ý torvoed budugaul amravael^d a bedinoed gruffud vrenhin ae arwýdýon ýn

^a LL omits *y diwedd hwnn.* ^b LL omits *ac is coet.* ^c *gydymdeithyon* LL and J. ^d *Amravael* added in the margin in the original hand. *Budygaul amrafaelion* J.

kings of the chief lands of Wales with their hosts descended upon my province lately, and daily they are plundering it." "Who," said Gruffydd, "are the kings who go among thy people and thy possession in so warlike a manner as this?" "Caradoc ap Gruffydd,"⁷ said he, "of Gwent Uch Coed and Iscoed, and the men of Gwent, and the men of Glamorgan, and many Norman arbalisters with them; Meilir ap Rhiwallon⁸ and the men of Powys with him, King Trahaiarn and the men of Arwystli."

When Gruffydd heard the name of the usurper, he snorted with rage, and demanded of him [Rhys] what he would give him for fighting on his behalf against these men. "Verily," said Rhys, "the half of my kingdom I will give you, and besides this I will do homage to you."

Gruffydd was agreeable to this; and after this interview they journeyed together to the Church of [St.] David[s]. to pray. Then they became faithful friends after swearing on the relics. After they had joined together in this place and received the bishop's blessing, Gruffydd journeyed this selfsame day, he and his Danes and Irishmen and many men of Gwynedd to the number of one hundred and sixty men with Cynddelw, son of Conus of Anglesey, at their head. Rhys on his part, and a few men of the South with him, went rejoicing in his mind from his [Gruffydd's] support.

After making a long day's journey, about eventide they came to a mountain where were encamped the Kings mentioned above. Then said Rhys to King Gruffydd, "Lord," said he, "let us delay the battle until the morrow, for it is evening now and the day is spent." "You delay it," said Gruffydd sobbing, "if you desire it. I am for battle and shall charge upon them." And thus it was. The Kings, likewise, were in dread, as they beheld the triumphant hosts of battle and Gruffydd's troops with their ensigns before them,

eu herbŷn, a góyr denmarc ac eu bwyeill deuvinyauc, ar guýdýl gaflachauc ac eu peleu haearnaul kýllellauc, ar gwýndýt gleiuyauc tareanauc. Gruffud gentaf emladwr a gýrchus ý vrwýder en gýffelip ý gaur ac e lew, hep orfowýs o danu ý urthuýnepwýr o gledýf lluchýadennaul. Gýrru grýmm ene wýr^a a oruc ý emórthlad ac eu gelýnyon en wraul, a hýt na rodýnt udunt eu kefneu o nep rýw uod.

Ac ena ý bu vrwýder dirvaór ý chof ýr etiued wedý eu rýeni. Geuri er emladwýr a dýrchauwýt ýr awýr; seinnýaó a oruc ý daear gan durýf ý meirch ar pedýt; ý sein emladgar a glýwýt ýmpell; kýnnórýf er arveu a seinnýei en vených. Góyr gruffud en dwýssaó en wýchýr ac eu gelýnyon en darýstung udunt. Chwýs ý llavur ar góaet en góneithur frýdeu redegauc. Ac en henne trahaearn a drýchut ene gýmperved ený ýtoed ýr llaur en varw, en pori ae danhed ý llýssýeu ir, ac en palualu ar warthaf er arveu; a gucharki wýdel a wnaeth bacwn o honaw val o hwch. Ac en er un lle hónnó e digóýdasant ene gýlch oe deulu ehun pýmp marchauc arugeint. Rei ereill onadunt a las ene vedin gentaf;^a llaw o uilýoed onadunt a las; ar lleill a rodassant eu kefneu ý wýr gruffud ac a emchuelassant ar fo. Gruffud enteu, oe gnotaedic deuaud, en vudugaul ae hemlýnós wýnteu ef ae niuer tróy ý llwýneu ar glýnnýeu ar guerni armýnýded en hýt e nos honno urth ý lleuat ac en hýt e dýd drannoeth, a breid vu o diengis nep onadunt or vrwýder ý eu gólat ehunein.

A guedý darvot^b ý vrwýder ofýnhaó brat o barthret gruffud a oruc rýs, ýmdýnnó a dan gel kýfliw gur a llwýn a oruc o gedýmdeithas gruffud ae wýr ac nýt emdangosses ý nep onadunt o henne allan. Ac am

^aLL omits *ene vedin . . . a las*. ^bJ omits *A guedy darvot*.

and the men of Denmark and their two-edged axes, and the spear-armed Irishmen with their sharp iron *pila*,⁹ and the men of Gwynedd armed with sword and targe.¹⁰ Gruffydd, the foremost warrior, advanced to battle like a hero and a lion, without respite scattering his opponents with his gleaming sword. He instilled courage into his men to fight manfully with their enemies, that they should not turn their backs to them in any way.

Then there was a contest whose memory was mighty to posterity [*lit.* to descendants after their parents]. The cries of the combatants rose in the air; the earth resounded with the tumult of the horses and footmen; the noise of the conflict was heard afar; the clash of the weapons sounded incessantly. Gruffydd's men towered valiantly, their enemies giving way with them. Perspiration from their exertions and blood formed running torrents. Then Trahaiarn was pierced in his breast [*lit.* in the centre] until he was on the ground dying, biting with his teeth the long grass, and groping about to come upon his weapons; and Gwcharis the Irishman made bacon of him as of a pig. At the very same place there fell around him five and twenty knights of his household. Some of them were killed in the first troop; many thousands were killed from among them; and others turned their backs to Gruffydd's men and turned in flight. As for Gruffydd, with his wonted custom, he and his followers pursued them victoriously through groves and glens and marshes and mountains throughout that night by the moon and throughout the following day, and there was scarcely anyone of them who escaped from the battle to his own country.¹¹

When the battle was ended Rhys began to fear treachery on the part of Gruffydd and withdrew secretly at twilight [*lit.* when man and bush had the same colour], and none of them appeared from this time forth. Therefore Gruffydd was displeased. Therefore Gruffydd asked

henne y sorres gruffud. Ac am henne yd erchis gruffud yu wyr anreithya^a kyuoeth rys. Ac y vellý e darvu.

Emenýd hagen y bu e vrwýder enda^o a eilw kiudaut e wlat menýd carn. Sef yu henne menýd e garned, canýs eno e mae diruaur garned o vein a dan er honn y cladwt rýsswr yg kynnnoessoed gýnt.

A guede góneithur dirvaur bla eno a llawer o anreithyeu, e kerdus gruffud parth ac arwýstli ac y distrywýs ac y lladaud y guerin; ac y lloskes y thei, ae góraged ae morýnnýon a duc yg keithiwet. Ac y vellý e talws y chýl y drahaearn. Odena y kerdus y bowýs ene lle e dangosses ar hýnt y greulonder yu urthuýnepwyr o devaut budugaul; ac nýt arbedus keuei yr egluýsseu. A guede llad y vellý y elýnýon a distri^o eu daear en gubel, yd emchuelus^b yu briodolder a thref y dat ehun, yu medu ac yu thagneuedu. Ac y bu orfowýs a heduch yg góýned ychýdic o dieuoed.

Ac val yd oed y vellý en arver o uwýnnýant y vrenhiný-aeth, y kýffroet meirýaun goch o saeth diauwl y varwn ehun ac y kuhudus ef urth hu ýarll caer, ac y bredýchus ene mod hún. Peri a oruc y deu ýarll o freinc, nýt amgen er hu a dýwetpóyt uchof a hu ýarll amóythic, mab royzer o gastell baldwin, dývot y gýt, ac amýlder marchogyon a phedýt ganthunt, hýt y ruc en edeirnýa^on. Y bradwr hagen ae bredýchús ef or geirýeu hýnn, "Argluýd," hep ef "mae deu ýarll or ardal ýth annerch ac ýth

a i *anrheithio* LL. *b* yd *emchuelus* added in margin in the same hand as the text.

his men to ravage the possessions of Rhys. And thus it came about.¹²

The hill, moreover, on which the battle took place the people of the country call "Mynydd Carn," that is to say, "The Mountain of the Cairn," for a huge cairn of stones is there under which was buried a hero in olden times.¹³

After effecting enormous destruction [pla=plague] and abundant ravaging there, Gruffydd set out towards Arwystli and destroyed and slew the common folk there; and he burned its houses, and bore into captivity its women and maidens. And thus he paid Trahaiarn in kind. Thence he approached Powys where he showed on the journey cruelty to his opponents according to the custom of the conqueror; and he spared not so much as the churches. After thus slaying his enemies and destroying their land completely, he returned to his property and to his own patrimony, to possess it and to pacify it. And there was rest and peace in Gwynedd for a few days.

7. *Gruffydd is betrayed to the Normans—The Normans occupy Gwynedd—Gruffydd escapes from Prison.*

As he was enjoying the kingdom according to custom, Meirion the Red, his baron, was stirred by an arrow of the devil and accused him before Hugh Earl of Chester, and betrayed him in this manner. He caused the two earls of the French, that is to say, Hugh who was mentioned above and Hugh Earl of Shrewsbury,¹ the son of Roger of Montgomery, to come together, and with them an abundance of horsemen and footmen, to Cruc in Edeyrnyon.² Moreover the traitor betrayed him by these words, "My lord," said he, "two earls of the marches

wediau am dy dyuot en diogel, gyt ath wyr dieither,^a y gyfruch ac wynt hyt yg gruc yn edeirnyaun." A Gruffud, gan gredu er emadrodion henne, a doeth^b hyt en lle y deillyadaeth. A phan weles yr yeirll ef, e dale-assant ac ef ae niuer, ac y dodassant ef yg geol gaer e carchar guaethaf, a geuynneu arnau, deudeng blyned. Y wyr dieither enteu, wedy eu dale, a dorret y uaut deheu y lau pob un onadunt, ac y val henne y gadasant^c wy emdeith. A phan glywyt henne y guascarassant y lleill, canys emadraud duywaul a dyweit, "mi a drawaf y bugeil a deueit y genveint a wascarant." Kedemdeitheon gobahanredaul gruffud a dywedynt y uot ef en wr kymedraul y veint, a goballt melyn arnau, ac emennyd guressauc, ac wynep crwnn, da y liw, a llygeit maur guedus, ac aeleu tec, a baryf wedus, a monugyl crwnn, a chnaut gwynn, ac aelodeu grymus, a byssed hiryon, ac esgeiryeu onyaun, a thraet tec. Kywreint oed a huauedel en amrauellion yeithyod. Bonhedic oed enteu a thrugarauc urth y gydaut, a chreulaun urth y elynion, a gwychraf em bruyder.

Ac ene lle wedy e dale ef, e doeth hu yarll yu gyuoeth enteu en amylder torvoed ac y gonaeth kestyl a lleoed cadarn o deuaut y freinc, a bot en argluyd ar e tir. Castell a oruc e mon, ac arall en arvon en hen gaer custennin amperauder, vab constans vaur. Arall a wnaeth ym bangor ac arall ym meiryonnid. Ac a ossodes endunt marchogyon a phedyt seithydion, a chemeint a wnaethant o drwc ac na wnaethpuyt y gyfryu er dechreu y byt. A llef y bobyl a esgynnus ar er argluyd, ac enteu ae guerendewis wy.

Ac en henne y kerdus heibiau un vlyned ar bemthec, ac e rydhaut gruffud oe garchar. Canys guryanc o edeirnyaun (kenwric hir oed y enw) a doeth y gaer, ac ychydic o gedemdeitheon y gyt ac ef, y brynu eu hangenreidyau. A phan weles enteu en evynnauc ym plas

^a LL omits *diether* . . . *pob un*. ^b *aeth* LL and Myf. Arch. ^c *gadaus-*
sant Myf. Arch.

greet thee and beseech thee to come safely, together with thy foreigners, to a conference with them to Cruc in Edeyrnyon." Gruffydd, believing this speech, came as far as his tenancy. When the earls perceived him, they seized both him and his following, and put him in Chester Gaol³ in the worst cell, with fetters upon him, for twelve years.⁴ After their capture the right thumb of the hand of each of his foreigners was broken,⁵ and thus they let them go. When that was heard, the others separated, for the Holy Writ says, "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall scatter."

Intimate friends of Gruffydd say that he was a man of middle height, fair-haired, hot-headed; with a round face of good complexion, large shapely eyes, fine eyebrows, a comely beard, a round neck, white skin, powerful limbs, long fingers, straight shanks, and fine feet. He was skilled and eloquent in several tongues.⁶ He was noble and merciful towards his people, cruel towards his enemies, and very gallant in battle.

Then after his capture, Earl Hugh came to his domain in great force and built castles and strong places after the manner of the French, and was lord over the land.⁷ A castle he built in Anglesey,⁸ and another in Arvon in the old city of the Emperor Constantine, son of Constans the Great.⁹ Another he made in Bangor and another in Meirionydd.¹⁰ He placed in them horsemen and archers on foot, and they wrought such evil as had not been done since the beginning of the world. And the cry of the people ascended to the Lord, and he heard them.

And now there passed by sixteen years, and Gruffydd was released from his prison.¹¹ For a young man of Edeyrnyon¹² (Cenwric Hir¹³ was his name) came to Chester, and a few companions with him, to buy necessities. When he saw him fettered in the city square, he took him upon his shoulders and bore him away unperceived, and journeyed he and his companions in the afternoon, when the burgesses were eating, and

e dinas, y kemyrth ar y geuyn ef ac y duc hep wýbot, ac y kerdus y emdeith ef ae gedemdeitheon pyrnaón, pan ýtoed y burgeissyeit en bwýta, ac y porthes ene dý ehun ef rýnnaóð o dýdýeu a dan gel. A guede tervýn dieuoed a chryfhau gruffud, y duc ef nos hýt e mon, ac ena e diwalus sandef vab aýre ef ýg kud. Ac odena, wede ýchýdic o dýdýeu, ýd esgýnnús y long y výnnó mýnet ýwerdon. Ac eissýoes y gurthwýnt ae duc hýt ým porth hodni en deheubarth. Odena y kerdus er tir, a naó kedemdeith etholedic ganthau; ar nauvet a las ar hýnt. Kióðaut y wlat honno a emladus ac ef teir gueith e dýd hónnó, ar teirgueith henne y gorvu ef arnadunt hwý, ef ae wýth gedemdeith; a llad ohonaó enteu e hón un or gueissýon bonhedicaf a hanoed or kýuoeth hunnó. Ac y vellý y deinghis y ganthunt. Odena, ar y kerdet hónnó, y doeth hýt en arduduý, en bedrus ganthaó pa le y kýrchei rac brat y freinc. A phan y gueles meibeon gollwýn ef, eginir, gellan, merwýd, edneuet, y truanassant urthau, ac y diwallassant ef a dan gel y meón gogoueu diffeith. O guedý diwed missoed e dónnassant idaó wýthugeinwýr ac y krwýdrasant o le i le ýg gwýned, can wneithur colledeu ýn oes ýr ýarll hu, megýs dauid vrenhin mab ýsai o vethlem ýg gulat iudea en oes saul vrenhin. A guedý guelet or freinc a oed ena ene kestýll evo en afrýoli y vellý, eu hemlýn a wnaethant ac wýnt a chióðaut e wlat ýg coet ac y maes megýs gellgón neu callgun en hely ac en dilit caró blin. A phan adnabu enteu na allei emdianc y vellý ýd aeth en ýscraff e canonwýr en aber daron, ac en honno a dan rwýf ýd aeth hýt en ýwerdon. Odeno eilchuýl ým pen y mis y doeth dracheuýn en er un ýscraff ac y cavas aber er ón avon or lle y kýchóynnassei. Ac odeno y kerdus eilweith dracheuen hýt en ýwerdon.

maintained him in his own house for a number of days secretly. At the end of the time, Gruffydd having grown strong, he took him by night as far as Anglesey, and there Sandef, son of Aere, supported him in hiding. Thence, after a few days, he embarked to seek to go to Ireland. Yet contrary winds bore him to Porth Hodni,¹⁴ in Deheubarth. Thence he journeyed by land, and nine chosen companions with him; and one of the nine was killed at once. The inhabitants of that land fought with him thrice that day; and thrice he overcame them, he and his eight companions; and there one of the noblest youths that was sprung from that country was slain by him. Thus he [Gruffydd] escaped them. Thence, on this journey, he came to Arduwy, hesitating where he should go from the treachery of the French. When the sons of Collwyn,¹⁵ Eginir, Gellan, Merwyd, Ednyfed saw him, they pitied him, and ministered to him secretly in desert caves. After the end of some months one hundred and sixty men joined him, and they wandered from place to place in Gwynedd, doing damage ever to Earl Hugh, like King David, son of Jesse, of Bethlehem, in the land of Judea in the time of King Saul. When the French who were there in the castle saw he was thus in disorder, they and the inhabitants of the country pursued him in forest and in the open like hounds hunting and pursuing a wearied stag. When he knew he could not escape thus he went in the skiff of the churchmen of Aberdaron, and in this and by rowing he went to Ireland. Thence again at the end of the month he came back in the same skiff and reached the mouth of the same river whence he had set out. Thence he set out again to Ireland.

Ac odeno, wedý kemrýt kýngor, ý kerdus o hwýl a rwýf hýt en enýssed denmarc ar gothrei vrenhin ý gýveillt ý adolwýn idaó llongeu, ac eu doodreuýn, ac eu reidyeu. Canýs ena gentaf rý dothoed ataó, gan emdirýet ý geissýaó porth. Ac enteu a ganorthóýws idaó ef, gan gýt diodef a chýtdolurýaó ae uených berýgleu ef. Ac odena ý kerdus gruffud a thriugein llong ganthaó ac ý doeth hýt e mon, ý arvaethu ef a góyr er enýssed emlad a chastell ý freinc. A góyr e wlat a vuant ormod llesteir udunt. Ac ena ý bu urwýder lidýauc, creulaón, galet, or bore hýt býrnhaón; a llawer a digóydassant o bop parth, ar góyr deurahaf en gentaf; ac em plith henne neidýaó a oruc gruffud or blaen ene výdin gentaf ý drýchu ý freinc llurugauc a helmauc oe uwýall deu vinýauc, vegýs dauýd vrenhin em plith ý philistewýssýon. Ar nos a wahanós ý vróýder.^a

A guedý daruot e vrwýder,^b ý llongeu a gerdassant ýr enýssed. Evo hagen ac ón llong ganthaó a drigýus en ron enýs, nýt amgen enýs dinewýt e mor, ac a ýspeillýus llong en dýuot o gaer a llad ý guerin. A thrannoeth ef a hwýllýus parth a lleýn ac a doeth ý borth nevýn. A phan gígley wýr ý cantreuoed henne dýuot ar vrýs a orugant ataó góyr lleýn ac eiuýonýd ac arduduý ac arvon a ros a dýfrýnt cluýt, ae arvoll,^c mal ý deleynt, en hargluýd dýledauc. A guedý cadarnhau gruffud o lu maur ene gýlch tróý nerth^d duw, e damgýlchýnós e castell a dýwetpuýt uchoť, a oed ý mon, ac a emladus ac ef rýnnaó^e o dýdýeu, ar freinc oc eu keýrýd^f ac eu kedernýt ac eu týroed en buró ergýdýeu a saytheu ac a

^a LL omits *nos . . . vrwýder*. ^b J omits *A guedy daruot e vrwýder*. ^c *arvollunt* LL. ^d *nerth Duw ydd amgylchynws* LL. ^e *llawer J*. ^f LL *cerydd*.

