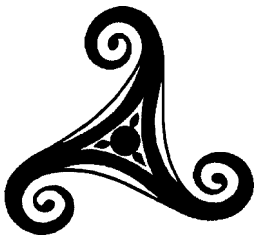
John Cowper Powys: *Owen Glendower*
A Reader's Companion

W. J. Keith



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Preface

The aim of this list is to provide background information that will enrich a reading of Powys's complex and rewarding novel-romance. It glosses biblical, literary and other allusions, identifies quotations, explains historical and geographical references, translates foreign phrases (including those from Welsh), and offers any commentary that may throw light on the more complex aspects of the text.

Owen Glendower was first published in the United States by Simon and Schuster in 1941 and in the United Kingdom by John Lane the Bodley Head in 1942 (despite the official 1940 and 1941 publishing dates). These and subsequent twentieth-century editions employ the same pagination. However, recent reprintings in the UK (Charlbury, Oxford: Walcot Books, 2002) and in the US (New York: Overlook, 2003) share a different pagination. Page-references here are first to the twentieth-century editions, with those to the twenty-first-century reprints following in square brackets. I usually offer page-references only to the first appearance of a word or phrase, but all references to literary and highly significant figures are given.

Because the Welsh in the fifteenth century did not employ surnames, all references to Welsh characters will be found under their first names. For other nationalities, the normal procedures are followed. When any quotation is involved, the passage is listed under the first word, even if it is "a" or "the." French names beginning with "de" are listed alphabetically under "de." When the texts differ slightly in form (e.g., italics or no italics), I have followed the first edition in my alphabetical entries.

In the interests of concision, the "Works Cited" does not contain references to JCP's writings published during his lifetime. References to these are all to the first editions with the following exceptions: *Wolf Solent* (London: Macdonald, 1961), *Weymouth Sands* (London: Macdonald, 1963), *Maiden Castle* (ed. Ian Hughes, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1990), and *Porius* (ed. Wilbur T. Albrecht, Hamilton, NY: Colgate University Press, 1994). In the case of *A Glastonbury Romance*, references to the 1955 Macdonald edition follow those to the first edition in square brackets.

I am particularly indebted to Professor David Klausner, University of Toronto, who checked my Welsh and medieval Latin references (though any remaining errors are my responsibility). I have gratefully incorporated a considerable number of his useful and additional notes into my text. Many thanks also to Jacqueline and Max Peltier for transferring my script to the Powys web-sites, and for general advice and encouragement.

Any additions or corrections will be welcomed.

W. J. K.

A

à la guerre comme à la guerre (215 [177]) — One must suit himself to the times. Literally, "In war as in war".

"**A lion's gamb and a deer's heart**" (266 [219]) — Not identified. A "gamb" is the leg of a heraldic animal.

a swch y taryan y vynyd yn arwyd tangneved (644 [527]) — Translation (from the Welsh) precedes text. The reference is to the opening of "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*.

"A vo pen bit pont" (258 [212]) — Translated from the Welsh in text. From "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*. The original Welsh reads "A uo penn bit pont," and is partly corrected in the modern reprints.

A weleist darogan dofydd? ... Ef kynnullwys! (916 [750]) — Translated from the Welsh in text. From a poem once attributed to Taliesin (q.v.).

Aaron (671 [549]) — Brother of Moses. The reference may involve his participation in the worship of the golden calf (Exodus 32), but is not altogether clear.

Abbey (9 [8]) — Valle Crucis (q.v.).

Abbot of Caerleon (511 [420]) — See "John ap Hywel."

Aber (103 [85]) — On the north coast of Wales close to the boundaries of Gwynedd and Conwy. See also "Lewis of Aber."

Aberfraw (650 [532]) — An error for Aberffraw, a settlement in Anglesey, prominent in "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*.

Abergavenny (560 [459]) — Town in south Wales in Monmouthshire.

Aber-Menai (486 [399]) — The Menai Strait separating Anglesey from the Welsh mainland.

Aberystwyth (616 [504]) — Town on the west coast of central Wales in Ceredigion (Cardiganshire). Its castle was captured by Glendower in the summer of 1404 (Lloyd 81).

Abraham 632 [517]) — The biblical patriarch (originally Abram); see Genesis 12.

"**according to Fate**" (910 [745]) — A standard phrase in Homer, especially in the *Iliad*.

Achilles sulking in his tent (820 [672]) — In Homer's *Iliad*, Achilles withdrew to his tent after a row with Agamemnon (Book 1). JCP may have in mind the line "Achilles ponders in his tent" in Matthew Arnold's poem "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse" (l.115).

Ad dandam ... pacis (600 [491]) — The Latin version of Luke 1:77-79.

Adam of Dinas Bran (397 [326]) — Adda ap Leurig (q.v.).

Adda ap Leurig ap Coel (264 [217]) — Fictional. Nicknamed "The Crow." Adda is the Welsh form of Adam (see 493 [405]).

adder-'nointed (381 [314]) — Anointed with the venom of adders (dialect).

"**adding field to field and house to house**" (545 [447]) — Isaiah 5:8.

Adventures of Sir Percival ... (519 [426] — One of the numerous Grail romances popular at this time.

Aegean Sea (652 [533]) — Between Greece and Turkey.

alarums and excursions (436 [359]) — Standard stage-directions in Shakespeare's battle-scenes.

Albertus Magnus (179 [148]) — German philosopher and scientist (c.1206-80), teacher of Aquinas, regarded as one of the greatest scholars of the Middle Ages. He later makes an appearance as Albert of Cologne in *The Brazen Head*.

Alexandrine Fathers (368) — Priests from Alexandria noted for religious disputation. Father Pascentius is discussing the Arian heresy, and Arius was a priest of Alexandria. This passage is omitted from the reprints.

Alfred, King (111 [91]) — King of the West Saxons, 871-99, known as Alfred the Great. He fought against the invading Vikings and succeeded in expelling them from Wessex and containing them in the Danelaw.

Alice [of Ruthin] (173 [143]) — Historical figure, later wife of Walter Brut, though her life as related here is fictional. Charles Lock (78) considers the line "an allusion (rather a loud one) to Lewis Carroll" and *Alice in Wonderland*.

all Nature shares it (454 [374]) — Presumably a reference to Romans 8:22.

all the perfumes of Arabia (163 [135]) — An apparent echo of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (V i 54-55). Also quoted in *Confessions of Two Brothers* (79).

alluring figure (179 [148]) — A favourite JCP phrase, used in *Wood and* Stone (35), *The Brazen Head* (60), and especially *Maiden Castle* (23, etc.).

amort (600 [491]) — Spiritless, lifeless (archaic).

an (376 [309]) — If (dialect usage).

ancient general ... standing on one leg (814 [667]) — This reference may be to Sol, said in "Culhwch and Olwen" (an ancient Welsh text translated by Lady Charlotte Guest to accompany the *Mabinogion*) to be able "to stand all day on one foot," also alluded to in *Porius* (536). Cf. also a possible reference in *Wolf Solent* (242).

Ancient of Days (295 [244]) — This phrase, also quoted in *Weymouth Sands* (567) and *Letters to Henry Miller* (28), occurs not in the Book of Revelation but in Daniel 7:9, though there is a similar phrase about white wool in Revelation (1:14).

ancient people (883 [723]) — The "forest-people" as presented in *Porius*.

"And many are called but few are chosen" (841 [689]) — Matthew 22:14.

"And that's true too" (724 [592]) — An apparent echo of Shakespeare's *King Lear* (V ii 12), the last words of Gloster.

"And there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth" (507 [416]; see also 841 [689]) — Matthew 13: 42. Misquoted in *Porius* (134) and used several times in *The Pleasures of Literature*.

"And they did not any of them know ... in the White Mount" (276 [227-28]) — From the close of "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*, in Lady Charlotte Guest's translation. The stronghold in question is Gwales (probably Grassholm) in Penfro (Pembroke).

Aneirin/Aneurin (157, 521 [129, 427]) — A sixth-century Welsh poet who apparently lived in or near Edinburgh. He is best known for the *Gododdin*, a long poem celebrating a British group of raiders from what is now southeast Scotland who attacked and were destroyed by the Saxons at the Battle of Catraeth (probably Catterick in Yorkshire), referred to at 492 [404]). NB: Both spellings occur, but "Aneirin" is now standard.

Angelic Doctors (466 [383]) — St. Thomas Aquinas (q.v.) was known as the Angelic Doctor.

Angelus (478 [393]) — In Catholic religious practice, a devotion in memory of the Annunciation.

Angevin (256 [211]) — Relating to Angers in Anjou, especially to the Plantagenet royal house.

Anglesea (436 [358]) — An early form of Anglesey, an island off the coast of northwest Wales, known as a home of the Druids in ancient times.

Annan (254 [209]) — Small town in Dumfries in southern Scotland.

Annwn (53 [44]) — The Celtic underworld or Hades–but also "the world that *is not*–and yet was and shall be" (890 [729]). The story of Gwydion obtaining the pigs of Annwn (880 [721]) is told in "Math Son of Mathonwy," the fourth story in the *Mabinogion*. The "harrowing of Annwn" (934 [764]) refers to the ancient Welsh poem called *Preiddau Annwn*, usually translated as "The Spoils of Annwn." "Lords of Annwn" (889 [728]) apparently refers to the aboriginal Welsh.

Anselm (369 [304]) — Saint Anselm (1033-1109), scholar and churchman appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by William II. He was greatly influenced by Saint Augustine.

apparition (904 [740]) — The incident in which Glendower appears supernaturally to the two Rhisiarts seems to be based on a power that may have been possessed by JCP himself. A story of his appearance to Theodore Dreiser in New York while JCP was thirty miles away was told in Woodward (65-7), unfortunately a somewhat untrustworthy source, and quoted by G. Wilson Knight in *The Saturnian Quest* (128). A similar appearance, however, was reported by JCP's nephew, Peter Powys Grey; see Batten (21).

Aquinas, Thomas — See "St. Thomas."

Archdeacon of Bangor — See "Ignotus, Father."

Ardudwy (103 [85]) — The area around Harlech in Gwynedd.

