

**HAEARNLLEN ap CYNDRWYN.** See Cyndrwyn, prince of Powys.

**HAEARNWEDD FRADOG.** See Gleisiar Gogledd.

**HAFGAN,** King of Annwn.

According to the Mabinogi branch of 'Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed' Hafgan was a king of Annwn whose dominions were opposite those of Arawn, king of Annwn. Hafgan made war against Arawn. Pwyll changed places with Arawn and slew Hafgan so that Arawn was thenceforth king over all Annwn (WM 3-11, RM 2-6). See further s.n. Pwyll.

For another possible reference to Hafgan see John Morris-Jones in *Cy.* 28 (1918), p.236.

**HAFREN ferch LOCRINUS.** See Locrinus.

**HAIARME.** See Tysilio.

**HAWYSTL** (ferch Brychan).

She first appears as a saint 'in Caer Hawystl' and a daughter of Brychan in Peniarth MS.127 p.52, and this is copied in a number of later manuscripts. The name seems to have taken the place of Tudwystl which is omitted from the list in Peniarth MS.127. See Plant Brychan §3x in EWGT p.83. It has been suggested that she is the saint of Llanawstl (destroyed) in Machen, Gwent (W.J.Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, p.607; LBS III.252), But see s.n. Austell.

**HAWYSTL DRAHOG.** (Legendary).

'H. the Arrogant'. The name of one of the 'Three Gate-Keepers' on the side of Lloegr [England] at the Battle of Perllan Fangor [Chester] according to a triad (TYP no.60). The name is equivalent to Augustulus.

**HAWYSTL GLOFF.** (465)

The father of saints Tyfrydog, Diheufyr, Tyrnog, Tudur and Marchell by Tywanwedd ferch Amlawdd Wledig according to Bonedd y Saint (§43 in EWGT p.61). A later version (G) makes him son of Owain Danwyn ab Einion Yrth, and another (F) calls him Mennwyd ab Owain Danwyn, and does not name his wife. A.W.Wade-Evans calls him Awstl Gloff (WCO 188-190).

**HEDD ap DÔN.** See Dôn.

**HEDDYN ap CYNDRWYN.** (570)

The name appears as *Hedyn*, *Ehedyn* in two stanzas of the 'Cynddylan' poetry (CLIH XI.88, 89):

88c                      Shame on their beards for forsaking Heddyn.

89a                      In the life of Heddyn ....?

There is no indication that Heddyn is a son of Cyndrwyn, but he is listed as one of the sons of Cyndrwyn in the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (ByA §1 in EWGT p.85) where the name appears as *Ehedyn*.

**HEDILFYW,** bishop.

He is mentioned in the Book of Llandaf as twelfth bishop of Llandaf, being one of several placed between Oudoceus and Berthwyn. Apart from the fact that there was no see of Llandaf at the time, his chronological position is probably incorrect. There is only one charter ascribed to him (BLD 169a). The few witnesses seem to put him in a group with Grecielis and Gwodloyw. Wendy Davies puts him last of the three, calls him Eddylyfw, and dates the charter in about 868 (LICh p.106).

**HEFAN (ap CYDIFOR) ap MAELDAF HYNAF.**

Genealogical link in the ancestry of Ednywain ap Bradwen, patriarch of a tribe in Meirionydd; father of Cynfan or Cynfawr. See PP §25(1).

**HEFEYDD HEN.** (Legendary).

He appears as Heueyd Hen, the father of Rhiannon, in the Mabinogi branch of 'Pwyll'. (WM 18-27, RM 11-17). This name is probably to be distinguished from Hyfaidd. See PKM 129, TYP pp.410-411.

**HEFEYDD HIR.** (Legendary).

He appears in the Mabinogi branch of 'Branwen' as *Eueyd Hir* and *Euehyd Hir*, one of the messengers sent to Matholwch Wyddel when he left the court of Brân without explanation (WM 42, RM 29), and again on a second occasion (WM 43, RM 29). He was one of the seven princes left in Britain when Brân departed on his fateful trip to Ireland (WM 50, RM 35). He and his companions were slain by Caswallon ap Beli (WM 58, RM 58). Again to be distinguished from Hyfaidd. See also Geneid Hir.

**HEILIN** (ap Brychan).

There was a Capel Heilin in the township of Trefollwyn in the parish of Llangefni, Anglesey (LBS III.252; WATU).

Three saints, Llofan, Llonio and Heilin, are added to the list of the sons of Brychan in the version of Plant Brychan in Peniarth MS.128 p.50 (mid 16th century) (PB §2w in EWGT p.82). Peniarth MS.75 pp.20-21 (of about the same date) mentions *Heilin ap Brychan yn Nyffryn Aled*, 'in the Vale of Aled', that is, in Rhufoniog, Gwynedd (EWGT pp.147-8). No dedication to a Heilin is known in the valley of the Aled (LBS III.252).

**HEILIN ap LLYWARH HEN.** (550)

One of the sons of Llywarch Hen mentioned in a single stanza in the Llywarch Hen poetry with six other sons as 'Brave men, warlike brothers' (CLIH I.42). See full quotation s.n. Maen ap Llywarch Hen. He is included in the list of the sons of Llywarch Hen in the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (ByA §5 in EWGT p.86).

According to *Montgomeryshire Collections*, IV.24, the name appears in Lletty Heilyn, Moel Heilyn and Llwybr Heilyn in the parish of Llanrhaeadr yMochnant, Powys (CLIH p.93).

In the 'Gododdin' of Aneirin a stanza is dedicated to the prowess of a certain Heilyn (CA stanza 50, 1.574). "Here Heilyn's court is compared to Senyllt's for liberality" (Kenneth Jackson, *The Gododdin*, p.135). Chronologically he could be a son of Llywarch Hen. If he was we must conclude that Heilin ap Llywarch Hen was slain in the raid on Catraeth. But Heilin is a fairly common name.

**HEININ FARDD.** (Legendary).

According to 'Hanes Taliesin' he was the chief of Maelgwn Gwynedd's twenty-four bards who were so fulsome in his praise. He and the other bards were affected by a spell which Taliesin cast over them so that all they could do was to pout out their lips and make faces at the king, producing the sound of 'blerwm, blerwm' upon their lips with their fingers. When they had been admonished by the king Heinin explained that their behaviour was not through stupidity or drunkenness, but because of a spirit sitting in the corner of the hall in the guise of a child. (Charlotte Guest, *The Mabinogion*, Everyman edition, pp.272-4; Patrick K.Ford, *The Mabinogi and other Medieval Welsh Tales*, pp.167-171).

Heinin is mentioned in two of the poems sung by Taliesin in the tale as told by Charlotte Guest: *Prifardd cyffredin*, 'Primary chief bard' (p.273) and *Cystwy'r Beirdd*, 'The Reproof of the Bards' (p.279), but not in the corresponding places in the version of Elis Gruffydd translated by Patrick Ford (pp.172, 175).

There are several poems attributed to an otherwise unknown Hinin Fardd. He was a writer of prophecies and his work is often associated in the manuscripts with the work of Myrddin and Taliesin. Judging from the content of the poems he is dated 1360?-1420 (DWB). Or were the poems merely attributed to the legendary Heinin Fardd? (PCB). See now P.K.Ford, *Ystoria Taliesin*, 1992, p.132.

**HELEDD ferch CYNDRWYN. (590)**

Heledd, sister of Cynddylan, is the person into whose mouth is put the stirring poem on Cynddylan, Lord of Pengwern. See s.n. Cynddylan ap Cyndrwyn. In two stanzas she is given the cognomen 'Hwyedig'. In the first she is speaking to someone, unknown, who replies in the second (CLIH p.lxiv):

*Heled hwyledic* am I called.  
O God! Is it thou to whom are given  
my brothers' horses and their land?

*Heled hwyledic* asks me,  
'O God! Is it thou to whom are given the dusky trappings  
of Cynddylan, and his fourteen horses?'

(CLIH XI.78, 79). No answer to the question is forthcoming. Another stanza of later date mentions Heledd among the children of Cyndrwyn:

Once they were gentle,  
beloved daughters of Cyndrwyn,  
Heledd, Gwladus and Gwenddwyn.

(CLIH XI.107). These names and those of other daughters of Cyndrwyn are listed in the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract. See ByA §1 in EWGT p.85.

Owing to a misunderstanding of one stanza (CLIH XI.76) it was thought by some that Heledd was the wife of Gyrthmwl. See s.n. Gyrthmwl Wledig.

In 'Englynion y Clyweid' in Llanstephen MS.27 the name takes the form Hyledd:

Hast thou heard what *Hyled* sang,  
daughter of Cyndrwyn of great abundance?  
'He gives not well who causes poverty.'

(No.28, ed. in BBCS III p.12).

In a triad (TYP no.65) Heledd is mentioned as one of the 'Three Unrestricted Guests' and one of the 'Three Wanderers' of Arthur's Court. It is an anachronism to put her at Arthur's Court, and this applies also to the two other persons mentioned in the triad, namely, Llywarch Hen and Llemenig.

On the name and the cognomen see CLIH pp.227-8 and TYP pp.405-6.

See also Hiledd.

**HELENA, ST. (1)**

The wife of Constantius Chlorus and mother of Constantine the Great. She was the daughter of an innkeeper, perhaps at Drepanum in Bithynia. (Edward Gibbon, *Decline & Fall*, Ch.XIV). Her son, Constantine, was born in about 272.

In 292 when Constantius was raised to the dignity of Caesar, Helena was divorced. In 296 Constantius first came to Britain. In 306 Constantine, his son, joined him. In the same year Constantius died and Constantine was given the title of Caesar. After this Helena was treated with distinction and received the title of Augusta (William Smith, *Classical Dictionary*).

She became a Christian after the Edict of Milan (313). In about 326 she made a pilgrimage to Palestine, where she visited the holy places and founded several churches. She died c.330 and her feast is on August 18 (*Everyman's Encyclopaedia*, 1967, s.n. Helena, St.). At the end of the fourth century it

was being claimed that she had discovered the True Cross. The legend is not alluded to by Eusebius, who was in Jerusalem in 355, and is first mentioned by St.Ambrose in 395 (DCB II.883).

It seems to have been Henry of Huntingdon who first suggested that St.Helena was the daughter of the fictitious Coel (q.v.), king of Colchester. This was copied by Geoffrey of Monmouth (HRB V.6) and such was his influence that the fiction was accepted by most historians until Edward Gibbon demolished it (*Decline and Fall*, 1776, Ch.XIV), although it did not die.

The existence of a British Elen, wife of the emperor Maximus, (see s.n. Elen ferch Eudaf), who had a son Custennin (Constantine) may have had some influence in causing the fiction. It is probable that the traditions of St.Helena at Trèves belong properly to the latter Elen. The cognomen, Llyuddog, which belongs properly to Elen, was wrongly applied to Helena in the 'Harleian' genealogies (HG 2 in EWGT p.10), dating from the tenth century, and later in Brut y Brenhinedd (e.g. *Brut Dingestow*, ed. Henry Lewis, p.69).

**HELENA, ST. (2)**, of Cornwall.

A saint mentioned by Leland as one of those in the company of St.Breaca who came from Ireland and landed in Cornwall in the Hayle estuary. See s.n. Breaca. There are no known dedications, although there are chapels dedicated to a St.Helen in West Cornwall, one at St.Just in Penwith, one in Burian, one in Landewednack and one in Ruan Major (LBS III.254)

The name *Elenn* appears in a tenth century list of Cornish parochial saints found in the Vatican codex Reginensis Latinus 191. Egloshellings, the church town of St.Stephen in Brannel occurs earlier as *Eglosselans* 1297, *Eglozelans* 1336 and c. 1350, and *Egloshellans* 1546. This suggests an earlier dedication to St.Elent as was proposed by [Charles] Henderson. See B.L.Olson and O.J.Padel in CMCS 12 (1986), pp.58-59.

**HELI son of CLIGUEILLUS.** See Beli Mawr.

**HELIE.** (Cornish Saint?).

One of the children of Brychan according to the Cornish list given in the Life of St.Nectan. See EWGT p.29. G.H.Doble pointed out that there were several parishes in Cornwall named Egloshayle. This means 'river church', but may originally have been Eglos Helye (*S.Nectan, S.Keyne and the children of Brychan in Cornwall*, p.17).

**HELIG FOEL ap GLANNOG.**

'H. the Bald'. Helig ap Glannog is the subject of a triad on 'The Kingdoms which the sea destroyed', found embedded in the *Cronica de Wallia* in Exeter Cathedral Library MS.3514, edited by Thomas Jones in BBCS XII p.79 (Nov.1947). The manuscript is dated about 1280 (BBCS XII pp.27-44 (Nov.1946)):

The second kingdom (which the sea destroyed) was the kingdom of *Helic mab Glannauc*, which was between Ceredigion and the island of *Henly* [Ynys Enlli = Bardsey] and as far as Menevia. And that land was very good, fertile and level; and it was called *Mays Maichghen* [Maes Meigen?] which was from *ostio*, [the mouth - aber] [i.e.Aberystwyth?] as far as *Tehehin* [Lleyn?] and upwards as far as Aberdeuy [Aberdyfi].

Note that there is Pwllheli [Pwllhelig] in Llŷn and Penhelyg, a hamlet in Towyn, Meirionydd (Rhestr).

Helig next appears in Bonned y Saint (§42 in EWGT p.60). Here he is called Helig ap Glannog of Tyno Helig, 'Helig's Plain', and it adds that his lands were overrun by the sea. The item refers to the saints Bodo, Gwynnin and Brothen. In two manuscripts (A,D) they are sons of Glannog ap Helig Foel, but this is corrected in most other versions. Later versions add Cynin or Celynin, Rhychwyn and Aelgyfarch. Of these saints Bodo, Gwynnin, Celynin and Aelgyfarch have dedications in Arllechwedd, Rhychwyn in Nanconwy, and Brothen in Arduwy. Gwynnin also has a church in Llŷn, and Celynin one

in Meirionydd. A daughter Ananan lleian, 'the nun', is added in some late texts. Compare Anap y Lleian.

Later legends associated Helig with the north coast of Gwynedd from Môn to the mouth of the Conwy. Priestholm or Puffin Island was called Ynys Lannog and the name appears in *Annales Cambriae* s.a.629 (manuscript of c.1100). Traeth Helig is mentioned in a poem by Rhys Goch Eryri (15th century) on the Court of Gwilym ap Gruffudd of Penrhyn (*Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill*, ed. Henry Lewis, et al., 1937, p.311, l.32), the implication being that it was near Penrhyn at the western end of this coast (F.J.North, *Sunken Cities*, 1957, p.69).

Genealogical manuscripts of the 16th century and onwards trace two tribes of North Wales to Helig ap Glannog. In these he is made son of Glannog ap Caradog Freichfras. The tribes are those of Iarddur ap Cynddelw in Arllechwedd and Llywarch Howlbwrch in Gwynedd is Conwy, and the descent is through sons Cysgen and Gwrydr Goch respectively. See PP §§10, 11, 13.

The growth of an elaborate legend, begins in about 1625, in NLW MS.820 D. It was printed by Thomas Wright in *Arch.Camb.*, 1861 pp.140-155. It calls the land which was inundated *Cantre Gwylod*, lying from Bangor Fawr to Penygogarth [Great Ormes Head], and apparently further east. It describes the ruins of the palace of Helig as being some two miles north of Dwygyfylchi church in Conway Bay, where indeed there are rocks which have this superficial appearance and can be seen at very low equinoctial tides. We are also told that Helig ap Glannog had another manor house at Pwllheli. There were later variations and elaborations. See *Sunken Cities, passim*, John Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, pp.415-6.

It will be noticed that the inundated lands of Helig ap Glannog were in Cardigan Bay according to the old triad, but on the north coast of Gwynedd in later legends. Similarly *Cantre'r Gwaelod*, 'The Bottom Hundred', is here put in the north, while in the legend of Gwyddno Garanhir (q.v.) it is generally identified with Cardigan Bay. The inundation of Cardigan Bay is referred to in the Mabinogi branch of 'Branwen':

Bendigeidfran and the host ... sailed towards Ireland, and in those days the deep water was not wide. He went wading. There were but two rivers, the Lli and the Archan were they called, but thereafter the deep water grew wider when the deep overflowed the kingdoms (WM 50, RM 35).

See further notes in TYP pp.398-400; OP II.455.

**HELYGY ab ILON HWYLFAWR.** See Ilon Hwylfawr.

**HEMYTHRYD ferch MABON.** See Emerchred.

**HENBEDESTYR ab ERIM.** (Fanciful).

'Old Walker'. One of the persons at Arthur's Court mentioned in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen'. He never found a man who could keep up with him, whether on horseback or on foot (WM 463, RM 108). He was the brother of Annwas (Henwas) Adeiniog and Sgilti Ysgawndroed, both also noted for their speed.

**HENBEN ap GLEISIAR GOGLEDD and/or HAERNWEDD FRADOG.** (Legendary).

One of the 'Three Brave Men' of Ynys Prydein who would not turn from battle except on their biers. See further s.n. Gleisiar Gogledd.

In 'Marwnad Uthyr Ben' in the Book of Taliesin are the lines:

Neu vi a rodeis i Henpen  
cledyfawr goruawr gyghallen.  
Indeed I gave to Henpen  
immense swords for defence.

(BT 71, l.19). See TYP p.406.

**HENUINUS.** See Henwyn, Duke of Cornwall.

**HENWAS.** See Annwas.

**HENWG,** cousin of St.Samson.

In the Life of St.Samson he is called Henoc, a holy deacon, cousin of St.Samson (Prologue §2). Just before leaving Cornwall, Samson ordained his cousin deacon, and they both set out for Brittany (I.52). From the rather confused account in the prologue (§2) we gather that Henoc had composed 'many and delightful accounts of the amazing deeds which he [Samson] had performed in Brittany and Romania [Gaul]' and had brought them to the monastery [in Britain] which Samson had founded. St.Samson's mother had also handed information to Henoc which was kept at the same monastery. When the Breton author of the extant Life of Samson came to the monastery there was an old man who had lived a religious life there for nearly eighty years. He was a deacon and nephew to Henoc, and therefore also related to Samson. (The text loosely says 'cousin'). The Breton author stayed in the monastery with the old man who 'kindly related to him many particulars of the saint's wonderful career' and caused Henoc's writings to be read before him.

A.W.Wade-Evans thought that the monastery was probably Southill in Cornwall, founded by Samson, and that perhaps the aged man was the then abbot of Southill (WCO 206-7).

It is evidently Henoc who gave his name to the church of Llanhenwg (Llanhennock) near Caerleon-on-Usk in Gwent (WCO 207). Samson's mother, Anna, was a lady of Gwent (I.1) and it is reasonable to suppose that she was Henwg's aunt.

**HENWYN,** Duke of Cornwall. (Fictitious). (885 B.C.)

Called Henuinus, Duke of Cornwall, by Geoffrey of Monmouth. He was the husband of Regau [Rhagaw] one of the daughters of Leir [Liŷr] by whom he was the father of Cunedagius [Cunedda] (HRB II.11-15). In Brut y Brenhinedd he is called Henwyn. Other Welsh forms are shown in [ ]. For his story see s.n. Leir son of Bladud.

In order to give the supposed royal line a purely male descent from Brutus, later genealogies gave him a pedigree going back to Camber son of Brutus. There are two versions: One makes him son of Bleiddud ab Asser ap Cyngen ap Dyfnwal Hen; the other makes him son of Cyngen ab Asser ap Bleiddud ap Dyfnwal Hen. See MP §2 in EWGT p.121 and note p.158.

Owain Glyndŵr (d.c.1416) claimed to be descended from Camber according to the Chronicle of Adam of Usk (Ed. E.M.Thompson, London, 1876, p.194).

**HENWYN, ST.** See Hywyn.

**HENYN,** father of Garwen (q.v.).

**HERMES, ST.** See Erme.

**HERNIN, ST.(?)**

Llanhernin or Llanhirnin in Llanegwad, Ystrad Tywi (WATU gives both spellings) may be named after a saint Hernin or Hirnin. A.W.Wade-Evans thought it was named from Iserninus, a companion of St.Patrick, who may have had a temporary station in south-west Wales (WCO 65, 141). See s.n. Usyllt.

**[?H]ESSELIS ap GWRHAEARN.** (600)

The last of an otherwise unknown line of princes, apparently in Powys. See HG 23 in EWGT p.12.

**HESSITIO.** See Istio.

**HIA, ST.** See Ia.

**HILARIUS**, archbishop. (Fictitious).

Hilarius is mentioned as eleventh archbishop of London in a list attributed to Jocelin of Furness, succeeding Theodred and being succeeded by Guethelinus (John Stow, *The Chronicles of England*, 1580, p.56). But Francis Godwin inserted Restitutus as bishop after Hilarius (*De Praesulibus Angliae Commentarius*, London, 1616, p.227).

**HILEDD, ST.**

The presumed saint of Llanhilledd, Gwent (PW 73). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was called Llanhilledd, Llanhyledd, and Llanhyledd Vorwyn. See RWM i.920. The implication is that Hilledd or Hyledd was female. The name is perhaps equivalent to Heledd and it may be noted that a place called Llanheledd (*Llan Helet*) is mentioned in the Stanzas of the Graves in the Black Book of Carmarthen (No.14, in SG pp.120/1). There seems to be no good reason for identifying her with Heledd ferch Cyndrwyn. See also LBS III.254-5, TYP p.405.

**HIR AMREN.** (Legendary).

Hir Amren and Hir Eiddyl are mentioned in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' as two servants of Arthur (WM 467, RM 111). When Arthur went to obtain the blood of the witch Orddu, needed for the wedding of Culhwch and Olwen, these two servants were sent to fight the hag after Cacamwri and Hygwydd, two other servants, had been unsuccessful. However they were even less successful and all four had to be carried away on Llamrei, Arthur's mare (RM 141-2).

**HIR ATRWM.** (Legendary).

Hir Atrwm and Hir Erwm are mentioned in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' as two persons at Arthur's Court. 'The day they came to a feast, three cantrevs would they seize for their needs; feasting till noon and drinking till night. When they went to sleep they would devour the heads of insects through hunger as though they had never set tooth in food. When they went to a feast they left neither fat nor lean, sour nor sweet, fresh nor salt, cooked nor raw' (WM 466-7, RM 110-1).

One of the 'Englynion y Clyweid' records a proverb spoken by *Llurerwm* to his companion *Hirattrwm* (No.27 in BBCS 3 p.13).

**HIR EIDDYL.** See Hir Amren.**HIR ERWM.** See Hir Atrwm.**HIR PEISOG**, king of Llydaw.

According to the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' he was slain in the hunting of the boar Trwyth by Llwydog Gofynniad, one of the offspring of the boar Trwyth (RM 140).

"The name ... is really an epithet, signifying 'of the long tunic'. In other words the name of the king of Llydaw is omitted. He wears 'a long tunic' as Padarn Peisrudd ... wore 'a red tunic'. We may safely conclude that he is a Roman ruler." (WCO 112). A.W.Wade-Evans suggested that he was either Amlawdd Wledig or Emyr Llydaw (WCO 113). Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw would suit chronology better (PCB).

**HIRELGLAS.** (Fictitious).

A nephew of Cassibellaunus according to Geoffrey of Monmouth. After his second victory over Julius Caesar, Cassibellaun organised sacrifices at Trinovantum [Llundein] followed by games and sports. Among these was a wrestling match or joust between Hirelglas [Hirlas], nephew of Cassibellaun, and Cuelinus [Cuhelyn] nephew of Androgeus [Afarwy]. There was a dispute about the victory and Cuelinus snatched up his sword and cut off the head of Hirelglas (HRB IV.8). Similarly ByB with names shown above in [ ]. See further s.n. Cuhelyn, nephew of Afarwy.

**HIRFAWR ap GWRIAD.**

The Red Book version of ByT says that he died in 954. The person is a 'ghost' resulting from textual corruption. See ByT notes.

**HIRIELL.** (Legendary).

A hero of North Wales well known to the bards. Ifor Williams wrote: 'Time and again we see that Hiriell is connected with Môn and Arfon, or Gwynedd. His offspring are there. Llywelyn the Great is ruler of Hiriell's land. Dafydd ap Owain is an elder of Hiriell's land. .... When Gwalchmai [ap Meilyr] was in *Caer Arfonig* he was near Hiriell's country:

A Tuesday will come, a day of fury, between the lord of Powys and the host (tribe) of Gwynedd. And *Hirell* will arise out of his long sleep, to defend the border of Gwynedd against his enemy. (BBC 57).

'It is clear that Hiriell was a traditional hero of Gwynedd. It is his land, as Dyfed was Pryderi's land. He is the Arthur of Gwynedd, and, like Arthur of Cornwall, went away, quitting his land and sleeping somewhere a long time. But when it is hard on his people he will come again on that Tuesday from his long rest to scatter his enemies, as in former days. ...

'All memory about him has been lost, so that his name has become one of the synonyms for a hero or lord, as [in poems] by Iolo Goch or Lewys Glyn Cothi.' (BBCS 3 (1927) pp.50-51).

References occur in LIH 21 1.10, 93 1.14, 183 1.6, 233 1.9, BBC 57 1.5 (see above). See TYP p.cxx n.3.

**HIRLAS.** See Hirelglas.

**HISITIO.** See Istio.

**HOBERT.** (Legendary).

According to legend Hobert was the leader of a group of Britons of Strathclyde and Cumbria, who, being oppressed by the Danes, Angles and Scots, sought refuge in North Wales in the time of Anarawd ap Rhodri Mawr (878-916).

The development of the story is related by Molly Miller in BBCS 26 pp.274-5. The germ is in Hector Boece (*Scotorum Historia*, 1526, X.20) where we are told that after the defeat and death of Constantine, king of the Scots, in 877, the Britons of Cumbria were so oppressed by the enmity of Danes, Scots and Angles that they obtained permission to go to Wales under Hebert, a relation of Constantine [brother according to Buchanan].

Next, Humphrey Llwyd wrote on the subject in *Commentarioli Britannicae Descriptionis Fragmentum*, Cologne, 1572, fos.26v-27r. This was translated by Thomas Twyne in *The Breuiarie of Britayne*, 1573, fos.31r-v:

And it is wel knowne, that these countries [Strathclyde and Cumbria], together with Gallouidia, so farre as the River *Cluda*, unto the year of our Lord 870, were in y<sup>e</sup> *Britaynes* possession, at what time beyng by the Scottes, Danes, and Englishmen disquieted, with many batayles, and in the ende their kynge *Constantinus* slayne, at Lochmaba in Anandra: they were enforced to returne into Wales to their countrymen, and dryuing away the *English Saxons*: forcibly chalenged to themselves the greater part of the country which lieth twixt Conway and the water of Dee, whiche they possessed.

Much of Humphrey Llwyd's work was used by David Powel in his *Historie of Cambria*, 1584, but the story of the migration does not appear in his work. However, in the 'augmented' version of David Powel's history by William Wynne (*The History of Wales*, 1697) the story reappears with the name Hobert (pp.37-38):



After the death of Roderic the Great [878] the northern Britains of Strathclyd and Cumberland were mightily infested and weakened through the daily incursions of the Danes, Saxons and Scots, insomuch that as many of them as would not submit their necks to the yoke were forced to quit their country, and to seek for more quiet habitations. Therefore towards the beginning of Anarawd's reign, several of them came to Gwyneth, under the conduct of one Hobert, whose distressed condition the prince commiserating, granted them all the country betwixt Chester and Conway to seat themselves in, in case they could drive out the Saxons who had lately possessed themselves of it... They easily dispossessed the Saxons.

If the story is true it probably occurred after the expulsion of Eochaid ap Rhun (q.v.) in 889. This is evidently the basis of the entry in the forged *Gwentian Brut* or *Brut Aberpergwm* under the year 890 (MA<sup>2</sup> 688), probably the work of Iolo Morganwg. But it does not mention Hobert.

“The legend is open to the suspicion of being based to some extent on the false etymology which identifies the name of the Clwyd with that of the Clyde...Clûd in later Welsh.” (John Rhys, CB p.147).

**HOEDLEW ap PODDIEN HEN.** See Pobddelw ap Pobien Hen.

**HOEL I son of BUDICIUS,** king of Armorica.

This person appears to be an invention of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who describes him as a son of Budicius, king of Armorica, by a sister of Arthur [see Anna]. He came to Arthur's assistance against the Saxons (HRB IX.2). But fell sick at Alclud (IX.3). The Scots and Picts besieged Alclud and it was later relieved by Arthur (IX.5-6). Hoel commanded part of Arthur's army in Gaul, conquering Aquitaine and Gascony (IX.11). He was present at Arthur's coronation at Caerleon-on-Usk (IX.12). He also fought for Arthur against the Roman Lucius Hiberius (X.6, 9-11). When Arthur had to return to Britain to deal with Modred he left Hoel with the army in Gaul to restore peace to those parts (XI.1).

He was father of Hoel II (XII.6) and uncle to Helena [Elen, q.v.] who was carried off by the giant of Mont St.Michel (X.3).

In *Brut y Brenhinedd* the same story is told, but he is called Hywel (q.v.) ab Emyr Llydaw.

The early historians of Brittany accepted Geoffrey's line of Breton kings although there was no native evidence for them, except perhaps Budic. For example Pierre le Baud, *Histoire de Bretagne*, 1638, but written c.1508 (LBS I.298). One of the first critical historians was Dom Gui-Alexis Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, 1707. See Arthur le Moyne de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, 1896, Vol.2 pp.441 ff.

**HOEL II son of HOEL I.** (Fictitious).

A fictitious prince of Armorica mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who calls him duke Hoel son of Hoel, and says that he married the daughter of Rhun ap Maelgwn, and was father of Alan I, the father of Hoel III. (HRB XII.6). *Brut y Brenhinedd* calls him Hywel Fychan ap Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw. In Peniarth MS 131 p.54 (c.1510) Rhun's daughter is called Tymyr; so also Robert Vaughan in Panton MS.51 fo.124.

**HOEL III son of ALAN I.** (Fictitious).

Fictitious prince of Armorica; father of Salomon (HRB XII.6). See Salomon II.

**HOEL.** See also Hywel.

**HONORIUS son of THEFRIAUC.** See Ynyr ap Tyfriog.

**HOYW ap GLOYW.**

‘Sprightly son of Bright’. This pair of names occurs in various positions in the variety of pedigrees of Maenyrch, the patriarch of tribes in Brycheiniog. See PP §15.

**HU GADARN.** (Romance).

Hugo, Emperor of Constantinople, appears in the French Romance 'Pélerinage Charlemagne' where he is found ploughing with a golden plough (R.S.Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, 1927, p.224). There is a Welsh version of the Pélerinage called *Campeu Siarlymaen*, 'The Exploits of Charlemagne' in the White Book of Rhydderch. For translation see Robert Williams, *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*, II.1-118.

The Welsh text reads (p.2 §1):

*Hu Gadarn yr hwnn yssyd yn llywyaw amherodraeth Constinobyl.*

'Hu the Mighty who is governing the empire of Constantinople'.

The name Hu Gadarn translates *Hugun le Fort* of the original French (Rachel Bromwich in *Trans.Cym.*, 1968, p.323).

Iolo Goch (fl.1328-1405) mentions him in *Cywydd y Llafurwr*, 'The Ode of the Labourer':

Hu Gadarn, lord of a lively nation,  
a king who gave wine and song,  
emperor of land and seas,  
was constable of the gold of Constantinople,  
After the deluge he held  
fittingly, a strong plough, a mighty plough-beam;

(*Gwaith Iolo Goch*, ed. D.R.Johnston, 1988, p.133).

Hu Gadarn is also mentioned by Rhys Goch Eryri in a poem to Beuno Sant (*Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill* No.CXI l.10 p.320) and by Tudur Aled in connection with agriculture (*Gwaith*, ed. T.Gwynn Jones, No.IV l.66 p.22). Guto'r Glyn says:

The same man has a heap of gold  
and more corn than Hu Gadarn.

(*Gwaith*, ed. Ifor Williams, No.70 ll.53-4, p.187).

Lewis Morris said: "Hu Gadarn, an Emperor of Constantinople that held the plough, and would eat no bread but from corn of his own raising. (Iolo Goch)." (*Celtic Remains*, p.246 s.n. Hu Gadarn).

He is perhaps the same as Hu Ysgwn, 'Hu the swift, strong or brave?'. In 'Englyns which Cynnddelw sang to Gwenwynwyn' is the line (33):

Gawrueirt huysgwn huysgein a uyt.

(RBP col.1400 l.4, LIH p.162).

The mention by Iolo Goch of Hu Gadarn 'after the deluge' seems to have led to the idea that he belonged to the distant past. Thus in Harleian MS.2300 fo.157v Walter Hopkin (c.1600) mentions: *Huwisgon gwedy diliw*, 'Huwisgon after the deluge', and shows him as a son of Noe Hen [Noah].

Iolo Morganwg made Hu Gadarn into a 'culture-hero' of the remote past. See Rachel Bromwich (*loc.cit.*).

**HUABWY ap GWRION.** See Gwrion.

**HUAIL ap CAW.** (490)

He is mentioned in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' in a list of the sons of Caw, supposed to be at Arthur's Court. Of him it is said: 'He never submitted to a lord's hand' (WM 462, RM 107). We are further told that Huail stabbed his nephew Gwydre ap Llwydeu, the son of his sister Gwenabwy, 'and thereby there was feud between Huail and Arthur because of the wound'. (WM 464, RM 109).

Huail ap Caw is mentioned in a triad (TYP no.21) as one of the 'Three Battle-Diademed Men' of Ynys Prydain. The White and Red Book versions substitute Gwair ap Gwystyl.

In the Life of Gildas by Caradog of Llancarfan (§5) we are told that Huail was the eldest of the twenty-three brothers of Gildas. These brothers constantly rose up against Arthur refusing to own him as their lord. Huail, an active warrior and distinguished soldier, submitted to no king, not even Arthur. He would harass the latter, often swooping from Scotia, burning and carrying off spoils. Arthur pursued the youth who was expected to become king, and Huail was finally slain by Arthur in the Isle of Man.

Another version of the quarrel between Huail and Arthur, which depicts Arthur in an unusually frivolous light, is told by Elis Gruffydd in his Chronicle (c.1530) in NLW MS.5276D fos.334v-5r. The text was edited by Thomas Jones in "Chwedl Huail ap Caw ac Arthur" in *Astudiaeth Amrywiol a gyflwynir i Syr Thomas [Herbert] Parry-Williams*, Cardiff, 1968, pp.56-57.

According to this, Huail obtained possession of one of Arthur's mistresses. Arthur came to spy on the pair, and a fierce combat took place between him and Huail. Finally Huail wounded Arthur in the knee. After this, peace was made between them, on condition that Huail should never reproach Arthur about his wound. Arthur returned to his court at Caerwys, but ever after remained slightly lame.

Later on, Arthur dressed himself in woman's clothes in order to visit a girl at Rhuthun. Huail chanced to come there and recognised Arthur by his lameness, as he was dancing in a company of girls. Huail said, 'This dancing would be all right were it not for the knee'. Arthur heard this and knew who had spoken it. He returned to court, caused Huail to be brought before him and reproached him for breaking his undertaking. Huail was taken to Rhuthun, where Arthur cut off his head on a stone in the market-place. From that time the stone was known as *Maen Huail*.

The stone is still to be seen, suitably inscribed, outside Barclays bank in the market-square at Rhuthun (TYP pp.409-410).

Huail is probably the person named Cuillus in the Breton Life of Gildas (§2) where he is described as 'A very active man in war, who, after his father's death succeeded him to the throne.' (OP II.338; TYP p.409). A.W.Wade-Evans, with less probability, identified him with Celyn ap Caw (WCO 181).

A proverb is ascribed to Huail ap Caw in 'Englynion y Clyweid' in Llanstephan MS. 27 (No.32 edited in BBCS 3 p.12).

### **HUALLU ap TUDFWLCH CORNEU.**

One of the 'Men of the North' according to Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd (§13 in EWGT p.73). His father was a prince of Cornwall and his mother was Tywanwedd ferch Amlawdd Wledig. Nothing is known about him.