8. *Gruffydd Successfully attacks the Norman Castles of Gwynedd—The Welsh Rising of 1094.*

Thence, after taking council, he went by sail and oar to the islands of Denmark ¹ and to King Guthrie,² his friend, to ask ships of him, and their equipment, and what pertained to them. For then he first came to him, seeking his aid with confidence. And he helped him, having compassion and condolence for his frequent perils. Thence Gruffydd set out with sixty ships and came to Anglesey, to plan an attack, he and the men of the Islands, upon the castles of the French. The men of the country were a great hindrance to them. Then there was a fierce, cruel, severe battle, from morning till afternoon; and many fell from both sides, and the bravest first; and in their midst Gruffydd leaped forward in the foremost troop, to cleave the armoured and helmeted French with his double-edged axe, like King David amidst the Philistines. And night separated the battle.

After the battle was ended, the vessels set out to the Islands. He [Gruffydd], however, with one ship stayed in the island of Ron,³ that is to say, the Island of the Seals, and despoiled a ship coming from Chester, and slew its crew. On the morrow he sailed to Lleyn and came to Port Nevin. When the men of those cantreds heard this, there came straightway to him the men of Lleyn and Eifonydd and Ardudwy ⁴ and Arvon and Rhos and Dyffryn Clwyd,⁵ and welcomed him, as they ought, as their rightful lord.

After Gruffydd had been strengthened by a great host around him through the power of God, he surrounded the castle which has been mentioned above,⁶ which was in Anglesey, and fought with it for some days, the French from their fortresses and their strongholds and

chuareleu ac a thafleu ac a magneleu en gawadeu. Ac eissýoes eu gorchýuýgu a wnaethpuýt udunt^a a beuný-dýawl emlad e kemrý; eu hýstiwart llýs a las, er hónn a oed en medu ý castell, a phetwar guýr a chueugeint o varchogýon^b ý gýt ac ef.

A guedý lloski e castell a goruot ar ý gelýnýon, llawenhau a oruc gruffud, a cherdet am benn ý kestýll ereill a oedent en lleoed ereill ene deýrnas, ac emlad ac wýnt, ac eu lloski, ac eu torri, a llad eu guerin endunt em pob lle. Rýdhaó góýned a oruc oe chestýll a chemrýt ý gýuoeth idaó ehun, a thalu eu chuýl en deilung ýu urthuýnebwýr. A heduch vu^c wýned ena dwý vlýned.

A choffa hýnn heuýt, pan ýtoed gruffud en emlad a chastell aber llienýauc^d ý mon, ar ý chueugeinvet o wýr a phetwarardec o veibeon ýeueinc, ý loski o honaó ae anreithýaó a llad llawer or castellwýr, a guede ý anreithýaó en llwýr emchuelut hýt e tu arall ý von ýd oed teir llong idaó. A castellwýr a góýr mon ae hemlýnas-sant enteu en hýt e dýd gan vróýdraó ený ol en wýchýr. Ac val kýnt ý kerdassant wýnteu dracheuýn ar anreith ac a freinc a saesson en rwým ganthunt ac en garcharorýon; a llawer oc eu hemlýnwýr a ladassant or hir vrwýder. Ac ena ý diguýdus gellan telýnýaur penkerd o barthret gruffud ene llýnges.

Paden ýr ý gýuaruýdet ae drybelitet a allei mýnegi en llwýr kýfrangeu gruffud ae rýueloed ý rung kemrý ac ýwerdon ac enýssed denmarc ac amravaellýon gened-loed ereill. Mivi a gýuadeuaf nas dichonaf vi, ac nas dichonón^e pei bedón kýn huotlet a thullius vard ým prol ac a maro vard en traethaut mýdýr. Ac val ýd oed gruffud ý vellý weithieu en rwýd weithýeu en afruýd racdaó ef a gemýrth gureic, angharat ý henó, merch ý ewein vab edwin, er honn a dýwedýnt doethýon ý kýuoeth ý bot en vonhedic, hýduf, walltwenn, lýgatvras,

^a LL omits *uddunt*. ^b LL omits *varchogyon*. ^c i. Myf. Arch. ^d LL omits *a chastell aberllienyauc*. ^e Myf. Arch. omits *ac nas dichonwn*.

their towers shooting shafts in showers and arrows and quarrels and with slings and with mangonels. Yet they were defeated in daily battle by the Cymry; their steward of the court who was holding the castle, was killed; and one hundred and twenty-four soldiers [*lit.* knights] with him.

After burning the castle and prevailing over his enemy, Gruffydd rejoiced, and set out against the other castles which were in other places in his kingdom, and fought with them, and burnt them, and wrecked them, and slew their people within them in every place. He delivered Gwynedd from castles⁷ and took the kingdom to himself and duly repaid his opponents. And then there was peace in Gwynedd for two years.⁸

Remember this, also, that when Gruffydd was fighting with the castle of Aberlenniog in Mon, and one hundred and twenty men and the fourteen young boys, it was burnt and plundered by him and several of the men of the castle killed, and that after plundering it fully he returned to another place in Anglesey where he had three ships.⁹ The men of the castle and the men of Mon pursued him throughout the day, fighting behind him valiantly. And as before they went back with the plunder and with the French and Saxons bound by them, and prisoners; and they killed several of their pursuers in the long battle. On Gruffydd's side there fell Gellan¹⁰ the chief harpist and musician in the fleet.

Only a Padarn in skill and lucidity could relate in full the combats of Gruffydd and the wars between the Cymru and Ireland and the islands of Denmark and diverse other nations. I myself admit that I am not equal to it, and I should not be equal to it though I were as eloquent as Tullius the Bard in prose and Maro the Bard¹¹ in verse. And as Gruffydd was thus sometimes free and sometimes in difficulties, he took a wife, Angharad¹² her name, daughter of Owen ap Edwin, whom the wisest in the kingdom declare of noble birth,

oskethloÿu, a chorff gualcheid, ac aelodeu grÿmus, ac esgeirÿeu hÿduf, ar traet goreu, a bÿssed hirÿon, ac ewined teneu; hÿnaó, a huauwel, a da o uwÿt a llÿnn; a doeth a çhall, a çhÿnghorwreic da; trugarauc urth ÿ çhÿuoeth, a chardodus urth achanogÿon, a çhÿfreithus ÿm pob peth. Ac o honno ÿ bu idaó meibeon a merchet. Enw ÿ meibeon vu catwallaón, ac ewein, a chatwalader. Ae verchet oed Guenlliant, a marÿret,^a a rainillt, a sussanna ac annest. Ef a vu veibeon a merchet idaó heuÿt o garÿatwraged.

A phan gogleu guilim gledÿf hir brenhin lloeger milurÿaeth gruffud, ae dÿwalder ae greulonder en erbyn e freinc, anioedef vu ganthaó, a çhÿffroi a oruc ÿ holl deÿrnas ene erbÿn a dÿuot hÿt ÿg gwÿned en amÿlder torvoed marchogÿon a phedÿt, gan arvaethu^b dileu^c a distrÿw paub or giwdaut en llw[ÿr] hÿt na bei en vÿw kemeint a chi. Ef heuÿt a arvaethassei [torri r]holl goedÿd ar llwÿneue hÿt na bei^d wascant n[ac] amdifÿn er gwÿndÿt o henne allan. Ac urth henne e lluestws, ac ÿ pebÿllÿws en gentaf em mur castell, a rei or kemrÿ en gÿuarwÿdeit idaó. A phan gogleu gruffud henne ÿ kÿnullós enteu llw ÿ holl vrenhinÿaeth ac ÿ kerdus ene erbÿn ef urth wneithur ragotvaeu idaó en lleoed keuing pan disgÿnnei or menÿd. Ac ouÿnhau henne a oruc enteu a çhÿuarchuelut^e ÿ lu trwÿ berued ÿ wlat enÿ doeth ÿ gaer hep wneithur nep kÿfrÿu gollet en er hÿnt honno ÿ giwdaut ÿ wlad. Ac nÿ chavas ganthaó nep kÿfrÿu frwÿth nac enill namen ón vuch. A cholli rann vaur o varchogÿon ac acueryeit a gueissÿon a meirch a

^a Marrett LL. ^b anrheithio. Myf Arch. ^c dilÿn LL marginal note dilÿn or dileu. ^d J omits bei. ^e ymchwelut.

well-grown, with fair hair, large eyes, fine figure; regal body, strong limbs, well-developed shanks, fine feet, and long fingers and thin nails; good-natured, eloquent, good with respect to food and drink; wise and prudent, and a woman of good counsel; merciful towards the kingdom, and charitable towards the needy, and righteous in everything. From her he had sons and daughters. The sons were named Cadwallon and Owen and Cadwaladr.¹³ His daughters were Gwenlliant¹⁴ and Margaret¹⁵ and Rhannillt¹⁶ and Susanna¹⁷ and Annest. He had sons and daughters also from concubines.

9. *William Rufus Invades Wales.*

When William Longsword¹ King of England heard of the prowess of Gruffydd and his ferocity and his cruelty against the French, he could not endure it, and roused the whole kingdom against him, and came to Gwynedd with an abundance of troops of horsemen and footmen, intending to abolish and destroy utterly all of the people² until there should be alive not so much as a dog. He had purposed also to cut down all the woods and groves³ so that there might not be shelter nor defence for the men of Gwynedd henceforth. Thereupon he encamped, and he pitched his tents first in Mur Castell, certain of the Welsh being his guides.⁴ When Gruffydd heard this he assembled the host of the whole kingdom and went against him to create obstacles for him in narrow places when he descended from the mountains.⁵ And he [Rufus] was afraid and led his hosts through the Perveddwlad until he reached Chester⁶ without doing any kind of injury on that journey to the inhabitants of the country. He did not take with him any kind of profit or gain except one cow.⁷ He lost a great part of the knights and esquires and servants and

llawer o daoed ereill. Ac y vellŷ e dielws rŷuŷc y freinc hŷt ar dim. Ac en henne uŷth gruffud, ae lu ganthunt, weithŷeu or blaen, weithŷeu en ol, weithŷeu ar deheu, weithŷeu ar assw udunt,^a rac gŷneithur onadunt nep rŷw gollet ene kŷuoeth. A pheŷ as rŷy atei gruffud yŷu wŷr emgŷmŷscu ac wŷnt ar y llwŷneu, diwethaf dŷd uŷdei hŷnnŷ y vrenhin lloegŷr ae freinc. Enteu hagen a arbedus idaŷ ef megŷs dauŷd vrenhin gŷnt y saul.

A guedŷ darout henne hu ŷarll caer er hŷnn a dŷwetpuyt uchot, gureid er holl drwc megŷs antiochus gŷnt, a gŷnullus llŷnges a llu diruaur anrŷued ŷr wlat, gan dritit, a chwŷnvan a dolur a choffau y gastellwŷr a diwreidŷau y gestŷll a lladua e varchogŷon. Ac a gŷtduŷnŷs ac ef hu arall ŷarll amŷŷthic ae lu enteu, val e delynt y gŷt en gŷvun e dial e colledeu rŷy wnathoed gruffud udunt. Ac urth henne e kerdassant ac eu llu en eu llŷnges ar vor hŷt ŷg kŷuoeth gruffud, ac ewein vab edwŷn ac uchdrŷt y vraŷt oc eu blaen ac eu gallu. A phan vu honneit henne, guŷr gwŷned a phowŷs a gŷt duŷnassant y urthuŷnebu udunt hep darŷstung. Ac urth henne y mudassant argluŷdi powŷs, nŷt amgen cadugaŷn^b a maredud y vraut,^c ac eu hanhedeu ganthunt hŷt ar gruffud.

Ac ena wede^d

kymryt kyt gyngor ydd aethant hyt y Mon, ag wynt a Gruffydd, ag yno ydd ymddifferassant megis y mewn caer a vei damgylchynedig o weilgi. Kanys y Ruffudd ry

^a LL omits *uddunt*. ^b *Catwalavn J.* ^c *meibion Blethyn ap Cynfyn LL.* ^d Peniarth MS. 17 ends here. Peniarth MS. 267 begins. *Cf.* Facsimile 2.

horses and many other possessions.⁸ Thus he [Gruffydd] reduced the French to nought.

Meanwhile, at all times, Gruffydd, and his host with him, were now before, now behind, now on the right, now on the left of them, preventing them from doing any injury in his kingdom. If Gruffydd had allowed his men to come to close quarters with them in the woods, that would have been the last day for the King of England and his Frenchmen. He [Gruffydd] however spared him as King David of old [spared] Saul.⁹

10. *The Normans Invade Anglesey—The Intervention of King Magnus—The Death of Hugh Earl of Shrewsbury—Gruffydd Makes Peace.*

After this was ended Hugh Earl of Chester,¹ who has been mentioned above, the root of all evil, like Antiochus of old, collected a fleet² and a mighty wonderful host of the country, sorrowing, and complaining with grief and mindful of the men of the castle and the razing of his castles and the slaughter of his knights. He joined with him another Hugh Earl of Shrewsbury³ and his host, so that together and as one they might come to avenge the losses which Gruffydd had caused them. Thereupon they and their host went in their fleet by sea to the dominion of Gruffydd, and Owen ap Edwin⁴ and Uchtryd⁵ his brother, and their power [went] before them. When this was perceived, the men of Gwynedd and Powys combined to withstand them without yielding to them. Therefore the lords of Powys, Cadwgan⁶ and Maredudd⁷ his brother, removed to Gruffydd, [taking] their dwellings with them.

Then after taking counsel together they went to Anglesey,⁸ they and Gruffydd, and there defended themselves as in a stronghold which was surrounded by

ddoethedd un llong ar bymtheg o gyfareu hirion yn borth iddaw o Ywerddon, ar rei hynny y vrwydraw ar for yn erbyn llynges yr Yeirll. A phan ddoeth hynny ar yr Yeirll, ydd anfonassant wynteu kennadeu hyt ar y llongeu ry ddoethoedd y gannorthwyaw Gruffudd y erchi uddunt pallu iddaw pan vei kyfyngaf arnaw, a dyfot attadunt wynteu yr a fynnynt o dda. Ag y felly y darfu wedy keredu o naddunt y dwyll y ffreink y tywalldassant oll yr ynys, gan torri eu harfoll wrth Ruffudd. A phan wybu Ruffudd hynny, dolouryaw a chymrawy yn fawr a orug, kany wyddyat pa gynghor a wnei yn erbyn y wrthwynebwy'r o ffreink ar brat longheu. Ag yna wedy mynet yg kyngor ef a Chadwgawn fab Bleddynt y daw y kerddassant y mewn ysgraff yn y doethant hyt yn Ywerddon, ag adaw eu kiwdawt ag a oedd eiddunt yn ewyllys duw ae amddiffyn, yr hwn a notaa kannorthwyaw y bob dyn pan vo kyfyngaf arnunt o anebryfegedig rubuchet. A phan wybu eu pobyl wynteu hynny ydd ymchwelassant ar ffo, gan ymddirgelu ag ymguddiaw y gogofeu daearawl, a gwerni a choedydd a llwyneu a rhedynossydd ag ellydd a diffwysseu a chorsydd a drysswch a cherrig, ag ym pob rhyw leoedd ereill or y gellynt ymguddyaw rhag ofyn yr Iddewon, nit amgen y ffreink a chenedloedd ereill ryddoethoeddynt yng kyrch uddunt. Kany's megys y dyweit dwywawl ymaddrawdd, "digwyddaw a orug y bobyl hep tywyssawg."

Ag ny bu ohir yr yeirll ag eu lluoedd ag eu hemlynassant wynteu yn orawenus y dydd hwnnw hyt ucher ar hyt ag ar llet yr ynys, gan y hanreithyaw a lladd y gwerin a thorri aelodeu ereill. Ar nos a wastataws yr ymlit.

A thrannoeth, nachaf, trwy weledigaeth duw, llynges vrenhinawl yn agos yn ddirybudd yn ymddangos. A phan welet honno anhyfrydu a orug y ffreink ar Daenysseit bratwyr a dwyllessynt Ruffudd. Ag val ydd

the ocean. For there had come to Gruffydd sixteen long-keeled ships to his aid from Ireland who were to contend on sea against the fleet of the earls. When the earls heard that, they sent messengers to the ships which had come to support Gruffydd to ask them to fail him when he should be in the greatest straits, and to come to them on their own terms (*lit.* whatever they desired of good).⁹ Thus it turned out that after believing the guile of the French they poured back to the island, breaking their promise to Gruffydd.¹⁰ When Gruffydd knew that, he grieved and feared much, for he knew not what course to take against his French opponents and the traitor-ships. Then he and Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, his son-in-law,¹¹ having taken counsel together journeyed in a skiff until they came to Ireland,¹² committing their people and property to the will of God, who, with whole-hearted attention, [*lit.*, with a will that does not neglect] is accustomed to support every man when he is in the greatest straits. When their people heard that [*i.e.*, their desertion] they took to flight, concealing themselves and hiding in caves in the earth, and in bogs, and woods, and groves, and fern-brakes, and copses, and precipices, and swamps, and underwoods, and rocks, and in all manner of other places where they could hide from fear of the Jews, that is the French¹³ and other peoples who had come to attack them. For as says the Holy Writ, "The people shall be without a prince." Before long the earls and their hosts pursued them gleefully all that day until evening the length and breadth of the island, plundering it and slaughtering the people and breaking the limbs of others. And night put an end to the pursuit.¹⁴

On the morrow, behold! through the providence of God, a royal fleet appearing close in without notice. When this was seen, the French and the traitors who had deceived Gruffydd were dejected. And as the French were always treacherous, so they sent secretly

oedd vradawg y ffreink, eissyoes yn wastat ydd anfonassant wynteu a dan gel yn y lle rei or Kymry kyfun ag wynt hyt ar wyr yr ynys y erchi uddunt ar vrys ddyfod y dangnefed, a rhoddi diogelrwydd uddunt; kanys ofyn vu ganthunt gorfot arnaddunt^a or Kymru ffoedigion or neill parth ar llynges vrenhinawl or parth arall. Ag y felly y darfu. Ag y velly y twyllws y ffreink bratwyr y Kymry o bob parth, gwarchaedigyon yn yr ynys wedy y bla rywnathoeddynt a allei dyfot ar gof yr etifedd wedy y ryeni.