Arglwydd (68 [56]), **Arglwyddes** (92 [76]) — Lord, Lady (Welsh). "The Arglwyddes" is the phrase invariably used of Glendower's wife. Her maiden name was Margaret Hanmer. She was captured and taken to London in 1404 (Lloyd 137).

Argument (vii-xx US, 939-54 UK) — This essay resulted from a request for an "article of 3 or 4 pages" by Simon and Schuster in April 1940 ("Letters to Casey" 175). It precedes the text in their edition, but is printed at the end of the book in the Bodley Head English edition. It is drastically shortened in the modern reprints, where it is retitled "Historical Background" (q.v.).

Arianrod (306 [252]) — A Welsh mythological figure, sister of Gwydion, whose story is told in "Math Son of Mathonwy," the fourth story in the *Mabinogion*. JCP follows Lady Charlotte Guest's spelling here and generally elsewhere. Subsequent scholars and translators use either "Arianrhod" (e.g., Sir John Rhys) or "Aranrhod" (e.g., Gwyn and Thomas Jones, and Patrick T. Ford, in their translations).

Arians (369 [304]) — A Christian group in the early Church claiming that God the Son was different in substance from God the Father. This was declared heretical at the Council of Nicaea in 325.

Aristotle (82, 275, 298, 466, 497, 524 [68, 227, 246, 383, 408, 439]) — Greek philosopher, an encyclopedic thinker best known, perhaps, for his *Metaphysics* and his *Poetics*. So, "Aristotelian" (283, 298 [234, 246]).

Ariuses (370 [304]) — People like Arius (c.280-336), a priest of Alexandria, who was the founder of Arianism (see "Arians").

Arleguini (191 [158]) — See "Blanco."

"Arracher la pointe ... aux blanches mains!" (799 [655]) — "Pull out the metal spear-head ... little hands ... pull out the spear-head–let me die–quickly, quickly–white hands!" (French).

Artemis (483 [396]) — The Greek goddess of chastity, the virgin huntress. So, "Artemisian" (323 [267]).

Arthur, King (111, 694, 822 & 823, 871, 912, 922, 934, 938 [91, 568, 674, 713, 747, 756, 764, 768]) — A generally mythical though possibly half-historical king who led a campaign against the Saxon invaders in the fifth to sixth centuries. He is a participant in JCP's later novel *Porius*. So, "Arthurian" (809 [664]).

Arundel, Archbishop (236 [194]) — A historical figure, mentioned in Lloyd (113).

Arundel, Earl of (6 [5]) — See "Fitz-Alan, Thomas."

Arwystli (610 [499]) — An area in Powys.

Assyrians (469 [385]) — The reference is to the failure of Sennacherib to capture Jerusalem; see 2 Kings 19.

"at a venture" (380 [313]) — 1 Kings 22:24 and 2 Chronicles 18:33.

Athanasius (234 [193]) — Saint Athanasius (c.293-372), theologian, campaigner against Arianism, and author of the Athanasian Creed. "*Athanasius Contra Mundum*" means literally "Athanasius against the World" (Latin). So, "Athanasian" (469 [385]).

Atlantis (916 [750]) — A legendary island in the Atlantic that is supposed to have sunk beneath the ocean. The Druids were often said to be survivors. The story is first told in Plato's *Critias*, and later JCP was to write a romance, *Atlantis*, in which Odysseus visits the underwater ruins on his voyage to the New World. Here and elsewhere, JCP is fond of the phrase "Lost Atlantis."

"attacks" (121, 126, 140, etc. [100, 104, 116, etc.]) — Glendower's attacks may be compared with varying states of trance in other JCP heroes, including Wolf Solent, Dud Noman in *Maiden Castle*, Nisos in *Atlantis*, and Porius. They are connected with JCP's interest in epilepsy (see Verbeek and Wood ["Queer Attacks"]) but are given a Welsh twist when interpreted as a way of "*escaping into his soul*" (*Obstinate Cymric* 17). Compare also Porius's "cavoseniargizing" in *Porius* (85).

"Au royaume des aveugles les borgnes sont rois!" (813 [666]) — Translation (from the French) precedes text. See "In the kingdom of the blind ..."

Audley (874 [716]) — Lord Audley, a historical figure; see Lloyd (131).

Auvergne (655 [526]) — An area of central France.

"Aux blanches mains ... pointe de lance" (798 [654]) — "White hands–white hands ... Hold! ... Disarm me! Unlace me! Pull it out! Let me die! For the love of God–that spear-point!" (French)

Auxerrois (810 [664]) — The region around Auxerre, a town in Burgundy. southeast of Paris,

"Ave [Maria] gratia ... ventris tui" (295 [244]) — "Hail [Mary] full of grace, the Lord be with you ... blessed art thou among women ... blessed the fruit of thy womb" (Latin). A prayer incorporating passages from Luke 1: 28 and 42.

Avignon (182 [150]) — City in southern France to which Pope Clement V transferred the papal court in 1309, and where it stayed until 1376, during the so-called "Babylonish Captivity." During the Western Schism (1378-1417), there were rival popes in Avignon and Rome. As JCP notes in his "Argument" (US xv-xvi, UK edition 947-48 ["Historical Background" 775]) the schism "reached its culmination" in 1409, when the College of Cardinals ended the scandal by electing a third pope." Glendower's attempts to establish links with the Avignon Papacy are historical.

awen (145 [120]) — Inspiration (Welsh).

B

baban (17 [15]) — Baby (Welsh).

bachgen (789 [646]) — Small boy (Welsh).

"badger in the bag" (422 [346]) — Meaning "at the mercy of enemies," this is a reference to a scene in "Pwyll Prince of Dyfed," the first story in the *Mabinogion*, in which Pwyll tricks Gwawl son of Clud. Apparently it was originally a rough game based on a method of capturing badgers. The reference here is complicated by the fact that "Brock" (Broch) is the Welsh word for "Badger."

Bangor (11 [10]) — A town in Gwynedd. A tomb in the Cathedral is sometimes said to be that of Glendower (see 871 [713]), but this is the result of a confusion with Owain ap Griffith ap Cynan (q.v.); see Lloyd (144 n3) and Henken (67).

banquet ... ***"Knives!"*** (346 [285]) — See "sinister old tale."

"bar sinister" (4 [4]) — The stigma of bastardy here is "doubled" with the stigma of treason.

bara brith (790 [647]) — Currant bread (Welsh).

Bardolf, Thomas, Lord (616 [504]) — A historical Glendower supporter, but Davies (122) sees him as a "broken reed" by the summer of 1405. He died in 1408 in battle in the north of England (Lloyd 134).

bare-headed into the church (73 [61]) — Traditionally, men had to remove their hats in church while women had to cover their heads. Tegolin, of course, is dressed as a boy page.

Baron of Glendourdy (8 [8]) — For the complicated process by which Glendower qualified as a Welsh baron, see Davies (133-34).

base-court (270, 686 [222, 562]) — An area on the lowest level of a castle. In addition, JCP may be echoing some well-known lines in Shakespeare's *Richard II* (III iii 180-81): "In the base court? Base court where kings grow base / To come at traitors' calls, and do them grace."

battle-fields of long ago (547 [448]) — Presumably an allusion to Wordsworth's "The Solitary Reaper" (l.20).

Battle-Song of Uther Pendragon (704 [576]) — See "Uther Pendragon."

"beat him like a dog" (736 [603]) — A phrase JCP claims to have derived from Harrison Ainsworth, the English historical novelist, and to have used to his brother Littleton at Preparatory School "if he allowed it, or God allowed it,

to rain" (*Autobiography* 133). Also used in *Porius* (607) and *The Dorset Year* (182).

"Beati pauperes spiritu" (167 [138]) — "Blessed are the pure in spirit," the Latin version of Matthew 5:3.

Beaufort, Lord (169 [140]) — King Henry IV's half-brother, Earl of Somerset.

Beaumaris [Castle] (616 [504]) — "Edward I's last great castle" (Allday 163) in Anglesey. The events recorded at 665 [544] are historical; see Lloyd (99).

Becket, Archbishop (514 [421]) — Thomas Becket (c.1118-70), Chancellor of England and Archbishop of Canterbury, murdered in Canterbury Cathedral.

Becket, John (233 [192]) — A historical figure, whose beliefs are quoted by JCP from Wylie (I 179).

Beelzebub (265 [218]) — A god worshipped by the Philistines (see 2 Kings 1:2, Ekron being a Philistine city). Traditionally, the name means "Lord of the Flies."

Behemoth (922 [765]) — A mythological beast mentioned in Job 40:15.

Bel and the Dragon (684 [560]) — See the fourteenth chapter of the Greek version of the Book of Daniel relegated to the Apocrypha. In it Daniel exposes the fraud of the priests of Baal (Bel).

Belisaire (810 [664]) — More commonly known as Belisarius (c.505-565), a general of the eastern Roman Empire.

"bell, book and candle" (219 [180]) — Images used in a formula for excommunication, introduced into the Catholic Church in the eighth century. There is a possible echo here of Shakespeare's *King John* (III iii 12).

"below the salt" (421 [346]) — At formal feasts, a silver salt-cellar was placed in the middle of the table. People with special distinction were placed above it, others below.

"belted earl" 509 [417]), **"belted knight"** (478 [393]) — A phrase originating from the fact that knights created earls were presented with a belt and spurs.

Benedict (192 [159]) — Benedict XIII, one of the Avignon Popes, elected in 1393 and ratified in 1409. He was deposed in 1417 at the end of the Western Schism, but continued to consider himself Pope until his death in 1422. The references at 636, 640, and 675 [520, 523, and 555] to Benedict the Eighth are errors obviously arising from a confusion of VIII and XIII. (Oddly enough, Davies makes the same mistake at 169.) For the terms of agreement proposed by Glendower for transfer of allegiance, see "points we've agreed on."

Berbers (920 [753]) — A North African tribe, part of the group known as Iberians who, JCP believed, were early ancestors of the Welsh. Much is later made of this possible (but now discredited) ancestry in *Porius*.

Bere (375 [309]) — Bere Regis is a Dorset village between Dorchester and Bournemouth, the Kingsbere of Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*.

Berkhampstead (618 [505]) — A town in Hertfordshire, northwest of London. Henry IV's lodge there is historical.

Beryns (12 [11]) — A range of hills to the south and southwest of Corwen and Llangollen.