### **HUAN ap GWYDION.** (Legendary).

*Huan* is a Welsh word for the sun. John Jones of Gellilyfdy, when writing Peniarth MS.112 (before 1619), came across the following couplet by Ieuan Dyfi:

*Mal Gwdion aml a gedwynt  
ymhenn gwaith am Huan gynt.*

'Like Gwydion ... finishing his work for Huan of old'. (The text is edited in *Gwaith Huw Cae Llwyd ac Eraill*, ed. Leslie Harries, 1953, No.57, "I olrhain Anni Goch", 1.61 p.128). John Jones wrote as follows (p.880):

The wife of Huan ap Gwydion was one in a plot to kill her husband, and said that he had gone away hunting. And his father Gwydion, king of Gwynedd, travelled every country to seek him and at last he made Caergwydion, (that is, *via lactua* [read *via lactea*, 'the milky way']), which is in the sky, to find him: and in heaven, he had news of him, where his soul was. Therefore he changed the young woman into a bird, and she fled from her father-in-law, and she is called from that day to this *Twyll Huan*, [Huan's Deceiving].

(W.J.Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy*, pp.198-9). Twyll Huan is intended to explain the Welsh name for an owl, *Tylluan*. The story is evidently a variation of that concerning Llew Llaw Gyffes and Blodeuwedd.

The manner in which Gwydion 'made' the milky way is referred to in the following entry by Lewis Morris in his *Celtic Remains*, (p.231):

Gwydion or Gwdion, son of Don, Lord or Prince of Arvon. This Gwdion was a great philosopher and astronomer, and from him the *Via Lactea*, or Milky Way, or Galaxy, in the heavens is called *Caer Gwdion*. His great learning made the vulgar call him a conjuror or necromancer; and there was a story feigned that when he travelled through the heavens in search of .....s wife that eloped, he left this tract of stars behind him (D.J.).

'D.J.' is David Johns (fl.1573-87) and the statement comes from BL. Add.MS.14,866 fo.129r (1587), where there is a note in the margin, now partly obliterated, about Huan, appearing in the same poem by Ieuan Dyfi. The name which Lewis Morris could not read was apparently Huan ap Gwydion, although in the former tale it was Huan, not his wife, for whom Gwydion was searching.

**HUANDAW.** See Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr.

**HUARWAR ap HALWN.** (Legendary).

One of the fanciful characters listed as being at Arthur's Court in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen'. He once 'asked his fill of Arthur as a boon. He was one of the three mighty plagues of Cornwall and Devon until his fill was found for him. No glimmer of a smile was ever to be seen on him save when he was sated.' (WM 467, RM 111). Compare Hir Atrwm and Hir Erwm.

A proverb is attributed to Huarwar in 'Englynion y Clyweid' in Llanstephan MS.27 (No.57 edited in BBCS 3 p.14).

**HUDIBRAS.** See Rhun Baladr Bras.

**HUGANUS.** (Legendary).

Huganus is associated in legend with Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians. The historical background is told in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. (The dates appear to be a year or so too late):

A.D.916 ... Æthelflæd sent an army into Wales, and stormed Brecenan mere [=Llangorse Lake; probably a nearby stronghold. HW 331], and there took the king's wife, and some thirty-four others.

A.D.918 ... This year Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians, with the help of God before Lammas, conquered the town called Derby [from the Danes], with all that thereto belonged; and there were also slain four of her thanes, that were most dear to her, within the gates.

A.D.920 ... Æthelflæd ... departed [this life] twelve nights before midsummer, at Tamworth.

The story of Huganus is thus told by David Powel in his *Historie of Cambria*, 1584, pp.47-48, (reprint of 1811 p.39):

Io. Castoreus reporteth this storie in this maner. Huganus Lord of Westwales, perceiuing King Edward to be occupied in the Danish warre, farre enough from him, gathered an armie of Brytaines, and entered the Kings land. Wherevpon Elfled, Ladie of Mercia, the sister of King Edward, came to Wales with a strong armie, and fought with the Welshmen at Brecknocke, and putting Huganus to flight, took his wife and 34. men captiues, and lead them with hir to Mercia. Huganus thus discomfited, fled to Derby, and there being peaceable receiued of the counciemen with fifteene men of warre, and two hundred souldiors well appointed, ioined himselfe with the

Kings aduersaries the Danes, of which thing when Elflod was certified by the men of Derby, shee followed him with a great armie, and entred the gates of that towne, where Huganus resisted hir, and slue foure of hir chiefe officers. But Gwyane Lord of the Ile of Elie hir Steward, set the gates on fire, and furiously running vpon the Brytaynes, entred the towne. Then Huganus being ouermatched, and choosing rather to die by the sword, than to yield himselfe vnto a woman, was there slaine. This out of Castoreus.

The ultimate authority for this legend is an author called Joannes Castoreus, that is, John (le) Bever, alias John of London, who flourished in 1310 (Note by Egerton Phillimore in Cy. X (1890) p.116).

**HUNABWY ap GWRION.** See Gwrion.

**HUNOG ap DÔN.**

One of the children of Dôn listed in the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (ByA §25 in EWGT p.90). Two late manuscripts, Mostyn 113 p.138 and Peniarth 118 p.601, make Hunog a daughter of Dôn. See BBCS 18 p.247 (1959).

**HUNYDD ferch BRYCHAN.**

The only uncorrupt version of her brief in the Brychan documents seems to be that in De Situ Brecheniauc (§12(4) in EWGT p.15):

*Hunyd filia Brachan, que iacet sub petra Meltheu, que fuit uxor Tudual flauī, mater Cunin cof*  
[glossed *.i.memorie*].

Hunydd ferch Brychan, who lies under the Stone of Meltheu, who was wife of Tudwal 'golden yellow' [Pefr], mother of Cunin Cof (i.e. 'memory').

Cognatio Brychan is corrupt (§15(3) in EWGT p.18). Jesus College MS.20 combines 'Hunydd' and 'Goleu' to produce *Goleuddyd wreic Tutwawl beper*, 'Goleuddydd wife of Tudwal Befr' (§3(15) in EWGT p.43); similarly the 'Hanesyn Hen' version, Plant Brychan, which calls her Nefydd; but Peniarth MS.127 adds that she [Nefydd] was a saint in a place called Llech Gelyddon in Prydyn (§3j in EWGT p.83). 'The Stone of Meltheu' has not been identified (LBS III.285).

**HUYSGWN.** See Hu Gadarn.

**HYCHAN, ST.** (ap Brychan).

The saint of Llanhychan in Dyffryn Clwyd (PW 97). His festival is on August 8 according to Browne Willis (LBS III.286). He is made son of Brychan only in some late versions of 'Plant Brychan' (§2r in EWGT p.82).

**HYCHDWN HIR** and **HYDDWN.** See Gilfaethwy.

**HYDROC, ST.**

The saint to whom Lanhydrock in Cornwall is dedicated. William of Worcester says:

Sanctus Ydrocus, confessor, die 5 Maii.

(*Itineraries*, edited John H. Harvey, p.88).

**HYDWN DWN ap CEREDIG.** (445)

Father of Ensychn, the father of Teilo, according to Bonedd y Saint (§5 in EWGT p.55).

**HYFAIDD (1).**

The word *hyfaidd* means ‘bold’ and appears to be used twice in that sense in a poem in the Book of Taliesin (CT VII.16, 50). Ifor Williams says of these two appearances, ‘*hyfeid* could be an adjective. I hardly think that it is the Hyfeidd made famous in the Gododdin’ (CT p.66). See Hyfaidd Hir.

On the other hand the names *Haeardur a Hyueid a Gwallawc* [Iarddur, Hyfaidd and Gwallog] appear in another poem in the Book of Taliesin, mainly in praise of Gwallog ap Lleenog. See CT XI.35.

**HYFAIDD ap BLEDDRI or BLEIDDIG, king of Dyfed. (d.893).**

Hyfaidd is mentioned twice by Asser in his Life of Alfred:

For my friends hoped that they should sustain less tribulation and harm from king *Hemeid*, who often plundered that monastery [Menevia] and the parish of St.Degui [Dewi], and sometimes expelled the prelates, as they expelled archbishop Novis [Nobis], my relation, and myself (§79).

King Hemeid, with all the inhabitants of the region of Demetia [Dyfed], compelled by the violence of the six sons of Rotri [Rhodri Mawr], had submitted to the dominion of the king [Alfred] (§80).

The pedigree of Hyfaidd is given in the ‘Harleian’ genealogies (HG §2 in EWGT p.9) from which we learn that he was the son of Tangwystl ferch Owain ap Maredudd of the line of kings of Dyfed, and the father of Llywarch. Similarly ABT 18a in EWGT p.106.

His death is recorded in *Annales Cambriae* s.a.892 (*recte* 893). The corresponding entry in *Brut y Tywysogion* calls him Hyfaidd ap Bledri. He is evidently the same as ‘Hyfaidd ap Bleiddig of Deheubarth’ mentioned in a triad (TYP no.68) as one of the ‘Three Kings who were sprung from Villeins’. Besides the son, Llywarch, who died in 904, he had a son, Rhodri, who died in 905. See the names.

**HYFAIDD ap CLYDOG. (d.938).**

His death is mentioned in *Annales Cambriae* s.a.939 [*recte* 938] and in *Brut y Tywysogion*. Presumably son of Clydog ap Cadell.

**HYFAIDD ap MORIEN. (1000)**

A member of the tribe of Marchudd in Rhos, Gwynedd; father of Hoedlyw (HL 7a in EWGT p.116).

**HYFAIDD HENLLYN.**

He appears in some late pedigrees as son of Caradog Freichfras and ancestor of the tribe of Rhys Goch of Ystrad Yw. See PP 16(4). The earliest version of this pedigree seems to occur in Peniarth MS.51 by Gwilym Tew (fl.c.1460-80) p.114, partly illegible, but copied by Wiliam Llŷn in Cambridge University MS. Mm 1.3 fo.80v, where he is called *Arglwydd Maesyfed*. The name Maesyfed [New Radnor] is derived from Maes Hyfaidd. See OP I.200. Compare Hyfaidd Unllen.

**HYFAIDD HIR.**

He is mentioned as *Hyueid Hir* in the ‘Gododdin’ of Aneirin, being one of those slain in the raid on Catraeth (CA Stanza V, ll.52-56):

He would sooner be flesh for wolves than go to a wedding;  
He would sooner be prey for the raven than go to the altar;  
He would sooner his blood flowed to the ground  
than that he should get due burial.

In return for mead in the hall among the hosts  
Hyfaidd the tall shall be honoured as long as there is a minstrel.

(Translated by Kenneth Jackson, *The Gododdin*, pp.117-8).

**HYFAIDD UNLLEN.** (Legendary).

‘H. One-cloak’. He is mentioned in the tale of ‘Culhwch and Olwen’ as one of those present at Arthur's Court (WM 462, RM 107), and in the tale of ‘Rhonabwy's Dream’ as one of three men, ‘the bravest, and to whom it is most hateful that Arthur should suffer loss in aught’ (RM 159). Compare Hyfaidd Henllyn.

**HYFAIDD.** See also Hefeydd.

**HYGWYDD.** (Legendary)

One of Arthur's servants mentioned in the tale of ‘Culhwch and Olwen’. It was his duty always to carry Arthur's cauldron, and to light the fire under it. He was brother, of the same mother, to Arthur's servant, Cacawri. When Arthur went to Ireland to obtain the cauldron of Diwrnach Wyddel, and had been refused it by Diwrnach, ‘Bedwyr arose and laid hold of the cauldron and put it on the back of Hygwydd.’ (RM 136). Later when Arthur was attempting to obtain the blood of the witch Orddu, Cacawri and his brother, Hygwydd, were the first allowed to go into the cave to fight the hag, but they were severely worsted by the witch who disarmed them and drove them out of the cave with kicks and cuffs. They had to be carried away on Llamrei, Arthur's mare (RM 141-2).

A proverb is attributed to him in ‘Englynion y Clyweid’ (No.23 in Llanstephan MS.27, ed. BBCS 3 p.11), where he is called ‘Hygwydd, who had formerly been in service.’

**HYLDREN, ST.** See Ildierna.

**HYLEDD.** See Heledd, Hiledd.

**HYWEL, ST.**

The presumed saint of Llanhywel in Dyfed (PW 27). Festival on October 31 according to Browne Willis (LBS III.289).

**HYWEL ap CADWAL.** See Hywel Farf-fehinog.

**HYWEL ap CARADOG.** See Hywel Farf-feheinog.

**HYWEL ab EMYR LLYDAW.** (Legendary). (450)

There is no direct evidence of this name in Welsh tradition prior to the appearance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* in about 1136, but there is some indirect evidence that he was known in Welsh tradition before that time. This lies in the fact that in *Brut y Brenhinedd*, the translators of HRB consistently substituted Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw for Geoffrey's Hoel (q.v.) son of Budicius, king of Armorica. There seems to be no good reason for such a substitution unless Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw was already a person familiar to Welsh tradition. The substitution was evidently encouraged by the fact that Llydaw was supposed to be Armorica, although in the case of Emyr Llydaw it is probably a place in Britain. See s.n. Emyr Llydaw.

Rachel Bromwich, however, believed that Geoffrey's invention, Hoel son of the king of Armorica, was merely translated into Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw, that is, Hywel son of a ‘ruler of Brittany’ (TYP pp.407-8).

Everything said of Hoel in HRB is transferred to Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw in ByB. In particular he is made a nephew of Arthur. In more native Welsh literature (though not free from the possible influence of Geoffrey) he appears in the tale of ‘Rhonabwy's Dream’ as one of forty-two counsellors of Arthur (RM 159), and in the romances of ‘Peredur’ (WM 165, RM 232) and ‘Geraint ab Enid’ (WM

411, RM 265) he appears as one of Arthur's knights in places where Chrétien de Troyes has no such names.

Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw does not appear in the earlier series of triads but he appears in TYP App.IV.5 as one of the 'Three Royal Knights' of Arthur's Court.

In late versions of Bonedd y Saint he appears as father of Hywel Fychan but other versions are perhaps preferable. See s.nn. Cristiolus and Rhystud. In still later versions he is given other sons, Derfel [Derfel Gadarn], Dwywe and Silin (§§80, 97 in EWGT pp.66, 67).

The Welsh tale of the Birth of Arthur in Llanstephan MS.201 (15th century) is based mainly on the French Arthurian romance, the 'Vulgate Merlin'. Nevertheless it follows ByB in making Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw a nephew of Arthur, his mother being Gwyar daughter of Gwrlais and Eigr, this Gwyar having married first Emyr Llydaw and then Llew ap Cynfarch. See Cy. 24 (1913) p.250.

See also Hir Peisog, king of Llydaw.

**HYWEL ap IEUAF ab IDWAL FOEL.** (d.985).

King of Gwynedd 979 - 985. See ByT s.aa. 974 - 985, HW 344, 350, 765. His pedigree is distinctly given in the expanded 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (ABT 7c, d in EWGT p.101). He is mentioned in a triad (TYP no.55) which tells us that the third of the 'Three Quests that were obtained from Powys' was 'the fetching of Hywel ap Ieuf to Ceredigion from Maen Gwynedd to fight with [on the side of?] Ieuf and Iago in that battle.' The occasion of the battle is not clear; perhaps the battle of Conwy Hirfawr in 954 (ByT). See TYP pp.153, 411. Maen Gwynedd is a place between Llanrhaeadr yMochnant and Llandrillo-yn-Edeirnion in the Berwyn range of hills, grid ref. SJ 1229.

**HYWEL ab OWAIN ap MORGAN MAWR.** (d.1043).

His death is recorded in Annales Cambriae and Brut y Tywysogion where he is called king of Gwlad Forgan [Glamorgan]. He was father of Meurig. See HW 348, 362.

**HYWEL ap RHODRI MOLWYNOG.** (Fictitious).

The brother of Cynan Dindaethwy according to Brut y Brenhinedd (Red Book version) s.a. 814 (corrected). Annales Cambriae do not call him brother of Cynan, nor does the Peniarth 20 version of ByT. The Red Book is almost certainly wrong, and the Hywel in question is probably Hywel Farfehinog (q.v.) ap Caradog.

**HYWEL ap RHUFON.** (680)

A prince of the line of Rhos in Gwynedd (JC 39, ABT 25 in EWGT pp.48, 108). The name is omitted in HG 3 in EWGT p.10. He was father of Meirion in HG (corrected) and ABT, but of Meirchion in JC.

**HYWEL ap RHYS,** king of Glywysing. (d.886?).

He is mentioned by Asser in his Life of Alfred (§80), where he is called *Houil filius Ris, rex Gleguising*:

Hywel ap Rhys, king of Glywysing, and Brochwel and Ffernfael sons of Meurig, kings of Gwent, compelled by the violence and tyranny of earl Ethered [see Edryd] and of the Mercians, of their own accord sought king Alfred that they might enjoy his government, and his protection from their enemies.

That was about the year 880 (HW 327 n.28). He is mentioned several times in charters in the Book of Llandaf as a contemporary of bishops Cerenhir (BLD 212), Nudd (BLD 227-231) and Cyfeiliog (BLD 236). In the latter charter we are told that his wife was Lleucu, his sons were Owain and Arthfael, and his daughters Ermithridd and Nest.



Annales Cambriae mention a Hywel who died in 885 [*recte* 886]. J.E.Lloyd thought that this was too early to be Hywel ap Rhys on the grounds that bishop Cyfeiliog belonged to the tenth century (HW 327 n.29). But Cyfeiliog (d.927) could have been bishop before 886.

The earliest source for the pedigree of Hywel ap Rhys is Jesus College MS.20 which makes him son of Rhys ab Arthfael ap Gwriad ap Brochwel ap Rhys ab Ithel ap Morgan ... (JC §9 in EWGT p.45). J.E.Lloyd thought that this was too long by a generation or two (HW 275 n.262). It is noteworthy that Gwriad and Brochwel are omitted in a later version (ABT §15 in EWGT p.105). However they are re-instated in a still later version together with two extra names. See MP §3 in EWGT p.122. See further s.n. Gwriad ap Brochwel.

There is an epitaph on a cross at Llanilltud set up by *Houelt* for the soul of his father *Res* (HW 276).

**HYWEL DDA.** (d.949 or 950).

‘Hywel the Good’. The son of Cadell ap Rhodri Mawr (HG 1 in EWGT p.9, etc.). He shared Seisyllwg (Ceredigion and Ystrad Tywi) with his younger brother Clydog but on the latter's death in 920 he took possession of the whole. Shortly after the deaths of Llywarch and Rhodri sons of Hyfaidd of Dyfed in 904 and 905 respectively, Dyfed had probably come into Hywel's possession as a result of his marriage to Elen the daughter and heiress of Llywarch. On the death of Idwal Foel, prince of Gwynedd, in 942 he became king of all Wales except Morgannwg and Gwent.

He made a pilgrimage to Rome in 928 and about 945 he summoned a conference at Ty Gwyn ar Daf in Dyfed [now Hendy-gwyn = Whitland] at which the process of codification of the Welsh Laws began. He died in 949 or 950 after which Gwynedd became independent again. See further HW and DWB.

The title ‘Da’ does not appear in any contemporary document but obtained an early currency from the prefaces to the editions of the Laws. (HW 333 n.48).

The name of his wife, Elen, is presumably recorded in contemporary documents. It is implied in the only authority for her genealogy (HG 2 in EWGT pp.9-10) which gives the pedigree of Owain [ap Hywel] through his mother, Elen. Brut y Tywysogion mentions the death of ‘Elen’ in the same year that Hywel went to Rome [929 according to Thomas Jones], but it does not say who she was. The genealogists are silent about the wife of Hywel Dda until Rice Merrick (c.1586/7), who apparently gave her name as Elen (see NLW 6612E p.215) but he and all the later genealogists were ignorant as to her ancestry. Lewys Dwnn (c.1600) says she was ‘Jane daughter of the Earl of Cornwall’ (LD ii.99).

Hywel's children were Owain, Rhodri, Edwin (perhaps by an English mistress), Rhain, Einion, and a daughter, Angharad. See the names.

**HYWEL FARF-FEHINOG ap CARADOG.** (d.825).

He appears as Hywel ap Caradog, the last of the line of princes of Rhos, Gwynedd, in the ‘Harleian’ genealogies (HG 3 in EWGT p.10). Similarly JC 39 in EWGT p.48. The expanded ‘Hanesyn Hen’ tract gives him the cognomen ‘barf-fehinog’ (greasy-beard) (ABT 25 in EWGT p.108).

His father, Caradog, who is called king of Gwynedd, was killed in 798, and it appears that in 813 Hywel claimed the throne of that part of Gwynedd which was being ruled by Cynan Dindaethwy, probably only Anglesey. This is on the assumption that he is the Hywel mentioned in Annales Cambriae (s.aa. 813, 814, 816, 825) who is represented as being opposed to Cynan Dindaethwy. In 813 they were at war and Hywel was perhaps driven out of Anglesey; in 814 Hywel drove Cynan out of Anglesey; in 816 Hywel was driven out of Anglesey a second time, but Cynan died in the same year. In 825 Hywel died; no descendants are recorded and he was probably succeeded by Merfyn Frych. See HW 231 and 224 n.145. J.E.Lloyd thought that this Hywel was brother of Cynan Dindaethwy, (as stated only in the Red Book version of ByT), but that is probably wrong. See E.W.B.Nicholson in Cy. 21 (1908), Table opposite p.104; H.M. & N.K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, 1932, I.154 n.2; A.W.Wade-Evans, *Nennius*, 1938, pp.15, 103.

He is apparently the person named Hywel ap Cadwal in stanza 29 of the poem 'Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwenddydd i chwaer' in the Red Book of Hergest. (Note that Cadwal Crysban was an ancestor of Hywel ap Caradog according to HG 3 etc.). The history of Hywel seems to be alluded to in a rather confused way in a tract called 'Disgyniad Pendefigaeth Cymru' edited in NLWJ 16, pp.253-263 (1970). This tract was partly based on the 'Cyfoesi' poem but when it came to Hywel ap Cadwal it substituted *Dyfyn Diarchar*, 'Dyfyn the Fearless', a name manufactured from the previous line in 'Cyfoesi'. We are told that after Cynan Dindaethwy, Dyfyn Diarchar who was nephew to Alaythau ap Cadfan, possessed Môn. And there were fourscore chieftains over Gwynedd 'without one letting the other have it'. In the end Dyfyn Diarchar got the complete sovereignty (§4). After him came Merfyn Frych (§5).

#### **HYWEL FYCHAN ap HYWEL ab EMYR LLYDAW.**

Probably a fictitious person mentioned in Brut y Brenhinedd in place of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Hoel son of Hoel II (q.v.) son of Budicius (HRB XII.6 + IX.2). A late version of Bonedd y Saint mentions Hywel Fychan and gives him two sons, Cristiolus and Rhystud (§24a in EWGT p.58). But elsewhere these two saints are given other, and perhaps more probable, ancestries. See the names.

#### **HYWEL GAWR.** (Legendary).

A giant supposed to have given his name to Castell Hywel in Llandysul on the Teifi. His wife is said to have been a witch, slain by Gwalchmai. (Peniarth MS.118 p.831, ed. Hugh Owen in Cy. 27 (1917) p.130). See also Pyscog Gawr and Llyffan Gawr.

Castell Hywel was actually named after Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd, who rebuilt it in 1151. Its former name had been *Castellum Humfredi*, 'Humphrey's Castle' (HW 427 and n.87).

**HYWEL.** See also Hoel.

#### **HYWYN ap GWYNDAF HEN.**

The saint of Aberdaron in Llŷn (PW 86). The wakes at Aberdaron are said to have been on January 1 or 6 (LBS III.264).

The oldest versions of Bonedd y Saint call him Henwyn ap Gwyndaf Hen of Llydaw, *periglor*, 'soul-friend' [i.e. father confessor], to Cadfan and the other saints who were in Enlli [Bardsey] at the same time with him (ByS §20 in EWGT p.57, WCO 164). It was from Aberdaron, on the coast opposite Bardsey, that pilgrims generally passed over to the island (WCO 219).

A late version of Bonedd y Saint (in Peniarth MS.27) makes him a son of Ithel Hael of Llydaw (ByS §25(F) in EWGT p.58).

Hywyn comes into a legend concerning St.Lleuddad (q.v.).

#### **IA, ST.**

The Patron Saint of St.Ives (Porth Ia) in Cornwall. According to Anselm's Life of St.Fingar or Guigner [see Gwinear] *Hya*, a maiden of noble birth, was intending to come to Cornwall from Ireland with Saints Fingar and Piala. For some reason she was delayed and Fingar and Piala left without her, but she was miraculously brought over on a leaf and actually arrived before Fingar and Piala. Nothing more is said of her (G.H.Doble, *The Saints of Cornwall*, I.89, 102).

William of Worcester who visited Cornwall in 1478 said:

Saint Hya, that is, Saint Hy, the sister of St.Herygh [Erc] and sister of (blank)[St Uny = Euny], virgin, lies in the parish church of the town of Saint Hy, on the northern sea.... and her day is kept on the third day of February.

(*Itineraries*, ed. John H.Harvey, p.114/5, G.H.Doble, *ibid.*, I.79).

John Leland (1538) says of St.Ives:

The paroch church is of Iä, a noble man's daughter of Ireland, and disciple of St.Barricus.

Iä and Elwine with many other cam into Cornewaul and landid at Pendinas. This Pendinas is the peninsula and stony rok wher now the toun of S.Ië's stondith.

One Dinan, a great lord in Cornewaul, made a church at Pendinas at the request of Iä, as it is written yn S.Ië's legende.

(*Itinerary*, ed. L.T.Smith, I.192).

Barricus is probably the same as Barricius, a companion of St.Patrick, mentioned by Leland in his extracts from the Life of St.Breaca (*ibid.*, I.187). See s.n. Berwyn. In the same extracts Leland says that Elwin came with St.Breaca. See Elwin.

The name 'Ive' with the intrusive 'v' first seems to appear in the Subsidy Roll of 1571 (Doble, *ibid.*, p.91 n.5). Wendron, 2¼ miles north-north-east of Helston was formerly *Eglosiga*, 'the Church of Ia'. Ia also had a holy well at *Fenton Ear*, 'Ia's Well', in Troon in the parish of Camborne. This incidentally shows how the name was pronounced. She had a chapel in the parish in 1429. Ia seems to have given her name to Plouyé near Carhaix in Brittany (Doble, p.92).

Canon Doble did not think it likely that Ia came from Ireland [See s.n. Breaca]. He suggested that Ia and Derwa worked with Gwinear and Meriadoc in the valley of the Conner (*The Saints of Cornwall*, I.110, 133-4).

Richard Challoner gave her day quite arbitrarily as October 27 (*A Memorial of ancient British piety*, 1761, p.150; Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, Vol.60 p.294; Doble I.94 n.13). LBS III.267-9 spells Hia.

#### **IACEU.**

Father of Cynfelyn, and ancestor of Lleucu ferch Enflew (JC 16 in EWGT p.46).

#### **IACOB (1).** Cleric?

A witness, probably clerical, to one of the 'Llancarfan Charters' attached to the Life of St.Cadog (§63) where he appears as contemporary with Cadog, Elli and Samson. A.W.Wade-Evans thought he was probably the person who was later abbot of Llancarfan. See below. (*Arch.Camb.*, 87 (1932) p.152). But this does not seem to be chronologically possible.

#### **IACOB**, abbot of Llancarfan.

He is mentioned in three of the 'Llancarfan Charters' appended to the Life of St.Cadog (§§64, 65, 68 in VSB) and three in the Book of Llandaf (BLD 140, 143, 144). He is described as abbot of the altar or *cathedra* of saint Cadog and in §§65 and 68 he is contemporary with king Meurig [ap Tewdrig?]. In the Llandaf Charters he is each time abbot of Llancarfan and contemporary with bishop Oudoceus and king Meurig (son of Tewdrig p.140, father of Athrwys pp.140, 144).

He was probably succeeded by Cyngen.

See PCB in *Trans.Cym.*, 1948, p.291 (but ignore dates), and Wendy Davies, who dates the above Llandaf charters c.650-660 (LlCh pp.55, 97).

#### **IACOB or IACUT son of FRACAN.** (475)

In the Life of St.Winwaloe (I §2) we are told that Fracan had twin sons named Weithnoc [Wethnoc] and Jacob by Alba 'Trimammis' [Gwen Teirbron]. They were born in Britain before Fracan came to Armorica where Winwaloe was born. These two sons are not mentioned again in the Life of Winwaloe but a *Vita SS. Guethenoci et Jacuti* exists in a manuscript of the thirteenth century. It is published by the Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov.III. pp.98-102. Here they are called, Guethenoc and Jacob, twins, and their mother is named *Guen, quod latine sonat Candida*.

The two brothers were educated by St.Budoc, like their brother Winwaloe. They founded a number of monasteries jointly, the last of which was apparently S.Jacut-de-la-Mer, on a peninsula, near Ploubalay in Côtes du Nord (LBS III.201), 13 km. west-south-west of St.Malo, where the two brothers were honoured jointly on July 5. This was apparently the date of their translation. Jacut was commemorated separately on February 8 and Guethenoc on November 5. Jacut was patron also of Saint-Jacut-du-Mené and Saint-Jacut-sur-Aro (LBS III.333, G.H.Doble, *The Saints of Cornwall*, II.81-2).

**IACOB.** See also Iago.

**IAEN.** (Legendary).

A list of the sons of Iaen, supposed to be present at Arthur's Court, is given in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' (WM 461, RM 107). Their names are:

Teregud, Sulien, Bradwen, Morien, Siawn, and Caradog,

and they are said to be men of Caer Dathal, kindred to Arthur on his father's side, or perhaps 'on their father's side' (CO(2) p.77).

In the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract there is a list of the children of Iaen as follows (ByA §2 in EWGT p.85):

Dirmig Corneu, Gwyn Goluthon, Siawn, Caradog, Ievannwy, Llychlyn, and a daughter, Eleirch, mother of Cydfan ab Arthur.

Note that only two names, Siawn and Caradog, are common to the two lists.

Garthiaen is a township in the parish of Llandrillo-yn-Edeirnion (WATU). Caer Dathal is presumably Caer Dathyl in Arfon mentioned in the Mabinogi branch of 'Math' (WM 81, RM 59). On the site see W.J.Gruffudd, *Math vab Mathonwy*, 1928, pp.343-4; PKM p.251.

**IAGO**, fictitious king of Britain. (721-711 B.C.)

He is mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth as the successor of Sisillius [Seisyll ap Gwrwst], being the nephew of Gurgustius [Gwrwst]. He was succeeded by Kinmarcus [Cynfarch] (HRB II.16). Similarly Brut y Brenhinedd with the Welsh forms shown in [ ]. Nothing is said of him.

**IAGO ap BELI.** (d.c.616?).

His death is recorded in *Annales Cambriae* s.a. 613:

Gueith Cairlegion ... et Iacob filii Beli dormitatio.

The correct date of the battle of Chester is probably 616, so that it is possible that Iago died in the same year, i.e. 616.

He was in the direct line of the princes of Gwynedd, being great-grandson of Maelgwn Gwynedd and father of Cadfan (HG 1 in EWGT p.9, etc.). Nothing is known of his reign, or whether he did reign.

According to the triads he received a hatchet-stroke on the head, which was presumably the cause of his death, and which is called one of the 'Three Unfortunate Hatchet-Strokes' of Ynys Prydain (TYP no.34). TYP no.33W says that the attack was made by one of his own men. J.E.Lloyd thought that this was perhaps an error due to confusion with Iago ab Idwal ap Meurig, prince of Gwynedd, who is said to have been killed by his own people in 1039 (HW 181 n.80, 358 n.2).

Iago ap Beli was reputed a benefactor of the cathedral church of Bangor (Browne Willis, *Survey*, p.184). His 'dormitatio' suggests that, if at any time he had been king of Gwynedd, he had later resigned that office and withdrawn to the quiet of a monastery (HW 181 and n.80).

'Marwnad Iago ap Beli', his elegy, attributed to Taliesin, was contained in the lost Hengwrt MS.33. See Wynnstey MS.10, quoted by A.O.H.Jarman in *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*, p.20. No copy of this poem is known to survive (TYP p.411).

**IAGO ap BROCHWEL YSGITHROG.** (510)

According to the Breton Life of St.Tysilio Brochwel [Ysgithrog] was succeeded by a son *Jacobus* [Iago] who reigned for two years. From a comparison of two Lives of Tysilio it appears that Iago's wife was named Haiarme. See s.n. Tysilio.

If Iago was historical he was presumably succeeded by Cynan Garwyn.

**IAGO ap GENEDOG (or GWYDDOG).** See Tegid ap Cain.

**IAGO ap GENETHOG.** See Gurthiern.

**IAGO ab IDWAL ap MEURIG.** (d.1039).

A prince of Gwynedd of the line of Anarawd ap Rhodri Mawr, father of Cynan the father of Gruffudd ap Cynan. (GaC 1, (MG 1), JC 26, ABT 1a in EWGT pp.36, 38, 47, 95).

In 1033 he held rule over Gwynedd after Llywelyn ap Seisyll, who had died in 1023 (ByT s.aa. 1023, 1033). The slaying of 'Iago, king of Gwynedd' is mentioned in ByT s.a. 1039. The Irish Chronicles say that he was slain by his own men (AU s.a. 1039, etc.). He was succeeded by Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Seisyll (HW 358).

His wife was Afandreg ferch Gwair ap Pill ap Cynwrig ap Cynddelw Gam. By her he was the father of Cynan (ABT 6i in EWGT p.100).

**IAGO ab IDWAL FOEL ab ANARAWD.**

On the death of his father, Idwal Foel, in 942, Iago and his brother, Ieuf, were due to succeed as princes of Gwynedd but were expelled by Hywel Dda (HW 337). However, on the death of Hywel Dda in 949 or 950 they met the sons of the dead king at Nant Carno in Arwystli. Their victory secured Gwynedd for them and perhaps also Powys. In 969 Iago took his brother Ieuf prisoner. He is last heard of in 979 when he was captured by his nephew Hywel ap Ieuf, who thereupon became king of Gwynedd. See further HW 344, 348, 349.

**IAGO.** See also Iacob.

**IAHAN REITH,** prince of Cornouaille. (420)

He is mentioned in the list of counts of Cornubia [Cornouaille] in Brittany in the Cartulary of Quimperlé:

Daniel Dremrud ....  
 Budic et Maxenri ....  
 Iahann Reeth  
 Daniel Unua

Similarly in the Cartulary of Landévennec (Iahan Reith) and the Cartulary of Quimper (Iahan Reeth). (*Bibliothèque Bretonne Armoricaire*, Fasc.4, Rennes, 1904, pp.89-90).

It appears that the order here is wrong and that Iahan Reith should head the list. This may be deduced from the Life of St.Melor. In the version published by Dom Plaine (*Analecta Bollandiana*, V (1886) pp.166-176) we read: 'A certain nobleman from beyond the seas, whose name was *Lex* or *Regula*, a man of royal race and great wealth ... after the desolation wrought by the Frisians and duke Corsoldus, fitted out a fleet, crossed the sea and came to our desolate Cornugallia with a great company, took the kingdom and settled there. After his death his son Daniel held the kingdom. His son Budic succeeded him.' In the French Life given by Albert le Grand in 1636 the name corresponding to 'Lex' or 'Regula' is Jean (*Les Vies des Saints de la Bretagne Armorique*, 1901 ed. p.487). Joseph Loth says that 'Lex' or 'Regula' would be 'Reith' in Breton (G.H.Doble, *The Saints of Cornwall*, III.21 note), so that it is evidently Iahan Reith who is referred to in these accounts.

Duke Corsoldus mentioned in Dom Plaine's text is a blunder derived from the name of the ancient city of Corseuil near Dinan (Doble p.37).

**IARDDUR**, companion of Gwallog? See Hyfaidd (1).

**IARDDUR ap MERFYN.** (d.955).

Presumably son of Merfyn ap Rhodri Mawr. Drowned in 955 (ByT).

**IASEDD or IASETH ap CARWED.** (920)

Genealogical link in the tribe of Marchudd in Rhos, Uwch Dulas; father of Inethan. See ABT 2c, 9a, HL 7b in EWGT pp.97, 103, 116.

**IDAN.** See Nidan.

**IDDEW CORN BRYDAIN ap CAWRDAF.** (530)

He is listed in a late version of Bonedd y Saint (§88 in EWGT p.66), but his qualifications to be regarded as a saint are not known; in fact nothing is known of him. Compare Iddog Cordd Prydain who did penance for seven years in Prydyn.

**IDDIG ab ANARAWD WALLTGRWN.** (Legendary).

Called *Idic uab Anarawc* and *Idic uab Anarawc Walltgrwn* ('Round-hair') in the Mabinogi branch of 'Branwen' (WM 42, 50, RM 29, 35). He was one of the messengers sent to Matholwch Wyddel when he left the court of Brân without explanation (WM 42). He was also one of the seven princes left in Britain by Brân when he made his fateful expedition to Ireland (WM 50). He and five of his companions were slain by Caswallon ap Beli when he conquered Britain (WM 58, RM 41).