E llynges hagen rywelsynt hwy yn ddeissyfyt brenhin Llychlyn bieuoedd a gyfarufassei duw oe trugaredd y Fon y ryddhau y bobyl warchaedig gan yr^b anghyfyeth; kanys galw rywnathoeddynt ar eu harglwydd yn eu dioddefeint ag eu gofit a duw, ag eu gwerendewis. A gwedy datkanu yr brenhin trwy yeithydd pa ynys oedd, a phwy oedd arglwydd; pa anreithyaw,^c a pha emlynnu; pwy yr emlynwyr; kytdoluryaw a orug a llidiaw, a dynessau yr tir a their llong. Ar ffreink hagen yn ofnawg fal gwaged pan welsant hynny, a ymladdassant yn llurygawg ag eistedd ar eu meirch og eu defawt a cherddet y tu ar brenhin a nifer y teir llong. Ar brenhin ae nifer yn rhyfygus a ymladdws yn eu herbryn wynteu, a digwyddaw a orug y ffreink y ar eu meirch fal ffrwyth y ffigys y ar eu gwydd, rhei yn feirw, rhei yn vrathedig o ergydyeu y Llychlynwyr. Ar brenhin ehun, yn ddigyffro or kwrr blaen yr llong, a vrathws a saeth Hu Yarll Amwythig yn y llygat, ag ynteu a ddigwyddus oe ochrum yr ddaear yn vriwedig ddieneit y ar y varch arfawg dan ymffustyaw ar y arfeu. Ag or damwein hwnnw ydd ymchwelws y ffreink ar ffo, a rhoddi eu kefneu y ergydieu y Llychlynwyr. Ar brenhin ae llynges a hwylyassant oddyno ymdeith, kanys ef ry ddoethoedd, a gallu mawr ganthaw, y edrech ynys Brydein ag Ywerddon

^a gorvot arnaddunt ymladd ar Kymru V and LL. ^b V and LL omit gan yr. ^c anrheith LL.

and immediately certain of the Welsh allied with them to the men of the island to ask them to come at once to peace, and gave security to them; for they feared that they would be overcome by the fugitive Welsh on the one hand and by the royal fleet on the other.¹⁵ And thus it came to pass. And thus the French traitors deceived the Welsh on both sides, besieged in the island, after they had caused a plague which could come to the memory of future generations (*lit.* to descendants after their parents).

The King of Norway,¹⁶ however, owned the fleet which they suddenly saw, whom God, from his mercy, had guided to Anglesey to deliver the people besieged by the foreigners; for they had called upon their Lord in their suffering and their tribulation, and God heard them.

After the King had been told through an interpreter what island it was, and who was their lord; what ravaging had been done, and what pursuit made; [and] who [were] the pursuers; he commiserated them, and grew angry, and approached the land with three ships.¹⁷ The French, however, terrified as women when they saw this, fought in armour and bestrode their horses.¹⁸ according to their custom and advanced towards the King and his guard of three ships. The King and his following fought against them valiantly, and the French fell from their horses like fruit from their branches, some dead, some wounded by the missiles of the Norsemen. The King himself rising up in the prow of the boat, wounded in the eye with an arrow Hugh Earl of Shrewsbury,¹⁹ and he fell mortally wounded to the earth from his armoured horse, beating upon his arms.²⁰ Because of this accident the French turned in flight and presented their backs to the shafts of the Norsemen.²¹ And the King and his fleet directed their course thence,²² for he came, and great might with him,²³ to survey the island of Britain and Ireland²⁴ which are on the confines

y rhei y sydd oddieithyr y byt, megys y dyfot^a fferyl bot y Brytanyeit yn ddieithredig yn gubyl or holl vyt.

Ag urth hynny Hu yarll ar ffreink ereill, yn llawen o ymchwelyat Magnus vrenhin, a ddugant ganthunt y Gwyndyt ar eiddunt oll yn llwyr^b hyt yg Kantref Ros rhag ofyn dyfodyat Gruffudd awr pob awr. Ag yna y rhifwyt ysgrybyl pob perchennawg ae anrheith, ag oddyna eu hanheru, ag ar hanner y kerddws ef y Gaer. Eno hagen ydd oeddunt y bratwyr anudonol or Daenysseit a vredychessynt Ruffudd yn aros yr eddiweideon^c a addawsei Hu uddunt, a cheith o wyr, a gwragedd, o weisseon, a morynnyon; ag ynteu ae talws uddunt hwy megis ffyddlawn y anffyddlawn, yn y kadarnhaei dwywawl lunyeth, kanys neu ry ddaroedd iddaw ar ehang kynullaw holl wrachiot mantach, krwm, kloff, unllygeityawg, gormessawl, diallu, ag eu kynnig uddunt ym pwyth eu bradwryaeth. A phan welsant wynteu hynny, gillwng eu llynghes a wnaethant a chyrchu y dyfynfor parth ag Ywerddon. Y gwr a oedd yn gwledychu yn yr amser hwnnw a beris anafu rhei o naddunt a thorri eu haelodeu a dihol ereill yn ddybryt oe holl deyrnas.

Ag yn yr amser hwnnw nachaf Ruffudd oe notaedig ddefawt yn dyfot o Ywerddon; a y kafas y holl wlat yn diffeith, ae chiwdawt wedy ryfynet y le arall. Oddyna ydd anfonas kennadeu hyt ar yr yarll Hu, ag y tangnefeddws ag ef; ag yn y kantref hwnnw y rhoddet teir trev iddaw. Ag yn o y dugeu vuchedd^d vulwyddynedd yn dlawt^e ovidus, gan obeithaw wrth weledigaeth duw rhagllaw.

^a *dyfot* (= *dywawt*) V. ^b *yn llwyr* omitted in V and LL. ^c *oddiweidion* LL. ^d *fochedd* V. ^e *tlawt* V and LL.

of the world,²⁵ as said Vergil, "The Britons are entirely cut off from the whole world."²⁶

Hereupon Earl Hugh and the other French, joyful from the return of King Magnus, took with them the men of Gwynedd and all their possessions²⁷ fully to the cantred of Rhos²⁸ from fear of the arrival of Gruffydd hour by hour. Then the cattle and plunder of every owner was counted, and thence halved, and with half he set off to Chester.

Then, moreover, the perjured traitors of Danes who had betrayed Gruffydd were expecting the promises which Hugh had promised them, and captives of men, women, youths, and maidens; and he paid them like a faithful man to unfaithful, confirming the divine ordinance, for he had succeeded in collecting all the toothless, deformed, lame, one-eyed, troublesome, feeble hags and offered them to them in return for their treachery. When they saw this, they loosened their fleet and made for the deep towards Ireland. The man who was ruling at this time²⁹ caused some of them to be maimed and their limbs to be broken and others to be cast out shamefully from his whole kingdom.

Meanwhile behold Gruffydd, according to his usual custom, coming from Ireland; and he found the whole land deserted, and its people had gone to another place. Then he sent messengers to Earl Hugh, and made peace with him; and in that cantred there were given three holdings to him.³⁰ And then he spent his life for some years in poverty and misery, hoping for the future providence of God.³¹

Ac oddyna, wedy kerddet blwyddynedd^a heibiau, y kerddws y lys Henri vrenhin Lloegyr, yr hwnn a vu vrenhin yn nessaf yw vrawt, a kann hwnnw y kafas ef rubuchet, a charyat, a chyfatnabot eiryawl, a chyfarwyddyt erfyn eskob Bangor. Ag y rhoddes iddaw gan dangnefedd a charyat Kantref Lleyn, ag Eifyonydd, ag Ardudwy, ag Arllechwedd, ag wynt ag eu gwerin ag eu hanrheithieid;^b ag yn y lle, pan ymchwelws Gruffud or llys, y dug eu kyfannedd yr gwladoedd hynny, gan y diolwch y dduw yr hwnn a ddiyt^c y kywoethogyon syberw og eu kadeir ag a ddyrcheiff y rhei ufydd yn eu lle, yr hwn a wna yr achanawg arberthawg, yr hwn a ystwng dyn ag ae dyrceif. Oddyna eissyoes pob dryll y rhwyddhaws pob peth rhag Gruffudd, kanys y obeith oedd yn yr Arglwydd: a pheunydd y llithrynt attaw ereill o Ros, ag eu hanrheithyeu ganthunt, hep gannyat Yarll Kaer, ag amlau y bobyl. Ag yn y vulwyddyn rhag wyneb y kerddws y Fon, ae gwerin ganthaw, ag y gwledychws; ag oddyna yr kymhydoedd ereill. Ag val hynny y kafas trachefyn oe grym pob peth yg Gwynedd, megis y gwnaeth Makabeus fab Matathias gynt yn yr Israel, a dwyn a wnaeth y holl giwdawt o amrafael alltudedd, y rhei a aethoeddynt y alltudedd or ymlitfa a ddywetpwynt uhot; ag amlau daoedd yg^d Gwynedd gan lewenydd megis am wlat yr Israel ag eu hymchwelyat o geithiwet Babilon.

A molest a gymyrth yr yarll ynddaw o achub y gywoethcae oreskyn^e y felly hep y gannyat. A phan gigleu vrenhin Loegyr hynny, rhyfeddu a orug ag

^a flwyddynedd LL. ^b anrheithyeu V and LL. ^c ddylit V. ^d oc V. ^e i gywoeth ae oreskyn V and LL.

11. *Gruffydd re-establishes himself on the Mainland—
Henry I. twice advances against Gruffydd without
Success.*

Then after years passed by, he went to the court of Henry¹ King of England, who succeeded his brother, and from him obtained a boon, and affection, and acknowledgment through the intercession and skill of Herveius Bishop of Bangor.² And he [the King] gave him in peace and love the Cantred of Lleyn, and Eifyonydd, and Ardudwy, and Arllechwedd, them and their people and their possessions; and immediately, when Gruffydd returned from the court, he took their habitations to these countries, praising God who casts down the rich and proud from their seats and raises the humble in their room, who makes the needy rich, who abases man and elevates him. Then likewise everything prospered before Gruffydd, and on all sides he freed everything before Gwynedd, for his hope was in the Lord: and daily there slipped to him others from Rhos,³ and their possessions with them, without permission of the Earl of Chester, and increased his people. In the following year he advanced to Anglesey,⁴ and the people with him, and settled it; and thence to other commots. In this wise he took back by his might everything in Gwynedd, as did Maccabeus, son of Mattathias of old in Israel, and he brought the whole folk from various places of exile,⁵ who had gone into exile from the pursuit mentioned above; and he increased the possessions in Gwynedd joyfully, as in the case of the land of Israel and their [*i.e.*, the Israelites] return from the Babylonian captivity.

The Earl⁶ was offended because of the seizure of his land and because it was thus conquered without his permission. When the King of England heard that, he was amazed and opened his treasury, and went to

agori y dryssor,^a a rhoddi treul didlawd y farchogyon a phedit, a dwyn ganthaw vrenhin Yskotlont ar Yskotyeit, a gwyr y Deheu. Ag y felly y doeth y gywoeth Gruffudd a phebyllaw y Mur Kastell. A Gruffudd ynteu, o genefindra a brwydyr, a luestws yn y erbyn ynteu ym breichyeu Eryri eiriawg. Ag oddyna ymanfon ar brenhin ag^b or brenhin ag ynteu trwy yspeit dieuoedd, a thangnefeddu. Ag oddyna ydd ymchwelws Henri vrenhin y Loegyr, a Gruffudd yw gywoeth.

Ag eilweith, wedy rhynnawt o amser, y doeth Henri vrenhin drachefn, a lluoedd mawr ganthaw, a phebyllaw a orug yn yr un lle a ddywetpwynt uchot yn y mynydd, y arfaethu diwreiddiaw kywoeth Gruffudd, ae ddistryw, a lladd a difa y giwdawt yg geneu y kleddyf. A phann glywynt hynny, wedy kynullaw llu, y doeth Gruffudd yn y erbyn oe notaedig ddefawt, a gossot y anheddeu ae vileinllu ar gwragedd ar meibeon yn drysswch mynyddedd Yryri, yn y lle ny ddiodefassant un perygyl. Ag wrth hynny ydd ofynhaws y brenhin y ddigwyddaw yn llaw Ruffudd oe pydyaw, pann ddigynnei or mynydd, y kerddws drachefyn gan wneuthur tangnefedd ag ef. O wi, a duw, y gnifer gweith ydd arfaethassant yeirll Kaer gwrthwynebu y Ruffudd ag nys gallassant! Ar gnifer gweith gwyr Powys, ac nys gallassant! Ar gnifer gweith gwyr Trahaearn twyllwr, ag nys gallassant eissyoës y ddwyn ar gwbylder!

A gwedy hynny y gwledychws Gruffudd llawer o vulwyddynedd yn hyrwydd gywaethawg, gan arafwch a heddwch, ag yn arfer o gymydogeath y brenhinedd nessaf iddaw yn gyfun, nyt amgen Henri vrenhin

^a *tryssor LL.* ^b *ac ar Brenhin ar ynteu V and LL.*

unstinting expense in horsemen and footmen, and took with him the King of Scotland and the Scots, and the men of the south. Thus he came to Gruffydd's possessions and encamped in Mur Castell. Gruffydd on his part, according to his experience in warfare, took up a position against him in the arms of snowclad Snowdon. Thence messages passed between the King and him for the space of some days, and they made peace. Then King Henry returned to England, and Gruffydd to his kingdom.⁷

Again, a second time, after a while, King Henry came back, and a great host with him, and encamped in the same place which was mentioned above in the mountains, designing to root up Gruffydd's dominion⁸ and to destroy it, and to slay and put an end to the people with the edge of the sword. When that was heard, a host having been assembled, Gruffydd came against him according to his usual custom, and placed his possessions and his multitude of villeins with the women and children in the recesses of the mountains of Snowdon, where they did not suffer a single peril. Therefore the King feared to fall into the hands of Gruffydd because of his snare, when he descended from the mountain,⁹ and returned, making peace with him.¹⁰

Alas, O God, how many times did the Earl of Chester design to oppose Gruffydd and could not! And how many times did the men of Trahaiarn the guileful, and yet they could not bring it to completion!

12. *Closing Years of Gruffydd's Reign.*

After this Gruffydd reigned many years happily and mightily, with mildness and peace, enjoying harmoniously friendship with the kings nearest to him, to wit, Henry King of England and Murchad King of Ireland,¹

Lloegyr, Mwrchath vrenhin Ywerddon a brenhin ynysedd Denmark; a honneit amlwg vu ag yn y teyrnassoedd pell y wrthaw ag yn y rhei agos iddaw. Ag oddyna ydd amylhaws pob kyfryw dda yg Gwynedd, ag y dechreuassant y kiwdawtwyr adeilat eglwysseu ym pob kyfeir ynddi, a hen koedydd ag eu plannu a gwneithur perllanneu a garddeu, ag eu damglychynu o gaeu a ffossydd, a gwneithur adeiladeu murddin, ag ymborth o ffrwytheu y ddaear o ddefawt gwyr Rufein. A Gruffudd ynteu a wnaeth eglwysseu mawr yn y llysoedd pennaf iddaw ehun, ag adeiladoedd y llysoedd a gwleddeu yn wastad yn anrhydeddus: pa beth hefyd ehtywynygu a wnei Wynedd yna o eglwysseu kalcheit fal y ffurfafen or syr. Llywyaw y bobyl a wnaei y^a gwialen haearnawl, gan wneithur kiundep a thangnefedd ar teyrnassoedd nessaf iddaw. Ae feibeon, etwa yn weisseon yefeink, a ossodes ar y kantrefoedd eithaf iddaw, y ragfeddu ag y eu kynnal mal mur agkyffroedig yn erbyn estrawn genetloedd a rhei agkyfyeith o darffei uddunt meddylyaw kyfodi o newydd yn y erbyn ar brenhinedd bychein ereill a gyrchynt y lys ef ae amddiffyn y kyrchu y ganorthwy ae gynghor y gnifer gweith y gofudyei estrawn genetloedd wynt. Ag yn y diwedd eissyoes Gruffudd a hynhaws a cholli trem y lygeit a orug a rhoddi a orug ynteu y ynni y weithredoedd y trugaredd. Wedi meddylyaw o honaw enw tragwyddawl o filwryaeth ef a arfaethws hefyt fynet ehun y le^b dirgel ysgafalaf y ddwyn buchedd ddwywawl a tremygu^c y holl arglwyddiaeth vydawl yn llwyr. Ag eissyoes, fal ydd oedd y derfyn^d y fynet or byt hwn yn nessau, galw y feibeon a orug a llunyethu y farwolaeth, fal y gwnaeth y brenhin Ezechias wyith^e arall; ag wrth hynny rhannu a orug y holl dda; ae gyfyawnder ynteu a bara yn oes oessoedd. Ef a anfones ugein swllt y eglwys Crist yn Dulyn yn y

^a yg V and LL. ^b O le LL. ^c thremygu LL. ^d terfyn LL. ^e Weith V and LL.

and King of the Isles of Denmark; and he was famous and illustrious both in the realms far from him and in those near to him. Then he increased all manner of good in Gwynedd, and the inhabitants began to build churches in every direction therein, and to plant the old woods and to make orchards and gardens,² and surround them with walls and ditches, and to construct walled buildings, and to support themselves from the fruit of the earth after the fashion of the Romans. Gruffydd, on his part, made great churches for himself in his chief places,³ and constructed courts and [gave] banquets constantly and honourably.⁴ Wherefore, he also made Gwynedd glitter then with limewashed churches like the firmament with stars. He ruled the people with a rod of iron, making compact and peace with the kingdoms next to him. Further, he set his sons, still youths, over his most distant cantreds,⁵ to occupy and to maintain them as a fearless wall against strange races and foreigners, if they ever meditated rising afresh against him. Other minor kings sought his court and his protection, to seek his support and counsel as often as strange peoples harassed them.⁶ Eventually, however, Gruffydd became old and lost the sight of his eyes, and devoted his energy to works of mercy. As he was intent upon an immortal reputation from warfare, he purposed also to go to a secret place to lead a godly life and discountenance completely his whole worldly sovereignty. Likewise, as the end of this world was coming nigh, he called his sons and depicted his mortality, as did King Ezechias on another occasion; and thereupon divided all his possessions; and his justice will remain for ever and ever. He sent twenty shillings to the Church of Christ in Dublin where he was born and reared,⁷ and a similar amount to all the chief churches of Ireland, and the same to St. David's and the same to the monastery at Chester,⁸ and the same to the monastery at Shrewsbury,⁹ and more than this to the Church of Bangor, and ten

lle y ganet^a ac y magwyt, a chymeint a hynny y holl eglwysseu pennaf^b o Ywerddon, ar gymeint y eglwys Fynyw, ar gymint y fanachlog Caer, ar gymeint y fanachlog Amwythig, a mwy no hynny y eglwys Fangor, a deg swllt y Gaergybi, ar gymeint y Benmon, ar gymeint y Gelynnawg, ar gymeint y Enlli, ar gymeint y Feifod, ar gymeint y lan Armawn, ar gymeint y Ddineirth, ag y lawer o eglwysseu pennadusaf ereill. A roddes ynteu y escob ag archdiagon effeiriet ag urddolion ag athraawn ag y achanogyon kristyawyn y daoedd hynny. A gymynaf fi y amddiffyn yr Yspryt glan yr hwn a wyr pob peth ag ae hatwen.