"Between me and God" (410 [337]) — A favourite expression of JCP's Owen Glendower. It is also a translation of the traditional "*y rof i a Duw*" (see *Porius* 345), occurring frequently in "Pwyll Prince of Dyfed" and "Manawydan Son of Llyr," the first and third stories in the *Mabinogion*, and in "The Lady of the Fountain." The phrase does not appear in Lady Charlotte Guest's translation; she generally renders it as "by Heaven." Ellis and Lloyd employ it, but it may well be JCP's own translation.

Betws (732 [599]) — Oratory or chantry (Welsh).

Bevan, Prior (203 [167]) — Prior (later, Abbot) of Valle Crucis, fictional, though only listed as such in the first editions. However, the story of his meeting Glendower on a hillside above the Abbey (903-4 [774]) is based on a tradition recorded by Lloyd (1) and others of a chance meeting there between Glendower and a historical Abbot of Valle Crucis. See also Henken (72-74). Cf. Moore (221), who argues as a later historian that Glendower was "several hundred years too late."

bibliothécaire (654 [535]) — Librarian (French).

Birds of Rhiannon (349 [287]) — Mysterious, comforting birds in Welsh legend associated with Rhiannon, Bran, and Harlech. See the references in "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*, apparently referring to a now lost folk-tale.

Black Death (789 [646]) — The outbreak of plague which devastated England and Wales in 1349 is said to have killed at least a quarter of the population. See "Owen Glendower" for the problem of his possible birth in this year.

black flag (637 [521]) — This is historical; see Henken (62).

Black Prince (8 [7]) — Edward, Prince of Wales (1330-76), son of Edward III, famous for his dexterity in battle. Heir to the throne, he died before his father. Richard II was his son.

"Blanco! Neri! ... Punchinello! Arleguini!" (191 [158]) — "Blanco" is white in Italian, "Neri" black. Punchinello was a grotesque figure in an Italian puppet-show from which the English Mr. Punch appears to be descended. Arleguini is a form of Harlequin, another stock Italian figure who became transformed in English pantomime.

Blessed One (266 [219]) — Bran.

Blois (810 [664]) — A town in France on the Loire river, southwest of Paris.

bloody sweat (853 [699]) — An allusion to Luke 24:44, also cited in *A Glastonbury Romance* (255, 361, 639 [251, 352, 615]), *Maiden Castle* (103), and *Morwyn* (293).

Boadicea (694 [568]) — More correctly, Boudica, British Queen of the Iceni in the first century AD who rebelled against the Romans.

Boëthius (328 [271]) — Roman politician and philosopher (c.475-c.525), best known for his *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (*The Consolation of Philosophy*) written while in prison.

Bolingbroke, Hal (18 [16]) — King Henry IV. See "Henry Bolingbroke."

Bon[h]eddwr (95 [78]) — Small landowner (Welsh). NB: Misspelled at 95 in first editions, corrected in the modern reprints.

Boniface (192-93 [159]) — Boniface IV, Pope (at Rome) from 1389 to 1404.

Bonwm (210 [174]) — A "vill" close to Glyndyfrdwy (see Lloyd 9n). Cf. "a place pronounced 'Bonoom' like the voice of a booming bustard" (JCP in *Powys to Sea-Eagle* 160. He probably means "bittern"!).

Book of Revelation (12 [11]) — The last book in the New Testament and in the Christian Bible. For the reference at 295 [244], see under "Ancient of Days"; at 797 [654], the reference is to Revelation 14:1 concerning "a Lamb ... and with him an hundred forty and four thousand having the Father's name written in their foreheads." Later translations, including the Revised Standard Version and the Jerusalem Bible, read: "his name and his Father's name."

"botanizing on his mother's grave" (466 [383]) — See Wordsworth's "A Poet's Epitaph" (ll.19-20), also quoted in *After My Fashion* (55).

bouleversé (904 [740]) — Distressed, upset (French).

Bourbon, James (636 [520]) — James de Bourbon, Count de la Marche, commander of the French ships assembled to assist the Welsh. See Wylie (I 459, 473). He also helped to negotiate a treaty between Charles VI and Glendower.

"bowing and scraping" (657 [551]) — A private allusion on JCP's part. This was a favourite expression of his father's (see *Autobiography* 331).

Bran [the Blessed] 243 [200]) — A mythical Welsh giant and hero whose story is told in "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*. His totem was the crow or raven ("Bran" in Welsh), and he once used his body as a bridge when his army had to cross a bridgeless river (257 [212]). After his death, his severed head prophesied at Harlech, and was eventually buried on the site of London. As Robin Wood notes ("Owen" 95), he is presented here as a source of white magic in opposition to the black magic of Derfel (q.v.).In Lady Charlotte Guest's notes to "Branwen Daughter of Llyr" he is credited with introducing Christianity into Britain.

Branwen ferch L[l]yr (128 [105]) — A mythical Welsh figure whose story is told in "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*. NB: "Llyr" is the Welsh spelling, and is corrected in the modern reprints.

break the bruised flax (241 [198]) — Inaccurately recalled allusion to Isaiah 42:3 and Matthew 12:20.

Brecon (758 [621]) — A small town in southern Powys.

Brest (647 [529]) — A military sea-port in Brittany.

Bridget (619 [506]) — A fictional character, though her parents are historical.

Bridgnorth (662 [541]) — A town in Shropshire.

Bristol (777 [637]) — An English sea-port on the west coast, close to southern Wales.

Britonibus ex utraque parente originem habens (184 [152]) — British [i.e., Welsh] in origin through each parent (Latin). This is historically Brut's self-description, quoted by Lloyd (110n). The preceding "a" should doubtless be the Latin "*a*," "from" (as in Lloyd) rather than the English indefinite article.

Broch-o'-Meifod (404 [332]) — Fictional, but "Broch o'-Meifod's impressive character may have been inspired by a man who really existed, Cadwgan of Aberochwy, nicknamed 'Cadwgan Fwyall', Cadogan-the-Axe, because he excelled in using this weapon against English horsemen" (Peltier 25). Henken (119) quotes the origin of this information, but gives its source as the notoriously unreliable Iolo Morganwg. His tiny wife Morg ferch Lug (q.v.) represents the "ancient people" of Wales, and Broch also associates himself with them (538 [441]), but his size suggests a pre-Norman race of aboriginal giants (though not, of course, the primitive Cewri of *Porius*). Structurally, he is the death-loving obverse of the life-loving Glendower. In some respects, JCP may have derived some of Broch's death-philosophy from his brother Theodore.

Brockwe[l]l, Brochfael (417, 882 [342, 723]) — Son of King Eliseg (q.v.), the same name that is spelt "Brochvael" in *Porius*, and recorded on the inscription on Eliseg's Pillar. He was the grandfather of Cyngen (q.v).

Bromfield (16 [14]) — An administrative hundred east of Llangollen in the modern county of Wrexham, mentioned in Lloyd (13n). See also under "Yale."

brother-in-law (548 [449]) — Hotspur, who had married Edmund Mortimer's sister; see 567 [465].

"Brut" (141 [116]) — Brythonic (British, Welsh). See Lloyd (110) and "Brython" below.

Brut, Master [Walter] (16 [14]) — A historical figure. His Lollard principles are accurately produced here, but Lloyd (109) records his death in Glendower's service by 1406, while Stephens gives it as 1402. The circumstances of his imprisonment and death in Ch.30 are therefore wholly fictional. Meirion Pennar (21) stresses the lack of any historical record of a connection with Glendower.

Bryn Glas (521 [427]) — The site of the battle is at Pilleth in eastern Powys, southwest of Knighton (see photos in Allday between 68 and 69 and in Bradley 176). The defection of the Mortimer tenants appears to be historical (Davies 231). The "outrage" following the battle (555 [455]) echoes Bradley's "outrages of the Welsh women upon the bodies of the slain" (171; cf. Lloyd 51 and Wylie, who also involves Welsh men, I 282). The incident is first recorded in Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577) and is referred to in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* (I i 37-46). It is now generally discounted by historians since it "appears to be an essentially English tradition" (Henken 133, and see Davies 157). Holinshed's gory details are quoted in Henken (132-33).

Bryn Saith Marchog (454 [373]; cf. 871 [713]) — The "hill of the seven horsemen," close to Derwen, northeast of Corwen towards Ruthin, Denbighshire. See also "Seven Horsemen." Henken (125-26) records vague traditions in the village of a connection with Glendower.

Brython (432, 433 [355]) — A member of the branch of the Celtic peoples of Aryan origin who brought with them into the British Isles a language from which modern Welsh derives. They soon became Romanized. JCP (whose ideas about early races are now discredited) discusses this assimilation in *Porius*. See also "Brut."

"**bud of love**" (521 [427]) — Not identified.

"**Bugail**" (791 [648]) — Shepherd (Welsh).

"**bully ... school** (38 [31]) — A recurring theme in JCP. Cf. the experience of Tom Barter in *A Glastonbury Romance* and JCP's own in *Autobiography* (Chs.3 and 4).

Burgos (632 [517]) — A city in northern Spain.

Burnell, Denis (29 [24]) — Fictional, Constable of Dinas Bran, but father of the historical Sheriff (Hugh) Burnell (see below).

Burnell, Sheriff (17, 244 [14, 201]) — Hugh Burnell, a historical figure, though not listed as such in the modern reprints, sheriff of Shropshire. He defeated Glendower in late September 1400 by the River Vrynwy or Severn, but JCP mentions this only in passing (544 [446]). Father of the fictional Denis Burnell (see above).

bwthyn ... bwthynnwr (787 [645]) — Cottage, cottager (Welsh). Cf. "*bythynnod*."

by cock (169 140]) — Probably derived by JCP from one of the songs sung by the mad Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (IV v 61), where, according to the Arden edition, "cock" is a variant of "God." See "By Gis!" below.

"**By Gis!**" (207 [170]) — Probably derived by JCP from the same source as the above (IV v 58), where, according to the Arden edition, "Gis" is a variant of "Jesus." The whole line is quoted in *Autobiography* (341). See, however, *Obstinate Cymric* (11), where he alludes to a cry "Gis! Gis! Gis!" referring to pigs.