The 'c' of *Anarawc* is probably a misreading of 't' which would give the more probable modern form Anarawd (PKM p.173). Compare Anarawd Gwalch-crwn.

**IDDIG ap CADELL DDYRNLLUG.**

Father of Alâog in the defective pedigree of Cowryd ap Cadfan, patriarch of a tribe in Dyffryn Clwyd (ABT 21 in EWGT p.107).

**IDDIG ap LLYWARCH.** (940)

Genealogical link in the tribe of Cilmin Droetu in Arfon; father of Meurig (HL 8a in EWGT p.117).

**IDDIG ap NUDD.**

Iddig ap Nudd and Cynan ap Cynfeddw are described as two kings in a charter of the time of bishop Oudoceus in the Book of Llandaf (BLD 150b). In another charter (BLD 150a) he is called Iddig heir of Nudd, not king, in the time of Oudoceus and king Morgan [ab Athrwys]. In a later charter he is again mentioned, not as king, in the time of bishop Berthwyn and king Morgan (BLD 180b). Wendy Davies dates the charters c.690-710 (LCh pp.99, 110)

**IDDOG, ST.**

According to Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, Iddog was one of the three saints of Llantrisant, Meisgyn, Morgannwg, the other two being Dyfnog and Menw. But according to Browne Willis (*Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733) the three saints were Gwynno, Illtud and Tyfodwg (PW 67 n.1). However, the latter three saints are those of three churches formerly under Llantrisant, namely, Llanwynno, Llanilltud Faerdre, and Ystradyfodwg.

**IDDOG CORDD PRYDAIN ap MYNIO.**

Most of what we know of Iddog is gleaned from the tale of 'Rhonabwy's Dream'. Rhonabwy dreamed that he was escorted by Iddog, who showed him, and explained to him, the doings of Arthur and his men. He told Rhonabwy that his name was Iddog ap Mynio, but he was usually called Iddog *Cordd Prydain*, 'the Embroider of Britain'. This was the reason he gave for his nickname: 'I was one of

the envoys at the battle of Camlan, between Arthur and Medrod his nephew, and I was a spirited young man then. I so craved for battle that I kindled strife between them. ... When the emperor Arthur would send me to remind Medrod that he was his foster-father and uncle, and ask for peace ... and when Arthur would speak to me the fairest words he could, I would speak those words to Medrod the ugliest way I knew how ... and so I was called the Embroider of Britain. And because of that the battle of Camlan was woven. But even so, three nights before the end of the battle of Camlan I parted from them, and I went to Y Llech Las in Prydyn to do penance. I was there seven years doing penance, and I won pardon.' (WM 147-8).

A triad (TYP no.51) on the 'Three Dishonoured Men' who were in Ynys Prydain, says that 'the third and worst was Medrod'. It copies the story as told by Geoffrey of Monmouth. But the version in Peniarth MS.51 adds: 'And then *Idawc ap Nyniaw*, who was called *Idawc Korn Prydyn*, made the conflagration between Arthur and Medrod.'

Iolo Morganwg may have known of a genuine tradition about Iddog. He mentioned him in his triad number 20 of the 'Myvyrian Third Series', as *Iddawc Corn Prydain* [as in Peniarth MS.51, above], which he translated "Iddoc Herald [Trumpet-Horn] of Britain" and says that he met Medrod in Nanhwynain [now called Nant Gwynant, near Beddgelert]. This was one of the "Three Grand Conspiracies" of Ynys Prydain. See Rachel Bromwich in *Trans.Cym.*, 1968, pp.311, 332.

Compare Iddew Corn Brydain.

#### **IDDON**, king in Brycheiniog?

A king Iddon gave Llan-goed [in the civil parish of Llys-wen. Cantref Selyf, Brycheiniog] to bishop Arwystl (BLD 166-7). A.W.Wade-Evans thought he was the same as the Iddon (q.v.) ab Ynyr Gwent of BLD 118, 121-3 (*Arch. Camb.*, 85 (1930) p.324), but his parentage is not given, and the site is far from Gwent. Wendy Davies dates the charter c.595 (LlCh p.106), but see s.n. Arwystl (1).

#### **IDDON ap MAREDUDD.**

One of the three sons of Maredudd (d.796) ap Tewdws (HG 13+14 in EWGT p.11).

#### **IDDON ap NER.**

In a triad (TYP no.69) one of the 'three Defilements of The Severn' was 'Calam, the horse (or daughter?) of Iddon ap Ner from Maelgwn(?)'. The item is corrupt (TYP p.184). No satisfactory interpretation has been suggested. Compare Iddon ab Ynyr Gwent.

#### **IDDON ab YNYR GWENT. (570)**

In the Life of Beuno, Iddon was the son of Ynyr Gwent, king of Gwent. He set out from Gwent to find his sister Tegiwg, slew the man who had married her, and had dealings with Cadwallon ap Cadfan. See s.n. Tegiwg. This can be dated in about A.D.620.

In an epilogue to the Life of Teilo in the Book of Llandaf, Iddon ab Ynyr Gwent is listed as a contemporary of Teilo and one of the kings who gave lands and churches to him (BLD 118). This is chronologically impossible if Teilo was a younger contemporary of Dewi. Nevertheless king Iddon ab Ynyr Gwent appears in three charters in the Book of Llandaf where he is represented as giving the lands and churches, all in north-west Gwent, to bishop Teilo: (1) Llanarth (BLD 121-2); (2) Llanfawr, i.e. Llandeilo Porth Halog [= Llandeilo Bertholau] (BLD 122); (3) Llandeilo Gresynni, which was donated because it was believed that Teilo, by his prayers, had helped Iddon and his army to defeat and pursue the Saxons who had invaded his region (BLD 123).

The first two charters are shown as witnessed by *Telias archiepiscopus* and various disciples of Dubricius. The last mentions no witnesses. The charters have clearly been 'doctored' and must refer to churches given to 'Teilo' i.e. to the 'Altar of St.Teilo'. If Iddon fought the Saxons it must have been after 577, the battle of Dyrham (see Condidan). Wendy Davies dated these three charters c.600 (*The Llandaff Charters*, 1979, p.95).

A.W.Wade-Evans concluded that there were two persons named Iddon ab Ynyr Gwent, one in the time of Teilo and a later one in the time of Beuno. See further s.n. Ynyr Gwent.

One of the 'Three Lively Steeds' of Ynys Prydain was Cethin Carn Aflaw, 'C. Cloven-Hoof', the horse of Iddon ab Ynyr Gwent (TYP n.42).

See also Iddon ap Ner.

**IDDON DARIANLAS.** See Eidol Darianlas.

**IDDON.** See also Idno.

**IDDWR.** See Iudhubr.

**IDE or IDA, ST.**

There is a parish of Ide near Exeter (LBS III.331). The name Ide became transformed into Issey. The saint was co-patron of the church of Mevagissey near St.Austell, and patron of the church of St.Issey in East Cornwall. There was a ruined chapel in Little Petherick, close to St.Issey dedicated to St.Ida (LBS III.325). At Mevagissey the other patron was St.Meva whence 'Meva hag Issey' (G.H.Doble, *S.Nectan, S.Keyne and the children of Brychan in Cornwall*, p.11).

The place-name occurs as *Meffagesy*, c.1400, *Mavagisi* 1410, and in the vernacular *Mevegysy* 1440. In Latin as *Sanctarum Meve et Ide* in 1429 and 1435. Its late appearance in records is due to the fact that the older name for the parish and church town was Levorruck.

At St.Issey, earlier spellings of the saint's name include *in Sancti Ydi* 1195, *Sancta Ida* 1304 and 1306, *Sancte Ide* (genitive) 1330 and 1342; in the vernacular *Seynt Ydi* c.1260, *Seyntydy* 1302, *Seynt Isy* 1358. The earliest appearance of the name is in the form *Iti* in a tenth century list of Cornish parochial saints found in the Vatican codex Regimensis Latinus 191. See B.L.Olson and O.J.Padel in CMCS 12 (1986) p.62. In the episcopal registers the church of St.Issey is indicated as dedicated to St.Ida or Ide (female) in 1259, 1330, 1334, 1354, 1362; occasionally treated as male, e.g. 1382, 1399, but female in 1383 (LBS III.325, 331). The name occurs as *Yse* in the list of the children of Brychan in the Life of St.Nectan. See EWGT p.29.

The church of St.Issey seems to have been called Egloscruc (LBS III.301, 325). John Ecton in his *Thesaurus* gives "S.Esye als. Issye als. Ithy als. Eglescrock." (LBS III.325). The vicarage is described as that of *Sancte Ide, alias Egloscruc* (1400) and the church in 1382 *Sanctorum Ide et Lyde de Egloscruc*. In 1383 *Sanctarum Ide et Lide* (LBS III.331).

St.Issey feast is on the Sunday nearest to November 20 (LBS III.331).

For Lyde see Elidius.

**IDGWYN ap CADWAL CRYSBAN.** (590)

A prince of the line of Rhos, Gwynedd, father of Einion. See HG 3 (where he is called Ytigoy), ABT 25 (Idgwyn or Iddon), JC 39 (Idwm) in EWGT pp.10, 108, 48.

**IDLOES ap GWYDDNABI.** (550?)

The saint of Llanidloes in Arwystli, Powys Wenwynwyn (PW 98). Commemorated on September 6 (LBS I.74, III.291). His pedigree is given in Bonedd y Saint (§54 in EWGT p.62) and he is given a daughter, Meddwid, in Achau'r Saint (§18 in EWGT p.69).

A proverb is ascribed to him in 'Englynion y Clyweid' in Llanstephan MS.27 (No.3 edited in BBCS 3 p.10).

**IDNERTH,** supposed bishop of Llanbadarn.

When Giraldus Cambrensis visited Llanbadarn he found that the church was governed by a lay abbot. When he asked about this 'the wicked people of Aberystwyth boasted that a certain bishop of their church had been murdered by their predecessors'. (*Itinerarium Kambriae*, II.4). Giraldus does not give the name of the bishop.



A memorial stone to IDNERT at Llanddewibrefi was first remarked upon by Edward Lhuyd, who read it:

Hic iacet Idnert filius I.... qui occisus fuit propter p.... Sancti ....

(J.O.Westood, *Lapidarium Walliae*, Oxford, 1876-9, p.140). The idea that this was the memorial of the last bishop of Llanbadarn seems to have been suggested in the additional notes to Edmund Gibson's edition of William Camden's *Britannia*, 1695, pp.769, 770. This was pure speculation. See A.W.Haddan and W.Stubbs, *Councils*, 1869, I.625.

**IDNERTH ab ERB.** See Nynnio ab Erb.

**IDNERTH ap IORWERTH HIRFLAWDD.** (800)

Genealogical link in the ancestry of Elystan Glodrydd; father of Cadwr Wenwyn (MG 4, JC 30, ABT 11 in EWGT pp.39, 48, 104).

**IDNERTH ap MEURIG.** (625)

One of the sons of Meurig ap Tewdrig, king of Glywysing, mentioned in a charter in the Book of Llandaf (BLD 140), and in a 'Llancarfan Charter' attached to the Life of St.Cadog (§65). Wendy Davies dates the Llandaf charter c.655 (LlCh 97).

**IDNERTH ap MORIEN.** (830)

The last of a line of princes of Glastonbury (HG 25, ABT 19 (Ednyfed) in EWGT pp.12, 106).

**IDNERTH ap RHIAGATH.** See Mepurit ap Briacat.

**IDNO**, abbot of Bolgros.

Idno is the preferred spelling of A.W.Wade-Evans (WCO 121). He is mentioned in the Book of Llandaf as *Iudnou*, one of the disciples of St.Dubricius (BLD 80) and appears in several charters: (1) with Dubricius (BLD 77), a doubtful charter, (2) with Arwystl, Inabwy and other clerics and Peibio, king of Ergyng (BLD 73a), (3, 4) as *Iudnou abbas Bolgros*, in two charters with bishop Inabwy and Gwrgan, king of Ergyng (BLD 163b 164). He is perhaps the same as *Iudon abbas Bolgros* who witnessed a charter (5) with bishop Comereg and Athrwys, king of Gwent (BLD 165).

Wendy Davies dates charters 2-5 in 585, 620, 620, 625 respectively (LlCh pp.93, 104-5)

Bolgros is Belley-moor in Madley, Herefordshire (G.H.Doble, *St.Dubricius*, p.19), or Belli-moor in Madley (LBS III.335); Bellimor between the river Wye and Tyberton church (OP II.273).

**IDNO ap MEIRCHION.** (490)

He appears in Bonedd y Saint as Idno father of Meurig the father of St.Elaeth Frenin (§48 in EWGT p.62). His father, Meirchion ap Gwrwst, is given in a later version of the item, in Peniarth MS.127. This addition is probably derived from the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (ByA §11) which gives Idno ap Meirchion two sons, Meurig and Mabon (ByA §13). See EWGT p.88.

**IDNO HEN.**

When Rhun ap Maelgwn and his men were disputing as to who should take the lead in crossing the *Guerit* [Forth] in their advance against the men of the North, it was assigned to the men of Arfon and then *Ydno Hen* assigned it to those with the black-headed shafts. See s.n. Rhun ap Maelgwn.

**IDRIS ap GWYDDNO.** (d.632).

A prince of the line of Meirionydd mentioned in *Annales Cambriae* as having died in 632 (*Iugulatio Iudris*). His genealogy is given in the 'Harleian' and later genealogies. He was father of Sualda (HG 18, JC 41, ABT 23 in EWGT pp.11, 49, 108). In ABT 23 he is called Idris Arw ('the Coarse') or Gawr ('the Giant'). LD i.295 says "Idris Arw, who had a cell or an hermitage upon the top of Cader Idris, and *per* that means the hill beareth y<sup>t</sup> name to this day." Compare Idris Gawr.

**IDRIS GAWR.** (Legendary).

A giant whose abode was Cadair Idris ('Idris's Chair'), a famous mountain in Meirionydd. He was the king and chief over the other giants in Meirionydd: Yscydion Gawr, Ophrom Gawr, and Ysbryn Gawr. 'On the highest crown of this mountain is a bed-shaped form as it were, great in length and width, built of slabs or stones fixed around it. And this is called *Gwely Idris*, 'Idris's Bed', though it is more likely that it is the grave in which Idris was buried in ages past. And it is said that whoever lies and sleeps on that bed, one of two things will happen to him, either he will be a poet of the best kind, or go entirely demented'. A marginal note says that Arthur killed Idris. From Peniarth MS.118 pp.829-830, edited by Hugh Owen in Cy. 27 (1917) pp.124-7. Compare Idris ap Gwyddno.

**IDUALLO son of IUGENIUS.** See Idwal ab Owain.

**IDWAL ap BELI.** See Gurthiern.

**IDWAL ap DÔN.** See Dôn.

**IDWAL ab ENFLEW.** (850)

Apparently a brother of Lleucu ferch Enflew if the corrupt item (§16) in Jesus College MS.20 is correctly interpreted (EWGT p.46). See s.n. Lleucu ferch Enflew.

**IDWAL ap MEURIG.** (d.996).

Son of Meurig ab Idwal Foel and father of Iago (d.1039) (GaC 1, JC 26, ABT 1a, 7g in EWGT pp.36, 47, 95, 101). He was slain in 996 according to Brut y Tywysogion.

**IDWAL ab OWAIN.** (Fictitious). (188-186 B.C.)

The name in Brut y Brenhinedd of a fictitious king of Britain, called Iduallo son of Iugenius by Geoffrey of Monmouth. He succeeded his cousin Enniaunus son of Arthgallo [Einion ab Arthal] when the latter was deposed. Iduallo, 'being admonished by Enniaun's ill success, became a strict observer of justice and equity.' He was succeeded by his cousin Runo son of Peredurus [Rhun ab Peredur] (HRB III.19). Similarly in Brut y Brenhinedd with the corresponding names in [ ].

**IDWAL ap RHODRI.** (d.962).

Presumably the son of Rhodri ap Hywel Dda. According to Brut y Tywysogion he was slain in 962.

**IDWAL ap TUDWAL ab ANARAWD.** (710)

The last of the male line of princes of Man (HG 4 in EWGT p.10). It was continued through Celenion, the sister of Idwal. See JC 19 in EWGT p.46.

**IDWAL FOEL ab ANARAWD.** (d.942).

He became ruler of Gwynedd after the death of his father, Anarawd, in 916 (HW 332-3). Later he and Hywel Dda ruled North and South Wales respectively under the overlordship of Athelstan. After Athelstan's death in 940 Idwal began to be restive against English supremacy and in 942 seems to have broken into revolt against the new king Edmund. He and his brother Elise met Edmund in battle and were both slain. Then Hywel Dda expelled his sons, Iago and Ieuaf, and made himself master of Gwynedd (HW 337).

Other sons were Idwal Fychan (d.980), Meurig and Cynan, and perhaps Rhodri (d.968). See the names. According to LD ii.100 his wife was Mereddon ferch Cadwr 'Gwenwynwyn' [read Wenwyn].

**IDWAL FYCHAN ab IDWAL FOEL.** (d.980).

He is mentioned as a son of Idwal Foel in the augmented 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (ABT 7c in EWGT p.101) and it is probably he who was slain in 980 according to Brut y Tywysogion (Thomas

Jones in Indexes to ByT). As ABT 7c mentions Ieuf as another son of Idwal Foel and ByT shows Ieuf dying in 988 it seems that J.E.Lloyd is wrong in saying that Ieuf was another name for Idwal Fychan (HW 337).

**IDWAL IWRCH ap CADWALADR.** (660)

'I. the Roebuck'. A prince of the line of Gwynedd; father of Rhodri Molwynog (HG 1, JC 22, etc. in EWGT pp.9, 47, etc.). It is uncertain whether he succeeded his father as king. His place is taken in Brut y Tywysogion by the fictitious Ifor (q.v.) ab Alan of Brittany, an invention of Geoffrey of Monmouth. However in the poem *Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwenddydd i chwaer* in the Red Book of Hergest Idwal Iwrch is said to have succeeded his father Cadwaladr (RBP col.578 ll.25-28), and he was probably succeeded by his son Rhodri Molwynog.

**IDWAL.** See also Iudual.

**IDWALLON,** king.

A king mentioned in the Book of Llandaf as a contemporary of bishop Berthwyn and king Morgan ab Athrwys. We learn that Idwallon had been slain by another king, Clodri, although they had previously sworn to keep the peace (BLD 176b). Probably it is the same Idwallon who appears in an earlier charter in the time of bishop Oudoceus and king Morgan ab Athrwys though here he is not described as king (BLD 152).

Perhaps a king in Eryng. See s.n. Clodri. Wendy Davies dates the charters c.700 and 670 respectively (LlCh pp.109, 101).

**IDWALLON.** (d.842).

He is mentioned in *Annales Cambriae* as having died in 842. Nothing else seems to be known about him.

**IDWALLON ap LLYWARCH.** (530)

Genealogical link in the line of princes of Brycheiniog; father of Rhiwallon and grandfather of Ceindrech (q.v.) (JC 8 in EWGT p.45).

**IDWALLON ap MORGAN.** (940)

Idwallon the son of Morgan [ab Owain] is mentioned in the Book of Llandaf (BLD 245, 246, 252). In the first he is described as king. According to ABT 15, MP 3 (in EWGT pp.105, 122) he was father of Ithel and ancestor of Iestyn ap Gwrgant ab Ithel. In this way some kind of legitimacy in Morgannwg is claimed for Iestyn ap Gwrgan, ancestor of the 'Royal Tribe of Morgannwg' See PP<sub>1</sub> p.125.

**IESTYN ap GERAINT.** (500)

He appears in *Bonedd y Saint* (§27) as the son of Geraint ab Erbin. A later item (§76) adds that his mother was Gwyar ferch Amlawdd Wledig. See EWGT pp.58, 65.

Iestyn ap Geraint was the reputed founder of Llaniestyn in Llŷn and of Llaniestyn in Môn (PW 87, 94). He is commemorated on October 10 in Llŷn and April 12 and October 10 in Môn (LBS III.294).

**IESTYN ab OWAIN ap HYWEL DDA.** See Rhydderch ap Iestyn.

**IEUAF ap BRWYDR DDIRIAID.** See Brwydr Ddiriaid.

**IEUAF ap CYNGEN GLODRYDD.** See Cyngen Glodrydd.

**IEUAF ap CYNGEN ap CADELL.** See Cyngen ap Cadell ap Brochwel.

**IEUAF ap GRUFFUDD.** See Gruffudd ap Cyngen.

**IEUAF ap GWYDDIEN.**

Genealogical link in an otherwise unknown line of princes, probably of Powys; father of Selyf (HG 24 in EWGT p.12).

**IEUAF ab IDWAL FOEL.** (d.988).

On the death of Idwal Foel in 942 he and his brother Iago were expelled from Gwynedd by Hywel Dda. They retrieved the crown of Gwynedd on the death of Hywel Dda in 949 or 950. In 969 Ieuf was taken prisoner by Iago and nothing more is heard of him until his death in 988 apparently in captivity (HW 337, 344).

**IEUAF ap IEUAF.** (960)

Son of Ieuf ab Idwal Foel and father of Cynan y Cwn according to the expanded 'Hanesyn Hen' tract. See ABT 7d in EWGT p.101.

**IEUAN,** disciple of Dyfrig.

He is listed as one of the disciples of Dubricius in the Book of Llandaf (BLD 80) where the name is wrongly written *Louan* for *Iouan*. He was a witness to two grants by Peibio, king of Ergyng (BLD 72a, 76a). He appears also as a witness in a fictitious deed (BLD 77).

Wendy Davies dates the first two charters c.575 (LlCh pp.92, 94).

**IEUAN, ST.**

One of the three saints of Llantrisaint, Môn, the other two being Sannan and Afan (PW 90).

**IEUAN DEGAN ap PEREDUR FILWR.** See Dos ap Deigr.

**IEUAN FWYNHARDD.** See Brwydr Ddiriaid.

**IEUAN GWAS PADRIG ap LLYWELYN.**

In a late version of Bonedd y Saint (§98 in EWGT p.67) he is entered as *Euan ap Llywelyn, gwas Patrig, fanach sant Cerrig y Dridion ar llwyn yNgeinnech*, that is, 'Servant of Patrick, holy monk of Cerrig y Drudion and of Llwyn, [a township of Llanrhaeadr] in Ceinmeirch'. There is a very legendary Life of him in Llanstephan MS.34 written in the sixteenth century. It pretends that he was a disciple of St.Patrick but gives him a different parentage and a genealogy which would put his birth in about 1170! The term Gwas Patrick simply means that he was devoted in some way to the cult of Patrick, not literally a disciple. See LBS III.295-7.

**IEUANAWL ab EIGION.** (770)

A prince of the line of Dunoding; father of Caradog (HG 17, JC 40, ABT 24 in EWGT pp.11, 48, 108). From Latin *Iuvenalis* (Cy. 21 (1908) p.97).

**IEUANWY ap IAEN.** See Iaen.

**IEWYDD ap DÔN.** (Legendary).

The spelling of this name is doubtful. He is mentioned in the Mabinogi branch of 'Math' where the spelling is *Euyd* and *Eueyd* (WM 82, RM 59). In this place Ifor Williams thought that the name was an error for Gwydion (PKM 67, 252-3). Here he and Gilfaethwy are said to have done the circuit of Gwynedd for their uncle Math. The name also appears in a poem in the Red Book of Hergest and incompletely in the Book of Taliesin where it is spelt *Euuyd* and *Iewyd* respectively. See quotation s.n. Taliesin. In another poem in the Book of Taliesin magic powers are attributed to him and Math:

Math and *Euuyd* fashioned by magic a skilful poet(?).  
(BT 68 ll.14-15). Ifor Williams in his translation of the above line writes 'Eufydd (?)' (*Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club Transactions*, 1941, p.28).

In the list of children of Dôn in the various copies of the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract the name appears as Ienuydd, Yeuny, Evnydd, Evnvdd, Yeuyydd and Evydd. See ByA §25 in EWGT p.90. Iewydd or Ewydd seem to be the most probable modern forms. Rachel Bromwich writes Efydd (TYP p.449). *Iewydd* is an old word for 'yoke' or 'collar'. See W.J.Gruffydd, *Math vab Mathonwy*, p.57 n.14.

**IFOR father of ELAETH.** See Elaeth ab Ifor.

**IFOR ab ALAN.** (Fictitious).

According to the fictitious story told by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Cadwaladr was forced to retire to Armorica as the result of a plague. While he was at the court of Alan II, king of Armorica, the Saxons seized the whole of Britain. Cadwaladr was advised in a dream not to return to Britain but to make a pilgrimage to Rome. 'But he (Alan) urged him (Cadwaladr) to send his son Ifor (*filium suum Ivor*) and his nephew Ini (*Ini, nepotem suum*) over into the island to govern the remainder of the Britons, lest a nation, descended of so ancient a race, should lose their liberty by the incursions of the barbarians (HRB XII.18).

Ifor and Ini raised all the forces they could and sailed to Britain. For forty-nine years they fiercely attacked the Angli but to little purpose. The Britons from this time onwards were called *Gualenses*, 'Welshmen', and never again recovered 'the monarchy of the island.' (HRB XII.19). It is implied, but not clearly stated, that the Britons succeeded in keeping the English out of Wales and Cornwall.

In Brut y Brenhinedd the same story is told but Ini is called Ynyr in some versions.

The plague mentioned by Geoffrey was that of 664-5 in which Cadwaladr actually died. This was post-dated by Annales Cambriae to 682. As a result we find in Brut y Tywysogion under the year 682: 'After Cadwaladr there succeeded Ifor son of Alan, king of Brittany, not as king but as leader; and he held dominion over the Britons for forty-eight years; and then he died. And after him succeeded Rhodri Molwynog.' Annales Cambriae s.a. 722 [*recte* 721] mention *Bellum Hehil apud Cornuenses* and MS.C adds: *Ivor existente duce eorum*.

It is evident that Geoffrey's Ini was actually Ine, king of Wessex (688-726) successor of Ceadwalla, king of Wessex (685-688). *Brenhinedd y Saesson* says that Ifor ab Alan conquered Cornwall, Devon and Somerset. It then ascribes to Ifor ab Alan, (not Ynyr as it calls Geoffrey's Ini), some of the deeds of Ine of Wessex.

In the expressions of HRB quoted above, viz. 'filium suum Ivor' and 'Ini, nepotem suum', 'suum' correctly refers to Alan, the subject of the sentence. Brut y Brenhinedd translated this *Iuor y uab ac Yni* (or *Ynyr*) *y nei*. But some versions took *y*, 'his', to refer to Cadwaladr. Thus in the section corresponding to HRB XII.19 we find in Brut Dingestow: *Iuor uab Catwaladyr ac Ini y keuynderw*, [i.e.Ini cousin of Ifor], while in the 'Cleopatra' version the reading is *Iuor vab Alan ac Ynyr y nei*. The versions which relate Ifor and Ini (or Ynyr) to Cadwaladr seem to be commoner. So also Annales Cambriae (MS.C) which gives s.a. 734: *Ivor filius Cadwallader* [obiit].

**IFOR ap CADWALADR.** See Ifor ab Alan.

**IFOR ap SEFERUS.** (925)

Father of Cuhelyn the father of Elystan Glodrydd according to the expanded 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (ABT §11 in EWGT p.104). The earlier version in MG 4 in EWGT p.39 calls him Anor father of Merchider father of Cuhelyn and seems to be slightly corrupt.

**ILAN, ST.**

The Patron of Eglwysilan in Morgannwg (PW 65) formerly Merthyr Ilan (BLD 32, 44). His name occurs in Trefilan, Ceredigion, whose patron is doubtful. See LBS III.298, PW 63.

**ILAR, ST.**

The saint of Llanilar in Ceredigion (PW 62). He is called Ilar *Bysgodwr*, ‘the Fisherman’, in the ‘Alphabetic Bonedd’ by Lewis Morris in BL.Add.MS.14,928 fo.36v, copied in MA<sup>2</sup> p.426. The Welsh Calendars give the feast of Ilar on January 13, 14 and 15 (LBS I.70), but January 13 or 14 is the commemoration day of St.Hilary of Poitiers, with whom Ilar is frequently confused (LBS III.299).

**ILDIERNA, ST.**

The saint of Llansallos in Cornwall. She appears as Sancta Ildierna in the Register of bishop Bytton and that of bishop Stapledon (1320). (LBS III.288). Later the saint is a man: William of Worcester (1478) says: St.Hyldren, bishop, lies in the parish of Lansalux [Lansallos] next to the parish of Lanteglys [Lanteglos]. His feast is held on February 1 (*Itineraries*, edited by John H.Harvey, 1969, p.106/7). Nicholas Roscarrock enters him in his Calendar as Ildierne on February 1 (LBS III.288).

John Ecton in his *Thesaurus* gives St.Alwys as the patron (LBS III.288).

Compare St.Elldeyrn.

**ILID, ST.**

The Welsh form of the name of Julitta, the saint of Iconium, mother of the boy martyr Cyriacus, who is called Curig in Wales. The full name of Llanilid in Morgannwg has always been ‘Llanilid a Churig’. Again in Arllechwedd, Gwynedd, Capel Curig has been called ‘Capel Curig a’i fam Julitta’ (LBS II.198, III.300). In the former case the original dedication was to Ilud (q.v.) ferch Brychan, and in the latter case probably to a Welsh saint, Curig (q.v.). Curig and Julitta (or Ilid) are entered on June 16 in most of the Welsh Calendars (LBS I.72). This is the day of Cyriacus and Julitta in the Roman Martyrology (LBS II.200). See also Juliot, Elidan.

Iolo Morganwg apparently invented the name Ilid as the Welsh equivalent of Joseph of Arimathea (q.v.).

**ILLOG, ST.**

The saint of Hirnant in Powys Wenwynwyn (PW 109). He is commemorated on August 8 (LBS I.73, III.301). His holy well, Ffynnon Illog, is near the church; in the same vicinity is a tumulus called Carnedd Illog, (which is supposed to cover his remains), and Gwely Illog, his bed (LBS III.302).

**ILLOGAN, ST.**

The patron saint of the parish of Illogan in Cornwall, three miles north-north-east of Camborne. In the various Registers he is called Eluganus, Ylluganus, Illoganus, Illuganus, Luganus up to 1383. His feast is on October 18 (LBS III.302). William of Worcester says: *Sanctus Illughan de Cornubia iacet prope Redruth*. (*Itineraries*, ed. John H.Harvey, 1969, p.98).

**ILLTUD, ST.** (470)

His ‘Life’ is preserved in Cotton MS.Vespasian A xiv and was edited in VSB pp.194 - 233. In its present form it dates from about 1140, as is proved by the mention in §7 of ‘Dubricius, Bishop of Llandaf’. This betrays the influence of the Book of Llandaf which appeared in about 1140 (VSB p.xii).

The following is a brief analysis of the Life:

§1. He was the son of Bicanus, a prince of Letavia [Llydaw]. His mother was Rieingulid [Rhieinwylydd] daughter of Anblawd [Amlawdd Wledig], a king of Britannia [i.e. Wales]. [§4 He was dedicated by his parents to a clerical pursuit]. He was first instructed in literature, and then turned himself to military training. He was a man of such memory that he never forgot anything that he learnt. ‘None was more eloquent throughout Gaul than *Æltutus miles* in discoursing philosophic eloquence.’

2. Desiring to meet his cousin Arthur, of whose magnificence he had heard, he visited his court and was much pleased and impressed by his reception. He then took service under *Poulentus, rex Gulat Morcanensium* [Pawl Penychen], accompanied by his wife, Trynihid. He quickly gained the affection of his master, and was soon promoted to preside over the royal household.

3. As a result of a miracle performed by St.Cadog he was persuaded to become a monk. See the story s.n. Pawl Penychen.

4-6. Illtud leaves his wife and settles in a beautiful fertile valley called Hodnant.

7. With the consent and aid of Dubricius, 'bishop of Llandaf', he founded a church (*ecclesia*) in that place. Many came to him to be taught and were trained in a thorough knowledge of the seven arts. [§11 Samson, Paulinus, Gildas and Dewi are particularly mentioned as studying under him].

8-10. *Merchiaunus Vesanus*, [Meirchion Wyllt], the king of that district, finding Illtud already settled there without his permission, was at first annoyed, but later, impressed by the saint's piety and miracles, bestowed on him the land where he was settled. See further s.n. Meirchion Wyllt.

13. A miracle.

14. Another miracle this time by Samson.

15. Samson was ordained by Dubricius. He bade farewell to Illtud and on that spot a spring appeared which was called by Samson's name. Samson went to Letavia and became bishop of Dol. On his death his body was born miraculously across the sea in a sarcophagus to Illtud's harbour and was buried in the cemetery of Illtud's monastery.

16. Trynihid, Illtud's wife, was meanwhile dwelling in solitude on a mountain, where she founded an oratory. Once when she visited Illtud, he was displeased, and she was temporarily struck blind. She returned to her solitude and never visited him again.

17-18. A wicked steward of king Meirchion afflicted Illtud, and as a result melted away like wax before a fire. When Meirchion attempted to take revenge against Illtud, the saint retired to a secret cave on the bank of the river Ewenny, and stayed there for a year and three days.

19. Gildas sent a bell by messenger to Dewi. On the way the messenger passed by Illtud's cave. Illtud heard the bell and was attracted by its beautiful sound and asked the man where he was going. When the bell was brought to Dewi at Mynyw it would not sound. Dewi guessed the reason and bade the messenger take the bell to Illtud. So Illtud's hiding place was discovered, and the monks of Illtud's monastery brought him back again to be abbot.

20-21. Another wicked steward of Meirchion was swallowed up by a marsh. This infuriated Meirchion who rode armed to the monastery but was swallowed up by the earth. Then Illtud retired to the cave of *Lingarchia* [Llwynarth] where he remained for three years.

22. Some men brought the body of a holy man in a boat to Llwynarth to be buried. An altar was held up above the body by the divine will. At their request Illtud buried the body and the altar remained by the divine will above the buried body.

23. Two robbers from Brycheiniog attempted to steal a herd of swine belonging to Illtud. The robbers were turned into two stones which are still called 'The Two Robbers', and the place where the sty was is still called by Illtud's name.

24. Illtud planned to visit his inheritance in Letavia. Before leaving he ordered his stewards to thresh all the corn in three barns and have it placed in granaries. Before leaving Letavia he saw people afflicted with hunger. As a result of his prayers the corn which had been stored was miraculously conveyed to the afflicted region, being found in a harbour on the shore of Letavia. Illtud returned to Britannia [Wales]. When his death was imminent he returned to Letavia where he died at the monastery of Dol on November 6.

#### NOTES ON THE LIFE

1. Letavia. The much earlier Life of St.Samson has much to say about Illtud. There is no hint in this Life that Illtud was anything but a native of Britannia [Wales], although the Life of Samson was written by a Breton. It may be suspected that the Letavia from which Illtud is said to have come in the Life of Illtud was some long-forgotten district of that name in the direction of Brecon. In further confirmation it may be noted that according to the Life of Illtud the saint is made also to have died in Letavia, while tradition makes him to be buried in the parish of Defynnog in Brycheiniog, within a small tumulus called *Bedd Gwyl Illtud*, 'The Grave of Illtud's Festival', where they kept watch in former times on the eve of his day. See WCO 113, 133, 135; LBS III.314-5. See Llydaw.

The Life of St.Samson (I.7) also speaks of the great learning of Illtud. He is described as ‘the most learned of all the Britons in the Old and New Testaments, and in every kind of philosophy, ... And by birth he was a most wise *magicus* (druid or sage), and had knowledge of the future’ (WCO 133).

*Æltutus miles*. Thus Illtud was sometimes called Illtud *Farchog*, ‘knight’, e.g. by Tudur Penllyn (*Gwaith*, ed. Thomas Roberts, 1958, No.34, l.15); *Llyfr Baglan* (c.1600) ed. J.A.Bradney, p.309; Edward Lhuys, *Parochialia*, I.1; the ‘Myvyrian 3rd series’ of triads Nos.56, 84, 121, 122.

3. The same story is told in the Life of St.Cadog (§19) but is improbable as Illtud was probably senior to Cadog by some years.