Urth y ddiwedd ynteu y doethant y gwyr mwyaf a doethaf or holl gywoeth, Dafydd eskob Bangor, Symeon archdiagon, gwr addfet o oet a doethinap, prior manachlog Kaer, a llawer o effeiriet ag ysgolheigyon yn iraw y gorff ef ag oleu kyssygreddig herwydd gorchymyn Yago ebostol. Ei feibeon hefyt oedd yny y plith hynny, ag ynteu yn eu bendigaw wy, ag yn dywedut pa rhyw wyr vyddunt rhagllaw, megis Yago padriarch yn bendigaw y feibeon gynt yn yr Eifft. A gorchymyn a orug uddunt bot yn wrawl a gwrthwynebu yn wychyr y eu gelynyon, ar y gyffelyprwydd ynteu yn y ddiwedd ddyddyeu. Eno hefyt ydd oed Angharat vrenhines y wreig briawt ynteu; ag iddi y rhoddes ynteu hanner y dda, a dwy randir, a phorthloedd Abermenei. Eno ydd oeddynt y ferchet a rhei oe neieint, ag y bawb or rhei hynny hefyt y rhoddes rhann or eiddaw yn ymborth uddunt wedy y ddydd ef. Kymry a Gwyddyf a gwyr Denmark yntuy^c a ddrygarfaethassant o ddigwyddedi-gaeth Gruffudd vrenhin fegis^d kwunfan yr Iddeon am Ioswe fab Nwn. Dwy vlynedd a phetwar ugeint oedd Ruffudd ag yna y bu farw; ag y Mangor^e y kladdwyt y mewnf^f yskrin yn y parth assw yr allawr fawr yn yr eglwys. A gweddiwn ninheu hyt pan orffowysso y eneit ynteu yn yr un peth, nyt amgen yn duw, y gyt ag eneidieu brenhined da ereill, yn oes oessoedd. Amen.

^a ganwyt LL. ^b eglwysseu pennaf ereill LL. ^c wynteu LL. ^d megis LL. ^e yn Bangor LL. ^f O vewn LL.

shillings to Holyhead, and the same to Penmon,¹⁰ and the same to Clynnog,¹¹ and the same to Enlli,¹² and the same to Meifod,¹³ and the same to Llanarmon,¹⁴ and the same to Dineirth,¹⁵ and many of the other chief churches. And he gave this wealth to the bishop and archdeacon and priests and dignitaries and doctors and Christian poor. I will commend his protection to the Holy Ghost who knows and perceives everything.¹⁶

At his latter end there came to him the most important and the wisest of all the kingdom, David, Bishop of Bangor,¹⁷ Symeon, the Archdeacon,¹⁸ a man who was ripe in years and wisdom, [the] prior of the monastery of Chester,¹⁹ and many priests and clerics to anoint his body with consecrated oil in accordance with the command of the Apostle James. His sons also were among them, and he blessed them, and told them what manner of men they should be in the future, like Jacob the Patriarch blessing his sons of old in Egypt. He enjoined upon them to be courageous and to oppose their enemies stoutly, after his fashion in his latter days. Likewise Queen Angharad, his wedded wife, was there; and to her he gave half his goods, and two parts²⁰ of land, and the harbour of Abermenai. His daughters and certain of his nephews were there, and to all of these also he gave portions of his property to support them after his days. Welshmen and Irishmen and Danes lamented the decease of King Gruffydd like the mourning of the Jews for Joshua the son of Nun. Eighty-two years was Gruffydd and then he died; and he was buried at Bangor in a vault at the left side of the great altar in the church. We pray that his soul may rest in the same manner, that is in God, together with the souls of other good kings, for ever and ever. Amen.

NOTES.

1.

1. Reigned 1042—1066.

2. Toirdelbhach Húa Brian, King of Munster and of the greater part of Ireland (*Ann. Tig. in Rev. Celt.*, xvii, pp. 407, 418), King of Ireland with opposition (*F. Mast.*, p. 927). The *Annals of the Four Masters* (*F. Mast.*, p. 927) says that he died in 1086 in the 32nd year of his reign and aged 77 years. He must therefore have reigned from 1054, and since Gruffydd ap Cynan died in 1137 (*Ann. Camb.*, p. 41) at the age of 82 years (*supra*, p. 157) he must have been born in 1055, the second year of the reign of Toirdelbhach.

3. Sord-Choluim-Chille now Swords in County Dublin. It was the site of a famous monastery dedicated to St. Columba. In Gruffydd's time the surrounding territory of Fingal was in Scandinavian hands (*F. Mast.*, p. 830, note h). *F. Mast.*, p. 805, mentions a bishop of Sord.

4. Cynan is nowhere recorded as having actually ruled. Cf. also Intro., p. 32 and foll.

5. She was daughter of Amlaid or Olaf Arnaid [The Blind] (*Bk. of Leinster*, 141a, 994) and mother of Muirchertach.

6. Ireland was divided into the five kingdoms of Ulster, Leinster, Connaught, Munster, and Meath; so that *cóiced* (a fifth) became the Irish equivalent for *province* or *kingdom* (*Windisch Irische Texte*, p. 436, under *cóiced*). Olaf Arnaid would be King of Leinster, but although the chroniclers still occasionally added its name to their titles, the Scandinavian kings of Dublin had a very limited power in Leinster after the battle of Clontarf in 1014. The *F. Mast.*, p. 819, styles Olaf "lord of the Foreigners."

7. The chronology of Olaf identifies him as the son of that Sitriuc who lived in Dublin previous to the battle of Clontarf in 1012. If that be so Olaf cannot have held the dominion here attributed to him since he was slain in 1012 when he was yet "son of the king of the Foreigners," and died before his father (*Chron. Scot.*, 249; *G. and G. Intro.*, p. clxxiv, note 2, and Appendix, p. 278). That is not surprising, since Cynan, who never ruled, is styled King. As to his achievements in Wales there is no record in Irish and Welsh sources, although the connexion between Ireland and Wales at this time is shown by the presence of Welsh auxiliaries at Clontarf (*G. and G.*, p. 153).

8. Bede says that Man was taken from the Welsh by Edwin of Northumbria (*Eccles. Hist.*, i, pp. 89, 97 and note). That the population of the island was of Celtic origin is shown by its language and inscriptions. Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, p. 210, surmises that it was conquered by "a Welsh dynasty from the once greater Cumbria beyond Morecambe Bay." Perhaps the author of the *Hanes* had in mind the fact that the daughter of Cynan Tindaethwy married the King of Man (*ibid.*, p. 207) and that their son Merfyn Frych (*Ob.*, 844) became King of Gwynedd and father of Rhodri Mawr. In the 9th century the island was subjugated by the Scandinavians (*Chron. Man.*, p. 59) and remained subjected more or less to the Scandinavian kings of Dublin until Godred Crouan founded a royal dynasty in Man (*ibid.*, p. 54).

9. In Leland's *Collectanea* (ed. Thos. Hearne, Oxford, 1715), p. 85, it appears in the list of Havens, Islands, Rivers, etc., as Porth Bouery Don. In Miss L. T. Smith's edition (p. 129 and note) it is written *Porth Bon (fnis) y don (thon a waue)* showing that Leland made no mistake between *don* (=wave) and *dom* (=mound). It is identified as Moel y Don Ferry (*Ibid.*).

10. Sitriuc Silkiskegg or Silkenbeard (d. 1042), son of Olaf Cuaran, by Gormflaith (*G. and G.*, p. 278, p. 288, note 16).

11. Sitriuc Caoch, the Blind or One-eyed (d. 927) (*G. and G.*, p. 278, 279, note 2).

12. Harald Haarfager had by Swanhilde five children: Olaf, Geirstadalf, Biorn, Ragnar, Ryskill. The first may be the Olaf mentioned in the *Hanes*.

13. Harald's father was Halfdan the Black (*Heimskringla*, iii, p. 384).

14. No mention of Harald Haarfager's brothers is made anywhere else. Alyn cannot be traced in Scandinavian annals. Prince Thur or Thurkyl is possibly Turgesius who conquered Ireland and occupied the northern half from 831—845 (*G. and G.*, p. 9, Intro., xlii—lvii; *Gir. Camb.*, v, pp. 182—186).

15. Cf. Intro., p. 41.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Cf. *G. and G.*, p. 9, and *Gir. Camb.*, v, p. 187, where three fleets arriving about the same time as Turgesius landed at Lough Neagh, Louth, and Lough Ree. "A royal fleet" or "a kingly fleet" are the usual ways of designating the Scandinavian fleets of the time.

18. The Saga of Harold Haarfager mentions two expeditions to the west. In the first (cf. *Heimskringla*, vol. i, p. 290) he visited Shetland, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides and "plundered far and wide" in Scotland. He penetrated as far south as the Isle of Man and found it evacuated from terror of his name. "In this time many vikings, both

Danes and Normans, set themselves down in those countries." In the second expedition (*Heimskingla*, i, p. 299) he is only mentioned as having visited the Orkneys.

19. A fortress was taken by Norsemen in 837—8 and a fortress erected there in 841 (*Chron. Scot.*, 837 A.D.; *F. Mast.*, 838 A.D.). This is too early for Harald Haarfager (861—893 A.D.).

20. Various attempts have been made to account for the name Porth-laige. The legendary account occurs in the *Book of Leinster*, Intro., p. 51 and 197a, 29, the *Book of Ballymote*, p. 200, and the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, p. 255. It tells how Roth mac Cithaing heard sweet voices of sirens of the sea and caught sight of their fair forms and hair of yellow gold. Roth fell in love and was seduced to his death and the beasts of the sea ate him. His shank bones were washed ashore at this place. Thus Port Laige is the Harbour of the Hero's Joint. Cf. Stoke's Translation and Cormac's Glossary. O'Donovan connects the name with that of a Scandinavian pirate Laraic occurring under the year 951 in *F. Mast.*, vol. i, p. 669. Cf. also vol. iii, p. 18, note 3.

21. i.e., the islands off the north and western coasts of Scotland.

22. In the Saga of Harald Haarfager Rolf is son of Rognvald, earl of Møre, and Hilda daughter of Rolf Naefia. He was outlawed by Harald and "went afterwards over sea to the Hebrides or Sudreyar; and at last farther west to Valland (the west corner of France and Brittany) where he plundered and subdued for himself a great earldom, which he peopled with Northmen, from which that land is called Normandy" (*Heimskringla*, i, p. 293 and note).

23. It is universally admitted that after the 12th century Lochlann means Norway (cf. Bugge's *Norsemen in Ireland*, Pt. I).

24. This is not confirmed by early Norman chroniclers. Bugge points out that the Norwegians are sometimes called the "Twelve Judge Tribes" and refers to Odin's twelve judges in the *Heimskringla* and to other instances of the number "twelve" occurring in Norse institutions such as private tribunals and the election of a king (Bugge's *Norsemen in Ireland*, ii, pp. 6, 9, 10). It is noteworthy also that, according to William of Apulia, after the conquest of Apulia the Normans divided the country between twelve counts possessing twelve fortified towns (Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. vi, p. 178, note 32).

25. William Longsword or Longépée, son of Rollo, by Poppa, daughter of Berengar, count of Bayeux (*Ord. Vit.*, ii, p. 7). The *Hanes* confuses this second Duke of Normandy with William Rufus, second Norman King of England.

26. Cf. *supra*, p. 159, note 5.

27. Cf. Intro., p. 43.

28. Dunlang (d. 1014, *F. Mast.*, i, p. 771), son of Tuathal, son of

Ugaire, son of Aillill, son of Dunlang (*Bk. of Leinster*, p. 39b). The name of his daughter is not given. His successor was Donnucan the Simpleton (*Chron. Scot.*, p. 257; *F. Mast.*, i, p. 785). They were kings of West Liffey or West Leinster (*G. and G.*, Intro., cxli; cf. also *F. Mast.*, i, p. 794, note t).

29. Cf. *G. and G.*, p. 193. The name of Brian's daughter is not found in any Irish authority. It has been read in transcripts and other editions of the *Hanes* as Alam, but cf. Facsimile I.

30. Brian Boru or Borumha, famed for his conquests over the Norse of Ireland. He was of the tribe of Dal Cais of Thomond or North Munster. After a desperate struggle against the Norsemen he succeeded his brother Mathgamhain as King of Munster. He conquered Leinster and finally wrested the sovereignty of all Ireland from Maelsechlainn II, and after defeating Sitriuc Silkenbeard, King of the Foreigners, gave him his daughter in marriage. A revolt of Maelmorda of Leinster precipitated a fresh struggle with the Norsemen and at the battle of Clontarf in 1014 Brian, although victorious, was slain.

31. Munster comprised the two kingdoms of Thomond and Desmond. The succession to the supremacy of Munster lay alternately with the tribe of Dal Cais (Thomond) and that of Eoghanacht (Desmond). By defeating Molloy of Desmond, Brian became king of the *two parts* of Munster (*G. and G.*, Intro., cxxvi, cxxxix, and p. 107).

32. Cf. *Chron. Scot.*, p. 269, sub. a. 1028, and *F. Mast.*, p. 821, sub a. 1030. "Gormflaith, daughter of Murchad, son of Finn, mother of the King of the Foreigners, i.e., Sitriuc and of the King of Mumhain, i.e., Donnchadh, son of Brian, died" (cf. also *G. and G.*, p. 143). She married three times: (1) Olaf Cuaran; (2) Maelsechlainn II; and (3) Brian Borumha (cf. *G. and G.*, cxlviii). The *F. Mast.*, p. 821, says of her: "*It was this Gormflaith that took three leaps, of which was said,*

*Gormflaith took three leaps,
Which a woman shall never take again,
A leap at Ath Cliath, a leap at Teamhair,
A leap at Caiseal of the Goblets over all."*

33. The second important king of that name, and king of all Ireland until deposed by Brian Borumha in 1002 (*Chron. Scot.*, p. 260, note 5), upon whose death in 1014 he succeeded. He was one of the husbands, not the son, as the *Hanes* wrongly puts it, of Gormflaith (*G. and G.*, p. cxlviii, note 3). Maelsechlainn was son of Donnflaith, daughter of Muirchertach Leathercloaks, by Domnhall (*G. and G.*, p. 288).

34. There is a double error here. (1) Maelmorda was Gormflaith's brother (*G. and G.*, p. 143). (2) Gormflaith was daughter, not the wife, of Murchad of Leinster (*Ann. Tig. Rev. Celt.*, xvii, p. 371, and *G. and*

G., p. 143). Maelmorda was killed at Clontarf fighting on the Norse side (*G. and G.*, p. 209).

35. No sons of Mathgamhain figure in the lists of Ulster kings in the *Book of Leinster*. The *Chron. Scot.*, p. 317, mentions that "Ua Mathgamhna blinded Donnchadh, King of Ulster, and took the sovereignty of Ulster" (cf. also *F. Mast.*, pp. 987, 995). Aedh ua Mathgamhna is called royal heir of Ulster by *F. Mast.*, i, pp. 1021 and 1027. He was killed in 1124—7, so that he was Gruffydd's contemporary. Cf. also *Chron. Scot.*, p. 327. Mathgamhain was son of Dubhgail, son of Olaf (*ibid.*, p. 249; *F. Mast.*, p. 769) and died in 1012. See also Intro., p. 44.

36. Eochaidh (aedh?) ua Mathgamhna, King of the Ulstermen, had a son Ragnall who was killed in 1131 (*F. Mast.*, p. 1039).

37. See note 35.

38. This prophecy does not appear in the Prophecies of Merddin, given by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia Britonum*. The translation given here was suggested by Professor Anwyl.

2.

1. This must have been Murchad, the son of Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-mbo. He conquered the Isle of Man. He died however in 1070, "lord of the Foreigners and of Leinster under his father," so that he could not have helped Gruffydd's expedition of 1075, although, as his attack upon *Man* shows, he was not averse to foreign conquests and expeditions (*F. Mast.*, pp. 879, 897).

2. This has been identified with a spot near Caernarvon where the bend of the coast forms an arm of the sea called the river Menai (Morris's *Celtic Remains*, p. 306). Gruffydd's son Cadwaladr also landed there with Irish mercenaries (*Brut y Tywys.*, sub an. 1143) It formed part of Gruffydd's legacy to his wife and must have been of great value.

3. He succeeded Bleddyn ap Cynfyn in 1075. Caradoc, father of Trahaiarn, and Cynfyn, father of Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, were brothers (*Archiv. für Celt. Lexicog.*, Bd. iii, p. 99). His wife was Nest, daughter of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, and their daughter Nest married Bernard Neufmarché, conqueror of Brecon. His sons Griffith, Meurig, and Llywarch, are noted by *Ann. Camb.*, p. 33 and *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 135. He was lord of Arwystli and seems to have possessed Meirionydd; cf. *infra*, p. 165, note 18.

4. Second cousin of Trahaiarn. His death is recorded in *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 49, where the translator calls him Cynvrig. According to the

Arch. Camb., fourth series, v, pp. 136 and foll., he was not the son of Rhiwallon ap Cynfyn, brother to Bleddyn, but son of a Rhiwallon Lord of Maelor Gymraeg with lands in Maelor Saesneg and Whittington. He died in a battle against the Danes and Saxons who invaded Maelor in 1073, and was buried at Wrexham Church where his coffin lid was seen affixed to the churchyard wall with the inscription *Hic jacet Cynwrig ap Rhiwallon*. But the writer acknowledges on the same page that he was a relative of Trahaiarn and that he died fighting against Gruffydd ap Cynan. Unless there were two of the same name, the pedigree given in the *Arch. Camb.* must be false, for his relationship with Trahaiarn marks him as the son of Rhiwallon, and the *Brut y Tywys.* confirms the fact that he was killed by the men of Gwynedd. Cf. also *Arch. Camb.*, Fifth series, viii, p. 255 and note.

5. When Iago fell in 1031 the succession of the line of Rhodri Mawr was interrupted by (1) Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, (2) Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, (3) Trahaiarn ap Caradoc and Cenwric ap Rhiwallon, and was not restored until Gruffydd ap Cynan became King of Gwynedd. Perhaps as sons of Angharad, daughter of Maredudd, King of Ceredigion (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 85), Bleddyn and Rhiwallon (*Brut y Tywys.*, pp. 85, 141) and Gruffydd ap Llewelyn could advance a claim to royalty but not such as to compare with the claims of Gruffydd ap Cynan to direct descent through male heirs of Rhodri Mawr.

6. Cf. *infra*, p. 173, note 15.

7. Seebohm suggests that the phrase *tref y tad* may signify the distinction of getting a holding from the father's property, in contrast to the *cyvarwys* which came from the kindred. It is his "prospective right of possible succession to his father's or his grandfather's position of privilege as a landed person and the chief of his *Wele*." The son does not ascend to it until his father's death, and no one is a *marchog* or knight until he shall ascend to it (*Tribal System*, p. 92).