By the fig of the Pope (777 [637]) — A fig was a scornful gesture, often employed as an insult in Shakespeare (e.g. *Othello* I iii 320).

"**By the nails of the Cross**" (35 [29]) — According to George Borrow in *Wild Wales* (Ch.79), this is an oath recorded of David Gam.

"**by the will of God ... English enemies**" (459 [378]) — These words, originally Glendower's to Henry Don of Kidwelly, are quoted in Lloyd (40).

by-blow (381 [314]) — Slang for "illegitimate child."

Byford, Lewis (593 [486]) — Historical, though not listed as such in the modern reprints. His actual name was Lewis ab Ieuan (597 [484]), but he was generally called Lewis Byford, Byford being the name of the village where he had been rector, 1385-1404 (see below). Subsequently Bishop of Bangor. Glendower was instrumental in getting him installed (see Glanmor Williams, *Welsh* 223), but he was taken prisoner in 1408, after which he was removed from the bishopric.

Byford on the Wye (597 [489]) — In Herefordshire, some seven miles from Hereford.

bythynnod (650 [532]) — plural of *bwthyn* (q.v.).

C

Cadair Bran (772 [632]) — Bran's seat or chair (Welsh). This is "the rock of Harlech [q.v.], looking out over the sea" at the beginning of "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story of the *Mabinogion* (Lady Charlotte Guest's translation). The "mysterious god of their fathers" is, of course, Bran.

Cadair Idris (355 [292]) — Mountain in Gwynedd. "Cadair" is Welsh for "chair."

Cadwallader the Blessed (704 [576]) — Prince of Gwynedd (d. 664), one of the last kings to rule over the whole of Wales before the Saxon invasions. His dragon is still on the Welsh flag. Glendower claimed to be descended from him (Davies 158).

Caer-Dathyl (413 [339]) — In Arvon, the area of Gwynedd facing Anglesey. It is a prominent location in "Math Son of Mathonwy," the fourth story in the *Mabinogion*.

Caer Einion (610 [499]) — Near the present-day Castell Caereinion, west of Welshpool in Powys, where Taliesin is said to have originated.

Caer Gwydion (564 [462]) — The Milky Way; literally, the fortress of Gwydion (Welsh). The reference at 609 [499] is specifically to Gwydion ap Don (q.v.) as the slayer of Pryderi.

Caer Sidi (654 [535]) — Literally, "revolving" or "spiral castle" (Welsh). A rather mysterious island Elysium frequently mentioned in Welsh mythology and legend.

Caerleon (18 [15]) — A traditional Arthurian site, usually identified as Caerleon-on-Usk in southern Wales near Newport, which figures prominently in the background to *Porius*. John ap Howel's abbey of Llantarman was close by.

Caesar (228, 258, 413 [187, 213, 339]) — The leader of the Roman state. A general term, but at 228 [187] the specific reference is to Julius Caesar (100-44 BC), assassinated by Brutus, Cassius, and Mark Antony.

calch (516 [423]) — A kind of enamel, mentioned also in *Porius* (10). These are references that go back to "Manawydan Son of Llyr," the third story in the *Mabinogion*.

"**call up spirits from the deep**" (889 [728]) — A clear echo of Glendower's "I can call spirits from the vasty deep" in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* (III i 53), also quoted either whole or in part on several occasions elsewhere in JCP's work, including *Autobiography* (39, 154, 449, 630), *Suspended Judgments* (197), *Rabelais* (48), and *Obstinate Cymric* (145). See also "vasty deep."

Cambria (8 [7]) — A medieval name for Wales.

Camlan (732 [600]) — Now usually spelt Camlann. The battle in which King Arthur and his nephew Medrawd or Mordred were both fatally wounded. Identification is disputed, though Camelford in Cornwall and Cadbury Castle, Somerset (now popularly regarded as Camelot) have both been suggested. The name first appears in the 537 entry in the *Annales Cambriae*.

Candlemas (622 [508]) — February 2. It is a significant day in *Maiden Castle* (Chs. 3 and 4). Cf. also "Purification of the [Blessed] Virgin."

Canterbury (183 [152]) — Cathedral city in Kent. In Glendower's time, the Archbishop of Canterbury was the Catholic "representative of Christ in these islands," as Father Pascentius says. After the Reformation, the central position of Canterbury remained as it became the ecclesiastical centre of the Church of England.

cantref (53 [44]) — An administrative division in Wales. See also "commotes."

Carbonek (654 [535]) — The Grail Castle in the Grail romances, sometimes identified with Glastonbury (q.v.).

Cardamine Pascentius (623 [509]) — Fictional, but the botanical family name is authentic.

Cardiff (560 [459]) — Now the capital city of Wales, in the Vale of Glamorgan.

Cardigan (560 [459]) — The principal town in Ceredigion (q.v.).

Carew (874 [716]) — Thomas, Lord Carew; see Lloyd (67, 131).

Carmarthen (112 [92]) — The principal town in Carmarthenshire, said to have been the birthplace of Merlin through a false etymology "Caer Myrddin." See "Castell Merddin."

Carnarvon (486 [399]) — Now Caernarfon in Gwynedd. Photos of the castle in Allday (opposite 21) and Bradley (218).

Carneth Llewelyn (449 [370]) — One of the two peaks of Snowdon, the other being Yr Wyddfa (q.v.).

Carrog (112 [92]) — A village in Denbighshire between Corwen and Llangollen. Photos in Allday (between 20 and 21) and Bradley (130). A building claimed to be Glendower's prison was once pointed out to tourists. Glyndyfrdwy is close by.

Cassandra (152 [125]) — Daughter of Priam of Troy, a prophetess whose prophecies were always ignored. After the fall of Troy she became a slave of Agamemnon and was killed by Clytemnestra. The "Homeric passage" about her occurs in the *Odyssey* (Book 11), where the shade of Agamemnon tells Odysseus about her death.

Castell Goch (166 [138]) — Literally, "Red Castle," Lord Charlton's castle near Welshpool in Powys (see 4 [4]).

Castell Merddin (795 [652]) – The modern Carmarthen in Carmarthenshire, birthplace of Merlin according to Geoffrey of Monmouth (vi 17)–hence "Merlin's citadel" (809 [664]).

Caswallon (75 [62]) — The name of the shepherd-boy is derived from Caswallawn (a Welsh variant of Cassibelaunus or Cassivellanus), whose story is told from the Welsh viewpoint in "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*.

catching sight of him in her mirror (585 [480]) — Surely an allusion to Tennyson's "The Lady of Shalott."

Catharine (125 [103]) — Glendower's daughter, whose name Lloyd (59n) and Davies (179-80) spell "Catherine." Bradley initially refers to her as Joan (105-6, 183) but later switches to "Katherine" (233, 296). Wylie (IV 444) names five daughters but no Catharine. She died along with two unnamed daughters in captivity in London in 1413 (Lloyd 137), but not in the Tower of London, as JCP claims (894 [732]). The names of her children are fictional.

Cathay (775 [635]) — Poetic name for China.

Cattraeth (492 [404]) — Probably Catterick in Yorkshire; the reference is to the *Goddodin*, a poem by Aneirin (q.v.). The Welsh spelling is Catraeth.

cauldron (267, 291 [220, 240]) — The cauldron of rebirth or renovation, which Bran gives to Matholwich in "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*. It burst into pieces at the close of the story, hence the references to a "piece" and a "fragment."

Cawr-y-Gaer (878 [719]) — Giant of the fortress (Welsh).

centaur (611 [500]) — A creature in classical mythology, half man, half horse.

Ceredigion (518 [425]) — An area (now a county) in west-central Wales. The ancient form of Cardigan. The battle

referred to is that of Hyddgant Mountain (q.v.); see a few lines below.

Characters of the Novel (front pages) — This list is renamed "Principal Characters" (q.v.) in the modern reprints [vii-viii], where it is shortened, altered, and rearranged. The only character added, under "Un-mentioned in History," is Father [Mad] Huw.

Charles of France (617 [505]) — Charles VI, who reigned from 1380 until 1422. He suffered from recurring mental instability (see 640 [524]).

Charles the Great (447 [368]) — Charlemagne, King of the Franks from 768 to 814, founder and first Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, 800-814.

Charlton, Lady (240 [198]) — Presumably the wife of Lord Charlton (below).

Charlton, Lord (4 [4]) — John Charlton, a historical figure (see Lloyd 59, 144). He died in 1400 (Lloyd 44) or 1401 (Wylie I 245) and was succeeded by his brother Edward. The castle was "Castell Goch" (q.v.).

Chatrys, William (235 [193]) — Historical, his opinions borrowed word for word from Wylie (I 183). This includes Brut's carefully worded statement "It remains bread ... body of Christ."

Cheltenham (616 [504]) — A town in the Cotswolds in Gloucestershire, close to the Welsh border.

Chester (17 [14]) — The county town of Cheshire, in northwest England bordering on Wales.

Chichester (677 [553]) — A town in west Sussex, close to the English Channel.

Chirk (4 [4]) — A community southeast of Llangollen in the modern county of Wrexham, on the Welsh side of the border with Shropshire, best known for its castle. At this period Thomas Fitz-Alan (q.v.) was Lord of Chirk.

Chrysoloras (261 [215]) — A distinguished scholar who accompanied the Emperor Manuel (q.v.) to England, 1400-1402. JCP's information comes from Wylie (I 159), but here he places the visit slightly earlier.

church of St. Collen (71 [59]) — The church at Llangollen dedicated to St. Collen (q.v.).

Church of St. Sulien (867 [710]) — The church in Corwen. An earlier church on the same site also appears in *Porius* (6). Sulien is the Welsh form of Julian. See "St. Sulien."

Cicero (82 [68]) — Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC), the famous Roman orator noted for his eloquence, but also–as here–as author. *De Divinatione* belongs with his theological writings, continuing his accounts of early attitudes to the gods begun in *De Natura Deorum*.

Circean (247 [205]) — Relating to Circe, the "sun-witch" who turns men into swine in Homer's *Odyssey* (Book 10).

Cistercian (43 [36]) — A member of the monastic order founded in the late eleventh century.