5. In the Life *Hodnant* is said to mean ‘Prosperous Valley’, but according to Wade-Evans, ‘Woody Valley’ (WCO 134). Another Hodnant is mentioned in the Life of St.David (Vespasian version) §15.

7. The *ecclesia* was, of course, Llanilltud Fawr (Llantwit Major) in Morgannwg, too well-known to be named.

*Paulinus*. This is said by A.W.Wade-Evans to be an error for Paul of Léon (q.v.). (VSB index s.n. Paulinus). See the First Life of Gildas §3 and the Life of Paul of Léon §3.

15. The Life of St.Samson (I.61) distinctly says that Samson was buried in his own monastery at Dol in Brittany. But there was a later Samson who was abbot of Llanilltud and it is probably that Samson who was buried at Llanilltud. See Samson II, abbot of Llanilltud.

19. A similar story is told in the Life of Gildas by Caradog of Llancarfan (§6) where Gildas made a bell for the pope, but for similar reasons it was finally given to Cadog.

22. The story of the altar ‘held up by the will of God’ is told as one of the ‘Mirabilia’ listed in an appendix to the *Historia Brittonum* (§71). The place is there called *Loyngarth*, modern Welsh Ystum Llwynarth, English Oystermouth in Gower. This account adds that Illtud founded a church around the body of the holy man and around the altar. The present church is dedicated to All Saints (PW 55).

23. The place is probably Llanharan, *Locus Harae*, ‘the monastery of the Sty’, in Morgannwg, where to our own time survived a place called Llecha, ‘Stones’ (WCO 135). Llanharan seems to have no dedication.

24. There are churches in Léon and Cornouaille in Brittany of which he is patron. See LBS III. 317. On the place of his death see note to §1, above. The day of his death, November 6, agrees with that of his festival. See LBS I.75, III.317.

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The Life of St.Samson says (I.7) that Illtud was a disciple of St.Germanus, who had ordained him priest. Also, speaking of Llanilltud Fawr, it says (I.42) ‘the monastery which, it is said, had been founded by St.Germanus’. The last statement is not generally accepted, though Wade-Evans did not rule out the possibility (WCO 74, 132). It is also difficult to reconcile the former statement with a satisfactory chronology of Illtud’s life, although Wade-Evans accepted it (WCO 211). Paul Grosjean, however, thought that the tradition did not necessarily mean that Illtud went to Auxerre: he could have been brought up or educated by people who claimed to be disciples or followers of St.Germanus (*Studies in memory of Fritz Saxl*, ed. D.J.Gordon, 1957, pp.75-76, quoted by Idris Foster in *Prehistoric and Early Wales*, 1965, p.227 n.4).

In the Life of St.Brioc (before 850) (§9) we are told that St.Germanus had as pupils Patrick and Illtud along with Brioc.

In the Life of St.Dubricius it is stated that Illtud was made abbot of Llanilltud by Dubricius, who visited the residence of the blessed Illtud in the season of Lent, that he might correct what wanted amendment, and confirm what should be observed (BLD 81; LBS III.308).

The Life of St.Leonorius (q.v.) says that the saint was a pupil of Illtud and was consecrated bishop by Dubricius. We also find that saint Tudual was said to be his pupil. See s.n. Tudual.

The Life of St.Paul of Léon (884) (§2) says that St.Illtud spent much of his time in *Insula Pyrus* [Ynys Bŷr, Caldy Island]. In §3 we are told that among his disciples were Paul, David, Gildas, Samson and others.



Baglan, the saint of Baglan in Morgannwg, is said to have been a disciple of Illtud and a contemporary of Cadog. See s.n. Baglan (2).

One of the 'Llancarfan Charters' appended to the Life of St.Cadog (§57) tells how Cadog and Illtud cursed *Euan Buurr* for killing two men. King Merchiaun [probably Meirchion Wyllt] gave a township, Conhil, to Illtud. Another king, Catlon, gave land to Cadog. Cadog and his familia were witnesses, but only the familia of Illtud were witnesses. See more s.n. Cadog.

According to the Life of Cadog (§22) Illtud was present, with other saints, at a dispute between Arthur and Cadog. For details see s.n. Llyngesog Lawhir. Illtud is also listed among the signatories of an 'Agreement of Refuge' between Cadog and Rhain ap Brychan in the Life of Cadog (§70). See s.n. Rhain ap Brychan.

It has been suggested that Illtud was the 'instructor' of Maelgwn, 'the refined teacher of almost the whole of Britain' mentioned by Gildas (*Epistola* §36). See s.n. Maelgwn Gwynedd.

In the Life of Samson (I.8) we are told that when Illtud was on his death-bed he called for two abbots, Isanus [Isan] and Atoclius, to visit him. Illtud died the same night, Atoclius soon after, and Isanus after forty days, all of which was prophesied by Illtud.

A list of abbots of Llanilltud Fawr is printed from an old deed by David Williams in his *History of Monmouthshire*, 1796, Appendix, p.50. This gives Illtutus, Piro [Pyr], Isanus, Cennit [Cennydd], Samson, .... Note that Samson was appointed abbot of Llanilltud according to his Life (I.42), but only remained for a short time before leaving for Armorica (I.45). However, Illtud was still alive when Samson went to Armorica according to the Life of Illtud (§15). If we accept all these statements it would seem that Pyr, Isan, Cennydd and Samson were all abbots of Llanilltud Fawr during the lifetime of Illtud, perhaps during some of his many absences or after his retirement.

A stone cross in the churchyard of Llanilltud Fawr bears the names of Illtutus and Samson. See s.n. Samson of Dol.

There are some 13 churches dedicated to Illtud in Wales, mainly in the South: Morgannwg (6), Brycheiniog (1), Ystrad Tywi (including Gŵyr) (4), Dyfed (1), Ardudwy (1). See PW. LBS III.315 adds some doubtful cases.

### **ILON HWYLFAWR.**

'I. of the Great Journey'. He is mentioned in the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (ByA §16 in EWGT p.88) as a man of the North, father of Helygy and Elfedan. The two sons seem to have given their names (1) to the brook Helygi (Luggy) which joins the Severn near Welshpool, and (2) to a township, Ystradelfeddan, in the parish of Welshpool (OP II.600). Compare *Tom Elwithan*, 'the Mound of Elwyddan' mentioned in the Cynddyylan poetry (CLIH XI.103). Could these persons belong to the lost Cynddyylan saga? (PCB).

### **ILTUT.** (Fictitious).

The eighth in the list of fictitious archbishops of London, ascribed to Jocelin of Furness, succeeding Stephan and being succeeded by Dedwin (John Stow, *The Chronicles of England*, 1580, p.56).

### **ILUD ferch BRYCHAN.**

A daughter of Brychan according to two of the older Brychan documents (DSB §12(25) and JC §3(24) in EWGT pp.16, 44). The first merely says *Ilud filia Brachan*. The second reads *Llud verch Vrachan yn Ruthun yGwlat Vorgant*. This evidently refers to Llanilid in Rhuthin lordship, Glamorgan, 5½ miles east by north of Bridgend. The church, however, was later dedicated to Ilid and Curig. See s.n. Ilid. (LBS III.300; A.W.Wade-Evans in Cy. XIX (1906) p.44, PW 71). According to Wade-Evans Ilud was also the patron of Llanilid in Crai, formerly under Defynnog, Brycheiniog (PW 36).

**INA ferch CEREDIG.** (440)

Presumably the saint of Llanina, formerly under Llannarth, in Ceredigion (PW 59). She was the daughter of Ceredig ap Cunedda according to *Progenies Keredic* (§7 in EWGT p.20). See also LBS III.318.

**INABWY**, bishop in Eryng.

Inabwy is the modern form of the name which occurs in the Book of Llandaf as Iunabui and Iunapeius (WCO 121). In BLD 72a we read: *Peipiau rex filius Erb largitus est Mainaur Garth Benni ... Deo et Dubricio ... et Iunapeio consobrino suo ...* The fundamental meaning of *consobrino* is 'sister's son' and *suo* should refer to the subject of the sentence, i.e. Peipiau. Thus the literal meaning is that Inabwy was the son of the sister of Peibio ab Erb. Alfred Anscombe took it to be so in *Cy. XXIV* (1913) p.81. But *consobrino* can also mean cousin, and *suo* can be taken to refer to Dubricius, so that Inabwy was perhaps cousin to Peibio or to Dubricius. See G.H.Doble, *St.Dubricius*, p.18 and n.2, and p.26 and n.7. LBS III.336 calls him cousin of Dubricius. Nephew to Peibio seems most probable (PCB).

Inabwy is listed as a disciple to Dubricius (BLD 80). Several charters in which he figures do not represent him as a bishop. BLD 72a, b, 73a, b, 76a are all [wrongly] with Dubricius as bishop. Another (163a) is with Elwystl as bishop. There are two charters where Inabwy is bishop (BLD 163b, 164). These were grants by Gwrgan ap Cynfyn, king of Eryng. Wendy Davies dates the early charters c.575-595 and those when he was bishop c.620 (LlCh pp.92-94, 104).

Foundations recorded in the Book of Llandaf were:

Lann Loudeu now Llanloundy in Welsh Newton, Herefordshire (BLD 163).

Lann Budgualan now Ballingham on the Wye in Eryng and dedicated to Dubricius (BLD 164).

Lann Iunabui now Llandinabo in Eryng (BLD 73a).

(LBS III.337, WCO 123, WATU). In the last-named place he was called Tinabo (Ty-Inabo), and this points to his father having been Rhun ab Eneas Ledewig. See Eneas Ledewig.

According to the Life of Teilo in the Book of Llandaf (BLD 115), Inabwy was one of the disciples of Dubricius who joined Teilo when he returned from Brittany. This does not appear in the earlier Life and may be dismissed.

**INDEG ferch GARWY HIR.** (Legendary).

She is mentioned in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' as one of the ladies of Arthur's Court (WM 470, RM 112). She is also mentioned in a triad as one of the 'Three Mistresses of Arthur' (TYP no.57).

So the poet Gruffudd ap Maredudd speaks of 'The care of Arthur ... for the daughter of Garwy Hir, [for one of] the hue of snow.' (RBP col.1326 ll.16-18; TYP p.354). See also Garwy.

**INETHAN ap IASEDD or IASETH.** (970)

Ancestor of the main branches of the tribe of Marchudd in Rhos, Gwynedd; father of Edryd and Elfyw (ABT 2c, 9a, HL 7b, c in EWGT pp.97, 103, 116).

**INNOGEN daughter of PANDRASUS.** (Fictitious).

The best spelling of the name in HRB is *Innogen* or *Ignogen* (Griscom, Faral). It is evidently derived from the Latin name *Innocentia* (so Robert Owen, *The Kymry*, 1891, p.48). But the spelling of the name varies in the manuscripts and the form which became popular was *Imogen*, through Shakespeare's 'Cymbeline'.

According to Geoffrey of Monmouth she was the daughter of Pandrasus 'king of Greece', and was married to Brutus. She came with him to Britain and was mother of his three sons, Locrinus, Albanactus and Camber (HRB I.11, II.1).

In Brut y Brenhinedd the common form is Ignogen.

**IOE ap MEIRCHION.** Father of Paen (q.v.) ap Ioe. (970)

**IOEVIN**, Breton Saint. See Paul of Léon.

**IOHANNES** (son of BRYCHAN).

Iohannes is listed as one of the children of Brychan in the Life of St.Nectan. See EWGT p.29. Unlike many of the other so-called children of Brychan in the list, he is not found in the north-east of Cornwall, but G.H.Doble proposed to identify him with the patron of Instow [John's Stow] not far from the Cornish border on the north coast of Devon between Barnstaple and Bideford. (*S.Nectan, S.Keyne and the Children of Brychan in Cornwall*, "Cornish Saints" Series No.25, p.11).

**IONA** (son of BRYCHAN). See Brychan, Cornish List.

**IONA**, 'king of France'.

In the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' mention is made of 'Iona, king of France' as one of those present at Arthur's Court (WM 461, RM 107).

Compare Ionas.

**IONAFAL ap MEURIG**. (d.985).

According to Brut y Tywysogion he was slain in 985 by Cadwallon ap Ieuaf. His father was presumably Meurig ab Idwal Foel.

**IONAS**, prince of Domnonée.

According to the genealogy in the Life of St.Winnoc (*Boll. Acta SS. Nov.III* p.268) Ionas was the son of Riatham son of Deroch son of Riwal, and father of Iudwal [Iudual]. Arthur le Moyne de la Borderie considered that Riatham's presence in the pedigree was "absolument impossible" (*Histoire de Bretagne*, I.400 n.3). See s.n. Riwal. He made Ionas the son of Deroch, and thought that Riatham was perhaps another son of Deroch who died young. He put the reign of Ionas from c.535 to c.540 (*ibid.*, pp.400, 433).

According to the Life of St.Samson (I.53), an unjust oppressor, [Conmor (I.59)] seized the kingdom and handed Ionas over to death at the hands of Childebert [king of Paris, 511-558].

In the Life of St.Leonore we are told that when Conmor seized power he married the widow of the dead king (wrongly called Riguald [Riwal]). In the Life of St.Melor we are told that Conmor was living with the sister of Melor's father Meliau, that is, a daughter of Budic, prince of Cornouaille. See Budic (1). Thus the wife of Ionas was perhaps the daughter of Budic. So LBS I.51, 53.

**IOP ap DEL**.

Genealogical link in the ancestry of Cydifor Fawr ap Gollwyn, patriarch of a tribe in Dyfed; father of Arthafad. (ABT §18b in EWGT p.106).

**IORWERTH HIRFLAWDD**. (770)

'Iorwerth of the Long Struggle'. 'Hirflawdd' is explained as being in contemporary [16th century] language 'Hirymladd' (ABT 11, Peniarth MS.127 text in EWGT p.104).

His earliest appearance is in *De Situ Brecheniauc* where he is called 'Gereuerth, king of Powys, whence are named the Iorwerthion', and said to be the husband of Arianwen ferch Brychan (§12(10) in EWGT p.15). That his wife was Arianwen ferch Brychan is confirmed in all the Brychan documents except 'Cognatio Brychan' (§15(10) in EWGT p.18) which mentions no husband. The cognomen, Hirflawdd, occurs first in the Brychan section of Jesus College MS.20 (§3(2) in EWGT p.43) and this appears in most later documents, but Hirflawr, 'tall and grey' in MG 4 in EWGT p.39.

His pedigree first appears in Mostyn MS.117 where he is the son of Tegonwy ap Teon (MG 4 in EWGT p.39). This ancestry is confirmed in PB 3b, ABT 2a, 13 in EWGT pp.82, 97, 104. He was the father of Idnerth, ancestor of Elystan Glodrydd (MG 4, JC 30, ABT 11), and father of Cynog Mawr, ancestor of Trahaearn ap Caradog of Arwystli (ABT 2a, 13).

The poet Cynddelw mentions the Iorweirthion in two poems: ‘Gwelygorddau Powys’ (RBP Col.1397, *Yoruertyawyn*; LIH p.164, *Yorueirthyawyn*) and ‘Marwnad Cadwallon ap Madog’ (LIH p.125, *Yorueirthyawyn*). The line of princes of Gwrtheyrnion [in Radnorshire], descended from Elystan Glodrydd, is called *Gwehelyth Iorueirthiawn Gwrthrynion* in Peniarth MS.177 p.211. See ABT §11 in EWGT p.104.

The genealogies of his descendants agree in putting his date of birth in about A.D.770. This is quite out of line with the dates of the husbands of other daughters of Brychan. See s.n. Brychan.

**ISAAC ab EIFION ap MEURIG.** (570)

A prince of the line of Dunodig; father of Pobien Hen (HG 17, JC 40, ABT 24 in EWGT pp.11, 48, 108). Eifion becomes Einion in JC and is omitted in ABT.

**ISAN,** abbot of Llanilltud Fawr.

Isanus and Atoclius are mentioned in the Breton Life of St.Samson (I.8) as two abbots who were asked by St.Illtud to visit him when he was on his death-bed. Illtud prophesied that he himself and Atoclius would die that very night, and that Isan would die forty days later. All this came to pass.

We are not told where Isan was abbot when Illtud was about to die. Isanus comes third in a list of abbots of Llanilltud printed by David Williams in his *History of Monmouthshire*, 1796, Appendix p.50. He is preceded by Piro [Pyr] and is followed by Cennit [Cennydd] and then Samson. It would seem that Isan was abbot of Llanilltud during the life of Illtud. See further s.n. Illtud.

There is a Llanisien (Llanishen) in Cardiff and another Llanisien (Llanishen) in Tryleg, Gwent (WATU). It appears that the church in Cardiff was called Lann Yssan in the Book of Llandaf (BLD 241-2) but that in Gwent was called Lann Nissien (BLD 321). Thus the patrons are given as Isan and Nisien, respectively, in PW 66 and PW 81, following OP I.307. Both churches were regarded as dedicated to St.Dionysius or Denis in Norman times (LBS III.321). BLD also mentions Lann Issan mainaur (pp.56, 62, 124, 255, 287) in Rhos, Dyfed, as belonging to Llandaf. It is, however, identified with St.Ishmael's (LBS III.321). So in WATU: “St.Ishmael's [Llanisan-yn-Rhos]”. But St.Ishmael's in Rhos is said to be dedicated to Ysfael (q.v.).

**ISCAWYN ap PANON.** (Legendary).

One of the warriors at Arthur's Court listed in the tale of ‘Culhwch and Olwen’ (WM 462, RM 108). Later we are told that he was slain in the hunting of the boar Trwyth at Cwm Cerwyn (RM 138). Here the name is spelt Yscawyn. Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones translate “Isgawyn son of Banon”.

It is probably the same person who is called *Kysceint mab Banon* one of Arthur's followers mentioned in the Dialogue ‘Who is the Porter?’ in the Black Book of Carmarthen (BBC p.94). But John Rhys thought that Kysceint was probably a miscopying of Kysteint, the Welsh form of Constantius (Preface to The Everyman Edition of Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*, 1906, p.xxi n.2). Note e.g. Custeint in JC §4 in EWGT p.44. But see AoW 64 n.31, CO(2) p.84.

**ISERNINUS, ST.** See Hernin, Patrick.

**ISPERYR EWINGATH.** (Legendary).

One of the persons at Arthur's Court mentioned in the tale of ‘Culhwch and Olwen’ (WM 460, RM 106). Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones translate “Isberyr Cat-claw”. A proverb is ascribed to Ysperir in ‘Englynion y Clyweid’ in Llanstephan MS.27 (No.27 ed. BBSC 3 (1926), p.12).

**ISSELL, ST.** See Usyllt, Ysfael ap Budic.

**ISSEY, ST.** See Ide.

**ISSIU, ST.**

The saint of Partrishow, formerly under Llanbedr Ystrad Yw in Brycheiniog (PW 37). It is called Merthir Issiu in the Book of Llandaf (BLD 279) and Pertrissw in the list of parishes in Peniarth MS.147 (c.1566). See RWM I.918. The form Llanyscho was used in 1555 (LBS III.321). WATU (s.n. Partrishow) treats the modern form of Issiu as Isw.

Richard Fenton noted the Well of Ishaw. Issiu's commemoration is said to be on October 30 (LBS III.322-3).

**ISTIO.** (Fictitious).

The name is a corrupt form of the eponym of The Istaevones, one of the three great divisions of the Germanic tribes according to Tacitus (*Germania*, Ch.2), and Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, IV.14). The name appears as Hessitio, Hisitio, Hisicio in the best texts of the *Historia Brittonum* (§§17, 18) where he is said to be the son of Alaneus or Alanus (§18), and father of Francus, Romanus, Britto [Brutus in §18], and Albanus (§17). In the 'Irish Nennius' the name becomes Hissicon, Isacon, Isicon (*Lebor Bretnach*, ed. A.G.van Hamel, 1932, §5). See further s.n. Alanus.

**ITHEL?**, a Welsh prince, living 973. See Iuchil.

**ITHEL ab ATHRWYS ap FFERNFAEL**, king of Gwent. (d.848).

His pedigree is given in the 'Harleian' genealogies (§28 in EWGT p.12). He is doubtless the Ithel king of Gwent who is said by the *Annales Cambriae* to have been slain by the men of Brycheiniog in 848. He was apparently the last of his line (HW 274).

**ITHEL ab ATHRWYS [ap MEURIG]**, king of Glywysing. (650)

A king Ithel ab Athrwys is mentioned in the Book of Llandaf as a contemporary of bishop Oudoceus in a charter dealing with *Ecclesia Elidon* (St.Lythan's in Morgannwg) (BLD 157). He is probably the king Ithel of another charter (BLD 159a). BLD 259-260 says: 'from the time of Ithel king of Morgannwg, son of Athrwys, a contemporary of bishop Oudoceus'.

It is evident from the witnesses that Ithel was king at the same time as his brother Morgan. Compare BLD 157 with BLD 149, 151a. Wendy Davies dates the charters c.685 (LCh p.102).

**ITHEL ap CEREDIG.** (440)

Father of St.Dogfael (PK 12, ByS 2 in EWGT pp.20, 55).

**ITHEL ab IDWALLON.** (970)

The father of Gwrgan and grandfather of Iestyn ap Gwrgan ancestor of of the 'Royal Tribe' of Morgannwg (ABT 15, MP 3 in EWGT pp.105, 122). He is mentioned in the Book of Llandaf as the father of Gwrgan (BLD 258, 263), but his father is not given. His parentage is accepted by *The Glamorgan County History*, Vol.2 (1983), p.404).

**ITHEL ap MORGAN**, king of Glywysing. (690)

His pedigree is given in the 'Harleian' and later genealogies which add that he was the father of Ffernfael and Rhys (HG 28, 29, JC 9, ABT 15 in EWGT pp.12, 45, 105). In some later pedigrees his name is changed to Einudd (MP 3 in EWGT p.122).

In the Book of Llandaf he first appears in charters with his father in the time of bishop Berthwyn (BLD 176, 190). Next he appears as king with two sons, Ffernfael and Meurig (BLD 175, 179, 180, 186, 190, 195). Then we have a charter in the time of Berthwyn with two further sons Rhodri and Rhys (BLD 191). There are two more charters in the time of the next bishop, Terchan (BLD 202, 204). His four sons, Meurig, Rhys, Ffernfael, and Rhodri are mentioned together as living in the time of bishop Elfodd [see Elfodd] (BLD 206). His wife was perhaps Riceneth. See s.n. Morgan ab Athrwys.

BLD 192 says 'Let it be known that great tribulations and plunderings occurred in the time of *Telpaldus* and *Ithailus*, kings of *Britannia*, which were committed by the most treacherous Saxon nation, and most of all on the confines of *Britannia* [Wales] and *Agglia* [England] towards *Herfordia* [Hereford], so that all the border country of *Britannia* was nearly destroyed, and much beyond the borders of both *Agglia* and *Britannia*, and especially about the river *Guy* [Wye], on account of frequent daily and nightly encounters between each other. After a time, peace having been established, the land was restored to its owners and its former authority, and an alliance of the Britons [Welsh] formed in those parts. And king *Iudhail* [Ithel] restored to the survivors their patrimony, though for a time destroyed, and likewise restored to bishop *Berthguin* [Berthwyn] eleven estates which had belonged to the church in the days before the troubles.' The estates mentioned are all in Ergyng.

*Telpaldus* is a contraction of *Etelpaldus*, that is, Æthelbald, king of Mercia 716 - 757 (in which year he died) (OP II.271). The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says (s.a.743) 'This year Æthelbald, king of Mercia, and Cuthred, king of the West-Saxons, fought with the Welsh'. This was probably against the men of Devon and Cornwall (HW 197 n.14). 'All that is known of the border conflict which no doubt went on incessantly during this period is that in or about 722 (AC, ByT) the Welsh won two victories in South Wales'. The exact places are uncertain (HW 197).

Wendy Davies places the reign of Ithel ap Morgan c.710-745 (LlCh p.76). See also Samson II, abbot of Llanilltud.

#### **ITHEL HAEL** of Llydaw. (470)

He appears only in *Bonedd y Saint* (§25) and *Achau'r Saint* (§14) as ancestor of various saints. He was father of two sons, Tygái and Trillo, and a daughter, Llechid, according to the earlier versions of ByS §25. A later version adds Hywyn, Gredfyw, Gredifael, Fflewin and Caron. AchS §14 adds Doged. A later version still of ByS adds Tanwg, Twrog and Baglan, but this seems to be erratic. See EWGT pp.58, 69.

In a late version (G) of ByS §25 and in AchS §14 Ithel Hael is said to be son of Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw. Llydaw here is probably a place in south-east Wales. See Llydaw.

William Hoby (b.c.1370), lord of Burwar in Old Radnor, traced his descent from Ithel Hael ap Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw (*Peniarth MSS.* 132 p.276, 140 p.292).

#### **IUCHIL**, a Welsh prince, (living 973).

A Welsh prince, who, with others, is said to have plighted his troth to Edgar, the English king, and rowed him on the river Dee in 973. Florence of Worcester (*Chronicon ex Chronicis*, I.142) calls him *Iuchil*. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, II.148) calls him *Iudethil*. William Wynne, in his *History of Wales*, 1774, ed. p.59, calls him Ithel, which is perhaps the correct form (older *Iudhail*), but does not say where he reigned. Oman thought he was of South Wales (p.544), but no prince of that name is known to have lived at that time. See also HW p.349.

#### **IUDHUBR [IDDWR]**, abbot of Llandochau.

He appears in four charters in the Book of Llandaf in the time of bishop Oudoceus, two with king Morgan ab Athrwys (BLD 149, 151a), one with king Ithel ab Athrwys (BLD 157) and one with no king mentioned (159b). He succeeded Sulien and was followed by Sadwrn. See *Trans.Cym.*, 1948, p.291 (but ignore dates) and Wendy Davies, who dates the charters c.680-685 (LlCh pp.55, 99-102).

#### **IUDUAL**, prince of Domnonée.

Son of Ionas, prince of Domnonée. Conmor, [count of Léon], had seized the kingdom and handed Ionas over to Childebert, [king of Paris, 511-558] to be slain. Iudual was sent by his mother to take sanctuary with St.Leonore. Conmor came searching for him, but Leonore helped him to escape to the court of Childebert. Conmor then sent a deputation to Childebert and persuaded him to keep Iudual at Paris under restraint.

When Samson arrived in Brittany he found great distress in Domnonée, owing to the tyranny of Conmor, and promptly set forth to visit Childebart on Iudual's account. After much difficulty Samson achieved his aim. See s.n. Samson. Childebart finally allowed Iudual to return to Brittany. While Samson prayed and fasted on his behalf, Iudual in a single battle overthrew Conmor, and himself reigned over Domnonée. (Based on the Breton Life of Samson and the Life of St.Leonore). According to the Life of St.Paul of Léon (§20) Iudual was a cousin of Samson.

Iudual reigned c.555-580 (Arthur le Moyne de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, 1896, I.433, 463). He was the father of Iuthael, who succeeded him, and many others.

**IUGENIUS son of MORVIDUS.** See Owain ap Morudd.

**IWERYDD, mother of BRÂN.**

The name appears in the dialogue between Gwyn ap Nudd and Gwyddno Garanhir in the Black Book of Carmarthen (BBC p.99 l.14). Gwyn says: 'I have been where *Bran mab Ywerit*, of wide-spread fame, was slain'. There is no way of telling who this Brân was. John Rhys thought that it was Brân ap Llŷr, and that Iwerydd (the modern form of the name) was his mother (*Arthurian Legend*, p.130), but see Brân ab Ymellyrn.

Helaine Newstead suggested that *mab y werit* should be translated 'son of the ocean'. This may simply be a rendering of *mab Llŷr* by one who knew that *llŷr* meant 'sea'. (*Bran the Blessed in Arthurian Romance*, 1939, p.18f; P.MacCana, *Branwen daughter of Llŷr*, p.130). But Iwerydd was used as a woman's name in the eleventh century. See ByT s.a.1116, HL 2k in EWGT p.113.

**JOSEPH of ARIMATHEA.**

The only authentic details of his life are to be found in the Gospels (Matthew xxvii.57-60; Mark xv.43-46; Luke xxiii.50-53; John xix.38-42) in which we are told that he was a man of means, a secret disciple of Jesus and a respected member of the Council [The Great Council or Sanhedrin]. After the crucifixion Pontius Pilate granted his request for the body of Jesus which he wrapped in linen cloth and laid in his own unused tomb.

As a saint he is commemorated on March 17.

Further details, contained in certain apocryphal Gospels, bear the obvious stamp of invention, but at any rate are of some antiquity:

1. The Gospel of Nicodemus. The first part called *Gesta Pilati* tells how the Jews, incensed against Joseph, placed him in a cell without windows and sealed the door. But Christ freed him and conducted him to Arimathea. Later when the Jews sought him they found him at liberty and Joseph told them the story of his liberation (M.R.James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 1924, pp.xix, 94, 105 f).

2. The Avenging of the Saviour (*Vindicta Salvatoris*). The version given in the *Golden Legend* tells how Vespasian, after affirming his belief in Jesus, was miraculously healed of a wasps' nest in his nose. He determined to avenge Jesus and laid siege to Jerusalem. After the fall of Jerusalem Vespasian (or his son, Titus) discovered Joseph of Arimathea built up in a very massive wall. Joseph told him that he had been imprisoned there a second time by the Jews, and even to that time had been miraculously nourished on heavenly food (M.R.James, *loc.cit.*, pp.160-1). [Vespasian was conducting the Jewish War A.D.66-69. On being made emperor he left the war to his son Titus who took Jerusalem in A.D.70].

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The legend telling how Joseph of Arimathea came to Britain to preach the Gospel appears to be of comparatively recent growth, dating probably from the late 12th or early 13th century, the time when the monks of Glastonbury were busy looking for methods of attracting visitors to their monastery. For a good outline of the growth of the legend, see T. Armitage Robinson, *Two Glastonbury Legends*, Cambridge, 1926.

The first mention of Joseph of Arimathea in this capacity is in William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae* which is preserved in a manuscript of the 13th century at Trinity College, Cambridge (No.724). It was edited by Thomas Hearne, Oxford, 1727. Only a nucleus of the contents of this manuscript are, however, the authentic work of William. See W.W.Newell, "William of Malmesbury on the Antiquity of Glastonbury", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xviii.459 (1903). The contents of the second edition of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* (between 1135 and 1140) are a guide to the original contents of the *De Antiquitate*.

[A] Probably a genuine entry is his reference to a definite legend which, however, he politely waved aside as *opinionum naenias*:

Twelve disciples of Saints Philip and James having come into Britain in the year of Our Lord's Incarnation 63, three kings, although pagans, conferred upon them 12 portions of land: whence to this present the name '12 hides' has persisted (Hearne, p.45).

[B] An introductory chapter to *De Antiquitate*, interpolated shortly before 1250, says that Philip sent the twelve disciples:

over whom he placed ... his dearest friend, Joseph of Arimathea.... They preached with boldness... But the barbarian king ... absolutely refused to agree with their preaching. ... Yet ... he granted them a certain island ... called ... Ynswitrin [Ynys Wydrin (q.v.), a name for Glastonbury] ... in which to dwell. Moreover, afterwards, two pagan kings ... successively granted to each of them a portion of land ... (Hearne, pp.5-6).

[C] The next addition was to identify the pagan king with Arviragus. This seems to be mentioned first by John of Tinmouth (fl.1366) in his *Life of St.Patrick*, published in John Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. C. Horstman, II.289. Arviragus comes from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*.

[D] In the *Eulogium Historiarum* by a monk of Malmesbury (soon after 1366), the same story is told with the addition that Joseph of Arimathea was buried at Glastonbury:

with two phials full of the bloody sweat of Christ, which he had brought with him from the Holy Land. (Ed. Rolls, Book 2, Ch.3 in Vol.I p.157).

[E] A further interpolation in *De Antiquitate* gives the names of the three kings as Arviragus, Marius and Coillus, adding that the son of the last of these was Lucius, the first Christian king of Britain (Hearne p.45). These names all come from Geoffrey of Monmouth (HRB IV.16-20).

## THE GRAIL

The earliest known story of the Grail, *Li Conte del Graal*, by Chrétien de Troyes, written between 1174 and 1190, but never completed by him, knows nothing of Joseph of Arimathea. As to the Grail, the only information which Chrétien gave "was that the Grail, since it contained the host (sacramental wafer), was the vessel so used in the eucharistic ritual - the ciborium as it is called". Perceval was destined to be the hero (Bruce I.223, 244, see also I.256).

[F] It was Robert de Boron who first associated the Grail with Joseph of Arimathea and described it as the cup used by Jesus at the last supper. He composed a poem on the subject 'Joseph of Arimathea', some time between 1180 and 1199, which tells how the Grail came into the possession of Joseph, who preserved some of the blood of Jesus therein. Robert drew much material from the Apocryphal Gospels already quoted, including Joseph's release from prison by Vespasian. He then tells how Joseph and his followers went to dwell in far-off lands. The Grail was transferred to Joseph's brother-in-law, Hebron, (frequently shortened to Bron), the husband of Joseph's sister Enygeus, and Hebron continued his journey westward. Joseph died, apparently in the land where he was born. It is not



told where Bron finally settled with the Grail. Bron's son, Alain, is to go westwards. He will have an heir who will keep the vessel (Bruce I.230 ff, 223, 267).

Robert de Boron planned a cycle of three poems. The second was 'Merlin' which does not touch on the Grail, but the third, which would have told, presumably, how the Grail came to Britain, and what happened there was apparently never written.

[G] At some time between the years 1205 and 1216, probably about 1210 (Bruce I.450, 453) the work of Boron, which had already been turned into prose, received a considerable expansion under the title *L'Estoire del Saint Graal* in order to form the first part of the 'Vulgate' cycle of Arthurian Romances centred around Lancelot as chief hero, and his son Galahad as the principal Grail hero.

The additions which are of present concern are as follows: Joseph of Arimathea had a son Josephes. After being released by Vespasian, Joseph was baptized by St.Philip. He then converted 75 friends and relations and they all set out on a journey. After much wandering they came to the coast of Gaul. The faithful section of the company, with the Grail, were borne across the channel to Britain on the shirt of Josephes. The company came to Castle Galafort. After 15 years of adventures in various parts of Britain, they returned to Galafort where Joseph and Josephes died. Josephes had confided the Grail to Alain the son of Bron. Alain came to the 'Terre Foraine' where the lordly castle of Corbenic was built for the Grail. The castle and the Grail remained in the family of Bron until the time of Arthur, passing from Alain to his brother Josue and then from father to son - Aminadap, Catheloy, Manaal, Lambar, Pelleham, Pelles, on whose daughter Lancelot begot Galahad (Sommer, Vol.1, passim). There is no mention of Glastonbury.

[H] This was evidently the basis of a late marginal note in *De Antiquitate* which tells us that Joseph was accompanied by his son Josephes and many others, and that he died in Britain. It mentions the Grail Legend as its source (Hearne pp.7-8).

The accounts of Joseph of Arimathea based on the Grail legend include Joseph's release from captivity at the time of the fall of Jerusalem in A.D.70. Thus his arrival in Britain would be more than seven years later than that given in the earlier versions (A to E).

#### John of Glastonbury

John of Glastonbury had all this material before him, when at the end of the fourteenth century he recast the earlier history of the abbey. He gave for the first time an orderly account of the full legend of Joseph of Arimathea as it was told at Glastonbury (Armitage Robinson, p.36). His account is given in *Chronica sive Historia de Rebus Glastoniensibus*, ed. Thomas Hearne, Oxford, 1726, pp.48-54. It takes extracts from the story in *L'Estoire del Saint Graal* (F+G), but omits Joseph's second imprisonment and release by Vespasian. This avoided the chronological discrepancy mentioned above. It adds a story of Joseph becoming *paranymphos*, 'guardian', to the Virgin Mary, apparently based on one of the Latin forms of the *Transitus Mariae*, 'the Passing of Mary' which claims to have been written by Joseph of Arimathea himself. After coming to St.Philip in Gaul, it is Philip who sends Joseph to Britain as head of twelve (Josephes being one of them) to preach the gospel. Six hundred and more men and women accompanied him ('as is to be read in the book which is called *The Holy Grail*'). The faithful pass over to Britain on the shirt of Josephes. It is later, in the year 63, that Joseph, Josephes and ten other companions traverse Britain over which Arviragus reigned, etc. as in C and E above. Finally he describes the place of burial of Joseph in Glastonbury.

The same story is told by John Capgrave in his *Life of Joseph (Nova Legenda Anglie)*, ed. C.Horstman, II.78 ff). Both profess to quote from a book entitled *De Sancto Joseph ab Arimathea* by the emperor Theodosius (379-395). Although confessedly based on 'the book which is called *The Holy Grail*' the Grail itself is not once mentioned.