8. Trahaiarn and Cenwric represented the triumph of Powys over Gwynedd, for they were Powysian princes. Hence the special mention in the *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 49, of the Gwyndyt or men of Gwynedd as distinguishing them from the men of Powys whom we may suppose to have supported Cenwric.

9. Orderic, iii, p. 283, makes Robert "consobrinus" or cousin to Hugh of Chester. Perhaps the *Hanes* is confusing Hugh of Chester with Hugh de Grentesmaisnil to whom Robert certainly was nephew (*Ord. Vit.*, iii, pp. 28, 270).

10. Cf. Intro., p. 32.

11. At the church of St. Beuno. See *Infra*, p. 181, note 11.

12. Cf. Intro., p. 60.

13. To fight with Cenwric. This combat is recorded in *Brut y Tywys.*

(p. 49) but not in the *Ann. Camb.* In the *Brut y Tywys.* the passage reads "*Ac yna yd ymladawd Grufud vab Kynan wyr Iago a Mon, ac y lladawd y Gwyndyt Kynwric vab Ruallawn,*" i.e., Then fought Gruffydd ap Cynan, grandson of Iago, and Mon, and the men of Gwynedd slew Cenwric, son of Rhiwallon. In W. Wynne's edition of Powell's History of Wales (p. 105 of the edition of 1697) the battle and the death of Cenwric are interpreted as two unrelated events, thus, "He (Griffith) landed in the Isle of Anglesey, which he easily reduced and brought to subjection. At the same time Cynwric ap Rywalhon, a Nobleman of Maelor or Bromfield, was slain in North Wales, but how, or upon what account is not known." But if the writer of the *Brut y Tywysogion* had considered these as separate events he would have prefixed each by the phrase "ac yna," instead of setting them in one sentence. Moreover a fight between Gruffydd and Cenwric is mentioned in the poem of Meilyr Brydyt, in *Myf. Arch.*, p. 141b, line 3.

14. Youth=guryanc. Cf. Loth's *Mabinogion*, vol. i, p. 329, where the word is interpreted as "a man of free birth."

15. The reference is probably to Tygeingl and the march land which had already been seized upon by the earls of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford (see Intro., p. 60). It was by victories in the marches around Hereford and the lower reaches of the Severn that the men of Gwynedd had attained glory under their late champion Gruffydd ap Llewelyn. *Gir. Camb.*, vi, pp. 215 and 216, notes that the Welsh still boasted of recovering the whole of Britain.

16. Probably for "its other conqueror," for Trahaiarn had not yet defeated Gruffydd ap Cynan.

17. The battle is not mentioned either in the *Ann. Camb.* nor in *Brut y Tywys.* The poem of Meilyr Brydyt expressly mentions it (*Myf. Arch.*, 141b, line 7). The site of the battle cannot be identified, but a note in *History of the Gwydir Family* (p. 12, note 2) derives the name *Gwydir* from *Gwaed tir* the name of this battle between Gruffydd and Trahaiarn. The part taken by Robert in this defeat of Trahaiarn may be that commemorated in his epitaph (cf. *Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 288). At any rate Robert claimed Arwystli, the land of Trahaiarn, which had been seized by Roger of Montgomery (*Domesday*, 269a).

18. i.e., Arwystli and Meirionydd. Cf. *supra*, p. 127, "Trahaiarn with the men of Arwystli." Gruffydd paid Trahaiarn in kind by ravaging Arwystli. Also Trahaiarn removed the men of Lleyl to Meirionydd; before Bron yr Erw he advanced from Merionydd, and his son Llywarch seems to have held land there. Cf. *Brut y Tywys.*, pp. 101, 111, 113, 153.

3.

1. Cf. *Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 280, where Gruffydd is credited with "*magnam stragem hominum et incendia: ingentem quoque praedam [anreith vaur] cepit, hominesque in captivitate duxit.*" The *Hanes* has misplaced the incident which clearly took place in 1088 when Robert was absent at the siege of Rochester fighting in the interests of Odo and the rebels against Rufus (see Intro., p. 63 and foll.).

2. Robert of Rhuddlan and Robert of Malpas are the only lieutenants of Hugh of Avranches mentioned (*Ord. Vit.*, ii, p. 219).

4.

1. *i.e.*, Asser, Meirion, and Gwgan (see p. 113).

2. *Supra*, p. 46 and foll.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 163, notes 3 and 4.

4. The death of Gurgun ap Seisyll is recorded in the *Annales* under the year 1079, the year of the battle of Mynydd Carn. This is the only mention made of him in the Welsh records. As son of Seisyll he was uncle to Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Seisyll and of a family hostile to that of the hero of this text. It was therefore natural that he should range himself against Gruffydd. See also *Hanes*, p. 123. In the *Booke of Sir John Wynne* his pedigree is extended thus: Gurgeneu ap Seisyll ap Ithael ap Gwerystan.

5. *Cyvarwys* is interpreted by Davies in his Latin Dictionary as *gift* or *reward* and *cyvarwysog* as an adjective with the significance *cui terra a principe donata est*. Seebohm in his *Tribal Wales*, p. 66, quoting the triads, describes it as the collective tribal rights acquired by a tribesman at the age of 14, to the princely head of the house, and to the pencerdd. The *cyvarwys* of an innate Cymro is five free erews, cotillage of waste, and hunting. It is also given to those about the court, the *priodorion*, and the clergy. This seems to be an instance of a *cyvarwys* given for service, irrespective of tribal considerations.

6. The presence of Gruffydd's foster-father is an instance of the unusual affection entertained by Irishmen for their foster children as noticed by Giraldus. "*Vae autem fratribus in populo barbaro. Vae et cognatis. Vivos enim ad mortem persequuntur: mortuos et ab aliis interemptos ulciscuntur. Solum vero alumnis et collectaneis, si quid habent vel amoris vel fidei illud habent*" (*Gir. Camb.*, v, p. 167).

7. This Mac Ruaidhri (modern Rory) cannot be identified in the Irish Chronicles. A Ruaidhri, King of Tyrconnel, was killed 1068—1070 (*Chron. Scot.*, p. 291; *Ann. Tig. Rev. Celt.*, xvii, p. 413). A greater

person, Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair, King of Connacht, who was blinded in 1088 according to the *Chron. Scot.*, had five sons mentioned, *i.e.*, Cathal (p. 301), Domnhall (pp. 309, 321), Tadh (pp. 303, 305), Toird-bhealbhach (p. 313), and Conchobar (p. 309). All of these were living after 1075 (except perhaps Cathal) so that it is impossible to find any corroboration in the Irish Chronicles of the death of this Irish prince on foreign soil. The Mac Rhuadri of the *Hanes* was however probably one of his sons.

8. Cruc Brenan appears in the *Four Masters*, p. 884, as Cnoc Brenainn. *Cruach* is the Irish equivalent of Welsh *mynydd* or English *mountain*, and Cruc Brenan is now Brandon Hill, "a high mountain in the north of the barony of Corcaquiny and County Kerry (*F. Mast.*, p. 884-5, note o). It would thus be in the Scandinavian settlement of Limerick and might conceivably be part of the kingdom of the great Ruadhri Húa Conchobhair, King of West Connaught, although it was situated on the confines of West Munster. Joyce (*Irish Place Names*, p. 141 and foll.) calls Brandon Hill the highest in Ireland and affirms that on the summit are the ruins of the saint's oratory approached by an ancient stone-paved causeway. There is no mention of a lord of Cruach Erendain in the Irish annals.

9. Fighting on horseback distinguished the *uchelwyr* (a landed person or privileged tribesman) from the subordinate tribesmen of his estate (Seebohm's *Tribal System*, p. 93). *Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 181, notes that the *nobiliores* among the Welsh fought on horseback.

10. The name occurs as Gwyngui in the *Extent of Denbigh*, fo. 221, Maitland Library, All Souls College, Oxford.

11. The Skerries near Holyhead. Leland (*Itin.*, p. 132) refers to it as *Ynys y Moel Roniaid* and describes it as *maxima insula Mona adjacens*.

12. *Ann. Camb.* do not mention the battle. In the *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 49, while the battle is recorded no result is given. It is probably the battle mentioned by Meilyr Brydyt (*Myf. Arch.*, 141, line 4) as "*y gad gynghywair ym Meirionuyt.*" Mr. Ebenezer Thomas in *Arch. Camb.*, First series, iv, p. 121, says the name Bron yr Erw is still retained as the name of the upland formed by the declivity of the Bwlch Mawr mountain (*i.e.*, near Clynnog Fawr) and that near it is a place named Carreg Cynan. He is supported in *Arch. Camb.*, First series, iv, p. 127, by Mr. D. M. Pnghe who professes to elucidate the line of Gruffydd's march from Abermenai from local topography, but he confuses Bron yr Erw with Gwaet Erw. It is stated in *Arch. Camb.*, Third series, xi, p. 86, that Deudraeth Castle near Harlech was also formerly known as Bronyrerw, but the geographical considerations seem to favour the previous view of Mr. Thomas.

13. Nennius enumerates twelve battles and claims all as victories.

Caer Lwythcoed (Cat Coit Celidon) is the seventh, the first being at the mouth of the Glein (*Nennii Historia Britonum*, 1838, pp. 48, 49). Geoffrey of Monmouth, without stating the precise number of Arthur's battles, makes him victorious in a first encounter against a composite army of Scots, Saxons, and Picts by the river Duglas. The battle of Kaerliudcoet is counted by him as the second battle. In talking of treachery, the author of the *Hanes* may be thinking of the means adopted by Baddulph to enter Caer Ewrawc (York) where his brother was besieged by Arthur after the first battle. *Caer Llwyt Coed* is given by Geoffrey as *Lincoln*.

5.

1. The High King of Ireland at this time was Toirdelbhach Ua Brian. The King of Dublin and the Foreigners would probably be Enda, son of Diarmaid Mac Mael-na-mbo, who was ruling in 1087 (*F. Mast.*, pp. 930-931).

2. According to the list of the Cantreds of Wales given in the *Myfyrian Archaeology*, p. 735, Meirionydd consisted of three cantreds. The practice of transporting the populations of one district into another was of frequent occurrence in Wales. Thus Cadwgan removed all the people from Dyfed and left it a desert (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 57 sub anno 1092); the people of Ceredigion went to Arwystli, Melenydd, and Dyfed (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 89); and Owain and Cadwaladr took the men of Meirionydd into Lleyn and even proposed to treat all Powys in similar fashion (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 151 sub anno 1121). If the description given by Giraldus Cambrensis, vi, p. 200, is correct, the inconvenience and labour would not have been great, for he says the Welsh peasantry had neither towns, villages, nor castles, but lived in small huts in the woods constructed with little labour and expense and sufficient to endure for a year. The return of these transported populations is noted in the *Hanes* (*supra*, p. 151) and in the *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 93.

3. Cf. Intro., p. 56.

4. Cf. Intro., p. 57.

5. This Gwarin of Amwythig must be the Gùerin whom Orderic notes as Sheriff of Shrewsbury under Roger of Montgomery (*Ord. Vit.*, ii, 220, 414; iii, 21, 29). "Small in body but great in courage" he was given the *praesidatum* of Shrewsbury and "by him the Welsh and other opponents were mightily oppressed, and he pacified the whole portion entrusted to him." As Warinus vicecomes he is recorded in *Domesday* (254b) as deceased, his successor Rainaldus of Bailiol marrying Warenne's wife Ameria who was grand-daughter to Roger of Montgomery. The

large portions of their land returned as "waste" show how little the border estates could be developed in the face of the Welsh forays.

6. After the revolt of FitzOsbern the earldom of Hereford was allowed to lapse, and there was no Earl Walter until the time of Walter Devereux in the 16th century. The Earl Walter of the *Hanes* was Walter de Lacy, who occupied in Hereford such a position as Warenne of Shrewsbury held under Roger of Montgomery and Robert of Rhuddlan and Robert of Malpas under Hugh of Chester (*Ord. Vit.*, ii, 218).

7. For Gurgeneu ap Seisyll see above, p. 166, note 4. He may have served in this Norman expedition as a tenant of Chester or Shrewsbury, performing service as a feudal obligation. Cf. *Domesday*, 252a. *Cum in Walis pergere vellet vicecomes qui ab eo eductus non pergebat xl solidos de forisfactura dabat* (*Domesday*, 252a).

8. The *Annales* gives the battle of Bron yr Erw under the date 1073, (*recte* 1075), and Mynydd Carn 1079 (*recte* 1081), i.e., after an interval of six years. But assuming that Gruffydd was captured immediately after Mynydd Carn he may have been imprisoned *two years* (not twelve as says the *Hanes*). It is certain that Gruffydd escaped early (cf. *infra*, p. 63 and note, p. 172, note 11).

9. In its eulogy of Gruffydd the *Brut y Tywys.* (p. 161) praises him for "collecting together into Gwynedd, his own country, those who had been before scattered into various countries by the Normans."

6

1. The great Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-mbo, "King of Leinster and of the Foreigners of Ath-Cliath [*i.e.*, Scandinavians of Dublin] and of Leath Mogha-Nuadhat" had already died in battle in 1072 (*F. Mast.*, pp. 901—902). His grandson Domnhall died in 1075 (*ibid.*, p. 907), and the Foreigners seem to have continued under Diarmid's brother and his son Enda or Enna (*ibid.*, 930—1). This Enna had a son Diarmaid, who died at Dublin in 1113 and is called "Diarmaid, son of Enna, son of Murchad—for this latter's death see *F. Mast.*, p. 897, where he is son of Diarmaid Mael-na-mbo—king of the Foreigners and of Leinster (*Chron. Scot.*, p. 321). This must be the Diarmaid of the *Hanes*, and the fitting out of ships at Waterford is accounted for by the fact that his father was Lord of the Ui-Ceinnsealaigh, that is south-eastern Leinster comprising both Porthlairge or Waterford and Loch Garmon or Wexford (*F. Mast.*, p. 943).

2. Porthclais is still the name of a small village at the mouth of the river Alan and about a mile south-west of St. David's. It has a quay for shipping "where a small vessel may lie in great safety" (Manby.

History and Antiquities of St. David's. Cf. *Arch. Camb.*, Fifth series, xv, p. 8. Giraldus Cambrensis affirms that from St. David's to Leinster was a day's journey, and that the Irish coast was visible on a clear day from the Welsh coast. (*Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 109).

3. Tradition places the metropolitan see of Wales at Caerleon-on-Usk (*Gir. Camb.*, vi, *It. Kamb.*, p. 56), where St. David was the first archbishop (*ibid.*, 102 and 169). Thence it was removed to St. David's or Menevia, and the succession of archbishops continued until Sampson, fleeing from a pestilence, took the pall to Dol in Brittany (*ibid.*, 101-2), after which the see was reduced to the status of a bishopric." It maintained some of its old prestige until the conquest made by Henry I; it was reckoned the most honourable among the Welsh bishoprics and consecrated their bishops, being in turn consecrated by them "as by his suffragans" (*ibid.* 103). In the 12th century, notably in 1176, the chapter of St. David's made a great effort to persuade Henry II to restore the see to its old metropolitan status (*ibid.*, Intro., pxxvi), and Giraldus Cambrensis struggled hard until 1202 to succeed, despite the animosity of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter. After thrice going to Rome to plead his cause before the Pope Innocent III, Giraldus found that the chapter of St. David's had deserted their patriotic ideal, and his reconciliation with Hubert Walter marked the end of the attempt to make St. David's a metropolitan church.

4. Rhys, son of Tewdwr, was lineally descended from Rhodri Mawr (*Gir. Camb.*, vi, 167), who had been in exile in Brittany (*Gwentian Brut*, p. 65) until the death of Rhys and Howel, son of Edwin (*Ann. Camb.*, p. 27, sub. an. 1076). He was quickly embroiled in wars with his neighbours, and as the *Hanes* relates, was driven out to be restored by the victory of Mynydd Carn. The same year he attacked Iestin ap Gwrgant and destroyed his castles (*Gwentian Brut*, p. 67). In 1087 he was again driven out by Cadwgan (*Ann. Camb.*, p. 28) and again regained his position with the aid of Irish mercenaries. In 1089 he was at war with the sons of Cedivor ap Collwyn, whose lands were around Caermarthen (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, pp. 250-256), whom he conquered only to fall two years later at the hands of the Normans of Brecheiniog (*Ann. Camb.*, p. 29, sub. an. 1091). Part of his lands went to Arnulf of Montgomery (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 121), who imprisoned and maimed his elder son Howel (*ibid.*); Gruffydd, his other son, escaped to Ireland (*ibid.*, p. 119). Rhys ap Tewdwr had married Gwenllian, daughter and heiress of Rhiwallon of Powys, and their daughter was the famous Nest, wife of Gerald of Windsor.

5. *i.e.*, Sulien Ddoeth, who resumed the bishopric in 1080 (*Ann. Camb.*, p. 27). In the list of bishops given by Giraldus he figures as "Sulgein" (*Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 104).

6. Translated by Robinson as *chorus*. Davies translates it *Claustrum ecclesiae*.

7. Son of Gruffydd ap Rhydderch, slain by Gruffydd ap Llewelyn in 1055. In 1065, when Harold, son of Godwine, attempted to construct a hunting lodge at Porteskewin, Caradoc interrupted the building and carried off both workmen and materials (*Flor. Wig.* i, p. 222). He was allied in 1070 with the Normans of FitzOsbern, Earl of Hereford (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 47; *Ord. Vit.*, ii, p. 218 and note). He was among the slain at Mynydd Carn (*Ann. Camb.*, p. 27).

8. His presence at Mynydd Carn, where he was among the slain in attested by *Ann. Camb.*, p. 28. Cf. also *Myf. Arch.*, p. 141 a l. 36, where Meilir and Caradoc are spoken of as

*y dau dywyssawc deifniawc dedwynt
Brenhinet Powys au Gwenhwysst.*

9. The word "pileu" is strange to Welsh vocabularies. It may be suggested that "pila" occurred in the original version which the translator turned into a Welsh plural "pileu." But Prof. Lloyd takes it as referring to the Irish war flail (*Y Cymm.*, p. 155 and note).

10. Yet Giraldus asserts of Gwynedd:—*pors ista Walliae lancies longis praestat: sicut australis, et praecipue circa Wintae fines, arcu solet praevalere.* (*Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 177).

11. As in the *Hanes*, so in the *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 51, the death of Trahaiarn only is given. In *Ann. Camb.*, pp. 27, 28, however, the deaths of Trahaiarn, Caradoc, and Meilir are given.