Clanvow, Thomas (488, 523 [401, 428]) — Historical, though not mentioned as such in the modern reprints. The Sheriff of Maesyfed, the old name for Radnor, now (as in Glendower's time), part of Powys. According to Drabble, he is a possible author of *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*, but so was his father, Sir John (d.1391). An edition attributing it to Sir John was published in 1975. Lloyd (52) attributes the poem to Thomas, who died in 1410.

clapse (257) — Altered to "clasp" in the modern reprints [211], but accepted by the OED as a dialect form of "clasp."

Clock ... Glastonbury monk (752 [616]; cf. 859 [703]) — A complicated clock said to have been invented by a monk from Glastonbury is now located at Wells, Somerset. (Information from Professor James Carley.)

"clouds without water" (741 [607]) — Jude, verse 12. Also quoted in *A Glastonbury Romance* (348, 351 [336, 342]).

Clwyd — See "Vale of Clwyd."

Codnor (637 [521]) — Lord Grey of Codnor; a successful leader of the English forces against Glendower.

Comet (Ch. 13) — This comet is historical: "when the prophesied comet appeared early in 1402 it was immediately interpreted as the third great star of history, after the Star of Bethlehem and that which portended the greatness of Arthur's father, Uthr Bendragon" (Moore 216; also noted in Lloyd 48, and cf. 474 [389])). Lloyd also confirms Mad Huw's statement that it first appeared over Anglesey.

commotes (110 [90]) — Small administrative divisions of Wales (2 commotes = 1 cantref). For a useful map of the commotes in North Wales in Glendower's time, see Davies (132).

Consolations (328, 499, 688 (271, 410, 563]) — An influential book by Boethius (q.v.). The correct title is *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (*The Consolation of Philosophy*), only corrected to the singular in the modern reprints at [563].

Conway (105 [86]) — Nowadays Conwy (so spelt) is a name serving for a modern county, the river that flows through it (110 [90]), and a town containing an impressive castle. Though not emphasized in *Owen Glendower*, the castle played a significant part in Glendower's rebellion. It was captured by Rhys and Gwilym ap Tudor on 1 April 1401 but regained by Henry Percy on 28 May. Both were pardoned at that time (cf. 646 [544]). This incident is generally regarded as having revived the impetus of Glendower's uprising of the previous year. Photos in Allday (between 20 and 21) and Bradley (78, 140).

Corfe (375 [309]) — Corfe Castle is on the so-called Isle of Purbeck in eastern Dorset. JCP's first poem was on this subject, from which he quotes in *Autobiography* (68).

corpse-god (398 [327]) — A dead or half-dead god. The Latin phrase "deus semi-mortuus" (935 [766]) is used of Uther Pendragon by Geoffrey of Monmouth (viii, 23), and is supposed to originate in Welsh mythology. JCP uses such

references frequently, including *A Glastonbury Romance* (203 [210], etc.), *Maiden Castle* (33, etc,), and *Porius* (128, etc.). At 472 [388], the connection with "the old mound-people" is intriguing. Roland Mathias implies a link between this observation and Broch's role in the final chapter as "Cawr-y-Gaer, the giant of the prehistoric mound-people" ("Sacrificial" 257); cf. 878 [719].

Corwen (867 [710]) — A village in Denbighshire. JCP lived there from 1935 to 1955, and *Owen Glendower* was written there. It also became the setting for most of *Porius*. See also "Church of St. Sulien" and "Druid stone." For photo of the village, see Bradley (44) and for the churchyard, Allday (between 116 and 117).

couleur de flamme (648 [530]) — Flame-colour (French).

Council of Nicea (469 [385]) — A Church Council of 325 at which Arianism was condemned. The more usual spelling is Nicaea, a town in Bithynia on the south coast of the Black Sea, in what is now Turkey.

coup de Dieus (792 [649]) — Acts (literally "blows") of God (faulty French, should be "Dieux").

Courtenay [874 [716]) — Richard Courtenay. JCP follows Lloyd (132) closely here.

cousin of Nannau (437 [360]) — Hywel Sele (q.v.).

Coventry (213 [176]) — A town in Worcestershire.

Cover your eyes ... the water goes! (893 [731]) — Presumably a traditional rhyme, but not traced.

Crach Ffinnant — See "Yr Crach."

crack in creation (454-56 [374-75]) — This is a favourite concept in JCP occurring in numerous novels, though this is the one place where it is specifically associated with the Fall. See also 633, 651, 925 [518, 533, 757].

crafty king (14 [12]) — Henry IV, also known as Henry Bolingbroke (q.v.).

Crécy (362 [298]) — A village in north of France where the English defeated the French in 1346.

Credo (771 [631]) — I believe (Latin). The formal profession of faith in the Christian Church.

Crosby, [Thomas] (826 [677]) — Not traced.

cross our water (920 [754]) — The practice of crossing urine is mentioned elsewhere by JCP in connection with his brother Littleton.

"Crow" (265 [219]) — The nickname of Adda ap Leurig (q.v.) with an echo of Bran's totem.

Cruc (745 [610]) — This means "mound" in Welsh, and also appears as "y Grug" (794 [650]), "*Cruc*" (878), and "*Gruc*" [710]. An important location in JCP's *Porius*, close to Corwen, where the Derwydd (Druid) has his secret home. Here it means simply "home."

cruddled (428 [352]) — Probably "suckled," but no possible meaning is listed in either the OED or the *English Dialect Dictionary*.

cruel "magicians" of the Age of Bronze (563 [462]) — The Celts, with probable reference to Gwydion in "Math Son of Mathonwy," the fourth story in the *Mabinogion*.

crystal globe (179 [148]) — It is important to realize here that this globe represents looking into the future; in other words, it is like a gypsy's crystal ball (cf. *Ducdame* 262). When Glendower shatters the globe just before his Proclamation (393 [323-24]) he is not renouncing Welsh magic as such but a concern for the future and its consequences. Note that Rhisiart sees it as a "heathen globe" (188 [155]).

Cunedda (764 [626]) — A Romanized Brythonic chieftain from south Scotland supposedly encouraged by the Romans in the fourth century to settle in Venedotia (North Wales) and subdue its earlier inhabitants. Most modern historians reject this tradition. JCP makes him an ancestor of the ruling family in *Porius*.

***curst* God** (199 [164]) — An echo of Job 2:9, also quoted in *Wolf Solent* (597), *Porius* (604), *Mortal Strife* (116, 200), and *Rabelais* (341).

Cust, Abbot (202 [167]) — A fictional character, though acknowledged as such only in the original editions.

Cwm Llanerch (105 [86]) — "Valley Glade" (Welsh). "Cwm Lannerch" according to Lloyd (66), in the Vale of Conwy in the county of Conwy.

cyclopean (17 [15]) — Relating to the Cyclops, a member of the race of one-eyed giants mentioned in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Best known of them is Polyphemus, the Cyclops in Homer's *Odyssey* (Book 9).

Cyfeliog (610 [499]) — A commote in the ancient princedom of Powys.

Cymru (403 [331]) — Wales (Welsh).

Cyndrwyn, King (417 [342]) — The father of Cynddylan and Heledd (see immediately below).

Cyndylan (452) — Corrected to Cynddylan in the modern reprints [372]. Cynddylan is in fact the brother of Heledd of Powys (q.v.), who in the poem "Stafell Cynddylan" (q.v.) laments his death and the destruction of the court at Pengwern, the modern Shrewsbury. The first reference to Cynddylan here is therefore a misprint for "Cyndrwyn" (see above).

Cyngen, King (417 [342]) — King of Powys (807-54), who erected Eliseg's Pillar (see "Eliseg, King").

cynghanedd (805 [660]), plur. ***cynghaneddion*** (808 [662]) —A Welsh poetic system invoking elaborate internal rhyme, consonance, and assonance that was later used in England by such poets as William Barnes, Gerard Manley Hopkins, and even Thomas Hardy who, in "The Last Signal," for

instance, his elegy for Barnes, writes of "an uphill road / That led from my abode to a spot yew-boughed."

cynghor (148 [122]) — A word that can mean either "advice" or a place where advice is sought. It is used in the first meaning in *Porius* (208).

Cynllaith Owen (16 [14]) — That part of the commote of Cynllaith inherited by Glendower at Sycharth (q.v.).

cynned[d]f (821, 937 [673, 769]) — A peculiarity, a favourite word to describe a distinguishing characteristic which has a long history in the Welsh language (it occurs frequently in the *Mabinogion*), and is employed by JCP (though generally in its English form) throughout his work. In *Obstinate Cymric* he describes it as "an ancient Mabinog-word" (7; see also 43-44). The word is misspelt at 821, but corrected in the modern reprints.

Cyprian barge ... haven of love (292 [241]) — Presumably a kind of love-boat (Venus having originated in Cyprus). The reference is possibly to the song of Venus in John Dryden's *King Arthur (*V i 150-53).

Cystennin (61 [50]) — Here a servant's name, but the Welsh form of Constantine.

Cywyddau (15 [13]), ***cywyddau brud*** (636 [521]) — Poems written in a "modern" fashion that broke away from the practice of the court poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, dealing "with living realities, in place of parables and symbols and mythic fables" (390 [329]). This form in which court and minstrel poetry were united, and generally consisting of seven-syllable rhyming couplets employing *cynghanedd* (q.v.), was popularized by Dafydd ap Gwilym (q.v.). Lloyd (25, 26) confirms that it was a form favoured by Iolo Goch (q.v.). "By [the second half of the fifteenth century], a new form, the *cywydd brud* (cywydd of prophecy), had come to the fore. Iolo Goch had begun to turn the *cywydd* form to political uses towards the end of the fourteenth century" (Henken 53).

D

Dafydd ap Gwilym (389 [320]) — A famous Welsh poet who wrote during the middle years of the fourteenth century. He brought innovations into Welsh poetry and was responsible for the increasing development and popularity of the *cywydd* (q.v.).

Dante (37 [31]) — Italian poet (1265-1321), author of the *Divine Comedy*. The reference alludes to the first of its three parts, the *Inferno* (Hell). Born in Florence, he was banished for political reasons and wrote his *Paradiso* in exile. He died in Ravenna. One of the original qualities of the *Divine Comedy* was Dante's employment of the vernacular. It was written in *terza rima* or "triads" (see 722 [591]).

daughters of men (293 [242]) — Genesis 6:2. Also quoted in *Wolf Solent* (311).