The phials, however, of D above, are mentioned later by John of Glastonbury in the strange 'Prophecy of Melchinus' (pp.30 and 55). This also appears as a gloss in *De Antiquitate* and in Capgrave's *Life of Joseph (loc.cit., p.82)*. The relevant lines (22-26) are thus translated by Armitage Robinson (pp.30-31):

For Joseph hath with him  
 In his sarcophagus  
 Two cruets, white and silver,  
 Filled with blood and sweat  
 Of the prophet Jesus.

John of Glastonbury also found, or invented, a genealogy of Arthur, based on *L'estoire del Saint Graal*, using the names in the pedigree of Galahad. In this, Bron, brother in law of Joseph, becomes *Helaius nepos Joseph*, which may be translated nephew or grandson of Joseph. Then follow from father to son: Josue, Aminadab, Castellors, Manael, Lambord. Then *Lambord genuit filium, qui genuit Ygernam, de qua rex Uterpendragun genuit nobilem et famosum regem Arthurum.* (*loc.cit.*, pp.56-57 and again p.73). The Welsh genealogists adapted this and made some minor corrections. See s.n. Amlawdd Wledig.

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John Hardyng in his *Chronicle* (c.1450) Ch. 47, 48, combined his sources differently, saying that Joseph of Arimathea, having been released from prison by Vespasian, came to Britain with Vespasian in the year 76, and was commended by him to Arviragus, who gave him twelve hides of land.

Other stories and 'lingering traditions' concerning Joseph of Arimathea are endless, and are not discussed here.

#### The Legend of Mary Magdalene

The story is first told by Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz (d.856), in *De Vita Beatae Mariae Magdaleneae*, Chapters 36-37. Mary Magdalene (misidentified with Mary of Bethany), Martha, Lazarus and Marcella, their attendant, Parmenus a deacon, and St.Maximinus, being in fear of the Jews, set out for the west and came to Gaul (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol.112 cols. 1492-3).

A later version says that the Jews, displaying great hatred, put them into a boat without oars and consigned them to the sure peril of the sea. It is said that by divine providence they reached Marseilles. Cardinal Caesar Baronius records this and adds: 'They say that Joseph of Arimathea was a comrade in the same peril, and they relate that he sailed from Gaul to Britain, and after preaching the Gospel he ended his days there.' (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, Vol.1 (1590), Ann. 35 §5).

This legend never seems to have formed part of the Glastonbury tradition.

#### Welsh References

In a triad in the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (Plant Brychan §5 in EWGT p.83) the Children of Caw of Prydyn are listed as one of the 'Three Kindreds of Saints of Ynys Prydain', see also TYP no.81, but the Pen.50 version of TYP no.81 substitutes the Lineage of Joseph of Arimathea as one of the 'Three Saintly Lineages' of Ynys Prydain, although there are no Welsh saints said to be descended from Joseph of Arimathea. When the latter version was edited for the Myvyrian Archaiology (No.i.42) Brân ap Llŷr was substituted for Joseph of Arimathea, evidently by Iolo Morganwg. See TYP p.203. Joseph of Arimathea is also mentioned in TYP no.86 as the ancestor of Galaad [Galahad], Peredur [Perceval] and Bort [Bors] the three Grail-winners in the Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances.

Iolo Morganwg pretended that Joseph of Arimathea was known to the Welsh as Iliid. 'This Iliid is called St.Joseph of Arimathea' (Iolo MSS. p.7, similarly p.219). See also pp.100, 115, 135, 149, 255.

#### **JULIOT or JULITTA, ST.**

The saint of St.Juliot, a parish in Cornwall, 13 miles west-north-west of Launceston. The feast of St.Juliot's is on the Sunday nearest to June 29 (LBS III.335). In Domesday Book the parish is called *Sanguilant* (G.H.Doble, *S.Nectan, S.Keyne and the children of Brychan in Cornwall*, 'Cornish Saints' Series No.25, p.15).

The principal shrine of Julitta in Trigg was the important church of Lanteglos by Camelford, styled in 1288 *Ecclesia Sancte Julitte*. The little chapel on the island part of Tintagel Castle was

dedicated to *St.Ulette alias Uliane* according to Leland (1535) (*Itinerary*, ed. L.T.Smith, I.177). This suggests the identification of Juliot (or Julitta) with Iuliana who appears in the Cornish list of the children of Brychan. See s.n. Brychan. But it is difficult to say how far Leland was justified in equating Ulette and Uliane (Doble pp.15-16).

Julitta was a well-known saint in the Roman Martyrology. Her day was June 16. She was often confused with more local saints. See s.n. Iliid.

### **JULIUS, ST.**

St.Julius and St.Aaron seem to be first mentioned in the 'Historia' section of *De Excidio Britanniae* §10, attributed to Gildas, but this part perhaps by a later anonymous author 'Auctor Badonicus'. See s.n. Gildas. In §9 the writer is speaking of the persecution of the Christians under Diocletian (c.304-5). It is his conjecture, ('as we conclude', he says), that Julius and Aaron, men of Caerleon-on-Usk, as well as Alban of Verulamium, were martyred at that time. Bede, who was using the 'Historia' of *De Excidio*, definitely states that these three were martyred during the Diocletian persecution (*Hist.Eccles.*, I.7).

There were churches or chapels dedicated to Julius and Aaron in Caerleon. The church of St.Julius was later known as St.Julian's. See further s.n. Alban, St. and LBS I.101-3.

Julius and Aaron are commemorated together on July 1 (LBS I.103).

### **JUST, ST.**

The saint of St.Just in Penwith and St.Just in Roseland, both in Cornwall. Nothing is known about him, or whether it is the same saint at each parish.

The name *Iust* appears in a tenth century list of Cornish parochial saints found in the Vatican codex Reginensis Latinus 191. The reference is apparently to St.Just of Roseland. This was called *Ecclesia Sancti Iusti* in the eleventh century. See B.L.Olson and O.J.Padel in CMCS 12 (1986) pp.44-45.

William of Worcester calls St.Just a martyr (*Itineraries*, ed.John H.Harvey, p.96).

St.Just of Penwith has been supplanted by a namesake, a martyr in the Roman Calendar. The feast at Penwith varies from October 30 to November 8 (LBS III.338). The feast at St.Just in Roseland is on August 14 (LBS III.294). St.Just of Penwith and St.Keverne are joined in a legend. See s.n. Keverne.

Compare St.Ust (q.v. s.n. Dyfnig).

**JUSTINIAN, ST.** See Stinan.

### **KEA, ST.**

The only Life of this saint is given by Albert Le Grand, *Les Vies des Saints de la Bretagne Armorique*, 1901 edition pp 561-3, from a MS. by Maurice, vicar of Cleder, probably of the beginning of the 17th century (LBS II.224-6). A literal translation is given by G.H.Doble in *The Saints of Cornwall*, III.89-92. The following is an outline:

1. Saint Ké or Kenan, surnamed Colodoc, was born in the Isle of Britain, of rich and noble parents; his father was called Ludun and his mother Tagu. He became a bishop in one of the cities of his country. He resigned his see and went to Cambria.
2. While he was praying it was revealed to him that he must obtain a little bell and travel until the bell would ring of its own accord. He obtained a bell from Gildas.
3. He and his companions came to a place called Rosené [Rosinis]. They entered a thick forest and the bell began to sound. Here he cleared the ground and built a chapel and cells for his company. Near this place there was a castle named Gudrun [Goodern], in which lived a prince named Theodoric [See Teudur]. He was a wicked and determined man. One day while hunting a stag, the beast fled to the hermitage, and when Theodoric enquired of it, Ké would say nothing. In a rage the prince

carried off seven oxen and a cow, which the saint used for ploughing; but the next day a like number of stags offered themselves to the saint, and allowed themselves to be attached to the plough.

4. Theodoric was cruel to Ké and as a result was smitten with a dangerous disease which brought him to his senses. He sent for Ké, asked pardon, gave back the oxen, and added land to his hermitage. Then he was healed. Later, while hunting, he fell from his horse and broke his neck. Ké built a monastery on the site of the hermitage, and then decided to go over to Armorica.

5. Ké embarked at the port of Landegu and arrived at the coast of Léon. They landed and withdrew to the place where is now the parish church of Cleder. There he built a small monastery about the year 472. At this time Arthur was in Gaul. Modred seized the kingdom, and married Queen Guenaran. Arthur returned to Britain.

6. The British prelates, knowing the holiness of Ké, summoned him and desired him to try and arrange peace between Arthur and Modred. But it was too late, battle had already begun, and so Ké set out to return to Armorica. On the way he visited Queen Guenaran at Winchester and persuaded her to become a religious. Ké returned to Cleder. He buried his fellow-disciple Kerianus, and then fell ill himself and died on the first Saturday in October about the year 495.

#### NOTES ON THE LIFE

1. Albert le Grand was wrong in identifying Ké and Kenan. In fact he never uses the name Kenan in the body of the Life (Doble, III.100 n.15). Ludun is probably Lleuddun Luyddog (q.v.), a prince of North Britain (LBS II.224; Doble p.93).

3. Rosinis could be an old name for Roseland, but Doble thinks it was originally an island in the great tidal estuary now called "the Truro River". Roseland is the name of the district between the Fal and the sea. Kea parish is 1½ miles south-west of Truro. Goodern is in Kea parish, near Baldhu (Doble pp.94-95).

5. Landegu is Old Kea on the Truro River, 2 miles south-east of Truro. It was called Landegea in the middle ages (Doble p.94). In north Devon, just east of Barnstaple is the parish of Landkey called Landege in 1225. There was a Lan-to-kai in Somerset mentioned in one of the earliest charters of the Abbey of Glastonbury, that of 725. It has been identified with Leigh-in-Street, two miles south of Glastonbury (Doble pp.101-2).

5-6. The introduction of Arthur, Guinevere and Modred, based on Geoffrey of Monmouth, is probably the idea of Albert le Grand (Doble p.97).

6. Ké's commemoration, according to the heading of the Life, is on November 5, but in the body of the Life he is said to have died on the first Saturday in October. In keeping with the latter his day at St.Kea is October 3 (Doble p.98). If this was a Saturday the possible years are 539, 544, 550, 561, with corresponding years 28 years earlier or later, etc. (LBS II.227).

His cult is fairly wide-spread in the north of Brittany. He is the patron of Cleder, but now shares the dedication with St.Peter (Doble pp.98-99). He gave his name to Saint-Quay on the north coast of Brittany close to Perros-Guirec, and of Saint-Quay-Portrieux on the coast near Saint-Brieuc. See further Doble pp.99-100.

Kea's surname *Colodoc* in §1 accounts for two curious entries in the Episcopal Registers of Exeter in which the parish of Kea is referred to as *Sancta Kycladoca* (in 1390) and *Sanctus Kekaladocus* (in 1437). (Note by Charles Henderson in G.H.Doble, *Four Saints of the Fal*, "Cornish Saints" Series, No.20, 1929, pp.31-2). This note contains much interesting information about 'Kea' place-names in Cornwall, not reprinted in *The Saints of Cornwall*, Vol.III. In Brittany the parish church of Saint-Quay-Portrieux was called the Church of *S.Colodoc* in 1181 and by 1197 the Church of *S.Kecoledoc* (Doble p.100). At Plogoff there is a chapel to St.Ké but the parish church is dedicated to *S.Colodon* (Doble p.99).

Association of churches suggests that Kea may have had Fili and Rumon as companions (Doble pp.100-2). Kea is perhaps the same as Tygái. See C.L.Wren in *Trans.Cym.*, 1959, p.70 and further Linda Gowans in *Folklore*, 100 pt.2 (1990) pp.185-197.

**KENNETH, ST.** See Cennydd.

**KENTIGERN, ST.** See Cyndeyrn Garthwys.

**KERAN, ST.** See Kerian, Keverne.

**KERI, KERIA, ST.** See Curig Lwyd.

**KERIAN, ST.**

There was formerly a church of St. Kerian situated in the part of the city of Exeter which had been inhabited by Britons up to 936, when Athelstan expelled them. We find: (*Ecclesia Sti. Kerani*) in 1173, c.1200, 1310, 1312, 1332, 1362, 1440; Kyerane in 1173; *Kerani* and *Kierani* in 1399, 1408; *Kierani* in 1214, 1438, 1441; *Keriani* is found in the fifteenth century, and *Keriane* on Hogenberg's Map of Exeter (1527).

The form Kieran shows a tendency to alter the name to make it look more like Ciaran, the Irish saint of Saigir, with whom he was wrongly identified (G.H.Doble, *The Saints of Cornwall*, II.56-58).

In the Life of St Ké [Kea] we are told (§6) that Ké buried his fellow disciple Kerianus at Cleder in Brittany. A S.Kerian is the patron of the parish of Querrien near Quimperlé, and the eponym of the trève of Saint-Keran in Treflaouenan. Querrien was called Keryan in 1368 (G.H.Doble, *The Saints of Cornwall*, II.57, III.97).

**KEVERNE, ST.**

The saint of St.Keverne in the north-east half of the Lizard peninsula.

The name appears as *Achobran* in a tenth-century list of Cornish parochial saints found in the Vatican codex Reginensis Latinus 191. See R.L.Olson and O.J.Padel in CMCS 12 (1986) pp.47-48. The Geld Inquest of 1083 speaks of the Canons of S.Achebranus, and Domesday (1085) speaks of the Canons of S.Achebrannus in Lannachebran. We find the spellings Akaveran (1201), Akevran (1278), Kaveran and Keveran (1236), Keveranus (1290, 1301), Keverayne (1525), Kieranus (1283), also Kyeran, Kieran (G.H.Doble, *Saint Perran, Saint Keverne and Saint Kerrian*, "Cornish Saints" Series, No.29, 1931, pp.61-64, 67).

The forms Kieran, etc. indicate that St.Keverne was being identified with St.Ciaran of Saigir, and, because St.Piran had also been identified with St.Ciaran, we find Keverne identified with Piran. Thus Leland (1535) wrote in his *Itinerary* (ed.L.T.Smith, I.195): "S.Piranes alias Keuerine". Further on he writes S.Keveranes, S.Keverines. (Cf. Doble, p.65).

The name *Funten-Keran* (Keran's Well) is found in a deed of St.Keverne, c.1280 (Doble, p.66).

Charles Henderson thought that Akeveran was the truest form of the name. Lanheverne is still applied to part of the church-town (Doble p.68). J. Loth thought that Kevran was the original form. There are other examples of an intrusive A- (Doble p.28).

There is a legend that St.Just of Penwith, after visiting St.Keverne, absconded with his chalice. His host threw three rocks at the thief as he was going westwards. These fell in a field on the road from Helston to Marazion, not far from Germoe, and were known as *Tremenkeverne*, 'The Three Stones of Keverne' (Doble p.68). See Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 1881, pp.262-4.

**KEVIN (CÓEMGEN), ST.** See Cwyfen.

**KEW, ST.** See Ciwa.

**KEYNE, ST.** See Cain (Ceinwen) ferch Brychan.

**KIERAN, ST.** See Kerian, Keverne.

**KINMARCUS son of SISILLIUS.** See Cynfarch ap Seisyll ap Gwrwst.

**KYMARIUS son of SISILLIUS.** See Cynfarch ap Seisyll ap Cuhelyn.

**LADOCA, ST.**

The saint of Ladock, six miles north-east of Truro. Her well is remembered in the name of a farm at Ladock (Catherine Rachel John, *The Saints of Cornwall*, 1981, p.36).

**LAILOKEN.** See Llallogan.

**LAINUS ap BRUTUS.** See Annun ap Lainus.

**LALLU, ST.**

The saint of Menheniot, 2½ miles south-east of Liskeard in Cornwall. The name in the form *Lallu* occurs in a tenth-century list of Cornish parochial saints found in the Vatican codex Reginensis Latinus 191. "The exact form of the saint's name, unknown elsewhere, is hard to establish. The available forms are, in Latin, *de Sancto Lalluo* 1276, *Sancti Laluwy* 1293, *Sancti Lallawy* 1318, *Sancti Lalluly* 1426, *Sancti Lallwei* 1509; vernacular *Lallow(e)*, *Lallo* 16th century, *Lalloy* c.1800." (B.L.Olson and O.J.Padel in CMCS 12 (1986) p.56).

The modern 'official' form seems to be *Lalluwly*. See *Cornwall* by Arthur L.Salmon, revised by H.Ronald Hicks, 1950, p.117.

**LAMBERT**, bishop of Menevia. See Lunberth.

**LANGUORETH**, wife of Rhydderch Hael.

In the *Life of St.Kentigern* by Jocelin of Furness (written c.1185), the queen of king Rederech was named Languoreth. She was cured of barrenness by St.Kentigern and bore a son, Constantine (§33). Later, we are told that Languoreth had a lover, a soldier, and she gave him a ring which 'her lawful husband had entrusted to her as a special mark of his conjugal love'. The king became suspicious, especially when he saw his ring on the soldier's finger. While the soldier was sleeping one day, the king slipped the ring from his finger and threw it into the nearby river. The king then demanded the ring of Languoreth, and she, having obtained three days grace, appealed to bishop Kentigern by a messenger. Kentigern instructed the messenger to go with a hook to the bank of the river Clyde, to cast the hook into the stream, and to bring back straightway the first fish that was caught. The fish was found to have swallowed the ring. It was restored to the queen, who presented it to her justly jealous husband. The king asked for her pardon. But the queen confessed her guilt to Kentigern and lived a better life thereafter (§§34-36).

A similar story is told of Maelgwn, his wife, and St.Asaph. See s.n. Maelgwn Gwynedd. The story is based on a folk-tale motif which is found in many places. For a discussion see R.E.Bennett in *Speculum* XIII (1938) pp.68-75. It goes back to the story of the Ring of Polycrates in Herodotus, *The Histories*, III. 41-43.

In Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Vita Merlini*, we are told that Merlin, by his second sight, accused the wife of Rodarchus of adultery. According to this tale she was Ganiada [Gwenddydd], Merlin's own sister. In the older 'Lailoken' version it is the wife of a king named Meldred. (See Llallogan). In both versions the king would not believe the accusation although all other divinations of Merlin (or Lailoken) proved to be correct.

**LAUDATUS.** See Lleuddad.

**LEIL.** (Fictitious). (954-929 B.C.)

A fictitious king of Britain mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth (HRB II.9). He was son of Brutus Viride Scutum [Brutus Darianlas] whom he succeeded. He was a peaceful and just prince who built a city in North Britain named Kaerleil [Carlisle]. He reigned 25 years but towards the latter end of his life he grew remiss and his neglect of affairs caused civil dissension. He was succeeded by his son Rud Hudibras [Rhun Baladr Bras].

The Welsh version, Brut y Brenhinedd, substitutes the name Lleon for Leil, and calls the city which he founded Caerlleon [Chester]. Similarly in late pedigrees (ABT 1a, MP 1 in EWGT pp.95, 121). But an early pedigree gives Lliwelydd (GaC §2 copied in ABT 1a(D), see EWGT pp.36, 95/96) and this is a closer equivalent to Geoffrey's Leil, since the Welsh for Carlisle is Caer Lliwelydd.

Lleon is included as number 5 in the tract on the 'Twenty Four Mightiest Kings'. See *Études Celtiques*, XII, (1968), p.169, etc.

Chester was sometimes called Caerlleon Gawr and its founder Lleon Gawr. See e.g. *Gwaith Tudur Aled*, ed. T.Gwynn Jones, CXLI, 1.37, CLIII, 1.5; Brut 'Tysilio' in Jesus College MS.61. Lewis Morris, (*Celtic Remains*, pp.64-65, 269 s.nn. Caerlleon Gawr, Lleon), gives further examples. These writers regarded Lleon Gawr as the British king, but see further s.n. Lleon Gawr.

**LEIR son of BLADUD.** (Fictitious). (870-810 B.C.)

A fictitious king of Britain mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth (HRB II.11-14). He succeeded his father Bladud [Bleiddud] and reigned 60 years. He built a city on the river Sora [Soar] called Caerleir, which the Saxons call Lerecestre [Leicester].

He was without male issue, but had three daughters Gonorilla, Regau, and Cordeilla. In his old age he decided to divide his kingdom between them; but to decide who was worthy to have the best part, he tried, by questioning them, to find out which of them loved him most. Gonorilla and Regau both professed to love him above all creatures, but Cordeilla said, 'I have always loved you as a father, nor do I yet depart from my purposed duty; and if you insist on having something more extorted from me, hear now the greatness of my affection, which I always bear you, and take this for a short answer to all your questions; look how much you have, so much is your value, and so much do I love you.'

Leir being too much in his dotage to discriminate between the flattery of Gonorilla and Regau, and the honesty of Cordeilla, thereupon bestowed Regau in marriage to Henuinus [Henwyn], Duke of Cornwall, and Gonorilla to Maglaunus [Maglawn], Duke of Albania [Alban], with half the island while he lived, and the whole island between them on his death. Cordeilla was married to Aganippus, king of the Franks, who was glad to take her for her beauty, without either money or territories.

Some time after this Henuinus and Maglaunus made insurrection against Leir, and deprived him of his kingdom and all regal authority. Maglaunus and Gonorilla agreed to allow him to remain at their house, with sixty soldiers for his service. After two years these were reduced to thirty, and Leir, resenting this treatment, went to Henuinus and Regau to live. After a year, however, his attendants were reduced to five. He therefore returned to Gonorilla, but she would only have him if he would be content with one servant. He complied for awhile, but at last decided to go to Cordeilla in Gaul, although in grave doubt as to what reception he would get after treating her so unworthily.

In Gaul, however, he was received by Cordeilla and Aganippus with honour. Aganippus raised an army with which Leir returned to Britain, routed the two dukes and reduced the whole kingdom to his power. He reigned three years until he died. He was succeeded by Cordeilla.

Brut y Brenhinedd writes Llyr for Leir although it is not a proper equivalent; but the Peniarth MS.44 version writes Lleyr (Henry Lewis in *Brut Dingestow*, p.217). The daughters are Goronilla, Rhagaw and Cordeilla, with minor variations in the various versions of ByT.

Owing to the incorrect rendering of Leir into Llŷr, the modern Welsh name of Leicester is Caerlŷr.

Geoffrey's story of Leir is based on a popular medieval international tale (TYP p.429). Shakespeare used the story for his Tragedy of King Lear.

**LEOLINUS.** See Llywelyn, fictitious father of Maccsen Wledig.

**LEONORIUS, ST.** (490)

The Life of Leonorius is printed by the Bollandists *Acta Sanctorum*, July I pp.107-111. The manuscript from which it was printed is lost (LBS III.342). The following is an outline.

1. Leonorius was a native of South Wales. His father was called Hoeloc. His mother's name was Alma Pompa.
2. He was sent to Illtud to be trained and was consecrated bishop by Dubricius.
3. He resolved to go to Armorica. He and his followers landed, cut down trees and settled.
4. The work of settlement was exhausting and the colonists complained, but Leonore persuaded them to carry on and a monastery was founded.
5. Leonore went to Paris and was well received by Childebert, who gave him security over the land where he had settled.
6. Riguald died and Commorus [Conmor], seized power. Conmor married the widow of Riguald. She had a son by Riguald, named Iudualus. Conmor suspected her of plotting his (Conmor's) death for the sake of her son's advancement. When she realised this she sent Iudual to take sanctuary with Leonore. Conmor followed and Leonore hearing of his approach hurriedly sent Iudual off to sea.
7. When Conmor arrived and demanded the surrender of Iudual, Leonore told him that he had gone to sea to seek refuge with Childebert. Conmor at once sent a deputation to Childebert and persuaded him to keep Iudual at Paris under restraint.
8. Leonore died at the age of 51 and was buried at his monastery.

NOTES ON THE LIFE

1. The mother of St.Tudual (q.v.) was named Pompaea, a sister of Rigual [Riwal]. If Pompaea is the same as Alma Pompa, the mother of Leonore, it would suggest that Leonore was related to Riwal (LBS III.343). Leonore and Tudual would be brothers. Leonore is known in Brittany as Lunaire.
4. The monastery was at St.Lunair, 6km. west of St.Malo.
6. From the Life of St.Samson it is clear that Riguald, here, is a mistake for Ionas (grandson of Riwal), father of Iudual.
8. Leonore is commemorated on July 1 (LBS III.346).

**LETAVIA.** See Llydaw.

**LETIS ferch CADWALADR.** Wife of Rhiwallon (q.v.) ap Dingad.

**LEVAN, ST.,** of Cornwall. See Selevan.

**LEWDEGRAN, ST.** See Ludgvan.

**LIDE, ST.** See Elidius.

**LIWLOD.** See Eliwlod.

**LLACHEU ab ARTHUR.** (Legendary).

He is mentioned twice in the Black Book of Carmarthen. (1) in the Dialogue between Arthur and Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr, 'Who is the Porter?', (BBC p.96, 1.9):

Cai Gwyn and Llacheu made slaughter.

and (2) in the Dialogue between Gwyddno Garanhir and Gwyn ap Nudd (BBC p.99, 1.16):

I have been where Llacheu was slain,  
Arthur's son, renowned for his arts,  
When ravens croaked over blood.

He appears in the tale of 'Rhonabwy's Dream' as Llacheu ab Arthur, one of forty-two counsellors of Arthur (RM 159), and in a triad (TYP no.4) he is called one of the 'Three Well-Endowed Men' of Ynys Prydain.



His death is referred to by Bleddyn Fardd (c.1270):

*Val e llas Llacheu îs Llechysgar.*

As Llacheu was slain below Llechysgar.

(LIH p.70, l.19). Lewis Morris said that Llechysgar, where Llacheu was slain, was the site of the court of Madog ap Maredudd, king of Powys (d.1160) (*Celtic Remains*, p.267 s.n. Llechysgar) and was therefore some place in Powys. Ifor Williams agreed (BBCS 3 p.50). See further TYP p.416.

In the margin of the manuscript Gwyneddon 3, where the above line appears, are the words:

*Llacheu fu ... mab Arthur, ef a las yn Llongborth.*

Llacheu was son of Arthur. He was slain at Llongborth.

(ed. Ifor Williams, p.355). The last sentence is crossed out. The same text and marginal gloss occur in BL. Add. MS. 14,866, fo.243r, but here the last line is not crossed out. The latter manuscript was written by David Johns in 1587 and this gloss was quoted by Lewis Morris in his *Celtic Remains*, p.266 s.n. Llecheu. Thus the idea was popularised that Llacheu was slain at the Battle of Llongborth, on which see s.n. Geraint (Geruntius). It was stated by William Owen Pughe in his *Cambrian Biography* (1803) and frequently copied thereafter, e.g. in LBS III.367.

The origin of the idea that Llacheu was slain at Llongborth was, perhaps, the identification of the place with Portsmouth, and the battle with that referred to in ASC s.a.501: 'This year Port and his sons, Bieda and Mæglā, came into Britain with two ships at a place called Portsmouth. They soon landed and slew on the spot a young Briton of very high rank.' (PCB May 1959).

It is noteworthy that there were two streams in the neighbourhood of Caerleon-on-Usk named Lechou and Amir (BLD 226), corresponding to Llacheu and Amhar two sons of Arthur (A.W.Wade-Evans, *Nennius*, p.75 n.6). The stream Lechou is also mentioned in BLD 377.

#### ARTHURIAN ROMANCE

A son of Arthur, variously named Lohot, Loholt, Lohoot, etc., appears in several Arthurian Romances. It is doubtful, however, as in the case of Gwalchmai/Gauvain, whether the name is a true equivalent (Bruce I.192). The equivalence is assumed in the Welsh version of the French Grail romance commonly called 'Perlesvaus' (ed. Robert Williams, *Y Seint Greal*, pp.171-433), which generally substitutes Llacheu for Lohot, though Lohot, Lohawt, Loawt also appear.

He appears as a mere name in *Erec et Enide* by Chrétien de Troyes (ll.1731-2):

And a young man of great merit,  
Loholt the son of king Arthur.

In the German Romance *Lanzalet* by Ulrich von Zatzikhoven (c.1195), he is mentioned (ll.6875 ff) as Lout, a son of Arthur and Guinevere. In the 'Perlesvaus' (c.1200) Lohot is again the son of Arthur and Guinevere. Here a curious tale is told of him. It was his custom to sleep on the body of anyone whom he slew. On one occasion, when Lohot had slain a giant named Logrin, Cai, attracted to the spot by the giant's dying roar, found Lohot asleep on the giant's body. He slew Lohot, cut off the giant's head, and took it to Arthur, claiming to have slain the giant (Potvin's ed. I.170, 219 ff; translation by Sebastian Evans, *The High History of The Holy Graal*, Everyman ed., 1910, pp.146, 177-9, 233).

There is a cryptic reference in the first part of the 'Vulgate' *Lancelot* (c.1220). Here Loholt is described as the son of king Arthur, begotten on the fair maid, Lisanor, and held in The Dolorous Prison where he died (Sommer III.159). Guinevere is thus deprived of the son ascribed to her in the *Lanzalet* and the 'Perlesvaus'. A son would have been embarrassing to her in her intrigue with Lancelot (Bruce I.406 n.79). The birth of Lohot is told in the 'Vulgate' Merlin-continuation (after 1230). Here he is made an illegitimate son of Arthur by Lisanor, daughter of earl Sevain of Castle Quimper-Corentin, begotten by Arthur after the conquest of the eleven kings (Sommer II.124). Later, in the same Merlin-

continuation, the author shows knowledge of the story in the 'Perlesvaus', for he praises Keu's loyalty to Arthur and Guinevere, saying that his only treacherous deed was to kill Loholt through envy in the Perilous Forest (Sommer II.316). This is inconsistent with the story of the death of Loholt in the 'Vulgate' Lancelot.

See discussion by Keith Busby in "The Enigma of Loholt" in *An Arthurian Tapestry*, edited by Kenneth Varty, 1981, pp.28-36.

**LLAESGYMYN.** See Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr.

**LLALLOGAN.** (Legendary).

The name occurs in a Dialogue between Myrddin and his sister Gwenddydd in the Red Book of Hergest (RBP cols.577 ff). Gwenddydd calls Myrddin *Llallofan* and *Llallawc* (col.577 ll.12, 25, etc.). The words have been translated as 'twin brother' (W.F.Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I.462), but there is plenty of evidence that it was a personal name (Egerton Phillimore in *Cy. 11* (1892) pp.45 f; see also A.O.H.Jarman, "Lailoken a Llallofan" in *BBCS 9* (1937) pp.8-27). It was evidently used because the Welsh writer knew that the story of Myrddin Wyllt (q.v.) was based partly on that of a certain Lailoken (see below). Nevertheless the use of the word in the Llywarch Hen poetry (CLIH V. 6 and 7) shows that it could be used as an ordinary noun, and Ifor Williams translated it as 'friend' in "The Poems of Llywarch Hen" (*Proc. Brit. Academy*, 18 (1932) pp.26, 27). See also his note in CLIH pp.155-6.

There are two independent fragments concerning Lailoken in the British Library Cotton MS. Titus A xix, which have been published by H.L.D.Ward, "Lailoken or Merlin Silvester" in *Romania*, 22 (1893) pp.504-526.

According to the first fragment (ed. pp.514-522), there was a man named Lailoken, and 'some say he was Merlyn'. Lailoken had an evil disposition and was constantly stirring up discord among his compatriots. One day, however, as he was watching a battle which was due to his malicious efforts, a voice from heaven reproached him with the responsibility, and condemned him thenceforth to a life among the beasts. He also saw a supernatural light and hosts of angels casting their lances at him. At this sight he lost his reason and fled to the desert. The battle had been fought 'on the plain between Lidel and Carwannok'. [This identifies it with the battle of Arderydd (q.v.)]. But he would often come to a rock in sight of Glasgow and utter predictions which people took down in writing. One day while St. Kentigern was celebrating Mass, Lailoken disturbed the ceremony by howling and demanding Communion. Kentigern sent a messenger to bid him be quiet, but without success. The messenger went three times and each time the madman predicted that he was about to die, stating, however, in each instance a different mode of death. After some hesitation Kentigern granted him his request. Then he ran away, but the same day the triple prediction of his own death was fulfilled.

In the second fragment (ed. pp.522-5) the death of Lailoken has evidently been postponed. He was captured by king Meldred and kept in chains at Castellum Dunmeller. But he would not gratify his captors by uttering prophecies; on the contrary, for three days he would neither speak nor eat. The queen came in with a leaf in her hair. Lailoken laughed and would only explain himself on being promised his liberty. At the same time he gave directions about his burial, for in a few days he would die the triple death. When he was released he disclosed the queen's adultery. The queen tried to discredit Lailoken by pointing out the impossibility of the triple death, but the king would not believe her. Later on, the queen, out of revenge, compassed the death of Lailoken at the hands of Meldred's shepherds, and he was buried as he had requested, at the junction of the Pusayl with the Tweed.

THE TRIPLE DEATH

Lailoken's three prophecies, told in the first fragment, were:

(1) (p.517) Today I will perish, overwhelmed by stones and cudgels.

(2) (p.518) Today my body will be pierced through by a sharp piece of wood and so my life will expire.

(3) (p.518) Today I shall end my present life engulfed in the waves.

His death is thus described (p.521):

But since a thing predestined by the Lord cannot be left undone, but must occur, it happened that on the same day, having been stoned and clubbed to death by certain shepherds of king Meldred, he fell, when at the point of death, upon a very sharp stake which had been fixed in a certain fish-pond (*piscaria*) beyond the steep mouth of the river Tweed, near the town of Dunmeller, and was transfixd through the middle of his body, with his head hanging into the pool, and [thus] he committed his spirit to the Lord, as he had prophesied.

The second fragment ends with this couplet:

*Sude perfossus. Lapidem perpessus et vndam;  
Merlinus triplicem fertur inisse necem.*

Pierced by a stake, suffering stone and wave;  
Merlin is said to have entered a triple death.

H.L.D.Ward thought that the first Lailoken fragment may originally have been part of the early, now fragmentary, Life of St.Kentigern, which occurs, though separately, in the same manuscript (*loc.cit.*, p.513). The later Life of St.Kentigern introduces the madman in a very minor role. It says (§45) that after the death of Kentigern, king Rederech [Rhydderch Hael] remained much longer in the town of Pertnech. In this court there lived a fool called Laloecen, who had given himself up to extreme grief on the death of Kentigern. He prophesied the deaths of Rederech and a chieftain named Morthec in the same year. This came to pass.

These tales of Lailoken formed the basis of many of the doings ascribed to Myrddin Wyllt in Welsh literature, and to Merlinus in Geoffrey of Monmouth's poem *Vita Merlini*. In the latter it is Rodarchus [Rhydderch Hael] who keeps Merlin in chains, and it is his wife whose adultery Merlin discloses. The queen is Ganieda [Gwenddydd], Merlin's own sister. She seeks to discredit his powers of divination by putting him to a test. She has the same child brought in three times in different costumes, so as to deceive Merlin as to his identity. Each time Merlin predicts a different kind of death for him: he will fall from a rock, he will die on a tree, he will be drowned. The queen is exultant over the success of her ruse, but Merlin's prophesies all came true, for when the child grew up he fell from a high rock, and was drowned in a stream that flowed at its base, but his feet caught in a tree and there he was suspended. (Ed. Basil Clarke, 1973, ll.305-346, 396-415).

Another version of the triple death was told by Elis Gruffudd (fl.c.1490-1552) in his Chronicle. Here a knight of Arthur's Court attempted to test Merddin by feigning illness in three different disguises and places. Merddin predicted three different deaths which all took place, though seeming impossible. The text is edited by Thomas Jones in BBCS 16 pp.187-8.

Merlin's body is said to have been buried at a spot not far from Drumelzier (the *z* is not pronounced), near where the little stream Powsail falls into the Tweed (a little way above Peebles on the Tweed). An old thorn-tree marked the place. Thomas the Rhymer foretold:

When Tweed and Powsail meet at Merlin's grave,  
Scotland and England that day ae king shall have.

This came to pass in the year 1603 when king James VI went to London and ascended the throne of England, for then the waters of the two streams rose so high that the floods met at the place where

Merlin's body lies buried. (Winifred Petrie, *Folk Tales of the Borders*, 1950, pp.194-5). Actually the prophecy was first published by Alexander Pennyquick in 1715 as follows:

When Tweed and Pausayl meet at Merlin's grave,  
Scotland and England shall one monarch have.

(*Romania* 22 p.526).