12. There is no confirmation of this in other chronicles.

13. There is some doubt as to the exact situation of this Mynydd Carn. Usually it is identified with Carno in Montgomeryshire (*Gwentian Brut*, p. 69. Morris's *Celt. Remains*, p. 70, Powel's *Caradoc*, p. 108, *Arch. Camb.*, second series, iv, pp. 6 and foll. But it is to be noted that Gruffydd plundered the lands of Rhys after the battle and then returned to Gwynedd (*Hanes*, p. 131), that is to say that for the sake of an unimportant revenge he was absurd enough to travel the long distance south to Dyved after a hard battle. Such a supposition is untenable. On the other hand, Mr. O. M. Edwards (*Wales*, p. 54) places the site of the battle "somewhere in south Ceredigion." Cf. also *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, p. 167. But the fact seems to be that the battle was fought in the dominions of Rhys, where the enemy was ravaging and at a spot within a day's march of St. David's. The ordnance maps mark near Newport (Pembroke) a *Mynydd Carn Ingle* amidst numerous other carns. This is a possible site of the battle, since it has the "carnedd" spoken of in the text, and is about 20 miles from St. David's. The Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans informs me that the highest point of the range of hills of which Mynydd Carn Ingle forms a part

is called Y Garn Vawr, and that near by there are standing stones popularly reported to represent the site of a battle, the fugitives from which were driven over a spot called Craigynestra into the river Gwaun.

7.

1. It is an anachronism to make Hugh the earl of Shrewsbury in 1080. His father Roger did not die until 1093 (*Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 31). Hugh was "the only one of Mabel's sons who was courteous and amiable." (*Ord. Vit.*, iv, p. 32.)

2. Rhûg, near Corwen, in the Vale of Edeyrnyon (*Arch. Camb.*, second series, i, p. 205, fourth series, ix, p. 284). The earl of Shrewsbury may have seized Arwystli at this time, for he laid claim to it in the *Domesday Survey*, p. 269a.

3. Cf. *Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 288, where, in the epitaph composed upon the death of Robert of Rhuddlan, in 1086, Gruffydd's captivity is mentioned. Cf. also Intro., p. 62.

4. Compare this with the 16 years given below. (*Hanes*, p. 133. Cf. also note 11.)

5. To destroy their grip of weapons, especially of the tip of an arrow when discharging it from a bow.

6. Probably Latin, Norse, Irish, and Welsh; for he was educated at Sord-Choluim Cille, an ecclesiastical centre in the Scandinavian district of Fingal (cf. p. 159, note 3), Irishmen formed a large part of his mercenary troops, and most of his fighting was done in Wales. Whether or not he knew English or French from his intercourse with the Normans is uncertain.

7. In *Domesday*, North Wales was held by Robert of Rhuddlan, who claimed to hold directly of the king (*Domesday*, p. 269a). Orderic also, in his epitaph on Robert of Rhuddlan, implies that it was Robert who imprisoned Gruffydd. Robert of Rhuddlan also claimed Arwystli, although it was held by Roger of Montgomery (*ibid.*).

8. Aberlleiniog (cf. *infra*, p. 174, note 6).

9. Caernarvon, or more accurately Segontium, near Caernarvon. In *Nennius* (p. 20 and note 2) it is called Cair Segeint or Caircostaint, where Constantius, son of Constantine the Great died and was buried. Some of the chroniclers assert that Edward the First there found the body of Constantius, father of the Emperor Constantine. The *Hanes* follows the account of the *Historia Brittonum*. "Constans succeeded Coel and married his daughter, and after Constans took her to wife a son was born to them. His name was Custenin. After ten years Constans died and was buried in Caer Efrawc, and he left the

kingdom to Custennin." The confusion of Caersegeint and Caer Efracw is not unusual (cf. *Nen. Hist. Britt.*, p. 20, note 2).

10. Cf. Intro., p. 58 and *Cambrian Register*, p. 189, where Mr. Robert Vaughan writes: "Upon the bank of the little river Llæthnant, on a rock, was situated a strong castle called Castell y Biri. I think the Earl of Chester, when Griffith ap Cynan remained in his prison, did build this castle."

11. Compare this with the length of Gruffydd's imprisonment, twelve years, as given above. But either numbers, 16 or 12, are impossible, seeing that in 1087 Gruffydd was at large and killed Robert of Rhuddlan (cf. Intro., p. 63).

12. Edeyrnyon was previously in Gruffydd's possession (*supra*, p. 133).

13. i.e., the Tall.

14. This occurrence may be the same as that related in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 151, where Gruffydd joined the Scandinavians of the Orkneys in an attack upon the lands about the mouth of the Usk. The precise identification of Porthodni is not possible, for no such place now exists. The river Hodni, now Honddu, is a tributary joining the Wye at Brecon and giving the town its Welsh name of Aberhonddu. The Afon Honddu likewise gave the name of Llenthony Abbey (*Gir. Camb.*, vi). It might thus be better known than the Usk to a cleric of North Wales, who would thus apply the name to the whole of the water running into Severn Sea. Porthodni might thus be present in Newport (Mon.), where Leland noticed the church of S. Guntle (Gwynlliw) and a *house of religion by the key beneath the bridg.* On the other hand, although a ship could not be driven so far along the river as Aberhodni, the author of the *Hanes* may have mistaken the name *Aberhodni* for *Porthodni*, and merely intended to represent the neighbourhood of Aberhodni as the scene of Gruffydd's adventure.

15. Cf. *Cambrian Register*, p. 148. "Collwyn was Lord of Eifionydd, Ardudwy, and part of Lleyn, and it is true that his progeney and posterity do to this day possess and enjoy most of the said country. It is said he dwelt some time in Bronwen's tower at Harlech, calling the same town from his name Caer Collwyn. His posterity were always the best in Eifionydd and Ardudwy." His son, Merwydd of Lleyn, is mentioned, *supra*, p. 113. Cf. *Arch. Camb.*, second series, iv, p. 207, and also *Evans' Report*, vol. i, p. 777, where his descent is given from *Llyvyr Syr Thomas ap Ieuan ap Deikws*, a 16th century MS.

8.

1. The Isle of Man and the Hebrides, settled by Scandinavians in the ninth century (*Chron. Man.*, p. 33). The *Brut y Tywysogion* refers to

"the Pagans of the Islands" (p. 55). Cf. also *Hanes*, p. 107, "the Islands of Denmark which are in the sea side by side with the island of Britain."

2. Godfrey Mearanach, or Mananagh, or Crowan (*Four M.*, p. 950, *Chron. Man.*, pp. 3, 52). The *F. Mast.* styles him "lord of the Foreigners of Dublin and the Islands." In the saga of Magnus Barefoot he appears as "Gudrød, king of the Hebrides" (*Heimskringla*, iii, p. 131). He became king of Man in 1079-80 (*Chron. Man.*, p. 53). In 1094, the time when Gruffydd asked his aid, he had triumphed over Muirchertach ua Brian, king of Munster, but later in the year he was beaten and driven out of Dublin, which was probably the reason for the early withdrawal of the fleet from Wales. He died in 1095 from plague (*F. Mast.*, pp. 947, 951. *Ann. Tig. Rev. Celt.*, xviii, p. 13).

3. i.e., Adron or The Skerries off Holyhead (cf. *supra*, p. 167, note 11). It is noteworthy that *Ron* is the Irish equivalent of *seal*.

4. i.e., the sons of Collwyn (*supra*, p. 173, note 15).

5. The four cantreds of Rhos, Rhuvoniog, Tygeingl and Dyffryn Clwyd were held by Robert of Rhuddlan until his death in 1088, and he had secured them by castles at Rhuddlan and Deganwy (*Domesday*, i, p. 269; *Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 283). Although he held Rhos and Rhuvoniog of the king it seems likely that they would be given subsequently to the Earl of Chester. This may explain why the *Hanes* (*supra*, p. 131) states that Hugh of Chester entrapped Gruffydd and seized the kingdom of Gwynedd.

6. i.e., Aberlleiniog. Cf. also *Flor. Wig.*, p. 35, *Fregerunt castellum in Mevania insula, eamque suae ditioni subjeciebant*. "The ruins of this old castle stand upon the land of a farm of the name of Lleiniog in the parish of Penmon, Anglesey, about three miles from the town of Beaumaris" (*Trans. Golud yr Oes*, 1863, vol. i, p. 323). It was in Penmon, on a small stream, and was probably approachable by boat at one time. A hollow way, according to Pennant (*Tour*, ii, p. 248), is carried quite to the shore with a mound to cover the landing. For a detailed description with plans, cf. *Arch. Camb.*, First series, iii, pp. 143 and foll.

7. Cf. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 57, sub an. 1092. It should be noticed that the word "castles" in the plural is used, apparently confirming the fact that the Normans built more castles in Gwynedd than that at Aberlleiniog.

8. An invasion of Gwynedd in this same year is mentioned by *Brut y Tywysog*, p. 57.

9. Cf. above, p. 137, where Gruffydd is credited with only one ship. In this unsatisfactory narrative of the opening of the Welsh reaction of 1094-8 it seems as if the *Hanes* confuses this expedition with the

earlier one against Robert of Rhuddlan at Deganwy (*Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 285).

10. A Welsh triad, quoted in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. i, p. 100, makes "Crellan bard of the harp to Prince Gruffydd ap Cynan" one of the three imperial performers on the harp.

11. Marcus Tullius Cicero and Publius Vergilius Maro.

12. Her death is noticed in *Brut y Tywys.* under the year 1161. Her grandfather, Edwin, was king of Tygeingl. Her grandmother, Iweryd, and Bleddyn, king of Powys, were sister and brother by a common father (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 141).

13. Owain or Owain Gwynedd and Cadwaladr of Ceredigion succeeded their father. Cadwallon distinguished himself by murdering his mother's three brothers. He died in 1132-3 to satisfy the vengeance of his cousins (*Ann. Camb.*, pp. 37, 39. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 153). A Cadwgan son of Gruffydd ap Cynan is mentioned in *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 157, but this is an error for Cadwallon, son of Gruffydd (*Ann. Camb.*, p. 39).

14. She first married Gruffydd's ally, Cadwgan, king of Ceredigion, by whom she had a son Madoc (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 139). Later she married Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr. She was of a warlike disposition, "*tanquam Amazonum regina et Penthesilea secunda,*" and died in battle in 1136, the year before her father's death (*Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 79).

15. Married Howel ab Ieuan, the grandson of Trahaiarn ap Caradoc (*Y Cymmrodor*, x, p. 137).

16. Probably named after Gruffydd's Irish mother Ragnailt. She married a certain Idnerth ap Cadwgan ap Elystan Glodrwydd (*ibid.*).

17. Susanna married Madoc, son of Maredudd ap Bleddyn, who led the fleet of Henry II against Anglesey (*Mabinogion*, p. 316 and chronological table in *Princes of Upper Powys*).

9.

1. William Rufus. The *Brut y Tywys.* dubs him *Coch* or *Red*. For *gladdyfhir* or *longépée* cf. *supra*, p. 161, note 25.

2. Of the expedition of 1097, *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 41, says: *ut omnes masculini sexus interneconi daret*. This, however, was the second expedition of Rufus into Wales. A similar threat is attributed to Henry I during his first invasion of Wales (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 115).

3. Cf. also *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 58, *a medylaw diweithaw yr holl wlat* "thinking to destroy the whole country" (*ibid.*, pp. 112, 115, 147; *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 41; *Ann. Camb.*, p. 31). Rhos and Rhuvoniog were nearly all forest and bog and unfit for farming (*Domesday*, 269a).

4. Usually identified with Tomen y Mur (*Mabinogion*, p. 439;

Cambrian Register, vol. i, 191a. According to the *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 115, it was Henry I who encamped at Mur Castell, on which occasion he was aided by men from South Wales. Professor Loth, however, thinks that one of the poems in the *Red Book of Hergest* refers to Rufus at Mur Castell (*supra*, p. 27).

5. This is remarked of the second invasion of Rufus both by the *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 61, and by *Henry Hunt*, p. 230, who uses the phrase *angustiis locorum* where the *Hanes* writes *lleoed keuing* (narrow places).

6. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 61. "For the French dared not penetrate the rocks and the woods but hovered about the level plains." This also refers to the second expedition of Rufus.

7. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 51.

8. *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 41, *at de eis* (i.e., *Walensibus*) *vix aliquem capere aut interimere potuit, sed de suis nonnullos, et equos perdidit multos.*

9. This statement that Gruffydd had the life of the English king in his hands seems referable rather to the venture of Henry I in 1118, when the king was ambushed by Maredudd ap Bleddyn.

10.

1. Hugh, of Chester, had been abroad in Normandy, where Rufus was at war with Robert (cf. Intro., p. 76). Not only had his castles been destroyed but the earldom of Chester had been ravaged (*Will. Malms.*, p. 365).

2. This fleet is not mentioned in other accounts (cf. *supra*, p. 77).

3. After the death of Roger of Montgomery, in 1093 (*Flor. Wig.*, ii, 31), his son Hugh succeeded to the earldom of Shrewsbury. In the Welsh rising of 1094-5 his castles of Shrewsbury and Montgomery were burned, many of his soldiers killed, and the whole of his possessions thoroughly ravaged (*Will. Malms.*, p. 365). He had already encountered and defeated a Welsh force in 1094. (*A. S. Chron.*, ii, p. 198).

4. Father of Gruffydd's wife Angharad, and cousin of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 141). Holding land in Tygeingl he would be in the power of the Earl of Chester. After Gruffydd had been driven from Wales Owain in turn revolted against the Normans (*ibid.*, p. 63). His death is given under the year 1102 (*ibid.*, p. 77).

5. Uchtryd ap Edwin had taken a prominent part in the revolt, especially in Deheubarth (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 59). Later he seized Meirionydd and secured it by a castle at Cymmer, and held it of Cadwgan on feudal terms "under agreement that he would be faithful to him and to his sons, and come to his assistance against all his

enemies" (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 141). He played throughout the game of the French against his brother princes, siding with Henry I against Cadwgan, and with the Earl of Chester against Maredudd, king of Powys (*ibid.*, p. 143, sub. an. 1115).

6. Lord of Ceredigion and Powys, including Merionydd, which he conferred upon Uchhyd (cf. note 5). He appears first in Welsh history as an opponent of Rhys ap Tewdwr, possibly as a claimant to lands of Cedivor ap Collwyn whose daughter he married (*Brut y Tywys.*, pp. 55, 141). In the revolt of 1094 he gained victories at Yspwys, Celli Carnant, and Aberllech. He supported Robert of Belême against Henry I in 1101. Six years later, embroiled by his son Owain, who had ravished Nest, wife of Gerald of London, he was a fugitive in Ireland, and only regained his lands under a fine of £100. Again imprisoned for Owain's misdemeanours in 1107 (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 105) he was released in a desperate hope of quelling rebellions in Powys. He fell by the hand of his nephew Madoc in 1108 (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 109).

7. *Maredudd*. Of the four sons of Bleddyn, Iorwerth, Cadwgan, Maredudd and Rhirid, all turbulent and headstrong, Maredudd was the least attractive, and survived them all. In the revolt of Robert of Belême he remained with his brother Cadwgan on the side of the earl, and was ungraciously cast into prison by his brother Iorwerth. Iorwerth was dead when he escaped from prison and he sufficiently ingratiated himself with the king to be entrusted with Iorwerth's lands in Caereineon. During the troubles of Powys following the rape of Nest, he consorted with Owain, and deserted him when Henry I invaded Wales. It was through his false pleading with either Gruffydd or Owain, cajoling one to desert the other, that Henry was enabled to break up the Welsh resistance. After Owain died in 1116 Maredudd attempted by every means of force and intrigue to become supreme in Powys, and his violence provoked a second invasion of Wales by Henry I. Maredudd would have liked the aid of Gruffydd ap Cynan, but lacking it, he set up a plucky resistance and almost succeeded in slaying the king. He purchased peace for a crushing fine of ten thousand head of cattle, and spent the remainder of his days in a round of quarrels and cruelties which were only expiated by a thorough repentance on his death-bed for which the lenient chronicler of Strata Florida accords him the epitaph: "The ornament and safety and defence of all Powys" (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 156).

8. *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 61, and *Ann. Camb.*, p. 31.

9. *Ibid.* The translation given of "O gyvareu hirion" was suggested by Professor Anwyl.

10. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 31. *Quos (i.e., Francos) piratae eorum munere corrupti in insulam introduxerunt eumque vastaverunt.*

11. Cadwgan married Gruffydd's daughter Gwenllian (*supra*, p. 175, note 14).

12. They took Owain ap Cadwgan with them (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 93). They sought refuge with Murchad (*ibid.*).

13. This metaphorical use of the word *Iddewon* is interesting as affording some light upon its use in *B. B. C.*, p. 102, line 1. *Ban deuaw o caer seon o imlat ac itewon*, i.e., when I come from Caerseint from fighting with the Jews. It seems to rebut Dr. Evans's ingenious emendation (*ibid.*, *Intro.*, xvii) and suggests that the word is used to denote "an enemy," "and other people who came to attack" the Welshmen.

14. Cf. *Intro.*, p. 79.

15. This is not mentioned in any other account of the struggle.

16. Magnus Barefoot, or King of the Red Shields (*Bugge's Norsemen in Ireland*, ii, p. 9). Cf. *infra*, note 24.

17. Orderic says six ships (*Ord. Vit.*, iv, p. 30). The *Ann. Camb.*, p. 31, seems to infer that Magnus desired to land peacefully and that the Normans provoked the conflict.

18. Giraldus (vi, p. 129) says the earl mounted on a spirited horse rushed into the sea. The Saga of Magnus Barefoot says "Hugo the Brave was all over in armour so that nothing was bare about him excepting one eye" (*Heimskringla*, iii, p. 131).

19. All accounts agree that Magnus himself shot the arrow that killed Hugh of Shrewsbury. The Saga says that Magnus and a Halogalander shot simultaneously and that while the arrow of the latter bent the nose-screen of the Earl's helmet, the King's arrow pierced the eye (*Heimskringla*, iii, 131).

20. Giraldus says he fell into the sea (cf. note 156) and was recovered with difficulty after the tide had ebbed (*Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 129).

21. "The Britons fled with the loss of many people" (*Heimskringla*, iii, 132).

22. The Welsh records confirm this (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 63; *Ann. Camb.*, p. 31). The Saga claims that Magnus captured Anglesey and then returned to Scotland.

23. 160 ships (*Chron. Man.*, p. 6). According to *Ord. Vit.*, iv, pp. 26, 30, only 60. But see Munch's note in *Chron. Man.*, p. 60.

24. The account of the expeditions of Magnus to the West are examined in detail by Munch in his *Chron. Man.*, pp. 53-74. There seems to have been three such expeditions in 1093-4, 1098, 1102-3, respectively. The attack upon Anglesey took place during the second expedition. On this occasion he was proceeding southwards to punish his recalcitrant ally Muirchertach Ua Brian, King of Munster and High King of Erin. He revisited Anglesey in 1102 on his third and last expedition, cutting timber, in which Anglesey abounded, for his ships (*Brut y Tywys.*, p.

73). He was slain by the Ulstermen in 1103 during a foraging raid inland.

25. The Saga of Magnus Barefoot (*Heimskringla*, iii, p. 132) claims that Anglesey was the most southerly point of the expeditions of the Norse predecessors of Magnus.