Dauphiness of France (169 [140]) — Wife of the "Dauphin", himself heir to the Crown

David [of] the Squint (27, 80 [23, 66]) — David Gam (q.v.).

de comburendo (642 [525]) — See "***De Heretico Comburendo***."

de Corbie, Arnand (719 [589]) — Charles VI's Chancellor, see Lloyd (85) (but "Arnand" should read "Arnaud".

De Court, Francis ... Lady Joan (792 [649]) — Historical, Lord of Pembroke. See Lloyd (107), who also mentions his wife Joan (107n).

de facto (182 [150]) — In reality (Latin).

de Hengest, Jean (636 [520]) — According to Lloyd (102), Jean de Hangest, "master of the crossbowmen." "Hengest" is presumably an error for "Hangest," which is the spelling also used by Wylie.

De Heretico Comburendo (194 [160]; see 642, 950 [525, 775]) — An act passed by the English parliament early in 1401 (hence a slight anachronism is involved in the first reference) for the suppression of Lollardry. It directed that heretics condemned in the Church courts should "be abandoned to the secular court for public burning in order to strike fear into the minds of others" (*New Catholic Encyclopedia*).

de la Bere, Kinard (523 [428]) — Historical. Like Devereux and Whitney, he came from Herefordshire and was killed at Bryn Glas. JCP drives his information from Lloyd (51).

de la Heuze, Robert (800 [656]) — Historical; see Lloyd (102). Also known as Le Borgne (the One-Eyed). JCP is in error at 810 [664] in referring to his "eyes."

de la Roche, Gascoigne (780 [638]) — Not traced.

de Pirogue, Gilles and Jean (621 [508]) — Fictional.

de Trie, Patrouillart (791 [648]) — Historical, brother of the Admiral of the fleet. For the description of his death, see Lloyd (103).

dead and rotten (891 [729]) — Now a standard phrase, but probably an echo from Shakespeare's *King Lear* (V iii 253).

decapitated head (130, 724 [107, 593]) — JCP nods. This absurd solecism appears in all editions.

Dee (3 [3]) — The "divine" or "sacred" river of Wales that runs through Lake Bala (Llyn Tegid) past Corwen, Llangollen, and Chester to reach the sea at the extreme northeast corner of Wales.

Deheubarth (110 [90]) — Once an ancient kingdom in southwest Wales. (Also 564 [462])

"delicately" (327 [270]) — 1 Samuel 15:32. The other "tricky idolator" is Agag.

Democritus (774 [634]) — Greek philosopher of the fifth century BC, known for his cheerful disposition, and his

belief in cultivating the comforts of life. Also famous for expounding an atomic theory of the universe, he was praised by Aristotle as the most learned and scientific of his predecessors.

Demoiselle (405 [333]) — Maiden (French).

Denbigh (489 [402]) — A town in Denbighshire in north Wales.

Deptford (773 [633]) — A town in Kent in southeast England.

Derfel (17, 81-82 [14, 67-68]), **Saint Derfel** (17 [15]), **Derfel Gadarn** (257 [211]) — Derfel is presented here as a combination of both pagan leader and saint. His image at Llanderfel was destroyed during the sixteenth century, but that of his horse is preserved at Llanderfel church. For the strange combination of Christian and pre-Christian features, see Abbot Cust's speech at 242 [199], though the emphasis on sexual ritual appears to be JCP's invention. "Derfel Gadarn" links Derfel with a supposed legendary hero who fought with Arthur at Camlan (q.v.); see 732 [600]. But this story originates for the most part in the imagination of Iolo Morganwg (see Stephens under "Derfel Gadarn" and "Hu Gadarn"). Robin Wood ("Owen" 107n) observes that Derfel is "a beneficent god" in *Maiden Castle* (428) and *Morwyn* (87).

Derwen (311 [256]) — A small community in Denbighshire, some miles north of Corwen.

Despenser, Lady, countess of Gloucester (616 [504]) — This account of her attempt to bring the young Edmund Mortimer (and his brother) to Wales is historical, recorded by Lloyd (92) and in more detail by Bradley (242-44).

Deus Semi-Mortuus [935 [766]) — See "corpse-god."

Deva (26 [22]) — Alternative name for the River Dee.

Devereux, Walter (522 [428]) — Historical. Like de la Bere and Whitney (q.v.), he came from Hereford and was killed at Bryn Glas. See Lloyd (51).

devoir (50 [41]) — respects (French).

Dewi Sant (111 [91]) — The Welsh form of Saint David (q.v.).

Difancol (867 [710]) — Literally, "disappearance," but according to Krissdóttir it "could also mean 'utter destruction', 'complete loss'" (UK xxiv, US xxii). It was traditionally used of people who were believed to have escaped death and are waiting, after long sleep, for a propitious time to return. Mad Huw perpetuates the legend so far as Richard II is concerned, and the survival of Glendower is based on local legend. The word is similar to "Esplum[e]oir" (q.v.), used of Merlin/Myrddin, and the idea is developed at the close of *Porius*. The reincarnation of Urien as Enoch Quirm in *Maiden Castle* is another related concept. The word is used by Lloyd (143n).

Dilys, Mistress (481 [395]) — Fictional.

Dimitte populi tui ... in loco isto" (377 [310]) — "Dismiss thy people, O God, and show them the true path along which they may walk, and give glory in this place" (Latin).

dimsy (376 [309]) — Not listed in either the OED or the *English Dialect Dictionary*, though the latter records "dimpsy" as meaning "twilight," "dusk," or "dark," and JCP's usage here and elsewhere–in *Ducdame* (264) and *Weymouth Sands* (140)–suggests that "dark and dangerous" is what is meant.

Dinas Bran (5 [5]) — The ruined castle above Llangollen, said to have been built by Madoc ap Griffith (q.v.), that becomes an important setting in part of the novel, as well as being a powerful symbol for Rhisiart. It means "the fortress of Bran." Photos in *Powys Review* 31/32 (n.d.), 20 and *La lettre powysienne* 4 (2002), 4, 24, and 13 (2007), back cover. An eighteenth-century drawing is reproduced in *Powys Journal* 1 (1991), 63. JCP climbed it with Phyllis and his sister Marian on 28 August 1935, shortly after their arrival in Corwen, the only occasion when he is known to have done so. See *The Dorset Year* (262n), and a photograph of JCP and Phyllis there (264).

divided into three parts (661 [541]) — Cf. the opening sentence of Julius Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*: "Gallia in tres partes divisa est" (Latin) as well as the opening of Shakespeare's *King Lear*.

Don, Henry (459, 511 [377, 420]) — Henry Don of Kidwelly (d. 1416); see Lloyd (40-41, 44). Davies (16) calls him "one of the most prominent and powerful Welshman of the area [southwestern Wales]," refers to his "unappealing and buccaneering fashion" (200), and regards him as a local bully-boy (269).

Don Quixote (3 [3]) — The mad knight in Cervantes' comic epic of the same name (1605, 1615). It is the Don's difficulty in distinguishing between romance and reality that is pertinent here. Rhisiart, though young, is in some respects a Quixotic figure, and Glendower similarly reveals a split between idealism and practicality. It is therefore appropriate that the novel should begin with a reference to Cervantes' knight. JCP was, however, conscious that the reference "breaks the proper rule of never alluding to any person or book or event later than 1416, when Owen disappeared ... I compared [Rhisart and his horse Griffin] to Don Quixote and Rosinante, which I ought NOT to have done, but having done it, I wouldn't change a word!" (*Letters to Ross* 35). Krissdóttir (UK xi, US ix) refers to JCP's move to Corwen in 1935 as itself "quixotic."

doomster (376 [309]) — Given the context in which the word appears, a conversation between Trenchard and Tom Hardy, it seems clear that JCP is echoing Thomas Hardy's usage in his sonnet, "Hap" (l.13).

Douglas (195 [161]) — Archibald, 4th Earl of Douglas (c.1369-1424).

"Down, down ..." (99 [81]) — Given the reference to an eel just above, the phrasing inevitably recalls the Fool's "Down, wantons, down" in Shakespeare's *King Lear* (II iv

123-26). JCP quotes this episode at length in *Weymouth Sands* (329-30).

Dragon-Mound (538 [441]) — Presumably a reference to the *gorsedd* or mound on which the ancient castle was built.

droit de guerre (816 [669]) — Right of war (French, but not of general use).

droog (253, 670 [209, 549]) — Alexander Warrack in his *Scots Dictionary* lists the word as a verb, "to do dirty work"; the contexts here suggest a related meaning.

Druid [mill-]stone (870, 919, 934 [712, 752, 765]; cf. 920 [753]) — A stone, probably the shaft of a destroyed cross, that still exists in Corwen churchyard. JCP mentions it briefly in *Obstinate Cymric* (57). The Druids were the traditional priesthood of the Celtic-speaking peoples. So, "Druidic" (910 [745]).

drych dyn (453 [372]) — Translation (from the Welsh) in text.

dulce lignum (558 [457]) — Sweet wood (Latin).

Durham (676 [553]) — A cathedral city in northern England.

Dyffryn Clwyd (103 [85]) — Welsh for "Vale of Clwyd" (q.v.). NB: "Dyfryn" (914) is a misprint corrected in the modern reprints.

Dyfrdwy (26 [22]) — Welsh name for the River Dee.

dying fall (934 [765]) — Presumably an echo of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (I i 4).

Dyke (329 [272]) — Offa's Dyke, which passes close to Dinas Bran and often forms the border between Wales and England. It is an entrenchment which Offa, King of Mercia (757-96), probably repaired rather than constructed.

Dyma (782 [641]) — Here perhaps best translated "There!" (Breton-Welsh).

Dynevor, Dynefor (208, 413 [172, 339]) — A castle in Carmarthenshire on the Towy, now spelt "Dynevor" in English, "Dynefwr" in Welsh. It was the home of the princes of Deheubarth (q.v.).

E

Earl of Arundel (6 [5]) — See "Fitz-Alan, [Thomas]."