**LLAMREI**, Arthur's mare.

Llamrei is mentioned in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen': 'And Caw of Prydyn mounted Llamrei, Arthur's mare.' (RM 135). Later four men who had been badly wounded were placed on Llamrei, Arthur's mare (RM 142).

*Llamrei llawn elwic*, 'of surpassing leap(?)' is mentioned in the Book of Taliesin as one of a number of famous horses (BT 48). See TYP pp.c-cii.

**LLARY ap CASNAR WLEDIG.** (535?)

One of the warriors at Arthur's Court according to the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' (WM 462, RM 107). He also appears in the tale of 'Rhonabwy's Dream' as one of forty-two counsellors of Arthur (RM 160).

In the genealogies of Powys he appears as father of Rhun Rhudd Baladr, and ancestor of Tegonwy ap Teon (MG 3, ABT 1b in EWGT pp.39, 96). The poet Cynddelw in his 'Marwnad Iorwerth Goch ap Maredudd' says (l.24):

*Efoet Lary o lin Gasnar.*

(LIH p.156 = RBP col.1400, 1.40). *Llary* means 'generous', 'mild'.

**LLAWCH ap LLUCHO.** See Gwgon Gledlyfrudd.

**LLAWDDOG, ST.**

The saint of four churches: Llanllawddog in Ystrad Tywi, and Cenarth, Pen-boyr and Cilgerran in Dyfed (PW 50, 55). Llawddog is called Leudocus by Giraldus Cambrensis, who mentions his 'residence' at Cenarth (*Itin.Kamb.*, ii.3). For Llawddog place-names see LBS III.373. Commemoration on January 15 (LBS I.70, III.374). His father was perhaps king of Bryn Buga [Usk]. See further s.n. Lleuddad, where the probable distinction between Llawddog and Lleuddad is discussed.

**LLAWFRODEDD FARFOG (1).** (Legendary). (490)

He appears in the list of warriors at Arthur's Court in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' (WM 462, RM 108) and as one of forty-two counsellors of Arthur in the tale of 'Rhonabwy's Dream' (RM 159). In a triad (TYP no.46) we are told that his cow, Cornillo, was one of the 'Three Chief Cows' of Ynys Prydain. The knife of Llawfrodedd Farfog is listed as one of the 'Thirteen Treasures of Britain', for it would serve four and twenty men at meat all at once. See *Llên Cymru*, V pp.33 f; *Études Celtiques*, X (1963) pp.465-6. For further notes on the treasures see s.n. Brân Galed.

He also appears in Bonedd y Saint (§54 in EWGT p.62) as father of Gwyddnabi and grandfather of St.Idloes. A late addition in Bonedd y Saint (§85 in EWGT p.66) says that Llawfrodedd Farchog was the father of Efadier and Gwrial by Archfedd ferch Arthur. Nothing seems to be known about Efadier and Gwrial.

In some texts of the Thirteen Treasures and Bonedd y Saint we find *Farchog*, 'Horseman', for *Farfog*, 'Bearded'. For a full discussion of the name, see Eurys I. Rowlands in *Llên Cymru* V pp.58-60 and TYP p.418.

**LLAWFRODEDD FARFOG (2).** (925)

He appears in the expanded 'Hanesyn Hen' tract as father of Llawr and ancestor of Hedd ab Alynog, patriarch of a tribe in Rhufoniog, Gwynedd (HL 10b in EWGT p.118). Later genealogical manuscripts make him son of Alan ab Alser ap Tudwal Gloff ap Rhodri Mawr (PP §32).

**LLAWGAD TRWM BARGOD EIDYN.** (Legendary).

He is mentioned in a triad (TYP no.33) as the man who slew Afaon ap Taliesin, which was one of the 'Three Unfortunate Assassinations' of Ynys Prydain. The name means 'Llawgad the Heavy of the Border of Eidyn'.

**LLAWR (1).** Husband of Lleucu (q.v.) ferch Maredudd ab Owain.

**LLAWR ail ERW.** (Legendary).

One of the persons at Arthur's Court listed in the tale of 'Culhech and Olwen' (WM 462, RM 107). In a triad (TYP no.15) he is called Llawr mab Eiryf, the owner of one of the 'Three Roving Fleets' of Ynys Prydain.

A proverb is ascribed to 'Eilerw' in one of the 'Englynion y Clyweid' in Llanstephan MS.27 (No.26 edited in BBCS 3 p.11).

**LLAWR ap CEDIG.** See Gwgon Gleddyfrudd.

**LLAWR ap LLAWFRODEDD FARFOG.** (950)

Genealogical link in the ancestry of Hedd ab Alunog, patriarch of a tribe in Rhufoniog, Gwynedd; father of Tymyr (HL 10b in EWGT p.118).

**LLAWR ap LLYWARCH HEN.** (550)

He is mentioned with other sons of Llywarch Hen in two stanzas of the Llywarch Hen poetry. In the first (CLIH I.42) he is one of seven sons:

Brave men, warlike brothers.

See full quotation s.n. Maen. In the second (CLIH II.20), Llywarch Hen says:

Neither sleep nor joy comes to me  
After the death of Llawr and Gwên.

Llawr is included in the list of the sons of Llywarch Hen in the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (ByA §5 in EWGT p.86).

**LLAWRODD,** abbot of Penalun.

He is mentioned in what appears to be an extract from a deed, printed in John Leland's *Itinerary*, ed. Lucy T.Smith, Vol.4 p. 168. He was apparently a contemporary of Sadyrnfyw, bishop of Mynyw (d.831). See s.n. Arthur ap Pedr.

**LLAWRODD DYFED ap SEISYLL.** (900)

Genealogical link in the ancestry of Llywelyn ap Gwrgan, patriarch of a tribe in Cedweli; father of Gollwyn. See PP §63.

**LLECHEU** (ap Brychan). (Fictitious).

He is first mentioned as a saint, son of Brychan, in 'Plant Brychan' in Peniarth MS.127, where he is said to be the saint of Talylychau [Talley] in Ystrad Tywi (PB §2n(G) in EWGT p.82). Actually the church of Talylychau ['The head of the lakes'] is dedicated to St.Michael (PW 53).

The name in Peniarth MS.127 seems to be a substitute for Afallach ap Brychan which appears in other versions of 'Plant Brychan'. This Afallach is also fictitious, being corrupted from Anlach, the name of Brychan's father, which has dropped out of its proper place (PB §§1, 2 1 in EWGT pp.81, 82).

**LLECHID ferch ITHEL HAEL.** (500)

The saint of Llanllechid in Arllechwedd, Gwynedd (PW 85). She is commemorated on December 1 (LBS I.76, III.367). As daughter of Ithel Hael she is mentioned in Bonedd y Saint (§25 in EWGT p.58).

**LLEDAN ap CADLEW.**

Genealogical link in an otherwise unknown line of princes, father of Serwan, and ancestor of Rhun ap Neithon ap Cathen (HG 16 in EWGT p.11).

**LLEENOG, LLEINOG.** (465)

The father of Gwallog (HG 9, JC 36, ByS 48 in EWGT pp.10, 48, 62), and of Dwywai, mother of St.Deiniol (ByS §12 in EWGT p.56). His father is given as Maeswig Gloff (HG 9) or Mar (JC 36). See s.n. Maeswig Gloff.

*Lleen(n)awc* is an archaic spelling which evidently obtained wide currency. For example it appears in Bonedd y Saint (above) and the Book of Taliesin. See *Canu Taliesin* XI.5, XII.38. The later spelling, *Llein(n)awc*, is indicated in the Black Book of Carmarthen (pp.97, 100) (TYP p.419). In all these cases the name appears only as that of the father of Gwallog. Nothing is known about Lleenog.

**LLEFELYS ap BELI.** See Lludd ap Beli Mawr.

**LLEIRWG, ST.**

Perhaps the forgotten saint of Llanleirwg, called by Gruffudd Hiraethog *Llanleirwc*, c.1550 (Peniarth MS.133 pp.181, 182, 183), in Peniarth MS.147 (c.1566) *Ll.lirwg* (RWM i.920) and now in Welsh, *Llaneirwg*, i.e. St.Mellon's in Gwynllŵg (WATU). Iolo Morganwg identified him with the fictitious king Lucius, but gave him a new pedigree. See Lucius.

**LLEMENIG.** (Legendary).

An all but forgotten hero of the Welsh heroic age. He is mentioned in four different places, but not in ways that help to indicate anything certain about his date or deeds.

(1) He is mentioned in a triad (TYP no.65) with Llywarch Hen and Heledd as one of the 'Three Unrestricted Guests' of Arthur's Court, and the 'Three Wanderers'. In some versions his father is given as Mawon. As neither Llywarch Hen nor Heledd could have been at Arthur's Court there is no reason to suppose that Llemenig was either.

(2) Ysgwyddfrith Ysgodig ('Shying Dappled-shoulder'), the horse of Llemenig, is mentioned as one of the 'Three Cloven-Hoofed Horses' in a poem in the Book of Taliesin, called by the editor 'Canu y Meirch' (BT 48, ll.13-14). See TYP pp.c-cii. One version of another triad (TYP no.43) concerning the 'Three Pack-Horses' of Ynys Prydain, gives the third as Ysgwyddfrith ('Dappled-shoulder') the horse of Llemenig ap Mawan.

(3) His grave is mentioned in the Stanzas of the Graves in the Black Book of Carmarthen:

The grave of Llemenig is at Llanelwy.

(No.50. in SG pp.126/7)

(4) He is mentioned in two englyns tacked on to the end of a 'Cynddylan' fragment in a late manuscript (CLIH XI.112, 113). The following lines occur:

112b	When I hear the thundering roar, [it is] the host of Llemenig mab Mahawen [ <i>read</i> Mawan].
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113b Battle-hound of wrath, victorious in battle.

Ifor Williams suggested Mawan for Mahawen on the grounds of meter and rhyme (CLIH p.242) and this is confirmed by the patronymic in the triads. The name Mawan or Mawn occurs three times in the Powys dynasty of Cadell Ddyrnllug: Mawn ap Cyngen, Mawn ap Brochwel Ysgithrog, and Mawn ap Gruffudd. This, together with Llemenig's association with Llywarch Hen and Heledd (of the Cynddylan Saga), suggests that he belonged to a third, lost saga connected with Powys (CLIH p.lxvi).

**LLEMINOG.** See Llenlleog Wyddel.

**LLENLLEOG WYDDEL.**

He is mentioned in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' in the list of persons at Arthur's Court, where he appears twice: Llenlleog Wyddel from Pentir Gamon (WM 464, RM 109), Llenlleog Wyddel and the exalted one of Britain (WM 466, RM 110). In the second case his name follows that of Llwh Llaw-wynniog. Later we are told that he was with Arthur's party that went to Ireland to get the cauldron of Diwrnach Wyddel. Llenlleog seized Caledfwlch, swung it around, and slew Diwrnach and all his host (RM 136).

This is reminiscent of what is said of Llwh Lleog in the story which tells how Arthur obtained the cauldron of Pwyll Pen Annwn. It is told in the poem known as *Preiddeu Annwn*, 'The Spoils of Annwn', in the Book of Taliesin:

The sword of *Lluch Lleawc* was ... to it,  
And in the hand of *Lleminawc* it was left.

(Trans. R.S.Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, 1956, p.135). Idris Foster suggested that *Llenlleawc* is a misreading of *Lleulleawc*. It then appears that Llenlleog, Llwh Llaw-wynniog, Llwh Lleog, and [Llwh] Llemenog are all variations of the one name which is cognate with that of the Irish god, Lug, having the epithets *Lámhfota*, 'of the long hand', and *lonnbémnech*, 'of the fierce blows' (*Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.S.Loomis, 1959, p.34). This idea was foreshadowed by R.S.Loomis in *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, 1927, pp.91-92, and in *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, pp.161-2.

A proverb is ascribed to 'Llenlleog Wyddel, noble, golden-torqued', in one of the 'Englynion y Clyweid' in Llanstephan MS.27 (No.47 ed. in BBCS 3 p.13).

**LLEON ap BRUTUS DARIANLAS.** See Leil.

**LLEON GAWR.** (Fictitious eponym).

The supposed founder of Chester (Caerlleon). Brut y Brenhinedd said that the founder of Caerlleon was the British king Leon ap Brutus Darianlas, a name which was substituted for Geoffrey of Monmouth's Leil. Some versions of ByB called him Leon Gawr. See s.n. Leil. However, those who were familiar with the *Historia Regum Britanniae* and not with the Welsh version (ByB), knew nothing of a British king named Leon. So the fiction was invented of a giant, Leon Gawr, who founded Chester. This was told by Henry Bradshaw (d.1513) in his work *De Antiquitate et Magnificentia Urbis Cestriae*. He said that Leon Gawr built Caerlleon Gawr or Chester before the time of Brutus. See John Lewis, *The History of Britain*, 1729, p.33).

This was elaborated by William Slatyer (1587-1647) who said that Chester was built by Leon-Gavere, a giant begotten by one of the giants under Albion upon one of the daughters of Danaus (See Albine). (*Palae-Albion or the History of Great Britanie*, London, 1621, Canto III, p.65 and note p.67).

Compare Llion Gawr.

**LLES ap COEL.** See Lucius.

**LLES LLAWDDEOG (or LLAWFEDDOG). (860)**

The ancestor of Gwaithfoed ap Gwrydr and Gwaithfoed ap Gwynnan. His genealogy is given in MG 3 in EWGT p.39. The name of his father is illegible in the MS. but judging from other sources it should perhaps be Ceidio. However, a later version of his pedigree makes him son of Ednyfed ap Gwynnan (ABT 1b in EWGT p.95). He was father of Gwynnog Farfsych (MG 3) and Caradog (ABT 1b).

The cognomen Llawddeog (ABT 1b) perhaps means 'burning hand', and Llawfeddog (MG 3), perhaps 'ruling hand' (Suggestions to PCB by Idris Foster). See OP II.668 for orthography.

The descendants of Lles were called the Lleision by the poet Cynddelw in a well-known poem on the tribes of Powys, called 'Gwelygorthau Powys'. Here he writes:

*Eurdorchawc uarchawc uerich agkrawn  
Eryr gwyr gwelygort Lleisyawn.*

(LIH p.164, RBP col.1396, ll.40-41). In another poem to Owain Cyfeiliog, beginning *Gwirawd Ywein* he wrote:

*Yn llys Lles, glyw llyw Lleision.*

In the court of Lles, brave chief of the Lleision.

(LIH p.158, RBP col.1402, l.37). Other references to the Lleision by Cynddelw are in LIH pp.126, 156. See also Cedwyn Colofn Lleision.

**LLEU HEN ap GWYDDIEN.**

He appears as *Louhen map Guidgen*, the father of Cinis Scaplaut, and ancestor of Rhun ap Neithon ap Cathen, in a pedigree of otherwise unknown princes (HG 16 in EWGT p.11).

John Rhys pointed out the similarity with Lleu ap Gwydion [Lleu Llaw Gyffes] (Cy 21 (1908) p.5). Because Lleu and Gwydion were associated with Arfon, Gwynedd, A.W.Wade-Evans supposed that the pedigree of Rhun ap Neithon going back to Lleu ap Gwyddien was a line of princes of Arfon (*The Historical Basis of Welsh Nationalism*, Cardiff, 1950, p.6; *The Emergence of England and Wales*, 1956, pp.121-2).

**LLEU (or LLEW) LLAW GYFFES.**

Medieval spelling did not distinguish the sounds of *u*, *w* and *v* (f) so that when early manuscripts were copied the scribes did not always know which to write. In unfamiliar cases it can only be determined by assonances and rhymes. In the present case it is generally agreed that *Lleu* is correct as is indicated by rhyme, although in the Mabinogi branch of 'Math' RM always spells *Llew* and WM spells *Llew* twelve times and *Lleu* only twice. The name corresponds to that of the Irish god Lug. The Welsh word *lleu*, 'light', became obsolete at an early date. See John Rhys, *Hib. Lect.*, pp.398-401, W.J.Gruffudd, *Math vab Mathonwy*, 1928, pp.60-61.

The cognomen Llaw Gyffes means 'skilful hand' (PKM p.275).

The story of Lleu is told in the Mabinogi branch of 'Math'. He was the son of Arianrhod ferch Dôn. For the circumstances of his birth see s.n. Arianrhod. Arianrhod was unmarried and wished to pass for a virgin, but her secret was exposed by the magic of Math. Gwydion undertook the rearing of the child. His growth was rapid, for at the end of one year he was bigger than a child of two, and when he was four he was bigger than a child of eight (WM 93-95, RM 68-69).

One day Gwydion took the child to Caer Arianrhod. Arianrhod welcomed them and asked who the child was. When Gwydion told her that the child was her own son, she was annoyed that her shame had been thus exposed. She said 'What is thy son's name?', thus revealing that the father was Gwydion. Gwydion replied that he had not yet been named. Arianrhod thereupon put a 'destiny' on him that he would never have a name until she herself should give him one (WM 95, RM 69).



Gwydion and the boy came to Caer Arianrhod again later in a magic ship and in the disguise of shoemakers. Arianrhod was persuaded to come to the ship to be fitted for shoes. While she was there a wren happened to alight on the deck of the ship. The boy shot at it and hit it. Then she laughed, saying 'With a deft hand (*llaw gyffes*) did this fair one (*Lleu*) hit it'. 'Yes' said Gwydion, 'he has got a name. *Lleu Llaw Gyffes* is he from now on.' For that reason *Lleu Llaw Gyffes* was called one of the 'Three Golden Shoemakers' [of *Ynys Prydain* - TYP no.67]. (WM 96-97, RM 70-71).

Then Arianrhod laid another 'destiny' on the boy - that he should never have arms until she put them on him. For a time Gwydion nurtured *Lleu* at a place called *Dinas Dinlleu*. Some time later Gwydion and *Lleu* came to Caer Arianrhod upon horses, in the disguise of bards from *Morgannwg*. They stayed there that night and the next morning Gwydion, by his magic, produced an imaginary army which appeared to be attacking the castle. In this way Arianrhod, without knowing it, was caused to array *Lleu* with arms (WM 97-100, RM 71-73).

Then Arianrhod laid a third destiny on the boy, namely that he should never have a wife of the race that is now on this earth. This was overcome by *Math* and Gwydion, who made a woman by enchantment out of flowers, and named her *Blodeuedd*. After they were wedded *Math* gave *Lleu* the cantref of *Dunoding* for his own, and he had his court at *Mur Castell* in the uplands of *Ardudwy* (WM 100-1, RM 73-74).

On one occasion while *Lleu* was away, *Blodeuedd* fell in love with *Gronwy Befr*, Lord of *Penllyn*, and he with her. It was decided between them that *Blodeuedd* should endeavour to find out from *Lleu* in what manner he could be slain. When he returned home she asked him, and he told her thus: 'Unless God slay me it is not easy to slay me. I cannot easily be slain with a blow. A year must be spent in fashioning the spear wherewith I should be smitten, and there must be no making of it save when folk are at Mass on Sunday. I cannot be slain within a house, nor can I outside. I cannot be slain on horseback nor can I on foot'. 'How then can you be slain?' she asked. 'By making a bath for me on a river bank, and making a vaulted frame over the tub, and thatching it well ... and bringing a he-goat, and setting it beside the tub, and myself placing one foot on the back of the he-goat and the other on the edge of the tub. Whoever should smite me when so, he would bring about my death.' (WM 101-4, RM 74-76).

*Blodeuedd* sent news of all this to *Gronwy Befr*, and he spent the following year making the spear. When it was ready, *Blodeuedd* persuaded *Lleu* to show her exactly the manner in which he could be slain. This he did on the bank of the river *Cynfael* by the hill called *Cyfergyr*. But *Gronwy* was waiting in ambush, and as soon as *Lleu* had taken up the required position, *Gronwy* flung the poisoned spear, and struck him in his side, so that the shaft leapt out of it, and the head remained in him. And then *Lleu* flew up in the form of an eagle and gave a horrid scream. And after that he was seen no more. *Gronwy* subdued *Ardudwy* and combined it with *Penllyn* under his sway (WM 104-6, RM 76-77).

Gwydion went in search of *Lleu* and found him at last at a place called *Nantllew* (*recte* *Nantlleu*), in the form of an eagle on the top of a tree, his flesh being so putrid that when he shook himself maggots and putrid flesh fell to the ground. Gwydion enticed the bird to come to his knee, struck him with his magic wand, and changed him back to human form. But he was nothing but skin and bone. However, he was taken to *Math's* court at *Caer Dathyl*, and with the aid of physicians, he was whole before the end of the year (WM 106-8, RM 77-79).

*Lleu* and Gwydion mustered an army in *Gwynedd*, set forth for *Ardudwy*, and came to *Mur Castell*. *Blodeuedd* and her maidens fled. [For their end see s.n. *Blodeuedd*]. *Gronwy Befr* made for *Penllyn*. He offered to recompense *Lleu*, but the least that *Lleu* would accept was for them to exchange places at the place where *Lleu* had been wounded, and to re-enact the deed. *Gronwy* asked his followers if there was one who would take his place, but there was none. Because of that they are called one of the 'Three Disloyal War-bands' [of *Ynys Prydain* - TYP no.30]. However, *Lleu* allowed *Gronwy* to place a slab of stone between him and the blow. But *Lleu's* spear passed through the slab and through *Gronwy* too, so that his back was broken, and he was slain. And there the slab is still on the bank of the *Cynfael*

river in Ardudwy, and the hole through it, and therefore it is called Llech Gronwy. [Llech Oronwy in Blaen Cynfael in Ardudwy - TYP no.30]. (WM 108-11, RM 79-81).

Then Llew Llaw Gyffes subdued the land a second time and ruled over it prosperously, and thereafter he was lord over Gwynedd (WM 111, RM 81).

Two triads (TYP nos. 67 and 30) have been mentioned above. Another triad (TYP no.38) says that the horse of Llew Llaw Gyffes was named Melyngan Mangre ('Pale Yellow of the Stud'). It was one of the 'Three Bestowed Horses' of Ynys Prydain. This horse seems to be referred to in the Book of Taliesin (BT 48, l.8), where it is called *March Llew lletuegin*, 'The horse of Llew the half-reared' [i.e. the young warrior] (TYP pp.c-ci).

The WR version of TYP no.20 calls Llew (*sic*) Llaw Gyffes one of the 'Three Red Ravagers' of Ynys Prydain. For a year neither grass nor plants would spring up where he had walked. His grave is mentioned in the Stanzas of the Graves in the Black Book of Carmarthen (no.35):

The grave of Llew Llawgyffes under cover of the sea,  
where his disgrace was,  
a man who spared no one.

(Trans. SG p.125).

In the Red Book of Hergest, Llew, like Gwydion, is said to have been a magician:

Do Llew and Gwydion,  
Who were skilful in the magic art, know,  
Do learned men know?

(RBP col. 1054, ll.16-17; See Ifor Williams, *Armes Prydain*, p.xxii n.19, TYP p.422).

A son of Llew named Minawg is mentioned in the Book of Taliesin (BT 35):

Kindly was the life of Minawg ap Llew,  
Whom I saw here formerly;  
Llew's end was in [Ar]llechwedd,  
Mighty was his thrust in battles.

(Trans. W.J.Gruffudd, *ibid.*, p.58; TYP pp.421-2).

Llew and Gwydion fought at the Battle of Goddeu. See Goddeu.

Only in one place (WM 95, RM 69) is it made perfectly clear that Gwydion was the father of Llew. Nevertheless "through the latter part of *Math* it is quite clear that Gwydion is Llew's father." (W.J.Gruffudd, p.198). That it was not always so understood is apparent from the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract which seems to reflect a different tradition, for it makes Llew (*sic*) Llaw Gyyfes, Dylan ail ton and Blodeuwedd (*sic*) all children of Math by Arianrhod (ByA §26 in EWGT p.90). See s.n. Arianrhod.

A Latin inscription in Osma, Spain, shows that the Gaulish god, Lugus, was the patron of shoemakers (W.J.Gruffudd, pp.237-8).

Dinas Dinlleu, the name of the place where Llew was brought up, is a tautological form of Dinlleu, now a mound called Dinas Dinlle (grid ref. SH 4356), on the coast of Arfon about five miles south-south-west of Caernarfon in a tract of land called Morfa Dinlle where Gwydion's grave is said to lie. Dinlleu is probably the same as Caer Leu a Gwydion mentioned in a dialogue between Taliesin and Ugnach (BBC 100) (John Rhys, *Hib. Lect.*, pp.406-7). Nantlleu (where Gwydion found Llew in the form of an eagle), now Nantlle, is a valley running east into the hills of Snowdonia, marked by the village of Nantlle (grid ref. SH 5053).

Mur Castell, also mentioned in ByT s.a. 1114, is now called Castell Tomen-y-Mur near Trawsfynydd, in the parish of Maentwrog; originally a Roman fort (PKM 285-6, Rhestr, HW 68, grid ref. SH 7038).

See also Huan ap Gwydion.

**LLEUCU, ST.**

The saint of Betws Leucu in Ceredigion (PW 61). The name Lleucu is supposed to be equivalent to English *Lucy*, Latin *Lucia*. If so it would have to be a fairly early borrowing before the *c* had become a sibilant (LBS III.368). The church of Aber-nant in Dyfed is dedicated to St.Lucia (PW 46) and Llanwnnen in Ceredigion, although it seems to have been formerly dedicated to St.Gwynnen with festival on December 13, is now dedicated to St.Lucia and St.Gwynnen, or to St.Lucia alone, with dedication on December 13. That is the day of St.Gwynnen and of St.Lucia, the Sicilian saint of Syracuse, and it seems that that is the reason for the introduction of Lucia at Llanwnnen. Nothing is known of the Lleucu of Betws Leucu or the Lucia of Aber-nant. There was a fictitious Lucia said to have been one of the companions of St.Ursula. *Lucia Vorwyn* is one of eleven companions of Ursula mentioned in the Welsh Life of St.Ursula in Peniarth MS.182 (c.1514) pp.261 ff (LBS III.367-8).

**LLEUCU, wife of Hywel ap Rhys. (840)**

Mentioned in BLD 236 as the wife of Hywel ap Rhys, king of Glywysing.  
Perhaps the same as Lleucu ferch Enflew (below).

**LLEUCU ferch ENFLEW. (840)**

A rather corrupt passage in the pedigree of Morgan ab Owain ap Hywel ap Rhys in Jesus College MS.20 (JC 16 in EWGT p.46) mentions *Lleuku merch Envlew m. Kynfelyn m. Iaceu*. She appears to have had two brothers, Arthfael and Idwal. Her mother is given as *Adwent merch Elyuer m. Goronwy*. See Eliffer ap Gronwy.

Perhaps she is the same as Lleucu, wife of Hywel ap Rhys (PCB).

**LLEUCU ferch MORGAN MAWR. (910)**

Wife of Seferus ap Cadwr according to Lewys Dwnn (LD i.297, 313, ii.152).

**LLEUCU ferch MAREDUDD ab OWAIN. (970)**

Wife of Llawr and mother of Angharad the wife of Cadwgon ab Elystan Glodrydd (JC 30-31 in EWGT p.48).

**LLEUDDAD ap DINGAD. (570)**

Bonedd y Saint says that Lleuddad 'in Enlli' [Bardsey] was one of the sons of Dingad ap Nudd Hael by Tenoï ferch Lleuddun Luyddog of Dinas Eidyn. (ByS §18 in EWGT p.57). His Life in Llanstephan MS.34 of the end of the 16th century is called *Buchedd Llewddoc Sant* (ed. LBS IV.426-8). In the body of the Life he is called Llowddoc. It seems that he has been misidentified with St.Llawddog (q.v.) but it knows nothing about the churches dedicated to Llawddog. Moreover it states that Dingad was a king of Bryn Buga [Usk], which is improbable, as Dingad was a man of the North. It is more likely that it was the father of Llawddog who was a king of Usk (PCB).

In the Life we are told that 'Llowddoc' [i.e.Lleuddad] declined his father's kingdom and joined his eldest brother, Baglan, in leading a religious life, apparently in Arfon and Llŷn. He would frequently disappear to some secret place for seclusion and contemplation, which annoyed his brothers. Baglan bade Henwyn [Hywyn] take a bell with him and find out where he went. Later Lleuddad went to Bardsey where Cadfan was abbot. He became a monk there and Cadfan, when he was about to die, nominated Lleuddad to succeed him. There was opposition but he overcame it by various miracles. Before he died he was granted three requests by an angel, one of which was that his canons should die in order of age (LBS III.370-1).

Lewis Glyn Cothi (fl.1447-86) wrote a cywydd in his honour, *Cywydd i Llowddog*, (ed. in LBS IV.428). It agrees closely with the 'Life'. The name is always Llowddog, except where he says (ll.5, 6):

Llowddog, fy llw a oddef,  
Lleuddad ap Dingad yw ef.

Thus the identification of Lleuddad with Llawddog dates from the fifteenth century at least. A.W.Wade-Evans agreed that Lleuddad and Llawddog had been confused (WCO 169), but assumed that Llawddog was the son of Dingad (WCO 168) and supposed that Lleuddad was a cousin of Cadfan (WCO 165). This seems to be only on the authority of the Iolo MSS. where Lleuddad is said to be son of Alan Fyrgan ab Emyr Llydaw (p.133) or Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw (p.145). That Lleuddad was the son of Dingad goes back to the earliest version of Bonedd y Saint in Peniarth MS.16 of the thirteenth century, so that the confusion according to Wade-Evans would have been very early. But no version of Bonedd y Saint mentions Llawddog.

Lleuddad's name still survives on Bardsey in Gerddi Lleuddad (his Gardens), at Aberdaron in Llŷn, where is his cave, Ogorf Lleuddad; and his holy well, Ffynnon Lleuddad, is at Bryncroes, also in Llŷn (LBS III.373-4; WCO 165). Lleuddad has no churches dedicated to him but he and Cadfan are esteemed the patrons of Bardsey Island, as stated in a poem by Llywelyn Fardd (LH p.46, l.18; LBS III.373).

Giraldus Cambrensis knew of the legend about the monks of Bardsey dying in order of age. He mentions it in his Itinerary through Wales which he made in 1188 (*Itin.Kamb.*, II.6). Lleuddad's name is Latinised as *Laudatus* (LBS III.372).

#### **LLEUDDOGW or LLEUDDOW(?) ap COED.**

Apparently a prince of Penllyn. He appears in the 'Harleian' genealogies as *Loudogu* the father of Meirion, and that is all (HG 21 in EWGT p.12). In the expanded 'Hanesyn Hen' tract he is called *Llevodeu*, *Llenvoddeu*, etc. the son of *Coed*, *Rhoed*, etc. with a long ancestry (ABT §22 in EWGT p.107). See further s.n. Meirion ap Lleuddogw.

Compare the names *Loudoc* (BLD 237) and *Loudoce* (BLD 150) which would now regularly become Lleuddog and Lleuddogwy (LBS III.369 n.3). Compare also the name Lluddica.

#### **LLEUDDUN LUYDDOG. (500)**

The anonymous fragmentary Life of St.Kentigern, says (§1) 'A certain king, *Leudonus*, from which the province over which he ruled obtained the name *Leudonia* had a daughter ... Thaney.' She became the mother of Kentigern [Cyndeyrn Garthwys]. Leudonus, described as half-pagan, was killed by his swineherd. The place where he was buried was marked by a stone about one mile south of Dimpelder (§7). See below. See further s.n. Denw.

In the earliest version of Bonedd y Saint his name is spelt *Lewdwn lluydawc* and it is very variable in the later manuscripts, but Lleuddun is the preferred modern spelling. He was of Dinas Eidyn and was the father of Denw (wife of Owain and mother of Cyndeyrn Garthwys), Tenoi (wife of Dingad and mother of Lleuddad and others), and Peren (wife of Bugi and mother of Beuno) (ByS §§14, 18. 30 in EWGT pp.56, 57, 59). He is evidently the same as *Ludun* mentioned in the Life of St.Kea as father of that saint, and *Lidin* in the genealogy of St.Gurtheirn.

His place of burial is said to be Dimpelder Law in East Lothian (LBS III.375). Lleuddun's seat was Traprain Law, then named Dimpelder, an isolated hill in Haddingtonshire, four miles east of Haddington which is 18 miles east of Edinburgh (DNB s.n. Kentigern). If he also possessed Dinas Eidyn [Edinburgh] it is likely enough that the whole province belonged to him (H.M.Chadwick, *Early Scotland*, p.146).

It is from Lleuddun that Lleuddunion [Lothian] receives its name. Welsh sources do not give him any parentage. As eponym of Lothian he equates with *Loth* of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Geoffrey says that Loth was a brother of Urien (HRB IX.9), i.e. Urien ap Cynfarch. This is chronologically possible and suggests that Lleuddun was perhaps a son of Cynfarch (PCB). Except for this doubtful point, however, Geoffrey seems to have had no authentic information about Lleuddun/Loth. For example he wrongly makes Urien and Loth elder contemporaries of Arthur. For this reason Loth is dealt with under another heading. See s.n. Loth.

**LLEUFER MAWR.**

'The Great Light'. A gloss to §22 of the *Historia Brittonum* in the 'Cambridge' group of manuscripts (Mommsen: C, L) says of Lucius, the fictitious king of Britain: *Lucius, agnomine Leuermaur, id est, 'magni splendoris' propter fidem que in eius tempore venit.* This was mentioned by Lewis Morris in his *Celtic Remains* (p.270 s.n. Lles ap Coel), and he says "none of our writers in the British tongue mention this cognomen of Lleufer Mawr". But it was taken up later by Iolo Morganwg. See s.n. Lucius.

**LLEW LLAW GYFFES.** See Llew Llaw Gyffes.

**LLEW ap CARADOG FREICHRAS.**

Said to be one of the Knights of the Round Table in a Welsh tract. See NLWJ 14 p.242 (1965). He is not known to appear in any extant Arthurian Romance.

**LLEW ap CYNFARCH.** (Fictitious).

The name is used in *Brut y Brenhinedd* where Geoffrey of Monmouth has Loth (HRB VIII.21, etc.). As Loth was made the father of Walganus and Modred (HRB IX.9), so Llew became the father of Gwalchmai and Medrod. Loth was the brother of Urianus and Auguselus (HRB IX.9) and these brothers become Llew, Urien and Arawn in ByB. It is not easy to explain the change; one explanation is suggested under Arawn (q.v.). Loth, as eponym of Lothian, corresponds to Lleuddun Luyddog (q.v.), but this was evidently not realised by the compilers of ByB.

Llew is listed as a son of Cynfarch with Urien and Arawn in the triad of the 'Three Fair Womb-Burdens' of Ynys Prydain (TYP no.70 - Pen,47), and in the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (ByA §6). Some late versions, based on HRB, give Medrod and Gwalchmai as sons of Llew ap Cynfarch (ByA §8 in EWGT p.87).

**LLEW ap LLYMINOD ANGEL.** (900)

Father of Lludd and ancestor of Gollwyn ap Tangno, patriarch of a tribe in Eifionydd and Ardudwy (PP §22(1)).

**LLEWEI ferch SEITHWEDD.** (Legendary).

She is mentioned in a triad (TYP no.58) as one of the 'Three Amazons' (*gwrvorwyn*) of Ynys Prydain.

**LLEWELYN.** See Llywelyn.

**LLEWEN, ST.**

He is mentioned in *Bonedd y Saint* (§20 in EWGT p.57) as one of the saints who came to this island with Cadfan and was in Enlli [Bardsey] at the same time as Cadfan. The name varies - other forms are *Llywen*, *Llewyn*, *Llywelyn*. A.W.Wade-Evans preferred *Llewen* and thought that he was the saint of Llanllawen, a chapel and hamlet in the parish of Aberdaron, Llŷn (WCO 164-5, *Études Celtiques*, I (1936) p.287; Rhestr, WATU. Not in PW).

**LLEWENYDD ap LLYWARCH HEN.** (550)

Llewenydd or Llywenydd is listed among the sons of Llywarch Hen in the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (ByA §5 in EWGT p.86). Llewenydd is the better reading though the majority of manuscripts give Llywenydd. The name is apparently drawn from a stanza in the Llywarch Hen poetry (CLIH III.2) *llewenid*, which Ifor Williams regards as probably a place-name Llewenydd (CLIH pp.112-3).