26. Virgil's Eclogues, i, l. 63, *et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*.

27. Cf. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 31. *Franci vero majores et minores secum ad Angliam perduxerunt*.

28. In his narrative Orderic maintains that the conflict took place at Deganwy the castle protecting the cantred of Rhos.

29. Muirchertach Ua Brian, King of Munster. He died in 1119 (*F. Mast.*, p. 1009). The king of the foreigners was Diarmaid, son of Enna, son of Diarmaid.

30. Davies's Dictionary interprets *trêf* as *Urbs, oppidum locus habitationis*. 64 *erws* made a *trêf*. Cf. *infra*, note 20. *Ann. Camb.*, p. 32. *Grifnus filius Conani Mon obsedit*. Cadwgan regained Ceredigion and part of Powys (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 63).

31. Gruffydd did not return from Ireland until "the following year" (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 63), i.e., 1099 (*Ann. Camb.*, p. 31).

11.

1. The *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 121, records one visit made by Gruffydd to Henry's court when the latter wished Welsh aid for the capture of Gruffydd ap Rhys. This was in 1116 according to *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 68, or 1115, *Ann. Camb.*, p. 36, and therefore after the first invasion of Henry I. It is therefore out of place in the *Hanes*. According to the *Gwentian Brut*, p. 97, Henry entertained Gruffydd "splendidly" at London.

2. As it stands the Welsh passage hardly gives sense. It may be suggested, however, that in the Latin original "intercession" stood in the ablative case denoting instrumentality and therefore without the preposition, and that the translator forgot to insert the preposition in the Welsh. Herveus was driven out by the Welsh in 1109 (*Will. Malmes. Gest. Pont.*, p. 325; *Le Neve's Fasti.*, p. 96), with whom he could not agree, and was appointed by Henry I to the See of Ely. Bangor was vacant some 11 years, although from 1109—1119 it was administered by Urban bishop of Llandaff (*Le Neve's Fasti.*, p. 96, note 10). The letter of introduction of David who succeeded to the See in 1120 runs, *cum magna calamitate per multos annos caremus pastore, in quibus nec chrisma habuimus nec aliquid Christianitatis vere* (*Eadmer*, p. 260).

3. Cf. *supra*, p. 169, note 9.

4. The Welsh records say he obtained Anglesey in 1099. Cf. above, pp. 85, 179, note 31.

5. He is eulogised in *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 161, for "collecting together into Gwynedd, his own country, those who had been before scattered into various countries by the Normans."

6. Hugh of Avranches died in 1101. His son Richard succeeded him (*Ord. Vit.*, iv, 111) in 1101 but was drowned in the "White Ship" in 1116. Randle Meschines succeeded in 1121 (*Ann. Cest.*, p. 18).

7. For an account of this invasion see Intro., p. 86 and foll.

8. The *Ann. Camb.*, p. 37, precisely states that Henry's second invasion of 1121 was directed against Powys. A circumstantial account is given in the *Brut y Tywys.*, pp. 147 and foll., where Gruffydd positively refused to take part in the fighting although asked to do so by Maredudd, Prince of Powys, and threatened active hostility towards any Powysians who sought safety within his dominions. Maredudd after a show of resistance came to terms with Henry.

9. Operations were confined to the "boundaries of Powys" (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 149). *Will. Malmes.*, p. 477, declares Henry was not on hostile soil when he was ensnared by the Powysians.

10. Henry exacted of Maredudd a fine of 10,000 head of cattle (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 151). Cf. also *Flor. Wig.*, ii, p. 76. *Acceptis obsidibus ab eis, totam Waliam suae ditioni subegit.*

12.

1. Muirchertach ua Brian, King of Munster and High King of Ireland, died in 1119, two years before the second invasion of Henry I, which took place in 1121 (*F. Mast.*, p. 1009; *Ann. Camb.*, p. 37).

2. Cf. however *Gir. Camb.*, vi, p. 201, where it is said that the Welsh delighted neither in orchards nor gardens.

3. "Griffith ap Cynan died . . . after building in his time many churches and consecrating them to God" (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 161).

4. Such feasts were given by Cadwgan in Ceredigion (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 83), Gruffydd ap Rhys (*Gwentian Brut*, p. 111) and Rhys ap Gruffydd (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 229), the latter with musical competitions. Many bardic statutes profess Gruffydd ap Cynan as their author and mention a notable eisteddfod at Caerwys convoked by Gruffydd ap Cynan, at which these statutes were promulgated. They are of too late a date (15th and 16th centuries) to be taken seriously as the work of Gruffydd, but they may be accepted as proving that a strong tradition lingered among Welsh bards of Gruffydd's services to bardic art. Gruffydd's connection with Ireland, where music was in a flourishing state at the

time, gives an air of probability to the idea that Gruffydd had a strong interest in music and used his influence to reform the art in Gwynedd by recourse to Irish musicians. He is credited with an attempt to introduce the Irish pipe into Gwynedd with but partial success (cf. Stephen's *Literature of the Cymry*, p. 63).

5. Cadwallon seems to have been most active on the eastern boundary about Tygeingl where he interfered with his uncles, the sons of Owain and Edwin (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 153). Owain and Cadwalladr acted mostly in Lleyn and Ardudwy whence they attacked and acquired Meirionydd and Ceredigion. Cf. also Intro., p. 90 and foll.

6. Notably Maredudd ap Bleddyn in 1121 (*Brut y Tywys.*, p. 147) and Maredudd son of Cadwgan (*ibid.*, p. 151) and Gruffydd ap Rhys (*ibid.*, p. 121).

7. But see above, p. 103, where it says he was reared at Sords.

8. *i.e.*, St. Werburgh's which Hugh had restored in 1093 with the aid of Anselm who gathered together the monks, and appointed the first abbot, Richard of Bec (*Ann. Cest.*, p. 16; *Ord. Vit.*, iii, p. 286).

9. *i.e.*, the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, a new foundation made by Roger of Montgomery in 1083 at the instigation of the father of Oredericus Vitalis on the site of an older Saxon chapel of Siward son of Aelfgar founded in the time of Edward the Confessor (*Ord. Vit.*, ii, p. 415, v, p. 134).

10. In the N.E. extremity of Anglesey. The church was founded originally on Puffin Island or Ynys Seiriol and became so famous as to attract the pious among the Scandinavians of Ireland. Later the hostel on the opposite shore of Anglesey developed into a church, as in the case of Aberdaron opposite Bardsey Island, and outshone, as the church of Penmon, the mother church. A son of Gruffydd ap Cynan was abbot of the church on Ynys Seiriol in 1130 (*Arch. Camb.*, First series, iv, p. 47; cf. also *ibid.*, First series, iv, pp. 198 and foll., and Rees' *Welsh Saints*, p. 212).

11. Situated half way between Caernarvon and Nevin on the northern coast of the Lleyn peninsula. St. Beuno: the church was founded A.D. 616 (*Arch. Camb.*, First series, iv, p. 125) and the land was granted by Cadvan, Prince of Gwynedd. It supported a community similar to that of Enlli and Bangor Iscoed and according to Leland, *Itinerary*, p. 52, became a monastery for White Monks, although at 1291 it figures in the tax of Pope Nicholas as an ordinary collegiate or capitular body (*Arch. Camb.*, First series, iii, p. 247 and foll.). In the list of benefactors drawn up by Robert Vaughan in *Arch. Camb.*, First series, iii, p. 253 and foll., the name of Gruffydd ap Cynan is not included.

12. Bardsey Island.

13. St. Tysilio's near Mathravael in the bishopric of St. Asaph and

the seat of the Princes of Powys. Maredudd ap Bleddyn, a contemporary of Gruffydd ap Cynan had Mathravael as his capital (*Arch. Camb.*, Fourth series, x, p. 238) and therefore the church serving it might rank as one of "the chief churches" of Wales. The church at Meifod still bears traces of pre-Norman and Norman architecture (*ibid.*, p. 327). In 1154 it was consecrated as St. Mary's (*ibid.* and *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 185). It was the burying place of the princes of Powys (*Mabinogion*, p. 316; *Brut y Tywys.*, pp. 195, 237).

14. *i.e.*, the church of St. Garmon. So popular was Germanus that there are many places in Wales dedicated to his memory, three being in Denbighshire and one in Eifionydd, Carnarvonshire. It is not possible to say which one is meant in the text, but it may be pointed out that close to Llanarmon in Yale Gruffydd's son Owain Gwynedd built a castle of which the mound remains (Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*). It is supposed to be the scene of Maes y Garmon, the "Hallelujah Victory" recounted in Bede (*Eccles. Hist.*). Pennant speaks of a statue of St. Garmon in the wall of the church and Leland says "Greate pilgrimage and offering was a late to S. Armon" (*Itinerary*, p. 70).

15. There is a Dinerth in the parish of Llandrillo-in-Rhos, Denbighshire. This is probably the place noted in the text. A castle of Dineirth, frequently mentioned in *Brut y Tywys.* (*e.g.*, pp. 159, 190) was captured by Gruffydd's sons in his lifetime. It was situated on the little river Arth in Cardiganshire.

16. *The Booke of Sir John Wynne* (Cardiff M.S. 83) contains a charter of Gruffydd ap Cynan granting land in Nevin to the church of St. John the Baptist:—*Sciant tam praesentes quam futura quod ego Griffinus filius Conani concessi et dedi et confirmavi deo et ecclesiae sancti Johannis Evangelae de Hagemon et canonicis ibidem deo servientibus ad ecclesiam eorum de Nebyn tres acrias in Nevin et Abraham filiam Aldredi sutoris et duos filios serens scilicet W et Johannis in perpetuum elemosinam libere et quietus ad ecclesiam sancti Marie de Nevin et praedictis Canonicis de Hegemon iure perpetuo pertineat* (cf. also *History of the Gwydir Family*, p. 12, note 3).

17. He was elected to Bangor in 1120 by Gruffydd, the clergy, and the people of Wales after the See had been vacant since 1109 owing to the withdrawal of Herveus (*supra*, p. 179, note 2; *Eadmer*, p. 260). The date of his death is uncertain but his successor Meuric was appointed in 1139 (Le Neve's *Fasti.*, p. 96). For his career, and his probable identity with David the Scot, cf. Professor Tout's article in *Nat. Dict. Biog.*, sub. nom.

18. But according to Le Neve's *Fasti.*, p. 112, Simon was Archdeacon of Bangor from 1144—1151. A letter from the Pope to Symeon, Archdeacon of Bangor, is given in the *Specula Ecclesiae* of Gir. Camb. In

the *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 181, where his death is recorded under the year 1151, he is called Archdeacon of Cyveiliog or Clynnog, and is described as *gwr mawr y enryded ae deilygdawt*.

19. The name of the prior of S. Werburgh's is not given in *Ann. Cest.* After the death of the first abbot, Richard of Bec in 1116, the monastery was carried on by Robert the prior who died 1120. In the following year William was elected second abbot of Chester (*Ann. Cest.*, p. 18). He lived until 1140 (*ibid.*, p. 20) so he may well have been present at Gruffydd's funeral at Bangor.

20. Four *erws* in a *tyddyn*, four *tyddyn* in a *randir*, four *randir* in a "gavael," four "gavaels" in every *tref* (*W. L.*, vol. i, pp. 186, 766).

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ABBREVIATIONS.

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Index

INDEX

(Numbers in italics refer to pages of the translation).

- Aberdaron, *135*, 181.
 Aberffraw, 62.
 Abergwili, 47.
 Aberhodni, 173.
 Aberhonddu, 69.
 Aberllech, 177.
 Aberlleiniog, 29, 50, *139*, 174.
 Abermenai, 95, *113*, *115*, *121*, *123*, *157*.
 Aberteivi, 23, 93.
 Adron, Ynys or Island, *121*, *137*, 167, 174.
 Aed Ua Mathgambna, 24, 44, 45, *109*, 163.
 Agard, Arthur, 5, 6, 7, 13.
 Ailill, 43.
 Alyn, 41, *105*.
 Amherawdyr Rufein (Emperor of Rome), 36.
 Anarawt, 38, 39, *103*.
 Angharad, mother of Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, 164.
 Angharad, wife of Gruffydd ap Cynan, 77, *139*, *157*, 176.
 Anglesey, 58, 78, 82-85, 98, *113* *115*, *119*, *121*, *133*, *137*, *139*, *143*, *151*, *174*,
 178, 179.
 Anglesey, landing place of Gruffydd, 49; captured by Gruffydd in 1093,
 139; attacked by Normans, 23, 25, 27, 78, 80-82, 91, *143*, *147*,
 178; regained by Gruffydd, 83, 85, *151*; castles in, 58, 69, *133*;
 noblemen of, 49, *121*; occupied by Scandinavians, *105*; plundered
 by Gruffydd's mercenaries, *123*; second landing of Magnus in, 46.
 Anna, 36.
 Annest, daughter of Gruffydd ap Cynan, *141*.
 Anselm of Bec, 181.
 Ardudwy, 49, 87, 88, 93, *123*, *135*, *137*, *151*, 181.
 Arllechwedd, 88, *151*.
 Armagh, 41.
 Arnulf of Montgomery, see Montgomery.
 Arth, 182.

- Arthur, King, 3, 121.
- Arvon, 49, 58, 113, 115, 119, 133, 137.
- Arwystli, claimed by Robert of Rhuddlan, 62, 165, 172; Lordship of Trahaiarn, 69; held by Earl of Shrewsbury, *ib.*; men of, 127; ravaged by Gruffydd, 131, 165; refuge of men of Ceredigion, 168.
- Asser, son of Merwyd of Lleyn, 113, 166.
- Augaire, 43, 162.
- Avandred, 32.
- Bangor, Bishopric of, lands of, 62; Herveius driven from, 86: David elected to, 89, 90, 179, 182; administered by Urban, 179.
- Bangor, Castle of, 69, 133.
- Bangor, Church of, 155, 157.
- Beinlaus, Ivar, 43.
- Beli Mawr, 35, 36, 103, 105.
- Bellême, Robert, see Montgomery.
- Bere, see Castell y Biri.
- Bernard of Neufmarché, 64, 69, 163.
- Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, 51, 52, 55, 61, 115, 163, 164.
- Bon y Dom, 105, 160.
- Brandon Hill, see Cruach Brandon.
- Brian Borumha, 44, 45, 72, 109, 162.
- Bristol, 77.
- Britain, Isles of, 42, 72, 79, 147.
- Britanny, 53, 109.
- Brecheiniog (Brecon), 54, 58, 69, 75, 163, 170.
- Breteuil, 60.
- Bretland, 42.
- Bron yr Erw, 14, 15, 49, 52, 61, 93 121, 165, 167, 169.
- Brutus, 35, 105.
- Burgesses of Chester, 134.
- Cadwaladr, son of Gruffydd ap Cynan, 18, 23, 90, 91, 141, 163, 175, 181.
- Cadwallon, son of Gruffydd ap Cynan, 141, 175, 181.
- Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, 52, 177; lord of Powys and Ceredigion, 93, 143; married Gruffydd's daughter, 175; cousin to Owain ap Edwin, 176; his character, 55; attacked the Normans, 72, 73, 75; hostile to Rhys ap Tewdwr, 170; his alliances, 51, 54, 77; joins Gruffydd in Anglesey, 77, 87, 143; fled to Ireland, 78, 143; regained Ceredigion, 179; hostile to Henry I., 83; removed the people of Dyved, 168; gave feasts, 180.

- Cadwgan, son of Gruffydd ap Cynan, 175.
 Caergybi, see Holyhead.
 Caer Llwytcoed, 11, 14, 121, 168.
 Caermarthen, 92.
 Caernarvon, 69, 172.
 Caer Segeint, Caerseint, 172, 173, 178.
 Caerwys, 180.
 Caradoc ap Gruffydd, 51, 52, 127, 171.
 Caradoc, father of Trahaiarn, 163.
 Cardiff MS., 50, 4, 10.
 Cardiff MS., 83, 5, 10—12.
 Cardigan, see Aberteivi.
 Carlus, Sword of, 42.
 Carno, 171.
 Carreg Cynan, 167.
 Castell y Biri, 173.
 Cedivor ap Collwyn, 177.
 Celli Carnant, Battle of, 177.
 Cenredus, 79.
 Cenwric, Hir, 133.
 Cenwric ap Rhiwallon, his rule resented in Gwynedd, 49; ruled falsely, 113; defeated and killed, 93, 115, 165; Trahaiarn avenged him, 119; second cousin of Trahaiarn, 163; identification, 164, 165.
 Ceredigion, 22, 23, 27, 58, 69-72, 77, 91-93, 168, 177, 179.
 Cerit, 119.
 Cheshire, 56, 59, 72, 76.
 Chester, 31, 56, 58, 59, 63, 68, 78, 85, 133, 141, 149, 176
 Chester, Earl of, see Hugh, Richard, Randle.
 Chester, Gruffydd escaped from, 31, 133; Gruffydd a prisoner at, 63, 68, 133; earldom, 56, 176; base of attack upon Gwynedd, 58, 141, 149; castle, 59; port of, 78.
 Chester, Monastery at, 97, 157, 181.
 Clontarf, 46, 159, 162, 163.
 Cluny, 96.
 Clwyd, River, 59, 60, 81, 93.
 Clynnog Vawr, 115, 119, 157, 164, 181, 182.
 Coluimcille, see Sord-Choluim-Cille.
 Collwyn, 119, 135, 173.
 Constans the Great, 133.
 Constantine, Emperor, 133, 172.
 Constantius, 172.

- Corbet, Roger, 58.
 Cornwall, Earl of, 87.
 Crellan, see Gellan.
 Cruc, see Rhûg.
 Cruach Brandon, 119, 167.
 Cunedda, 103.
 Custenin, 172.
 Cymmer Castle, 176.
 Cynan, father of Gruffydd, 32, 33, 39, 40, 43, 44, 46, 103.
 Cynddelw, son of Conus, 127.
 Cynddelw, 26.
 Cyvarwys, 118, 166.
- David, Bishop of Bangor, 89, 90, 157, 179, 182.
 Dee, 59.
 Deganwy, 27, 58, 61, 63, 65, 68, 174, 175, 179.
 Delat, 115.
 Denmark, Isles of, 42, 105, 107, 137, 139, 153, 174.
 Dermot, see Diarmaid.
 Deudraeth, 167.
 Diarmaid, son of Enna, 125, 169, 179.
 Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-mbo, 24, 71, 169.
 Dinas y Llwyn Llwyd, see Caer Llwytcoed.
 Dineirth, 182.
 Dinerth, 157, 182.
 Dinevor, 52, 53, 88.
 Donnchad, 45, 109.
 Donnchuan, 44, 162.
 Dubhgaill, 44, 45.
 Dublin, 42, 43, 45, 72, 103, 107, 155, 169, 174.
 Dublin, Kings of, 19, 40, 43-46, 72, 159, 160, 168
 Dunlang, son of Tuathal, 43, 44, 109, 162.
 Dwnchad, see Donnchad.
 Dyffryn Clwyd, 137, 174.
 Dyved, 72, 77, 168.
- Earchmarcach, son of Ragnall, 71.
 Edeyrnyon, 131, 172, 173.
 Ednyved, son of Collwyn, 135.
 Edward the Confessor, 103.
 Edwin, 55, 56.