Earl of March (182 [150]) — Edmund Mortimer the younger (1388-1425), claimant to the English throne closer to the succession than Henry IV, being a descendant of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III, while Henry was descended from John of Gaunt, the fourth son. But Edmund was only a child at this time. The story of his attempted kidnapping (616 [504]) is historical.

earth-memories (547 [448]) — This was the title (unhyphenated) of one of Llewelyn's essay-collections (1934), and the phrase may be used here as a tribute. Llewelyn died in 1939, just as *Owen Glendower* was being completed.

eat the mandrake (438 [361]) — According to Culpeper's *Herbal*, most parts of this plant were used as purgatives and the fruit is claimed "without cause" to be poisonous.

eau de vie (530 [435]) — Literally "water of life" (French), a spirit with high alcoholic content, produced by distillation of wine, cider, grain, etc.

Eddouyer, Hugh (617 [505]) — Historical, though not listed as such in the modern reprints. A Dominican and a "roving ambassador charged with key missions to Scotland, Ireland, and France" (Davies 212), envoy of Pope Benedict XIII (see "Benedict") and sent with the approval of Charles VI of France (q.v.) to promote Glendower's relationship with the Avignon Papacy (see Lloyd 118-19). JCP erroneously considers him a Franciscan (649 [531]).

Edeyrnion (43 [36]) — A sometime province of Venedotia (North Wales) including Corwen. The name (which figures prominently in *Porius*) is still in use.

Edward (258 [212]) — Edward I, King of England from 1272 until 1307, who defeated the Welsh and built the famous castles at Conwy, Caernarfon, and Harlech, etc., to strengthen his power.

Edward of Carnarvon (494 [406]) — See "Edward the Second."

Edward the Second (199 [164]) — King of England from 1307 until 1327. He is said to have been murdered by having a red-hot spear stuck up his anus as a reflection of his homosexuality (cf. 494 [406]). JCP also makes oblique reference to his death in *The Brazen Head* (281-82, 296).

Edward the Third (215 [177]) — King of England from 1327 to 1377.

Edwardus *filius* Yeo (227 [187]) — A follower of Saint Derfel (see "Derfel") guilty of sexual crimes in connection with the cult.

Eel Bridge (718 [588]) — "... that desperate Eel-Bridge that had to be crossed in the Grail Legend before you reached the Castle of Carbonek" (*Autobiography* 421), but also the bridge between life and death. Also mentioned in *A Glastonbury Romance* (754 [723]), *Maiden Castle* (203), *Porius* (262, etc,), and *The Inmates* (315).

Efa (267 [220]) — There is inconsistency in the text here, since at 284 [235] she is called "a niece of Rhys ap Tudor of Mon" (q.v.), while at 299 [247] she is correctly described as his daughter. She is fictional, while Rhys himself is historical. To complicate matters still further, the tables of "Characters of the Novel" in the original editions and "Principal Characters" in the reprints both list her as "Efa ferch Tudor of Mon," omitting "Rhys ap" (but the "ferch" at least identifies her as Rhys's daughter).

"égaré. Il s'effraie de peu de chose" (900 [737]) — "Distraught. He's frightened with little." (French).

Eglwyseg Rocks (260 [214]) — A range of mountains just north of Llangollen, in Denbighshire.

eidolons (342 [281]), **eidola** (394 [324]) — An eidolon is a word of Greek origin meaning "image" or "phantom." The Greek plural is "eidola" but the standard English plural is often used. A favourite word of JCP who, characteristically, is inconsistent on this point.

eighteenth (203 [168]) — There seems to be considerable confusion about this date. Iolo Goch has called for Glendower's proclamation on the sixteenth and an attack on Ruthin on "Saint Matthew's Day" (163 [135]). Meredith clearly equates St. Matthew's Day with "the eighteenth." JCP appears to make the same equation, though St. Matthew's Day is in fact on the 21st. He seems to have misread Lloyd, who wrote: "on the 18th, having collected a sufficient force, [Glendower's troop] marched north to Ruthin and burnt the town in the midst of preparations [*sic*] for the great fair on St. Matthew's day" (31-32). A note confirms the fair day as 21 September and adds: "The connection between Owen's attack and this fair was long remembered by tradition" (32n). Matters are further confused at 401 [330] when Glendower seems to have thought the attack was to be on the seventeenth. Then Rhys Gethin considers a further postponement: "If we burnt the town on market-day 'twould be something, but to burn it on Saint Matthew's Day–why 'twould be remembered forever." Bradley refers vaguely to "a Fair day" (124); Wylie oddly appears to ignore it. Henken dates the attack as "St. Matthew's Eve ... on the eve of St. Matthew's Fair" (119, 127). Allday (58), Davies (226), and Moore (171) all follow Lloyd, whose account seems the most satisfactory. But uncertainty remains.

Einion (144 [119]) — According to Stephens, Griffith Llwyd's grandfather was Einion Lygliw.

elder brother (614 [503]) — Roger Mortimer, who died in 1398. The story told here is not, so far as I know, historical.

Elevation of the Host (688 [563]) — An important moment during the celebration of Mass.

Eliseg, King (136 [112]) — An early king in North Wales. His monument, Eliseg's Pillar (see 494 [406]) stands near the Abbey of Valle Crucis, just north of Llangollen. JCP describes it briefly in *Obstinate Cymric* (57). It is a memorial stone, not a gravestone, so Broch-o'-Meiford's remark is inaccurate (494 [406]). The claim that Saint Derfel was his magician (273 [224]) is, of course, mere superstition. There is no evidence that Eliseg built Dinas Bran, as claimed at 289 [239]), nor is there any connection with Arthur. "Eliseg" is in fact a mistranscription of "Elise." A drawing of the pillar by Thomas Rowlandson is reproduced in *The Dorset Year* (263).

elixir vitae (912 [747]) — Elixir of life (Latin).

Elliw (562 [461]) — Historical. The daughter of Rhys Ddu (q.v.), known as "Lu." She married a "Maredudd [Meredith] ab Owain," but this was not Glendower's son Meredith. JCP was clearly misled by Lloyd's decidedly confusing statement at 131n that fails to distinguish between the two Maredudds. The one whom Elliw married served in Henry V's French wars, and eventually succeeded his father-in-law as sheriff of Cardiganshire (see Davies 205). JCP's mistake is all the more understandable since Elliw's husband had at one time been "one of Glyn Dwr's die-hard supporters" (Davies 202).

Ellyles (279 [230]) — A female demon or she-devil. Also used in *Porius* (273, 705). *Ellylesau* is the plural, appearing incorrectly as *Ellyllesan* (427), but corrected in the modern reprints [350].

Elphin (201 [166]) — The page is named after Elphin son of Gwyddno who discovered the baby Taliesin, as described in "The Tale of Taliesin," often translated with the *Mabinogion*. The scene in which Luned allows him to hold her for five minutes (604 [495]) is borrowed from a scene involving Charlie and Eustacia Vye in Thomas Hardy's *The Return of the Native* (Book 2, Ch.4). He is, of course, fictional. G. Wilson Knight ("*Owen*" 435) notes that the suggestive name "Elphin" is also used in *A Glastonbury Romance*, where his surname, "Cantle," also has connections with Hardy's novel.

Elymas the Sorcerer (187 [155]) — An enemy of St. Paul in Acts 13:8.

"embrouillé à la folie! ... Prenez garde à cela" (264 [218]) — "terribly entangled!... Beware of that" (French).

Emperor of the East (594 [486] — See "Manuel, Emperor."

Emperor of the Universe (5 [4]) — Satan.

Empyrean (304 [251] — The highest heaven of the ancients, consisting of pure fire.

English ships (800 [656]) — This incident, together with the Welsh flight, is historical, and recorded in Lloyd (103).

englyns (135 [111]) — The englyn is "the oldest recorded Welsh metrical form," which "lends itself to impromptu competition" (Stephens). It generally consisted of six lines and involved an elaborate system of *cynhanedd* (q.v.) with varied accented and non-accented syllables.

Erinyes (63 [52]) — The three Fates in classical mythology, best known in Aeschylus's *Oresteia* for plaguing Orestes after his revenge on Clytemnestra.

Eros (53 [44]) — The Greek god of love.

Eryri (705 [577]) — Another name for Snowdon, or for the range including Snowdon.

esplumoir (889 [728]) — A misprint for "esplumeoir." A mysterious word referring to Merlin's (or Myrddin's) "difancol" (q.v.) or "disappearance." A favourite word for JCP, who employs it in a number of books including *A Glastonbury Romance* (169-70 [179], etc.), *Porius* (699), *Autobiography* (643), *Morwyn* (199), *In Spite Of* (204), and *Obstinate Cymric* (9).

esprit (363 [299]) — Spirit, wit. (French).

"et videbit omne caro salutare Dei" (246 [203]) — "And all flesh shall praise God" (Latin). Cf. Psalm 145:21.

Eurydice (129 [106]) — The wife of Orpheus, who according to classical mythology follows her into the underworld in an unsuccessful attempt to bring her back to the world of the living. See also under "Virgil."

Eve of Saint John" — See "Saint John."

Evesham (648 [530]) — A town in Worcestershire.

Exeter College (8 [7]) — One of the older Oxford colleges, founded in 1314.

Exmoor (792 [649]) — An area of moorland in north Devon, in southwest England.

exteriorization of his soul (427 [351]) — The first of numerous references to Glendower's practice of separating his soul from his body and looking at himself and his immediate circumstances from a detached perspective. This ability may be connected with JCP's capacity for entering into the minds and attitudes of others in his lectures (see *Autobiography*) and his apparent ability to make his own image visible in another place (see "apparition"). See also an important passage in *Obstinate Cymric* (152; cf.111). These matters are discussed in Verbeek and Wood ("Queer Attacks").

F

"fab" or "ferch" (772 [633]) — "Son of" or "daughter of" (Welsh).

famous elegy [883 [723]) — See "*Stafell Cyndylan*."

famous poet Ovid among the Goths (572 [469]) — A specific allusion to Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (III iii 6-7).

feast of Saint John (74 [61]) — 24 June, Midsummer Day.

feast of Saint Michael and All Angels (567 [465]) — 29 September.

feast of Stephen (437 [360]) — 26 December. See also "St. Stephen."

Ffinnant (17 [14]) — Probably a small community just east of Llanfechain (q.v.). Lloyd is somwhat tentative about this (31n).