**LLIAWS ap NWYFRE.** (Legendary).

‘Multitude son of Sky’ (TYP p.423). He is mentioned in a triad (TYP no.35) as a son of Nwyfre, husband of Arianrhod ferch Beli, and father of two sons, Gwenwynwyn and Gwanar, who accompanied their uncle Caswallon ap Beli on an expedition which was one of the ‘Three Levies’ and ‘Three Silver Hosts’. See s.n. Cassivellaunus.

A proverb is attributed to him in ‘Englynion y Clyweid’, where he is called:

*Llyaws mab Nwyfre milwr hynaws* ('agreeable soldier').

(Ed. BBCS 3 (1926) p.14). The poet Prydydd y Moch mentions:

*Lliaws maws mab Nwyfre* ('pleasant Lliaws').

(LIH 293, l.21). See further TYP pp.423-4.

**LLIBIO (1),** saint.

A disciple of Cybi, mentioned in the Life of that saint as *Libiau* (§5 in VSB p.237), where it appears that he was first attached to Cybi in Cornwall. He evidently followed Cybi to Anglesey for it is there that we find his church, Llanllibio in Bodedern, formerly under Llantrisant (PW 90; WATU). He is commemorated on February 28 (LBS I.70, III.375).

LBS identify him with Liba or Libeus who appears in the Life of St. Enda of Aran, as brother of Enda. The idea is fanciful (G.H.Doble, *The Saints of Cornwall*, III.115 n.44).

**LLIBIO (2).**

A person named *Lybiau*, with his brother Gwrfan, and sister's son, Cynfwr, is mentioned in the Book of Llandaf as having gone from Penychen to Merthyr Clydog [Clodock in Ewias] (BLD 194-5). See further s.n. Penbargod.

**LLIBIO (3),** bishop. (d.929).

A bishop in Glywysing, included as *Libiau* in the pretended list of ‘bishops of Llandaf’ in the Book of Llandaf. He was a contemporary of Tewdwr ab Elise, king of Brycheiniog (BLD 237-9) and of Gruffudd ab Owain of Gower (BLD 239-40). He died in 929 (BLD 240), and was probably succeeded by Wulfrith.

**LLIFER (LLIWER) ap LLYWARCH HEN.** (550)

He is mentioned in one stanza of a ‘Llywarch Hen’ poem with other sons of Llywarch Hen, where they are called ‘Brave men, warlike brothers’ (CLIH I.42). See quotation s.n. Maen. He also appears in the list of children of Llywarch Hen in the ‘Hanesyn Hen’ tract (ByA §5 in EWGT p.86) where the spelling is *Lliuer*, *Lliver*, *Llifer*.

According to *Montgomeryshire Collections* IV.240 the name is preserved in Rhos Lliver, Rhos Llivorion in Llanrhaeadr [yMochnant] (CLIH p.93).

**LLIFONWY.** Father of Gwenhaf (q.v.). (450)

**LLION GAWR.** (Fictitious).

He is mentioned in the tract of ‘The Twenty-four Mightiest Kings’ (§10). It is there said that Caerllion [Caerleon-on-Usk] was founded where Llion Gawr had had a castle. See *Études Celtiques* XII (1968) p.170.

Compare Lleon Gawr.

**LLISGI.**

He appears as *Lisci*, son of *Paucant*, in the Life of St. David (§19 Vespasian text only). He was an enemy of Baia [Bwya, Dewi's enemy] and it was Llisci who ‘cut off Baia's head in his citadel, for his

gate lay open at daybreak, when he [Llisci] arrived unexpectedly from his ship.' The better texts do not name the killer of Baia. See *Rhigyfarch's Life of St.David*, ed. J.W.James, Cardiff, 1967, p.11.

Porth Lisgi is a creek on the coast south-west of St.David's, grid ref. SM 7323 (Rhestr). Curlysky, close to where the two Cleddy estuaries meet, and not far from Rose Castle, may stand for Caer Lisci (John Rhys in *Arch.Camb.*, V.xii (1895), p.20; OP I.244-5, 411).

**LLIWELYDD ap BRUTUS.** See Leil.

**LLIWELYDD father of LLWYDOG.** See Gwrien Gwrhyd Enwog.

**LLIWER ap LLYWARH HEN.** See Llifer.

**LLIW(N) HEN.** (Fictitious).

He appears in one version of the fictitious pedigree of Gwynfardd Dyfed, patriarch of a tribe in Dyfed. He is called *Lliw Hen twysoc Prydain*, father of Pŷr y Dwyrain, in the earliest example, that in Peniarth MS.132 p.179, this part by Gruffudd Hiraethog (d.1566). This improves on PP §62(3). Some later versions write Lliwn Hen, e.g. LD i.61 and in the Cywydd Marwnad of Dafydd Domas of Park y Pratt by Sion Mowddwy (fl.c.1575-1613) in Llanstephan MS.38B pp.81-85, ed. Francis Jones in *Trans.Cym.*, 1953 p.82, l.20. See further s.n. Pŷr y Dwyrain, and compare Pliws Hen.

**LLOFAN ap CILMIN DROED-DDU.** (860)

Father of Llywarch and ancestor of the recorded branches of the tribe of Cilmin Droed-ddu in Arfon (HL 8a in EWGT p.117).

**LLOFAN LLAWDDIFRO.**

'Llofan of the Exiled Hand'. In a triad (TYP no.33W) he is called one of the 'Three Savage Men' of Ynys Prydain who performed one of the 'Three Unfortunate Assassinations'. Here he is said to have slain Urien ap Cynfarch. He is mentioned in the Llywarch Hen poetry:

The might of Urien is sadness to me;  
An assailant in every land  
On the track of Llofan Llaw Ddifro.

(CLIH III.46). Ifor Williams suggested that the second line explains Urien's character (CLIH p.140); so too TYP p.424. But in this poem Urien is dead and it seems more likely that 'there are assailants in every land looking for Llofan of the Exiled Hand' to avenge his slaying of Urien (PCB). Presumably Llofan was in the pay of Morgan (Morgan Fwlch?) who was the instigator of the murder according to the *Historia Brittonum* (§63).

In the older version of the triad (TYP no.33) he is called Llofan *Llaw Ddifro*, 'of the Murderous Hand' (Thomas Jones). This cognomen and two others occur in the Stanzas of the Graves in Peniarth MS.98B p.48, namely, *Llaw Estrawn*, 'Alien Hand' and *Llaw Ygyn*, possibly for *Llaw Engyn*, 'Hand of the Outcast' (CLIH p.244):

5      After harness and curly-tailed steeds  
         and battle and spears held straight,  
         . . . . .  
         the fair head of Llofan Llaw Estrawn.

6      After harness and yellow steeds  
         and battle and opposing spears,  
         . . . . .  
         the fair head of Llofan Llaw Ygyn.

7, 8 The grave of Llofan Llaw Ddifo on the shingle of Menai,  
few are they who know it save God and me tonight.

(Thomas Jones in SG pp.134/5).

**LLONGBORTH.**

The site of a battle mentioned in a poem in BBC and RBP. See s.n. Geraint (Geruntius), king of Dumnonia. It is now generally believed that the place is Langport in Somerset and that it was fought by Geraint (Geruntius) (q.v.) king of Dumnonia against Ina king of Wessex, perhaps in A.D.710. The difficulty is that the poem's title identifies the hero as Geraint ab Erbin and mentions Arthur, leading to the view that the battle was in the sixth century.

The above difficulties can be overcome, but those in favour of the sixth century suggested that Llongborth was Portsmouth, and basing their theories on the dates of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle suggested dates between 501 and 530. The identification of the battle of Llongborth with the invasion of the Saxons at Portsmouth in 501 seems to have led to the idea that Llacheu (q.v.) ab Arthur was slain at the battle (PCB). Sharon Turner identified the place and the occasion with the arrival of Porta in 501, but gave the date as 530 (*The History of the Anglo-Saxons*, (1823), I.269 ()), and that date was widely accepted.

Another theory identified the site with Llamborth in Penbryn, Ceredigion (grid ref. SN 2952). Theophilus Evans in *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, 1740 edition, I.4. says:

‘It is the judgement of some that the place which the bard calls Llongborth is Llamborth in the parish of Penbryn in Ceredigion. There is a place near there commonly called Maesglas, but the old name was Maes-y-llâs [‘The Field of the killing’] or Maes Galanas [‘The Field of Massacre’]. There is another site in the neighbourhood, in the parish of Penbryn, called Perth Gereint [‘Geraint's Bush’].

See also Cy. 49 part 1 p.162.

According to D. Prys Williams in *Arch.Camb.*, VI.5 (1905) pp.157-8, Perth Geraint is the name of a farm, and Maes Glâs was formerly called Karn-y-Bettws Gereint. He goes on:

“A tradition says that the British before going to battle, gave their treasures to three men to conceal, but on the field of battle these three treasure-guards were killed, and the money they concealed is undiscovered to this day; hence arose the name of the spot, *Clun yr Aur*, pronounced ‘Clun'r our’ [The meadow of the Gold]”.

There is no indication as to who the enemy were. Not far away from there is Beddgeraint (grid ref. SN 3246) in the parish of Trefdreyr or Tredreyr (wrongly called Troed-yr-aur) (PCB).

**LLONIO LAWHIR ab ALAN FYRGAN.** (500)

His full name and pedigree are given in *Bonedd y Saint* (§58 in EWGT p.63). He was the saint of Llandinam in Arwystli, Powys Wenwynwyn (PW 98), where there was a notable monastery (WCO 197).

The Welsh Calendars do not mention him, but according to Browne Willis ‘Llandinam feast follows March 1’ (LBS III.378)

The poet, Huw Arwystli (fl.1550), wrote an Ode in his honour, *Owdl Llonio Sant*, edited from Llanstephan MS.53 (c.1647) in LBS IV.429-431. This tells us that Llonio fought with his father against the pagans and later became a ‘righteous confessor’. He received land from *Gwrai* [evidently Gwrhai ap Caw, the saint of near-by Penystrywaid] and also, from *Maelgwyn Hir* [probably Maelgwn Gwynedd], land along the Severn [from Llandinam] to Aber-miwl (Abermule) in Cedewain (LBS III.377).



**LLORCAN WYDDEL.**

'Ll. the Irishman'. He is named in the lists of persons whom St.Beuno is said to have raised from the dead. See s.n. Beuno. He is actually mentioned, but not named, in the Life of Beuno (§10):

Then he [Beuno] came to king Cynan, son of Brochwel, and besought of him a place to pray for his soul and his friends. And then the king gave him Gwyddelwern, the place which got its name from the Irishman whom Beuno raised from the dead there. And it was his wife who had been the occasioning of his death.

(Trans. A.W.Wade-Evans, *Arch.Camb.*, 85 (1930) p.317). Gwyddelwern is in Edeirnion, two miles north of Corwen. See also Gwyddelan.

**LLORIEN ap LLYWARH HEN.** (550)

He appears in the list of children of Llywarch Hen in the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (ByA §5 in EWGT p.86).

He seems to be mentioned in the 'Llywarch Hen' poetry (CLIH I.43):

Lloryen guards Llam-y-Bwch

Here Llam-y-Bwch, 'the Buck's Leap', is evidently a place-name.

Llorien's name perhaps occurs in *Lloran* and *Llorian* in the parishes of Llanrhaeadr yMochnant and Llansilin (*Montgomeryshire Collections*, IV.239, V.108; CLIH p.93).

**LLOWES.** See Llywes.

**LLUAN ferch BRYCHAN.** (510)

Said to be the wife of Gafran and mother of Aeddan Fradog (DSB §12(12), CB 15(12), JC 3(16), PB §3i in EWGT p.15, 18, 43, 82). In PB §3i the name has become Lleian. See Aeddan Fradog.

**LLUBER BEUTHACH.** (Legendary).

A person invoked by Culhwch as one of the warriors at Arthur's Court in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' (WM 460, RM 106). Like several other names in this part of the list it is actually that of one of the Irish heroes in the Ultonian Cycle, namely Láegaire Buadach (Cecile O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales*, 1924, p.114; R.S.Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend*, (1956) p.161). For other examples see s.n. Corroi ap Dayry.

**LLUCHO ap CEDIG.** See Gwgon Gledyfrudd.

**LLUDD ap BELI MAWR.** (80-60 B.C. PCB)

Lludd ap Beli is the form which Brut y Brenhinedd regularly substitutes for Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'Lud son of Heli' in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. According to that, Lud was the eldest son of Heli, and succeeded to the kingdom on his father's death. 'He became famous for building cities, and for rebuilding the walls of Trinovantum which he also surrounded with innumerable towers ... He was withal a warlike man, and very magnificent with feasts and entertainments. And though he had many other cities yet he loved this above them all ... for which reason it was called Kaerlud [Caerludd] ... and in process of time Londonia [Llundein]. ... At last when he was dead, his body was buried by the gate which to this time is called in the British tongue after his name Porthlud [Porth Lludd], and in the Saxon tongue Ludesgata [i.e. Ludgate]. He had two sons Androgeus [Afarwy] and Tenuantius [Tenefan. see Tasciovanus], but owing to their youth, he was succeeded by his brother Cassibellanus' [Caswallon. See Cassivellaunus] (HRB III.20). Corresponding names in ByB are shown in [ ].

It is not certain that Lludd ap Beli was known to the Welsh before Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote his *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c.1136); but there is a native Welsh tale 'Lludd and Llefelys' which calls

them two sons of Beli Mawr ap Manogan. However it betrays a knowledge of HRB by saying that Llefelys was a fourth son of Beli, and that Lludd was the founder of Caer Lludd.

The tale of 'Lludd and Llefelys' is contained in the Red Book of Hergest (c.1400) and, the beginning only, in the White Book of Rhydderch (c.1325). But the earliest extant text is that combined with Brut y Brenhinedd in Llanstephan MS.1, written between 1225 and 1250, which does not differ except in slight verbal differences from the RM version. "Yet it is certain that the story itself is composed of elements of which some at least must belong to Welsh tradition anterior to Geoffrey's work." In particular the account of the Coraniaid and that of the fighting dragons buried under Dinas Emrys are elements of undoubted antiquity (TYP pp.425-6). It thus appears that a king Lludd was known to pre-Geoffrey tradition, but not necessarily as a son of Beli. It is also noteworthy that Henry of Huntingdon, writing in 1129, partly following the *Historia Brittonum* (§19), speaks of *Liud* (var. *Luid*) as the father of *Belinus* and *Cassibellanus* (Book 1 §12).

#### LLUDD and LLEFELYS

The title of the tale in the Red Book of Hergest is *Cyfranc Lludd a Llefelys*, 'The Adventure of Lludd and Llefelys'. According to the story Lludd and Llefelys were brothers, sons of Beli Mawr ap Manogan. Lludd was king of Britain, and Llefelys, a wise and prudent man, became king of France by marrying the daughter and only child of the king of France who had died (RM 93-4).

During the reign of Lludd the island was troubled with three plagues:

The first was a certain folk called the Coraniaid; so great was their knowledge that there was no discourse over the face of the Island, however low it might be spoken, that they did not know about it if the wind met it. And because of this no hurt could be done to them.

The second plague was a scream which was raised every May-eve over every hearth in the Island of Britain. It would pierce folks' hearts, and strike them with such terror that men would lose their hue and their strength and women the fruit of their wombs, and the young men and maidens would lose their senses, and all animals and trees and the earth and the waters would be left barren.

The third plague was that however much provision and food was prepared in the king's courts, even though it were a year's provision of meat and drink, none of it would be enjoyed save what was consumed the very first night (RM 94-5).

Lludd decided to go and consult his brother. Llefelys knew the reason for his brother's coming. In order that the Coraniaid should not know what they were discussing Llefelys made a long horn of bronze through which they conversed. But there was a demon in the horn which caused the speech to become 'hateful contrariety'. The demon was washed out by pouring wine through the horn. Then Llefelys gave Lludd some insects which were to be mashed in water. He advised Lludd to call a meeting of his own people and the Coraniaid to one assembly, under pretence of making peace. Then the magic water should be sprinkled over all alike. It would kill the Coraniaid but not injure his own people (RM 95-6).

Llefelys explained that the scream was caused by the fighting of two dragons, Lludd's dragon and a dragon of a foreign folk. Lludd was to measure the length and breadth of the Island and to dig a pit at the exact centre. In the pit he must place a tub full of the best mead, and a covering of silk over the tub. Then he should keep watch in person and he would see the dragons fighting. They would rise into the air, and finally fall, weary, in the shape of two little pigs, onto the covering and drag it into the tub. They will drink up all the mead and fall asleep. He must then straightway wrap the covering about them and bury them in a stone coffer, hidden in the earth, in the strongest place that he could find. And so long as they are in that strong place no plague will come to the Island of Britain from elsewhere (RM 96-7).

Llefelys said that the cause of the third plague was a mighty man of magic who carried off the meat and drink and provisions, having caused every one to fall asleep. Llefelys advised Lludd to keep personal watch over his feasts and provisioning, and, in order to avoid falling asleep, he should have ready a tub of cold water, then when sleep bore hard on him he should get into the tub (RM 97).

Lludd returned home and did as he had been instructed by Llefelys to get rid of the Coraniaid, and so it happened (RM 97).

Then he measured the Island and found that the centre was at Oxford. Everything happened as Llefelys had said, and Lludd took the creatures in the stone coffer to Eryri. The place where it was buried was later known as Dinas Emreis, but before that, Dinas Ffaraon Dandde, named from Ffaraon Dandde who was one of the ‘Three Noble Youths who broke their hearts with consternation’ (RM 97-8).

After that Lludd prepared a great feast, and kept watch, clad in arms. At about the third watch of the night he heard a variety of music, and drowsiness came upon him. To avoid sleep he went often into the water. At last a man of huge stature, wearing heavy armour, came in with a hamper, into which he put all the provisions and store of food and drink, and then made off with it. Lludd was amazed that the hamper could hold so much. He called to the man to stop. A fierce fight followed in which Lludd was finally victorious. The giant's life was spared when he promised to make good all the losses he had occasioned, never to do the like again, and to become Lludd's liege man for evermore (RM 98-99).

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The Coraniaid are referred to in a triad (TYP no.36) as the first of the ‘Three Oppressions that came to this Island’, and not one of them went back. The Coraniaid came from Arabia in the time of Lludd ap Beli (Caswallon ap Beli in the earliest text). The dragons are the subject of another triad (TYP no.37). One of the ‘Three Concealments’ of Ynys Prydain was the burial of the Dragons by Lludd ap Beli in Dinas Emrys in Eryri. The triad (R version) also says that the Dragons were ‘disclosed’ by Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu. See s.n. Myrddin Emrys.

There is a prophetic poem in the Book of Taliesin (BT 78) entitled *Ymarwar Llud Bychan*, ‘The Short Discussion of Lludd’. Line 26 alludes to *ymarwar Llud a Llefelis*, ‘the Discussion of Lludd and Llefelys’. The same expression is used by Llywelyn Fardd (LIH p.208, ll.3-4). Rachel Bromwich suggests that this may have been the earlier title of the story (TYP p.426). “The name *Llevelys* is clearly based on a scribal misreading of *Leueeis*, the Norman-French form of *Louis*”. (W.J.Gruffudd, *Folklore and Myth in the Mabinogion*, 1958, p.20). Compare Cligueillus.

See further TYP pp.424-7 and references there.

#### **LLUDD ap LLEW.** (930)

Father of Cadfael and ancestor of Gollwyn ap Tangno, patriarch of a tribe in Eifionydd and Ardudwy (PP §22(1)).

#### **LLUDD LLAW EREINT.** (Legendary)

‘Lludd of the Silver Hand’. He is mentioned in the tale of ‘Culhwch and Olwen’ as the father of Creiddylad (WM 470, RB 113) and later, where her story is told (RM 134). It is also implied that he suffered a grievous imprisonment, for we are told that the imprisonment of Mabon ap Modron was more grievous even than that of Lludd Llaw Ereint and that of Greid ab Eri (RM 131).

There is no Welsh story to explain how Lludd got his ‘silver hand’, but the same cognomen is given in effect to the Irish mythical person Nuadu Argatlám, where Argatlám has the same meaning, the elements of the word being in the opposite order. He is treated in *Lebor Gabála* and elsewhere as a king of the Tuatha Dé Danann who was slain in the second battle of Mag Tuired (EIHM 467). It was in the first battle of Mag Tuired that he lost his arm, but it was cleverly replaced by a silver one. John Rhys saw the equivalence of the Celtic god Nodens, worshipped at Lydney, the Irish Nuadu and the Welsh name Nudd. The latter must have become Lludd through “the influence of the analogy of personal names with alliterative epithets.” (*Hib. Lect.*, pp.125-6). The names Nudd and Lludd both persisted in Welsh although “Welsh literature, it must be admitted, recognizes no connection between them.” (*ibid.*, p.127). See also Nodens.

**LLUDD LLURIGOG.** See Llŷr Llyuddog.

**LLUDDICA** (ap CARADOG FREICHRAS). (850)

Father of Rhieingar, the mother of Tudur Trefor (PP 14, Mostyn MS.212b p.156, Wrexham MS.1 p.33). Cf. Ludecan, king of Mercia, 825-827.

**LLUDDICA ap TUDUR TREFOR.** (935)

Father of Llywarch Gam and ancestor of Rhys Sais, the progenitor of families in Maelor, Powys Fadog. (HL 12a in EWGT p.119, PP 14). His wife was Angharad ferch Iago ab Idwal (PP 14 (2c)).

**LLUDDICA.**

The name is perhaps derived from Teutonic Chlodowech [Clovis], Ludovicus (Latin), Ludwig (German), Louis (French), Lewis (English). But compare Lleuddogw.

**LLWCH GWIN,** the birds of. See Drudwas ap Tryffin, March ap Meirchion.

**LLWCH LLAW-WYNNIOG.** (Legendary).

He is mentioned twice in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen', first as *Lloch Llaw-wynnyawc*, one of the chiefs at Arthur's Court (WM 461, RM 107), and later as *Llwch Llaw-wynnyawc*, the father of unnamed sons 'from beyond the Tyrrhene Sea', also apparently at Arthur's Court (WM 466, RM 110).

He is also mentioned in the poem 'Who is the Porter?', a dialogue between Arthur, Cai and Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr in the Black Book of Carmarthen (BBC 94) as *Lluch llauynnauc*, 'Llwch of the Striking Hand(?)' who was 'defending Eidyn on the border(?)' (Trans. Rachel Bromwich in *The Figure of Arthur* by Richard Barber, 1972, p.70).

The translation of the cognomen by Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones is 'Windy-hand' (*The Mabinogion*, Everyman edition, pp.101, 104), but Idris Foster suggested 'of the striking hand' (*Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.S.Loomis, 1959, p.34). The name equates to that of the Irish god, Lug, one of whose epithets was *lonnbémnech*, 'of the fierce blows'. See further s.n. Llenlleog Wyddel.

**LLWCH LLEOG.** See Llenlleog Wyddel.

**LLWCHAEARN ap CERFAEL.** (580)

The saint of Llanllwchaearn and Llanychaearn in Ceredigion, and of Llanllwchaearn and Llanmerewig in Cedewain, Powys Wenwynwyn (PW 60, 61, 108). His commemoration is on January 12 (LBS I.70, III.383). Bonedd y Saint mentions him as a saint in Cedewain, son of Cerfael (ByS §36 in EWGT p.60).

The poet Sion Ceri (fl.c.1500?-c.1530?) wrote a Cywydd to Llwchaearn in which he is called *Llwchayarn, Filwr a Sant, o Lamerewig*. He is said to be son of Kynfael (I.8) and cousin to Beuno (II.11-12). The text is edited in LBS IV.431-2 from Peniarth MS.100 (16th century). The details of his relationship to Beuno are not known, and 'cousin' is probably used loosely.

**LLWNI, ST.**

The saint of Llanllwni, in Ystrad Tywi (PW 52). His commemoration is on August 11 (LBS I.73, III.383).

**LLWY.** See Teloy

**LLWYBR ap CAW.** See Caw of Prydyn.

**LLWYD ap CIL COED.** (Legendary).

He appears in the Mabinogi branch of 'Manawydan' as a magician who cast a spell over Dyfed to avenge his friend Gwawl ap Clud (WM 79, RM 57). Egerton Phillimore pointed out that Cilcoed is

the name of a river, rising close to Ludchurch [Yr Eglwys Lwyd], six miles north of Tenby, so that Llwyd and Cilcoed are both represented in the place-names of this district of Dyfed (OP I.306). Compare Llwydeu ap Cel Coed. See also PKM 247, 249.

**LLWYDEU ap CEL COED.** (Legendary).

He is listed as one of the warriors at Arthur's Court in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' (WM 466, RM 110) and later we are told that when Arthur returned from his expedition to Ireland to obtain the cauldron of Diwrnach Wyddel 'they disembarked at the house of Llwydeu ap Cel Coed, at Porth Cerddin in Dyfed; and *Mesur-y-Peir*, 'the Measure of the Cauldron' is there' (RM 136). The place-name is not found. Compare Llwyd ap Cil Coed. See also CO(2) p.96.

**LLWYDEU ap NWYTHON.** (Legendary).

Llwydeu ap Nwython, and Llwydeu father of Gwydre, are mentioned consecutively in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' (WM 464, RM 109), but are perhaps two different persons. See Nwython, Gwydre.

**LLWYDION**, fictitious saint. See Corbre, St.

**LLWYDOG ap LLIWELYDD.** See Gwrien Gwrhyd Enwog.

**LLWYDOG GOFYNNIAD.** (Legendary).

One of the pigs, offspring of the boar, Trwyth, hunted by Arthur in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen'. Arthur first met Llwydog in Dyffryn Llychwr where Llwydog and Grugyn Gwrych Ereint made a stand and slew all Arthur's hunters except one. Trwyth then came to the help of his young pigs. After much fighting through the land the men of Llydaw met up with Llwydog in Ystrad Yw. He slew Hir Peisog, king of Llydaw, and Llygadrud Emys and Gwrfoddw, Arthur's uncles, and there he himself was slain (RM 139-40).

Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones translate Gofynniad, 'the Hewer'; Patrick Ford translates 'the Claimant'. Compare Gallgoid Gofynniad. See CO(2) p.163.

**LLWYR ap LLWYRION.** (Legendary).

He is mentioned in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' as the owner of a cup 'in which is the best of all drink'. There was no other vessel in the world which could hold the strong bragget which was required by Ysbaddaden Pencawr for the wedding of his daughter, Olwen (WM 481, RM 121). We are not told how the cup was obtained for the wedding.

**LLYCHLYN ap IAEN.** See Iaen.

**LLYCHWAEL.** See Llythfael.

**LLYDAW.**

The place-name appears in old Welsh as *Lettau* in the Life of St.Cadog (§35) here identified with Armorica and also (§45) used for the immigrants to Gaul under Maximus: *gens que vocatur Lettau*, glossed *Brittones*. The Irish form was *Letha* which is found applied not only to Armorica but also to Latium (John Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, p.532). The Latinised form of the name was *Letavia* (e.g. the Breton Life of Gildas; §16, the Life of St.Illtud, §1 etc.). An inhabitant was called *Lledewig*, 'Letavian' (See Eneas Ledewig, Glythmyr Ledewig), plural *Lledewigion*, older *Letewicion* (HB §27 MS.C), *Lidwicc(i)um*, *Lidwicingum* [oblique case] in ASC s.aa. 885(6), 915(8). A.W.Wade-Evans spelt *Llydewig* (WCO 163, 198). See also s.n. Cynan ab Eudaf.

Llydaw is the regular Welsh name for Armorica, Brittany. But the name also occurs in Wales, e.g. Llyn Llydaw in Snowdonia, and there are several cases of the use of the name in the older literature which suggest that it was used for some region in Wales. Just as Devon [Dumnonia] and Cornwall gave

their names to Domnonée and Cornouaille in Brittany, so Llydaw [Brittany] seems to have had its duplicate in Britain. John Rhys gave reasons for suggesting that a place named Llydaw was in the region of Llangorse Lake in Brycheiniog (*Celtic Folklore*, pp.531-6). In the story of the hunting of the boar, Trwyth, in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen', the men of Llydaw, *gwyr Llydaw*, are represented as assembling in Ystrad Yw, a cwmwd on the south-east border of Brycheiniog (RM 140). In the Life of St.Padarn (§22) it is said that Caradog Freichfras extended his boundaries of Britannia [Wales] so as to include Letavia. This can be interpreted as extending his kingdom from Radnorshire into Brycheiniog. See s.n. Caradog Freichfras. Again in the Life of St.Illtud (§1) it is said that his father was a man of Letavia, and implies that Illtud was born there. Later we are told that he returned to Letavia to die, but there is a tradition that he was buried in the parish of Defynnog in Brycheiniog. See s.n. Illtud, note to §1 of the Life.

Many Welsh saints are said to be descended from Emyr Llydaw, and this has led to the assumption that they migrated from Brittany. But there is no good reason for supposing that any of these saints actually came from Brittany. All the evidence points to the contrary, and the movement was almost wholly in the opposite direction. See Emyr Llydaw. It seems therefore that, in many cases when Llydaw is mentioned in a context of the sixth century or earlier, Llydaw could mean a district somewhere in the boundaries of Brycheiniog.

See also WCO 102, 111-2, 133, 135. 151; E.G.Bowen, *The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales*, 1954, pp.55, 94.

A curious passage in the Life of St.Oswald printed by John Capgrave says that '[Oswald] was killed in the place called in the English tongue Maserfeld ... That place [Oswestry] moreover is adjacent to the boundaries of *Armorice Wallie* - because anciently the greatest part of Wales was named *Armorica*.' (*Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. C. Horstman, II.204).

#### **LLYFAB, ST.**

One of the saints who came to this island with St.Cadfan and went with him to Bardsey, according to Bonedd y Saint (ByS §20 in EWGT p.57). There is no church dedicated to him.

#### **LLYFFAN GAWR.** (Legendary).

A giant supposed to have given his name to Castell Llyphan in Llanfair Orllwyn on the Teifi in Ceredigion. His wife is said to have been a witch, slain by Gwalchmai (Peniarth MS.118 p.831, ed. by Hugh Owen in *Cy. 27* (1917) p.130). See also Pyscog Gawr and Hywel Gawr.

Llyffan Gawr also apparently left his name at *Ynys bagh Llyffan gawr*, an old name for the island of Dinas in Milford Haven (really a peninsula). There is also a Trelyffan in the parish of Nevern (OP I.115). *Llyffant* = 'toad'.

#### **LLYGADRUDD EMYS.** (Legendary).

'The red-eyed stallion'. The name occurs in the tale of 'Culhwch and Olwen' where he is said to be an uncle of Arthur, one of his mother's brothers, and present at Arthur's Court (WM 464, RM 109), therefore presumably son of Amlawdd Wledig. He and his brother Gwrfoddw Hen were slain by the young boar Llwydog Gofynniad in Ystrad Tywi during the hunting of the boar Trwyth (RM 140).

John Rhys thought that Emys was probably a mistake for Emyr, so that the name would mean 'the red-eyed king or emperor' (*Celtic Folklore*, p.531). Even so it does not sound like a real name and seems to have been constructed to explain the place-name *Llygad Amr*, 'The Eye of Amr', i.e. the source of the Amr, now called Gamber Head in Ergyng (WCO 102, 112-3). Compare Amhar ab Arthur. A.W.Wade-Evans proposed to identify Llygadrudd Emyr with Emyr Llydaw (WCO 102, 113).

**LLYGEDWY ap LLYWARCH HEN.** (Legendary). (550)

His grave is mentioned in the 'Llywarch Hen' poetry (CLIH I.44) but nothing is said about him. He also appears as Llynghedwy in the list of children of Llywarch Hen in the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract (ByA §5 in EWGT p.86).

**LLYMINOD ANGEL ap PASGEN (ab URIEN).** (870)

Father of Llew and ancestor of Gollwyn ap Tangno patriarch of a tribe in Eifionydd and Ardudwy (PP §22(1)), and ancestor of Marchweithian, patriarch of a tribe in Rhufoniog, Gwynedd (PP §23).

**LLYN BARFOG.**

The name is probably a shortening of Llyn y Barfog, 'The Lake of the Bearded One'. It is a small mountain lake in a secluded spot in the upland country above Aberdyfi (grid ref. SN 6598). There is a legend that Arthur used his horse to draw an Afanc out of the lake. In the struggle the horse left the imprint of its shoe or hoof on a nearby rock, whence the rock is called Carn March Arthur. There is also a story of fairies and a cow associated with the lake (*Arch.Camb.*, 1853, pp.201-5, quoted by John Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, pp.141-6; Thomas Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, ed. John Rhys, 1883, II.29).

**LLYNGESOG LAWHAEL.**

'Llyngesog Generous-hand'. The father of Treul, one of the 'Three Faithful Wives' of Ynys Prydain (TYP no. 66, Pen.47 version). Llyngesog means 'fleet owner' (TYP p.427). The name appears as *Lyggessauc*, that of a clerical witness to a charter in the Book of Llandaf (BLD 147).

**LLYNGESOG LAWHIR ab ELIMAN.**

'Llyngesog Long-hand'. He is mentioned in the Life of St.Cadog (§22 in VSB). He is described as a very brave chief of the Britons who slew three of Arthur's soldiers. Arthur pursued him until he took refuge with St.Cadog at Llancarfan, and remained there for seven years, unknown to Arthur. At the end of that time Arthur heard where he was and had a dispute with Cadog. This was submitted to arbitration, and in return for the slain soldiers Arthur received nine heifers from Cadog. But when the heifers were handed over they turned into bundles of ferns. The dispute took place at *Rhyd Gwrthebau*, 'The Ford of Rejoinders', at *Tref Redinog*, 'Fern Village', now Tredynog in Gwent (WCO 109). The arbitrators were David, Teilo, Illtud, Dochau, Cynidr and Maeddog.

**LLYNGHEDWY ap LLYWARCH HEN.** See Llygedwy.

**LLYR ap BLEIDDUD.** (Fictitious).

Llŷr is the incorrect name that Brut y Brenhinedd gave for the fictitious king of Britain called Leir by Geoffrey of Monmouth. See Leir.

**LLYR FORWYN, ST.**

'Llŷr the Virgin'. She was the saint of Llanllŷr in Llanfihangel Ystrad, Ceredigion, and Llanllŷr-yn-Rhos (Llanyre) formerly under Nantmel in Radnorshire (PW 63, 45). She is mentioned in only one Calendar, on October 21 (LBS I.74, III.386).

**LLYR LLEDIAITH.** (Mythical).

'Llŷr Half-speech' (TYP p.427). The significance of the cognomen is obscure. John Rhys suggested 'foreign accent' (*The Arthurian Legend*, p.130). According to the Mabinogi branch of 'Branwen' Llŷr (without cognomen) was the father of Brân and Manawydan by Penarddun ferch Beli (WM 38, RM 26), also of Branwen, presumably by Penarddun (WM 40, RM 27, etc.). According to a triad (TYP no.52) Llŷr Llediaith suffered imprisonment at the hands of Euroswydd, whence he is called

one of the 'Three Exalted Prisoners' of Ynys Prydain. Euroswydd apparently took Llŷr's wife, Penarddun. See Euroswydd Wledig.

The ancestry of Llŷr Llediaith first appears in a pedigree of Elen ferch Eudaf, the wife of Maccsen Wledig. See ByA §33 in EWGT p.94. Here he is made son of Garar ap Gerein Hir, and father of Brân. A later version which made him ancestor of the 'Royal Tribe of Morgannwg' modified the former pedigree, making him son of Barar ap Ceri Hir Lyngwyn and father of Brân (MP 3 in EWGT p.122). Another version of uncertain date made him son of Ffaraon Dandde (q.v.).

*Llŷr* is used by the early Welsh poets as a common noun denoting the sea. But there is no connection between Llŷr Llediaith and the sea in surviving Welsh tradition. Manawydan ap Llŷr corresponds to the Irish Manannán mac Lir, who is associated with the Isle of Man. The nominative of Lír is Ler, but Ler never appears independently as the father of Manannán. In fact it has been suggested that *mac Lír* means merely 'son of the sea' (TYP p.428). Compare Llŷr Marini.

For references to Llŷr Llediaith in the poets see TYP p.429.

**LLYR LLUYDDOG.** (Legendary).

'Llŷr of the Hosts'. One of the 'Three Battle-Horsemen' of Ynys Prydain according to a triad (TYP no.18). In the 'W' version of the triad he has become Lludd Llurigog ('of the Breastplate') one of the 'Three Favourites' of Arthur's Court, and one of the 'Three Battle-Horsemen'.