- Edwin, King of Tygeingl, 175.
 Edwin of Northumbria, 160.
 Edwin, sons of, 27, 59. See also Owain ap Edwin and Uchtryd.
 Eginir, son of Collwyn, 135.
 Eivionydd, 88, 119, 137, 151, 173, 182.
 Eineon, 115.
 Elisse, 38.
 Elvael, 69.
 Enda, son of Diarmaid, 168, 169.
 Englefield, see Tygeingl.
 Enlli, Ynys or Island, 157, 181.
 Enna, see Enda.
 Erw yr Allt, see Bron yr Erw.
 Etil, 35, 37, 103.
 Ewyas, 69.
- FitzBaldwin, William, 72.
 Fitzgerald, 92.
 FitzGilbert, Richard, Earl of Gloucester, 91, 92.
 FitzHamon, Robert, 69.
 FitzMartin, Robert, 92.
 FitzOshern, 51, 169, 171.
 FitzScroop, Osbern, 64.
 FitzStephen, 19.
 Fleet, attacking Anglesey, 77, 143, 176.
 Flemings, 92.
 Foreigners of Ireland, 41, 48, 163, 174.
 Four Cantreds, see Perveddwlad.
 Frode, 42.
 Galloway, 105.
 Gellan, 26, 27.
 Gellan, son of Collwyn, 135, 139, 175.
 Geoffrey of Monmouth, 21, 26, 35, 36.
 Gerald of Windsor, 72, 88.
 Germanus, 182.
 Gherbod of Flanders, 56, 59.
 Glamorgan, see Morgannwg.
- Godfrey, King of Man, Crouan or Mearanach or Managh, 29, 72, 79,
 137, 160, 174.
 Gormflaith, 24, 45, 109, 162.

- Gower, 92.
 Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, 32, 33, 50, 51, 59, 90, 94, 115, 165.
 Gruffydd ap Rhys, 22, 88, 92, 94, 175, 179, 180.
 Guerin, see Warenne.
 Guides, Welsh, 141, 147.
 Gurgeneu ap Seisyll, 10, 29, 119, 123, 166, 169.
 Guthrie, see Godfrey.
 Gwaet Erw, 14, 49, 50, 60, 61, 68, 117.
 Gwalchmai, 26
 Gwarin, see Warenne.
 Gwarchis the Irishman, 129.
 Gwennlian, daughter of Gruffydd, 141, 178.
 Gwennlian, daughter of Rhiwallon, 170.
 Gwent, 51, 53, 54, 58, 75, 127.
 Gwgan, son of Merwydd of Lley, 113, 166.
 Gwladus, daughter of Rhiwallon, 53.
 Gwydir, 165.
 Gwydir Family, History of, 6, 12.
 Gwynon, 121.
 Gwynllyw, 66, 67.
 Gwynn, see Wynne.
- Haarfager, Harald, 19, 40, 42, 105, 107, 160.
 Halagoland, 80, 81.
 Hardradr, Harald, 79.
 Harold, son of Godwine, 51, 56, 59, 77, 95, 171.
 Hebrides, 42, 173.
 Henry I., treatment of, by *Hanes*, 22, 29, 74; opposed by Robert of Bellême, 83; his interference in Welsh affairs, 50, 86-91; his encounter with Gruffydd, 87, 153; his intrigue against Gruffydd ap Rhys, 88; defeated Maredudd, 89; his favour to Gruffydd, 70, 151, 179; his descent, 109.
 Henry II., 18, 77, 98, 175.
 Hereford, 56, 73, 169.
 Hereford, Roger, Earl of, 51.
 Herveus, Bishop of Bangor, 86, 151, 179, 182.
 Hodni, see Porthodni.
 Holyhead, 157.
 Honddu, see Porthodni.
 Howel of Morgannwg, 51.

- Hugh of Avranches, Earl of Chester, nicknamed "The Wolf," "The Fat," attacked Gwynedd, 54, 123, 133, 173, successor to Gherbod, 56, 59; his relations with Robert of Rhuddlan, 57, 60, 62, 63, 113, 164; his part in the capture of Gruffydd, 62, 131, 133; sided with Rufus, 64; his dominions ravaged by Gruffydd, 69, 72, 76; with Rufus in Normandy, 71, 76, 85, 176; attacked Anglesey in 1098, 77-82, 143, 149; made peace with Gruffydd, 83, 85; his death, 83, 85, 86, 180.
- Hugh the Wolf, see Hugh of Avranches.
- Hugh the Fat, see Hugh of Avranches.
- Hugh of Montgomery, see Montgomery.
- Hugh of Shrewsbury, see Montgomery.
- Iago, Iacoip, Iacop, 32, 47, 52, 103, 164.
- Idwal Voel, 39, 103.
- Iddewon (Jews), 178.
- Iorwerth ap Bleddyn, 83, 177.
- Islimach, 109.
- Ivar, see Beinlaus.
- Iweryd, sister of Bleddyn, 175.
- Jones, John, of Gellilyvdy, 2-7, 34.
- Lacy, Roger de, 64.
- Lacy, Walter de, 29, 51, 58, 69, 123, 169.
- Laighen, see Leinster.
- Leinster, Kings of, 44, 46.
- Loch Garmon, see Wexford.
- Lochlann, 40, 43, 107, 161.
- Lodbrog, Regnar, 43.
- Longsword, William, see William Rufus.
- Lychlyn, see Lochlann.
- Llanarmon, 157, 182.
- Llanstephan MS., 150 (Sherburn D., 23), 1, 4, 10.
- Llewarch Olbwch, 113, 115.
- Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, 20, 94.
- Llewelyn ap Seisyll, 32, 47, 115.
- Llewelyn yr Offeiriad, 36.
- Lleyn, 49, 88, 113, 115, 119, 123, 125, 137, 115, 173, 180.
- Llwyn Llwyd, see Caer Llwydcoed.
- Llydaw, see Brittany.

- Mac Rhnaidhri, 119, 166.
 Madoc ap Maredudd, 175, 177.
 Maes y Garmon, 182.
 Maelmorda, 45, 109, 162, 163.
 Mael-na-mbo, see Diarmaid.
 Maelsechlainn, 45, 109, 162.
 Magnus Barefoot or Barelegs, his expeditions to the West, 79; his descent upon Anglesey, 80-82, 147, 149, 178, 179; well received by Gruffydd, 46.
 Mailcorcre, 43, 44, 46, 109.
 Malachy, see Maelsechlainn.
 Malcolm, King of Scotland, 86, 87.
 Malpas, Robert of, 57, 166, 169.
 Man, Isle of, 42, 71, 79, 80, 105, 160, 163, 173.
 Manogan, 36.
 Maredudd ap Bleddyn, ambushed Henry I., 74, 176; disturbed Wales, 83; betrayed the Welsh, 87; discountenanced by Gruffydd, 89; fined, 89, 180; defied by Gruffydd's sons, 90; at Anglesey, in 1098, 143; his career, 177.
 Maredudd ap Cadwgan, 181.
 Maredudd, King of Ceredigion, 47.
 Margaret, daughter of Gruffydd, 141.
 Mathgambain, 39, 44, 45, 109, 162.
 Mathravel, 182.
 Mauricius Guillelmus, see Morris, William.
 Meath, Kings of, 44, 46.
 Meifod, 157, 182.
 Meilir ap Rhiwallon, 127, 171.
 Meilyr Brydyt, 25, 27.
 Meirion Goch, or the Red, 131.
 Meirion son of Merwyd of Lleyn, 113.
 Meirionydd, 27, 49, 58, 93, 117, 123, 133, 163, 165, 168, 176.
 Melenydd, 168.
 Mercenaries, 41, 47, 48, 49, 53, 84, 119, 123.
 Merddin, 16, 111.
 Mervyn Vrych, 34, 160.
 Merwyd of Lleyn, 113, 115, 119, 173.
 Merwyd, son of Collwyn, 135.
 Meuric, son of Rhodri Mawr, 38.
 Moel Roniad, see Adron.
 Moel y Don, 160.

- Mon, see Anglesey.
- Montgomery, Arnulf of, 170.
- Montgomery, Castle of, 74, 176.
- Montgomery, Roger of, Earl of Shrewsbury, interfered in South Wales, 51; held Arwystli, 62, 69, 165; rebelled against Rufus, 64; his death, 71, 172, 176.
- Montgomery, Hugh of, Earl of Shrewsbury, raided Ceredigion, 70; intrigued against Henry I., 71; attacked Gwynedd, 131; succeeded his father in 1093, 176; defeated the Welsh, 73, 176; allied with Hugh of Chester against Anglesey, 77, 79, 143; shot by Magnus, 80, 81, 147, 178; erroneously called the Fat, 85; his character, 172.
- Montgomery, Robert, of Bellême, Earl of Shrewsbury, 22, 83, 84, 177.
- Morgannwg, 51, 53, 69, 127.
- Morkere, 55, 56.
- Morris, William, 9, 13.
- Mortimer, Ralph, 64, 69.
- Munster, Kings of, 44, 46.
- Mur Castell, 27, 74, 87, 141, 153, 176.
- Murchad, son of Diarmaid, 113, 153, 163.
- Murchad, King of Leinster, 24, 45, 46, 109, 162.
- Muirchertach Leather Cloaks, 44, 162.
- Muirchertach Ua Brian, 46, 72, 79, 174, 178, 179, 180.
- Mynydd Carn, 14, 15, 50, 54, 62, 63, 68, 72, 84, 131, 166, 169, 171.
- Mynydd Carnedd, 130.
- Mynydd Carn Ingle, 171.
- Nennius, 35.
- Nest, daughter of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, 163.
- Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, 53, 91, 170, 177.
- Nevin, 137.
- Newport, 173.
- Normandy, 107.
- Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, 64, 166.
- Olaf Arnald, 39, 43—46, 103, 105, 109, 159.
- Olaf Cuaran, 40, 44, 45, 105, 160, 162.
- Olaf Hvité, 43.
- Olaf, son of Harald Haarfager, 40, 42, 43, 105, 160.
- Orkneys, 42, 67, 79, 160, 161, 173.
- Osbern FitzScroop, see FitzScroop.

- Owain ap Cadwgan, neglected by *Hanes*, 22; his lawlessness, 83, 87; ravished Nest, 177; fled with his father and Gruffydd to Ireland, 178; supported Guffydd against Henry I., 86, 87.
- Owain ap Edwin, 31, 77, 139, 143, 176, 180.
- Owain Gwynedd, 18, 23, 90, 91, 141, 168, 175, 181, 182.
- Padarn, 139.
- Panton MS. 2, 1, 4.
- Panton MS. 26, 1-5, 7.
- Panton Collection of MSS., 4.
- Pantoul, William of, 58.
- Pembroke, 72, 92.
- Peniarth MS. 17 (Hengwrt MS. 406), 1-9, 17, 34.
- Peniarth MS. 267, 1-5, 9, 10.
- Peniarth MS. 434, 12.
- Penmon, 25, 157, 174, 181.
- Pennaeth Bachwy, 87.
- Perveddwlad, 61, 65, 82, 89, 141.
- Picot de Say, 58.
- Picts, 121.
- Pila, 129, 171
- Pila, 171.
- Porteskewin, 171.
- Porthclais, 125, 169.
- Porthodni, 68, 135, 173.
- Porthlairge, see Waterford.
- Powys, 22, 31, 52, 53, 58, 77, 89, 119, 177.
- Puffin Island, see Seiriol.
- Raghnall, 109.
- Ragnaillt, 32, 39, 40, 43-46, 103, 105, 109, 175.
- Ragnalld, 44.
- Ralph Mortimer, see Mortimer.
- Randir, 183.
- Randle, Earl of Chester, 180.
- Regnar Lodbrog, 43.
- Rein the Scot, 47.
- Remus, 16, 109.
- Rhannaillt, daughter of Gruffydd, 141.
- Rheims, 16, 109.

- Rhirid ap Bleddyn, 177.
- Rhodri Mawr, 34-38, 53, 103, 160.
- Rhos, 61, 92, 137, 149, 151, 174, 175.
- Rhuddlan, first Norman castle at, 57, 58, 60; attacked by Gruffydd, 23, 29, 63, 65, 117; visited by Gruffydd. 113.
- Rhuddlan, Robert of, allied with Gruffydd, 49, 113, 115; his hostility to Gwynedd, 54, 57, 59, 70; built castles at Rhuddlan and Deganwy, 58, 60, 174; seized Rhos and Rhuvoniog, 61, 62, 174; seized North Wales, 63, 69, 123; claimed Arwystli, 62, 165; revolted against Rufus, 64; his castles attacked, 117, 166; related to the Earl of Chester, 113, 164; captured Gruffydd, 62, 172; his death, 63, 65, 68; his character, 66.
- Rhŷg, 55, 62, 133, 172.
- Rhuvoniog, 61, 174, 175.
- Rhyd y Gors, 72.
- Rhys ap Owain, 52.
- Rhys ap Tewdwr, treatment of, by *Hanes*, 22; heir of Dinevor, 52; exiled 53; son-in-law of Rhiwallon, *ib.*; meeting with Gruffydd, *ib.*, 125; driven out by coalition, 53, 126, 177; at Mynydd Carn, 127, 129; his position after Mynydd Carn, 54; his death, 69, 70; admits his inferiority to Gruffydd, 84, 127; note on his life, 170.
- Richard of Bec, abbot of St. Werburgh's, 181, 182.
- Richard, Earl of Chester, 83, 86, 151, 180.
- Ring of Tomar, 41.
- Rinns (of Galloway), 105.
- Robert of Bellême, see Montgomery.
- Robert, see Fitzhamon.
- Robert, see Malpas, Robert of.
- Robert, Duke of Normandy, 64, 70, 71, 75.
- Robert, see Rhuddlan, Robert of.
- Robert, prior of Chester, 182.
- Robinson, Nicholas, 6, 9-13.
- Rochester, 64, 65, 85, 160.
- Roger de Lacy, see Lacy.
- Roger de Montgomery, see Montgomery.
- Roger, Earl of Hereford, see Hereford.
- Rollo, 42, 107, 161.
- Rome, 36, 37.
- Ron, see Adron.

- Ros, 92.
 Ronen, 109.
 Rhuaidhri, 167.
 Rufus, see William.

 Sandef, son of Aere, 135.
 Saxons, 121.
 Say, see Picot.
 Scandinavians, 30, 40, 41, 42, 46, 47, 67, 71 60, 173, 181.
 Scotland, 71, 153.
 Scots, 70, 153.
 Seals, Island of, see Adron.
 Seiriol, Ynys or Island, 25, 181.
 Shetlands, 42.
 Shrewsbury, 56, 98, 155, 176, 181.
 Shrewsbury, Earls of, see Montgomery.
 Shropshire, 72.
 Simon, see Symeon.
 Sion ap William ap Sion, 3, 7.
 Sitric, see Sitrinc.
 Sitrinc Caoch, 40, 42, 105, 160.
 Sitrinc Silkenbeard, 40, 44-46, 105, 109, 160, 162.
 Slani, 44, 109, 162.
 Snowdon, 50, 61, 78, 86, 87, 95, 96, 153.
 Sord-Cholnim-Cille, 103, 159, 172, 181.
 St. Asaph, 62.
 St. Beuno, see Clynnog Vawr.
 St. Brendan, 119.
 St. David's, 20, 21, 53, 125, 155, 170.
 Stephen, King of England, 18, 73, 91, 109.
 Steward, 139.
 St. Garmon, 182.
 St. Peter and St. Paul at Shrewsbury, 95, 155, 181.
 Strata Marcella, 2.
 Strongbow, 19.
 St. Trefrydog, 79.
 St Tysilio's, 181.
 St. Werburgh's, Chester, 170, 182.
 Sulien Ddoeth, 170.
 Susanna, daughter of Gruffydd, 141.
 Swanhilde, 43.

- Sword of Carlus, 42.
 Swords, see Sord-Choluim-Cille.
 Symeon, Archdeacon, 157, 182.
- Tangwystyl, 113.
 Teivy, 92, 93.
 Tewdwr, see Rhys ap Tewdwr.
 Tewdwr of Anglesey, 119, 121.
 Thelwall, 7-13.
 Thor, 41.
 Thorsteinn, 41.
 Thur, 41, 107, 160.
 Thurkyl, Thurkiaul, 41, 42, 107, 160.
 Toirdelbhach, 103, 159, 168.
 Tomar, Ring of, 41.
 Tomen y Mur, 175. See also Mur Castell.
- Trahaiarn ap Caradoc, lord of Arwystli, Ardudwy and Meirionydd, 69, 93; a usurper, 31, 48, 49, 113, 153; his relations, 163, 164; defeated at Gwaet Erw, 117; supported by Gwynedd against Gruffydd, 49; won the battle of Bron yr Erw, 49, 52, 61, 119; his responsibility for the Norman invasion of Gwynedd, 50, 60, 61, 123; joined a coalition against Rhys ap Owain, 52; and against Rhys ap Tewdwr, 53, 127; defeated at Mynydd Carn, 15, 54, 62, 77, 129, 171; his dominions ravaged, 131.
- Tuathal, 43, 109.
 Turgesius, see Thurkyl.
 Tygeingl, 50, 57, 59-61, 78, 115, 165, 181.
- Uchtryd ap Edwin, 77, 143, 176, 177.
 Ugaire, see Augaire.
 Ulster, Kings of, 44, 46.
 Usk, 63, 67, 68, 173.
 Uther Pendragon, 36.
- Vaughan, Robert, 3, 8, 10.
 Vitellius MS. C ix (Bibl. Cotton), 1, 3, 6, 10.
- Walter de Lacy, see Lacy.
 Warenne, Sheriff, of Shrewsbury, 29, 57, 123, 168.
 Waterford, Kings of, 19, 40-44, 46, 72, 159, 160, 168.

- Waterford, 19, 107, 125.
West Liffey, Kings of, 43, 44, 46, 162.
Wexford, 46, 121, 169.
William, Abbot of Chester, 182.
William of Pantoul, 57.
William the Conqueror, 55, 56, 59, 63-66, 109.
Williams, Moses, 4.
William Rufus, called in *Hanes Longepée*, 109, 141, 161; revolt against, 63-65; invaded Wales, 27, 63, 70-77, 141-3, 175-6.
Wynne, John, ap Meredith, 7, 8.
Wynne, Sir John, 6, 13.
Wynne, Morris or Morice, 6, 7, 9, 13.
Wynne, Sir Richard, of Gwydir, 3, 4, 7, 8.

Yspwys, battle of, 73, 177.
Ystrad Tywi, 51.
Ynys, see Adron, Seiriol, etc.

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