**LLŶR MARINI.** (Legendary). (440)

He appears as father of Caradog Freichfras, with the cognomen *Marini* (var. *Merini*) in Bonedd y Saint (§29 in EWGT p.59), *Marivi* in the tale of 'Rhonabwy's Dream' (RM 150-1), and without cognomen in the romance of 'Geraint and Enid' (WM 406, RM 261).

According to a triad (TYP no.63) he was the owner of one of the 'Three Bull-Spectres' [Fairy Bulls?] of Ynys Prydain. Here the cognomen is Marini, Merini, Myrini in the various texts. There is some evidence that his wife, or, at any rate, the supposed mother of Caradog Freichfras, was a fairy. See s.n. Gwyn ap Nudd. Later genealogists said that his wife and the mother of Caradog Freichfras was Gwen ferch Brychan.

The word *merin*, like *llŷr*, was used in poetry for 'the sea'. Compare Latin *mare, marinus*. Thus in the present case the epithet may be no more than a latinisation of the name Llŷr (TYP p.430). However there are no legends connecting Llŷr Marini with the sea.

There is some confirmation of his 'fairy' nature in the French romance known as the *Livre de Carados*. This romance, which has a strong Celtic flavour, is mainly about Carados 'Brise-bras'. His father is said to have been an enchanter named Eliavres who had an affair with Queen Ysave, the wife of a Breton king. Besides Carados, he is said to have begotten the boar Tortain (compare Trwyth) and the horse Loriagort (compare Lluagor, the horse of Caradog Freichfras). See William Roach, *The Continuations of the Old French Perceval*, Vols.1-3 (1949-50). See TYP p.98.

The pedigree of Llŷr Marini occurs only in 16th century and later manuscripts and takes two different forms: (a) Llŷr Merini ab Einion Yrth ap Cunedda, see PP 17(1), (5), (6), (7); and (b) where he is traced to Meirchion Gul and so to Ceneu ap Coel. The various versions of (b) can be regarded as incomplete forms of the following: Llŷr Merini ap Merinwch ab Y Ceiliog Myngrudd ab Ethrys ab Eidion Darianlas ap Meirchion Gul, see PP 17(2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8). Here Merinwch is probably a duplicate of Merini; *Y Ceiliog Myngrudd*, 'The Red-maned Cock', is probably derived from a bit of heraldic text, misplaced (see Ceiliog Myngrudd). Without these we should have Llŷr Merini ab Ethrys, etc., the form found in PP 17(8).

**LLYTHFAEL (or LLYCHWAEL) ap BRÂN ap BRYDW.**

A descendant of Braint Hir and ancestor of the tribe of Braint Hir in Rhos, Gwynedd; father of Enfael (HL §11 in EWGT p.119).



**LLYWARCH ap GWGON.** (905)

Genealogical link in a line associated with Abergwili; father of Môr. See JC 33 in EWGT p.48.

**LLYWARCH ap HYFAIDD.** (d.904).

A prince of Dyfed whose death is mentioned in the *Annales Cambriae* s.a.903 [*recte* 904]. He was the father of Elen, [the wife of Hywel Dda], (HG §2, ABT 18a in EWGT pp.9, 106). He was apparently the last king of Dyfed before Dyfed came into the possession of Hywel Dda (HW 333), unless he was succeeded for one year by his brother, Rhodri, who died in 905. But see Tudwal Gloff.

**LLYWARCH ap LLOFAN.** (900)

Father of Iddig and ancestor of the recorded branches of the tribe of Cilmin Droed-ddu in Arfon (HL 8a in EWGT p.117).

**LLYWARCH ap NYNNIO.** (550)

Father of Tewdrig, king and martyr (q.v.) according to JC §9 in EWGT p.45.

**LLYWARCH ab OWAIN.**

He was blinded in 987 (ByT). Said to be the son of Owain ap Hywel Dda (David Powel, *Historie of Cambria*, 1584, reprint of 1811 p.56).

**LLYWARCH ap RHIGENEU.** (500)

Genealogical link in the line of princes of Brycheiniog; father of Idwallon (JC §8 in EWGT p.45).

**LLYWARCH ap RHIRID.** (930)

Genealogical link in the ancestry of Einion ap Llywarch, patriarch of a tribe in Is Cennen and Cedweli, Ystrad Tywi; father of Rhun (PP §24(2)).

**LLYWARCH ap RHIWALLON.** (970)

Father of Gwerystan and ancestor of Rhirid Flaidd, patriarch of a tribe in Penllyn (HL §13a in EWGT p.119).

**LLYWARCH ap SEISYLL ab EIDDYN DDU.**

Genealogical link in the ancestry of Odwyn ap Teithwalch of Ceredigion; father of Cloddien Frych. See PP §45.

**LLYWARCH ap TEWDWR.** (575)

Father of Briafael Frydig (q.v.). See JC §10 in EWGT p.45.

**LLYWARCH GAM ap LLUDDICA.** (970)

Father of Ednyfed and ancestor of Rhys Sais, patriarch of families in Maelor, Powys Fadog (HL 12a in EWGT p.119).

**LLYWARCH HEN ab ELIDIR LYDANWYN.** (520)

One of the 'Men of the North' according to the genealogies (GaC 2, JC 17, BGG 2, etc. in EWGT pp.36, 46, 73, etc.). His mother was Gwawr ferch Brychan (DSB 12(15), PB 3f, etc. in EWGT pp.16, 82, etc.). He was thus first cousin to Urien Rheged on his father's and his mother's side.

Llywarch was the subject of a lost Saga of Powys in prose and verse, of which only the poetry has survived. This poetry is, for the most part, put into the mouth of Llywarch, who is represented as an old man, hence his cognomen, *hen*, 'old'. As a result he has also been treated as a bard of the sixth century, (see e.g. poetry quoted s.n. Drudwas ap Tryffin), whereas the poetry of the Saga was written

much later. There is no evidence that he was actually a poet, but the real, unknown author of the 'Llywarch Hen' poems was indeed a great poet (Ifor Williams, "The Poems of Llywarch Hen" [=PLIH], *Proc. Brit. Academy*, Vol.18, 1932, pp.6, 7, 23).

The poems preserve traditions relating to Llywarch Hen which probably have a historical background. There is no need to regard the author of the poetry as a forger or a maker of false antiquities (PLIH p.6). From the poetry we can piece together a rough idea of the life of Llywarch. Consistently with the genealogies we first find him in the North, bewailing the death of Urien Rheged (*Marwnad Urien*, CLIH III). It appears that when Urien was slain, his own men cut off his head, and that Llywarch bore it away to save it from insult (PLIH p.23). In stanza 34 Llywarch is represented as saying that Rhun, presumably Rhun ab Urien, had given him a cantref and a hundred oxen. There seems to have been much internecine warfare after the death of Urien. Brân ab Ymellyrn and a certain Morgan [see Morgan Fwlch ap Cyngar] seem to have waged war on Llywarch:

Brân ab Ymellyrn planned  
to exile me, and burn my houses (lit. 'ovens'):  
A wolf howling at the door! (?).

Morgan and his men planned  
to exile me and burn my lands:  
A mouse scratching at a cliff!

(CLIH III.40, 41). Finally the court of Urien became a scene of desolation. Llywarch, now an old man still survived and is found regretting and bewailing further on in the same poem (PLIH p.25).

Llywarch Hen and his family were reduced to a state of semi-poverty. Many of his sons had been slain and he was subsisting on acorns as a cowherd, when he was met by a friend who recognized him. This friend advised Llywarch to migrate to Llanfor near Bala on the Dee in Penllyn (CLIH V, PLIH pp.26-27). Llywarch, with his wife and surviving sons came to the neighbourhood of Chirk on the Dee. Six sons at least seem to have come to Powys - Mechydd, Sawyl, Gwell, Pyll or Pill, Maen and Gwên. See the various names. They were all slain, however, in wars and combats, and probably Llywarch's wife died before him. After this it may be supposed that he moved further up the Dee to Llanfor. He is left a lonely old man, sick and sorrowful with nothing to look forward to but death. His lamentations in this unhappy state are described in twenty-one stanzas (CLIH II, PLIH pp.14-15).

In five consecutive stanzas (CLIH I.24-28) Llywarch says that he had twenty-four sons; Gwên was the best (I.24, 25), the others were mere striplings (26),

- 27      Four and twenty sons in Llywarch's household  
          Of brave fierce warriors.  
          Too great fame is bad.
- 28      Four and twenty sons, the offspring of my body,  
          By my tongue they have been slain.  
          A little [fame] is good. They have been lost!

The significance of the last six lines is that Llywarch in his old age was too proud of his sons and the fame which they brought him. He encouraged them to fight, and his tongue uttered boastful words. As a result they were all killed (Ifor Williams, *Lectures in Early Welsh Poetry*, 1944, p.41).

Besides the six sons already named the following are mentioned in the poems: Ceny, Cynddilig (Dilig), Dwg or Dwywg, Heilin, Llawr, Llifer, Llorien, Llygedwy (Llynghedwy), Madog, Medel, Rhudd, Sandde, Selyf. (See the names). That makes nineteen sons. The 'Hanesyn Hen' tract gives a list which includes all the above and adds Cynllug, Deigr, Gorwynion, Llewenydd (or Llywenydd), Nefydd, and a daughter, Rhiell (ByA §5 in EWGT p.86). These make up the twenty-four sons. However, other sons are mentioned: Ceneu in the *Gododdin* (CA Stanza 49), and Ysgwn, the father of St.Buan, in Bonedd y

Saint (§17 in EWGT p.57). Later versions of the 'Hanesyn Hen' tract give Ceneu and add further, Cynddyllan, Cynfarch, Gredwal, Gwawr (map claf), Rheged and Talan. Of these only Talan's name appears in the extant poetry (CLIH I.45 = VIII.12), and he is not distinctly called a son of Llywarch.

There are twelve stanzas in the Black Book of Carmarthen which purport to give the names of the sons of Llywarch Hen (CLIH VIII), drawn from various sources (CLIH p.lix). Of these, six are drawn from the extant poetry and two seem to be mistakenly included, namely VIII.2 and 3:

The best three men in their country  
who defended their dwelling,  
Eithir and Erthir and Argad.

Three sons of Llywarch, three reckless in battle,  
three grim champions,  
Llew and Araw[n] and Urien.

The first three names are not known from any other source and are not said to be sons of Llywarch. The second stanza gives three names which are elsewhere said to be those of sons of Cynfarch ap Meirchion. Cynfarch could be substituted for Llywarch in the stanza. See s.n. Arawn ap Cynfarch.

In Llanstephan MS.187 (c.1634) p.227 the following additional sons appear: Mabon, Alarch, Briw 'unde Trefriw', and Brwyn 'unde Moel Trefrwyn apud Garthgarmon'. Similarly Cardiff MS.4.22 (1716) pp.57-58. Lewys Dwnn (ii.104) mentions four additional daughters: Ceindeg, Ceinfron, Gwladus and Rhagaw. See EWGT p.149.

A triad (TYP no.8) mentions him as one of the 'Three Prostrate Chieftains' of Ynys Prydain, and in another triad (TYP no.65) he is one of the 'Three Unrestricted Guests' of Arthur's Court, and one of the 'Three Wanderers'. A late triad (TYP App.IV.8) calls him one of the 'Three Counsellor Knights' in Arthur's Court. The association with Arthur is an anachronism. A proverb is attributed to Llywarch Hen in 'Englynion y Clyweid' in Llanstephan MS. 27, where he is called 'Llywarch, the intrepid and brave old man' (No.34 edited in BCS 3 (1926) p.12).

Local legends associate Llywarch with Rhiwedog near Llanfor. There is to this day a circle of stones near Llanfor on the banks of the Dee, known as *Pabell Llywarch Hen*, 'the Tent of Llywarch Hen'. See PLIH p.27 and references there; CLIH pp.lxxxix-xc. See also CLIH pp.xxx-xxxi.

Clawdd Llywarch Hen is mentioned in the Book of Llandaf (BLD 146) as a place near Llangors in Brycheiniog (PLIH p.31). There is a tradition that Caerlaverock Castle was founded by a son of Llywarch Hen (*Cambrian Quarterly*, IV (1832), p.366). It is now a ruin at Caerlaverock, a parish in Dumfriesshire, 5½ miles south-east of Dumfries, on the Solway Firth (grid ref. NY 0265). Egerton Phillimore regarded it as certain that the place took its name from Llywarch, i.e. Caer Llywarch (OP II.209).

The supposed association of Llywarch Hen with Dolguog near Machynlleth is due to a poem, *Englynion mab claf*, 'Stanzas of the Son of the Sick Man', which was thought to refer to Llywarch Hen, and has allusions to a place called Aber Cuawc. In a later version the title was changed to *Englynion Mabclaf ap Llywarch i'r Gôg*, thereby inventing a new son for Llywarch named Mabclaf. See CLIH VI, and pp.lvi, 162. See also Gwawr (ap Llywarch Hen).

See further TYP pp.430-3.

**LLYWEL**, companion of Teilo(?).

The saint of Llanllywel in Gwent (PW 81). In 1254 it was called *Lanlouel* and in the 14th century additions to the BLD (p.321). But in the 16th century it was called Llanhowel (Peniarth MS.147 (c.1566), RWM i.920). See LBS III.387.

He is also supposed to be the saint of Llywel, Brycheiniog (PW 37), although this does not always seem to have been recognized. The poet Gwynfardd Brycheiniog (fl.c.1180) in his poem *Canu y Dewi* included the church as one of those 'owned' by David (LBS III.387, PW 37 n.1). In the thirteenth century it was called *Ecclesia Trium Sanctorum de Luel* (LBS III.387). According to Nicholas Carlisle,

*A Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, 1811, the church was dedicated to SS.David, Padarn and Teilo. Rice Rees gives it as dedicated to David, Teilo and Llywel (*Welsh Saints*, 1836, pp.253, 326).

The Life of Teilo in the Book of Llandaf mentions *Iuhil* as a former disciple of Dubricius who joined Teilo (BLD 115). But he is not listed elsewhere as a disciple of Dubricius. *Iouil* or *Iouguil* was sent by Teilo to the court of Aergol Lawhir (q.v.) and two charters were the result, which he witnessed (BLD 125-7). Initial I and L are often confused in this manuscript and it is supposed that the correct spelling should be *Luhil*, *Louil*, *Louguil*, modern Llywel (LBS III.387). But G.H.Doble retains the 'I' (*Saint Teilo*, 1942, p.27).

**LLYWELYN**, father of Ieuan Gwas Padrig (q.v.).

**LLYWELYN**, fictitious father of Macsen Wledig.

Geoffrey of Monmouth says that while Constantine the Great was establishing himself as emperor he took along with him Leolinus [Llywelyn], Trahern [Trahaearn] and Marius [Meurig], three uncles of his mother Helena, and made them senators (HRB V.8). He makes the emperor Maximus (whom he wrongly calls Maximian) son of Leolinus (HRB V.9), although Maximus was actually a native of Spain. See Macsen Wledig.

As uncles of Helena, the three brothers were taken by the genealogists to be brothers of Coel, duke of Colchester. Then they confused this Coel with Coel Godebog of the North who was son of Tegfan ap Deheuwaint, and deduced that Llywelyn was the son of Tegfan, etc. (E.g. Harleian MS.2414 fo.59v (c.1600), *Llyfr Baglan* (c.1600), ed. Joseph Alfred Bradney, p.81).

**LLYWELYN o'r TRALLWNG.** (850)

The saint of Trallwng Llywelyn, that is, Welshpool (PW 110). He was father of St.Gwrnerth (ByS §35 in EWGT p.60). The earliest version of Llywelyn's ancestry (ByS §34 in EWGT p.59) make him son of Tegonwy ap Teon; later versions introduce Bleiddud ap Tegonwy, and the fullest version is given in Llanstephan MS.187 (c.1634) p.230, where Llywelyn is made the son of Einion ap Bleiddud ap Tegonwy, etc. Here his mother is said to have been a daughter of Rhodri Mawr, and Llywelyn is described as Rhodri's *penteulu*, 'leader of the household troops'. The latter genealogical details are consistent with the probable date of Tegonwy.

Llywelyn and his son Gwrnerth are commemorated together on April 7 (LBS I.71, III.389). See further s.n. Gwrnerth ap Llywelyn.

**LLYWELYN ap MERFYN.** (870)

Father of Angharad the supposed wife of Owain ap Hywel Dda (Gruffudd Hiraethog in Peniarth MS.135 p.331, and Peniarth MS.139 part 1 p.91). See note to JC 27 in EWGT p.141.

**LLYWELYN ap SEISYLL**, king of Deheubarth and Gwynedd (d.1023).

His mother was Prawst ferch Elise ab Anarawd ap Rhodri Mawr (ABT 7f in EWGT p.101). This is accepted by J.E.Lloyd (HW 347) in spite of the lateness of the authority. His wife was Angharad ferch Maredudd ab Owain ap Hywel Dda (ByT s.a. 1116, JC 27, ABT 7k in EWGT pp.47, 101). He was thus connected through his mother with the royal family of North Wales and through his wife with that of Deheubarth. His own energy and force of character did the rest: by his overthrow of Aeddan ap Blegywryd [in 1018] and his defeat of the Irish pretender Rhain at Abergwili in 1022, he obtained a commanding position in Wales, which, despite his brief enjoyment of it, was long remembered by his countrymen, and not only stimulated the ambition of his son, Gruffudd, but gave him a great initial advantage in the struggle for supreme power. He died in 1023 and in South Wales was succeeded by Rhydderch ap Iestyn (HW 347). In Gwynedd Iago ab Idwal ap Meurig gained power but died in 1039 and gave way to Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (HW 358).

**LLYWEN, ST.** See Llewenn.

**LLYWENYDD ap LLYWARCH HEN.** See Llewenydd.

**LLYWES.**

The saint of Llowes in Elfael, Radnorshire, jointly with Meilig (PW 43). The church is called *Lann Meilig ha Lyguess* (BLD 255) and *Podum Lluhess* (BLD 149). *Lyuhes in pago Elmail* in the Breton Life of Gildas (§2). His co-patron Meilig was a son of Caw. A.W.Wade-Evans called him Llowes and said that he also was a son of Caw (WCO 196), but there seems no authority for this. Llywes is the correct spelling (OP II.338). See further s.n. Meilig ap Caw.

**LLYWRI**, a builder. See the Life of St.Cadog §21.

**LLYWRI ap CYNAN CYLCHED.**

Genealogical link in the ancestry of Cydifor ap Gollwyn, patriarch of a tribe in Dyfed; father of Dei (ABT 18b in EWGT p.106).

**LOCINUS son of BRUTUS.** (Fictitious). (1091-1081 B.C.)

According to Geoffrey of Monmouth he was the eldest son of Brutus by Innogen. He received as his share the middle part of the island which was called after him Loegria [Lloegr]. He defeated Humber, king of the Huns, who had invaded Albania [Alban, Scotland] and had then advanced south. Humber was drowned in the river which received its name from him. Among the captives was a maiden of surpassing beauty named Estrildis [Esyllt], daughter of the king of Germany. She had been one of Humber's captives. Locrinus immediately fell in love with her, but he was engaged to Guendoloena [Gwendoleu], daughter of Corineus, and forced to marry the latter for fear of the wrath of Corineus. However, he retained his love for Estrildis, and secretly entertained her in apartments which he had made underground, pretending that he was performing secret sacrifices to his gods. This went on for seven years, and in the meantime Estrildis bore a daughter named Habren [Hafren]. At about the same time Guendoloena bore a son to Locrinus named Maddan [Madog] (HRB II.1-4).

When Corineus was dead Locrinus divorced Guendoloena and advanced Estrildis to be queen. Guendoloena, highly provoked, retired to Cornwall, assembled the forces of that kingdom, and made war on Locrinus. The armies joined battle near the river Stura [the Stour, between Dorset and Wiltshire], and Locrinus was killed there by a shot from an arrow. He had reigned ten years. Guendoloena undertook the government. She commanded Estrildis and Habren to be thrown into the river which she ordered should be called Habren [Hafren] after the daughter. By corruption the name became Sabrina (Severn). Guendoloena reigned fifteen years and was succeeded by her son Maddan (HRB II.5-6).

Brut y Brenhinedd tells the same story, using the names in [ ].

Thomas Pennant suspected that Dolforwyn (grid ref. SO 1695) on the Severn in the parish of Betws Cedewain got its name from its being the supposed place where Estrildis and Sabrina were drowned (*Tours in Wales*, ed. John Rhys, 1883, III.175-6).

The name Guendoloena would have been expected to become Gwendolen or Gwenddolen in ByB, but it is generally Gwendoleu. It appears that Geoffrey found the name Gwendoleu [see Gwenddoleu] and was misled by its appearance into taking it for a female name. It thus happens that there is no Welsh equivalent for the English Gwendoline [or Gwendolen] (HW 527 n.161).

A manuscript is mentioned in Edward Lhuyd's *Parochialia* (III.99) where Locrinus is said to have had a concubine named Sŵs-wên, who had been wife to Humber. Locrinus is said to have built Caersŵs [in Llanwnnog, Arwystli] for Sŵs-wên. This is a variant of the Estrildis story as the continuation shows.

**LOHOT son of ARTHUR.** See Llacheu ab Arthur.

**LOTH.** (Fictitious).

A British king mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth as an elder contemporary of Arthur. He first appears as 'Loth of Lodonesia [Lodoneis] ... a most valiant soldier, mature in wisdom and age' to whom Uther in his last illness entrusted the British army in its wars against the Saxons, Octa and Eosa. He was married to Anna daughter of Uther (HRB VIII.21). He was brother to Urianus [Urien], king of Mureif [Rheged], and to Auguselus [Arawn], king of the Scots. Arthur, after his victories in Scotland, restored the three brothers to their respective kingdoms. By Anna, the sister of Arthur, Loth was the father of Gualgvanus [Gwalchmai] and Modred [Medrod] (HRB IX.9).

Loth was the nephew of Sichelinus (or Sichelmus), king of the Norwegians [of Llychlyn], who had appointed Loth to succeed him on his death. But when Sichelin died the Norwegians refused to accept Loth and advanced Riculfus to the sovereignty instead. Thereupon Arthur conquered Norway and Dacia [Denmarc] and established Loth upon the Norwegian throne (IX.11). Loth is mentioned again as king of Norway, who came to Arthur's special coronation (IX.12).

The authors of *Brut y Brenhinedd* consistently mis-name Geoffrey's Loth 'Llew ap Cynfarch', who, like Urien, could not have been a contemporary of Arthur. See s.n. Llew ap Cynfarch. Other corresponding names in the *Brut* are shown in [ ].

Loth was evidently intended to be the eponym of Lothian, which is elsewhere apparently represented by *Lleuddun Luyddog* (q.v.). See TYP p.422. But the authors of the *Brut* did not recognize the fact.

## ARTHURIAN ROMANCE

Chrétien de Troyes mentions him only as a name, king Lot, in *Erec et Enide*, and as father of Gawain in *Yvain*. In the 'Vulgate' Merlin and Merlin-continuation he is described as Loth or Lot, king of Orcanie. His wife, the sister of Arthur, is variously named in these romances. See s.n. Morgen. In the 'Estoire' of the 'Vulgate' cycle he is given a pedigree which makes him son of Hector, a descendant of Pierre, who was a kinsman of Joseph of Arimathea (Sommer I.280). The genealogy was copied by John of Glastonbury in *Historia de Rebus Glastoniensibus*, ed. Thomas Hearne, 1726, pp.56 and 73.

## SCOTTISH FICTIONS

John Fordun in his *Scotichronicon* (c.1385), III.24, said that Loth, lord of Laudonia, was descended from Fulgentius. This Fulgentius is mentioned in II.31, evidently copying HRB V.2. See s.n. Sulien (1). Later Fordun (III.25) accused Geoffrey of Monmouth of inconsistency in making Loth's wife Anna to be a sister of Aurelius Ambrosius [not Arthur], while he describes Gualgvanus and Modred, sons of Loth, as Arthur's nephews (HRB X.4, X.2); but Fordun misinterpreted *sororem ipsius* in HRB IX.9, where 'ipsius' refers to Arthur not Aurelius Ambrosius.

Hector Boece made the same mistake in his *Scotorum Historia* (1527). He called Lothus a king of the Picts, who married Anna, a sister of Aurelius Ambrosius, by whom he was the father of Modred, Valuane [Gawain], and Thametes or Thenew (IX.5). Thenew became the mother of St.Mungo [i.e. Kentigern] (IX.13). By this, Boece is seen to be identifying Loth with *Lleuddun Luyddog*, whose daughter Denw was the mother of Kentigern according to *Bonedd y Saint*. John Major had anticipated Boece in this respect (*Historia Maioris Britanniae*, 1521, fos.28v-29).

**LOUDOGU.** See *Lleuddogw* (or *Lleuddow*).

**LUCIA, ST.** See *Lleucu*.

**LUCIUS,** fictitious king of Britain. (A.D.165-208 PCB)

The earliest trace of Lucius as a king of Britain appears in an extract from the *Liber Pontificalis* (known as the *Catalogus Felicianus*) drawn up between A.D.483 and 492 in which a letter is mentioned from Lucius of Britain to pope Eleutherius. Under Eleutherius it says:

*Hic accepit epistolam a Lucio Britannio rege ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum.*

(LBS III.353). It seems to have been clearly proved by Dr.Harnach (*Sitzungsberichte d. k. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 19 Mai 1904) that this was a blunder caused by a confusion between the local names Britannia and Britium, for the letter from Lucius to pope Eleutherius seems genuine, but Lucius ruled in Edessa, not in Britain, and Birtha (Britium) was his citadel. His full name was Lucius Aelius Septimius Megas Abgarus IX, king of Britium of the Edessenes, A.D.174-9. See also *The English Historical Review*, xxii (1907), pp.767-70, OP II.670, LBS III.360, Oman pp.177-8, HW 103). The mention in the *Catalogus Felicianus* looks like a late interpolation, as the earliest extant manuscript is of the ninth century (LBS III.353-4). The story appears again more fully in the *Liber Pontificalis* about A.D.685 (LBS III.356-7).

The story was unknown to Bede when he wrote his 'De Temporibus' in 702. Not until 725 when he wrote his 'Chronicle' does Bede show knowledge of it. He wrote:

A.161-180. M. Antoninus Verus [Marcus Aurelius] with his brother Aurelius Commodus [Lucius Verus], for ten years and one month. ... His brother Commodus being dead, he made Antoninus Commodus his son co-regent of the kingdom. ... Lucius king of Britannia sent a letter to Eleutherus bishop of Rome asking that he might be made a Christian.

(LBS III.352). Lucius Verus died in 169, so that the implied date of the supposed letter is between A.D.169 and 180. Eleutherius was bishop of Rome from 174/5 to 192. This narrows down the date of the letter to the period 175-180 (LBS III.352). Later in 731 when Bede wrote his 'Ecclesiastical History' he entered (I.4):

In the year from our Lord's incarnation 156, Marcus Antoninus Verus ... was made emperor, together with his brother, Aurelius Commodus. In their time whilst Eleutherius, a holy man, presided over the Roman church, Lucius, king of the Britons, sent a letter entreating that by his command he might be made a Christian. He soon obtained his pious request, and the Britons preserved the faith which they had received, uncorrupted and entire, in peace and tranquility until the time of the emperor Diocletian.

Again in his chronological summary at the end of his history he wrote (V.24):

In the year from the incarnation of our Lord, 167, Eleutherius, being made bishop of Rome, governed the church most gloriously fifteen years. Lucius king of Britain, writing to him, requested to be made a Christian, and succeeded in obtaining his request.

Note the discrepancy in date which is explained in LBS III.353.

This was copied in the *Historia Brittonum* (§22):

After one hundred and sixty-seven years from the advent of Christ, Lucius, the British king, with all the rulers of the whole of the British race, received baptism, an embassy having been sent by the emperor of the Romans and by the Roman pope Eucharistus (so H, but Evaristus M, Eleutherius CGLQ and Lebor Bretnach).

There is a gloss in C and L as follows:

*Lucius, agnomine Leuer-maur, id est, 'magni splendoris', propter fidem que in eius tempore venit* (Mommsen, p.164, l.23, n.6).

On this name see s.n. Lleufer Mawr.

Between the years 1125 and 1130 the Chapter of St.Andrew and St.David (at Menevia) addressed an extraordinary letter to pope Honorius II, asserting that their church had been the seat of an

archbishop since the first beginnings of Christianity in Britain, i.e. the days of pope Eleutherius, who had sent to king Lucius the preachers *Fagan* and *Duvian* and founded three archbishoprics and 27 bishoprics in the kingdom. (The only source of this letter is Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Invectionibus*, II.10, ed. W.S.Davies, in *Cy.* 30 (1920) pp.143-6). (This is not in the Rolls edition, No.21 Vol.3). It seems to be the first to mention Fagan and Duvian. Giraldus wrote *De Invectionibus* in about 1203. (Christopher Brooke in *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. Nora K.Chadwick, 1958, pp.207-8).

Geoffrey of Monmouth began to clothe the bare legend with detail in his *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c.1136). We are told that Coillus [Coel] had but one son, Lucius [Lles], who obtained the crown after his father's death, and imitated all his acts of goodness. He sent letters to pope Eleutherius, desiring to be instructed by him in the Christian religion, and obtained the accomplishment of his pious request. For the pope sent him two most religious doctors, Faganus [Ffagan] and Duvianus [Dwywan], who preached the Word of God, and baptized him. Then people from all countries assembled together and followed the king's example. The holy doctors, having almost extinguished paganism over the whole island, dedicated the temples, that had been founded in honour of many gods, to the one only God and his saints. The twenty-eight pagan flamens were replaced by twenty-eight bishops, and the three archflamens were replaced by three archbishops at London, York and Caerleon [Caerllion ar Wysg] (HRB IV.19). Lucius permitted the possessions and territories which formerly belonged to the temples to be appropriated to Christian churches, and gave them all kinds of privileges. He died in Gloucester and was buried there in the cathedral church in the year 156. He had no issue to succeed him (HRB V.1).

Brut y Brenhinedd tells much the same story, but omits mention of the 'flamens and archflamens'. Corresponding names are shown in [ ].

At about the same time (c.1150) the compilers of the Book of Llandaf produced a somewhat different story (BLD 68):

In the year of our Lord 156 *Lucius Britannorum rex* sent his ambassadors *Eluanus* and *Meduwinus* to Eleutherius ... imploring that he might be made a Christian, according to his admonition; to which request he acceded; for giving thanks to God that the nation, which from the first inhabiting by Brutus had been heathens, so ardently desired to embrace the faith of Christ, he, with the advice of the elders of the Roman city, was pleased to cause the ambassadors to be baptized. On their embracing the Catholic faith, Eluanus was ordained a bishop, and Meduwinus a doctor. Through their eloquence and the knowledge which they had acquired in the holy scriptures, they returned as preachers to Lucius in Britain. By their holy preaching Lucius and the nobles of all Britain received baptism.

See further s.nn. Elfan and Medwin.

It is noteworthy that this is the first introduction of Christianity to Britain known to Geoffrey of Monmouth or to the compilers of the Book of Llandaf. Soon after they wrote, however, legends were beginning to grow concerning earlier preachings of the Gospel. As a result it was said that the request by Lucius to pope Eleutherius was rather to revive the faith than to introduce it for the first time. See s.n. Joseph of Arimathea.

#### FURTHER FICTIONS

Many details were added later to the fable. John Stow said that the Church of St.Peter, Cornhill, London, was founded by Lucius, and he mentions a 'table' in that church testifying to this. He also said that according to Jocelyn of Furness the church of St.Peter, Cornhill, was built by Thean, first archbishop of London, with the aid of Ciran, chief butler to king Lucius (*The Annales of England*, 1600 edition, p.37). Francis Godwin called the chief butler Cyranus (*De Praesulibus*, 1616, p.226).

Another fable became attached to Lucius, by mis-identification with a legendary saint Lucius of Chur or Coire in Switzerland. The earliest 'Life' (8-9th cent.) is edited in MGH *Hist.Rerum Merovingicarum*, III.1-7. See outline in LBS III.358-9. He is there said to have been a pagan king of



Britain, converted by Timothy, disciple of St.Paul. Migrated to Gaul and then to Chur. Later accounts say that he died there on December 3. Finally he is said to have been martyred there. See LBS III.359. When he was identified with the British king Lucius of Bede, his conversion by Timothy had to be dropped.

John Bale (*Scriptorum ... Catalogus*, 1557, p.23) said that Lucius, king of Britain, was accompanied by his sister Emerita. They were both killed near Curia [Chur] and were commemorated on December 3 and 4 respectively. See James Usher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, 1687, Chapters 3 and 6; Hugh Cressy, *Church History*, 1668, pp.67-70. On Emerita see also Thomas Dempster, *Hist.Eccles. Gentis Scotorum*, 1627, no.482 = p.261.

A unique pedigree in Peniarth MS.128 (late 16th century), p.61, pretends that Coel of Colchester (who is mis-identified with Coel Godebog) had a claim to the crown of Lloegr through Emerita. 'Namely Coel ap Tegfan ap Dehevraint [Deheuwaunt] ab Emerita ferch Coel ap Meurig, sister and heiress of Lles, king of Britain.' The implication is that Emerita was the wife of Telpwyll (q.v.). This is a *tour de force* without any merit (PCB).

Iolo Morganwg introduced a further layer of fiction by re-naming Lucius as Lleurwg or Lleurwg and giving him a new pedigree, making him son of Coel ap Cyllin (q.v.) ap Caradog ap Brân (e.g. Iolo MSS p.115).

**LUD son of HELI.** See Lludd ap Beli Mawr.

**LUDGVAN, ST.**

The patron saint of Ludgvan, near Penzance, Cornwall. The name appears as Ludewan (1324, 1330), Ludwanus (1312, 1318), Ludowannus (1382), Ludvonus (1382). His commemoration is on the Sunday nearest to January 25 (LBS III.363).

"There are various forms of this name, such as Ludewon and that commonly used today, Lewdegran." (Catherine Rachel John, *The Saints of Cornwall*, 1981, p.43).

**LUIP ap GLYWYS.** (470)

One of the sons of Glywys according to the slightly corrupt list in Jesus College MS.20 (JC 5 in EWGT p.44). He is probably the same as *Luiper* who appears as a witness, *de genere Cadoci*, to an Agreement of Refuge attached to the Life of St.Cadog (§70) made by Cadog with Rhain ap Brychan, his maternal uncle. Other witnesses were Edelig, Seru, and Pawl, who were sons of Glywys and therefore paternal uncles of Cadog.

**LUNAIRE, ST.** See Leonorius.

**LUNBERTH**, bishop of Mynyw, (d.943).

He became bishop in 875 (ByT) and died in 943 (AC, ByT). He is mentioned in the Book of Llandaf as a contemporary of bishop Llibio and Tewdwr ab Elise, king of Brycheiniog (BLD 238-9). Some manuscripts of the Laws of Hywel Dda tell a fictitious story of three bishops going with Hywel to Rome [in 929] namely Lambert, bishop of Menevia, Mordav [see Morlais], bishop of Bangor, and Cebur [Cebwr], bishop of Llanelwy (Aneurin Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 1841, I.342-3). See John Rhys and David Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, 1923, p.183; HW 335 n.55).

**LUNED.** (Arthurian Romance).

She appears in the Romance of 'Yvain' by Chrétien de Troyes. Here she is called Lunete and the story goes that she befriended Yvain and gave him a ring such that when the stone of the ring was held inside the palm of the hand it had the property of making the wearer invisible. Later we find her as the *amie* of Gawain, and in one passage this is described as an acquaintance between the sun and the moon (ll.2398-2403). The same story occurs in the Welsh Romance of 'Owain and Luned' (RM 173-8), but not her acquaintance with Gawain [Gwalchmai]. The association of Lunete with Gawain seems to be

reflected in the Romance of Gareth which is found only in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, Book VII. Here Gaharyes being a brother, or, in effect, a double of Gawain, is married to Lynet (VII.35). See R.S.Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, 1927, p.84.

The stone (*maen*) and ring (*modrwy*) of Luned or Eluned are included in some lists of the 'Thirteen Treasures of Britain'. See *Llên Cymru*, V (1958) pp.33 f; *Études Celtiques*, X (1963) p.475). See further s.n. Brân Galed.

In a cywydd by Dafydd ap Gwilym she is called Eluned. See *Gwyneddion* 3, p.79, l.5. A marginal note says: *Eluned cariad Owain ap Vrien*.

**LUPUS.** See Bleiddan.

**LYDE, ST.** See Elidius, Ide.

**LYTHAN, ST.** See Bleiddan, Eliddon.