Ffraid ferch Gloyw (267 [220]) — Fictional. According to Sibli (289 [239]) her name means "Bridget, the daughter of Claudius." At 337 [268] she is presented as the "patroness" of St. Bride (q.v.). A. St. John Bax (203) wonders if this character is based physically on Mrs. Peake, who often put up JCP's visitors in Corwen. He quotes passages at 295 [243-44] in support.

first Edward (536 [439]) — See "Edward the First."

Fisher-King (919 [752]) — The Fisher Kings or Rich Fishers are traditional protagonists in the Grail Romances. The King is generally wounded, and his land becomes barren, a waste land, until his wound is healed.

Fisherman (579 [474]) — St. Peter, who was originally a fisherman.

Fitz-Alan, [Thomas] (5 [4]) — Earl of Arundel, Lord of Chirk. In his early days Glendower was almost certainly in the service of the previous Earl of Arundel (see 9 [8]). Incidentally, JCP lived for some years at Burpham, close to Arundel, in Sussex.

flamingo's feather (156 [129]) — This detail, mentioned in a poem by Iolo Goch, is referred to by Lloyd (22). See also "With a broken sword ..."

flee where no man pursueth (468 [385]) – Proverbs 28:1.

Fleur-de-lys, fleur-de-luces (778,788 [637, 646]) — The heraldic emblem of French royalty.

Flint (77 [64]) — On the estuary of the River Dee in Flintshire in north Wales; in the castle here, Richard II surrendered to Bolingbroke, later Henry IV. Traditionally, Glendower was present on this occasion. See Lloyd (28) and Bradley (98-99). The earliest authority for this occurs in Powel's *Historie of Wales* (1584). For a photo of the castle, see Allday (between 20 and 21).

Florentine — See Tuscan.

"for Cynan and Gwion and Gwynn" (883 [728]) — A line from "*Stafell Cynd[d]ylan*" (q.v.). See Clancy (93).

for ourselves alone (785 [643]) — Not italicized in the modern reprints, but if the italics have authority this could be seen (along the lines of the Irish *Sinn Fein*, "we ourselves") as a subtle allusion to the cause of Welsh independence.

Fordington (376 [309]) — An area adjacent to Dorchester, the county town of Dorset (Hardy's "Durnover").

forest-people (563 [462]) — The aboriginal Welsh who, JCP believed, were non-Aryan Iberians who originated among the Berbers of North Africa. He writes about them at length in *Porius*.

"Four Branches of the Mabinogi" (112 [92]) — The four stories that make up the so-called *Mabinogion*. See "Mabinogi."

"four lions, rampant and sable" (626, 690 [512, 594]) — Glendower's coat of arms as descendant of the Princedom of Gwynedd. See Davies (photos 2, 4, and 5). Mathias stresses the importance of the replacement of the single lion of Powys ("Sacrificial" 258)–and cf. 197 [163]).

fragment in the Tuscan vernacular (722 [591]) — See "Dante."

Franciscans (89 [73]) — An order of monks founded by St. Francis (q.v.) in 1209. In this period they strongly supported the Welsh against the house of Lancaster. Wylie records that Richard II had placed them under his protection (I 271). "Richard II enjoyed great personal popularity among the Welsh as a whole, but to none was he dearer than to the

Grey Friars" (Glanmor Williams, *Welsh* 220). Wylie also records an incident in 1402 when a Franciscan friar from Norfolk declared that Richard was still alive (I 274).

French Courts of Love (63 [52]) — The reference is to the *amour courtois* or courtly love, associated with the troubadours and the poetic romances of the period.

French King (411 [337]) — Philip IV, King of France from 1285 to 1314, who controlled the Papacy by engineering the election of Clement V and then forcing him to accept French domination and move the seat of the Papacy to Avignon in 1309, where the "Babylonish captivity" of the Papacy lasted until 1378. See also "Avignon."

Friend of the English (266 [219]) — Rhisiart's treacherous ancestor, Griffith ap Madoc (q.v.).

G

Gadarn (257 [211]) — See "Derfel Gadarn."

Gaer-men (884 [724]) — Men of the fortress.

Gam, David (27 [23] — A historical soldier of fortune, though hardly recognizable in JCP's presentation of him. Davies writes extensively of Dafydd Gam (225-27). He "could claim to be of princely descent," and "implacably" (227) served Henry IV in opposition to Glendower. Davies considers the traditional story of his assassination attempt as legendary ("late ... implausible and inaccurate in its details" [227]). Lloyd, however, accepted it, though he thought it probably took place as late as 1412 (142n). Davies also doubts the account of Gam's later agreement to support the Welsh cause. He describes his death at Agincourt (rendered famous, of course, by the reference in Shakespeare's *Henry V* [IV viii 109]) as "an appropriate end to a distinguished career." Jacqueline Peltier duly describes him as "one of the few real Welsh traitors" (25). The story of his ransom (885 [724-25]) is, however, historical (see Moore 184).

gamb [266 [219]) — See "A lion's gamb."

Garde à toi (378 [311]) — beware, take care, look out (French).

Gaveston [494 [406]) — Piers Gaveston was notorious as a homosexual friend of Edward II (q.v.).

Gawain (47 [39]) — The English form of the Welsh Gwalchmai (q.v.). He is, of course, one of the most famous of the Arthurian knights.

geir-falcon (440 [362]) — Now generally spelt "gyrfalcon."

Genie or Jinn (605 [496]) — JCP is clearly thinking of stories in the *Arabian Nights*.

gentilhomme (649 [531]) — Gentleman (French). "[*G*]*entilhomme Toujours*" (888 [727]), literally "gentleman Always," presumably means "Always behave like a gentleman."

Gerallt (266 [219]) — Fictional; Gerallt is the Welsh form of Gerald.

Giggleswick, Master (827 [678]) — Rhisiart and Brut's fictional jailer.

Giraldus [de Barri] (34, 226 [29, 186]) — Giraldus Cambrensis (c.1146-1223), best known for his *Itinerary* (*Itinerarium Cambriae*, *Journey through Wales*) and *Descriptio Cambriae* (*Description of Wales*), important for their presentation of Welsh topography.

Gis — See "By Gis."

Glastonbury (517 [424]) — A town in Somerset, setting of *A Glastonbury Romance*, famous for its Abbey and its legendary associations with Joseph of Arimathea, King Arthur, and the Holy Grail. Mad Huw is, however, wrong when he states that St. David built the *wattle*-chapel. Joseph and his disciples are said to have built the first Christian church in Britain at Glastonbury in honour of the Virgin Mary, hence the reference to "St. Mary of Glastonbury" (876 [717]). St. David is credited with rebuilding it in the sixth or seventh centuries in stone (see *Glastonbury Romance* (165 [175]). See also "Clock ..."

Glendourdy (8 [8]) — An alternative name for Glendower.

Glew the Gryd (115 [94]) — Glendower's gate-keeper. Fictional, his name probably representing a deliberate echo of Glewlwyd Gavaelvawr (Lady Charlotte Guest's transliteration) in "Culhwch and Olwen," the early story generally translated with the *Mabinogion*. He is, indeed, mentioned at 117 [96]).

"**glorious liberty of the children of God**" (184 [152]) — Romans 8:21.

Gloucester (401 [330) — The county town of Gloucestershire, in western England.

Glyn Dwr (10 [9]) — Welsh form of Glendower.

Glyndyfrdwy (11 [9]) — "Glen of the water of Dee," between Corwen and Llangollen, in Denbighshire. Glendower's castle was in fact closer to Carrog than to Glyndyfrdwy itself. A photo of "Glendower's Mount" may be found in the frontispiece to Bradley. Glyndwfrdwy was burnt by Prince Henry's forces in May 1403 (Lloyd 61).

"**God 'ild you**" (69 [57}) — A phrase occurring in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (III iii 72 and V iv 55), where "'ild" is said to mean "reward."

God of battles (182 [151]) — Cf. Shakespeare's *Henry V* (IV i 306).

god-den (630 [515]) — Good-day. A salutation common in Shakespeare's comedies.

godson (710 [581]) — Because Rhisiart/Richard shares the King's (i.e. Richard II's) name.

gold brooch ... golden thread (190 [99]) — The emphasis on gold is evident in Glendower's court, and is doubtless intended to recall the courts presented in the *Mabinogion*.

"Owen's gold represents, in all probability, a serious attempt to associate the known qualities of the Celtic stereotype with the course laid down for his sacrificial prince" (Mathias, "Sacrificial" 249).

golden dragon on a white ground (396 [325]) — This is historical; see Lloyd (45), who believes Glendower was copying Uther Pendragon's emblem as presented by Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Golgotha (77 [64]) — The site of the crucifixion of Jesus, just outside Jerusalem.

Goosander (616 [504]) — The English (as distinct from North American) name for the Common Merganser. The references to it as a "seagull" (645 [528]) must be misprints for either "seabird" or "sea-duck." However, Morine Krissdóttir has noted two passages from the notebooks relevant to this scene, the second of which involves a seagull (see *Petrushka* 17 and *The Dorset Year* 132). A goosander is also mentioned in *Morwyn* (267). JCP writes of goosanders in the Corwen area in two of the *Letters to Llewelyn* (II 212, 214), and in a letter to A. R. Powys (*Powys Journal* VI [1996] 202). His statement about goosanders not being fish-eaters (646 [528]) is incorrect. NB: The original title of this chapter was "Harlech" (see Krissdóttir UK xvii, US xv).

Gorge de Dieu! (65 [53]) — God's throat! (French).

"Gorsedd" mound (56 [46]) — A mound associated with ancient religious rites, and later with the modern Welsh Eisteddfod.

Gower (636 [521]) — A peninsula in southern Wales , in the county of Swansea.

grâce de Maries (792 [648]) — Graces of Mary (bad French).

grail messenger (267 [220]) — An attendant at the Grail mysteries, whose name is sometimes given as Luned or Lynet. JCP refers to "Linet," from Malory's story of "Gareth and Lynet" in *A Glastonbury Romance* (864 [827]).

"***Gratia Domine ... saeculorum!***" (248-49 [205]) — "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and remain with you and with us through all eternity!" (Latin).

great beggarly beard (378 [311] — This must be a coy allusion to the Rabelaisian expression, "a great buggerly beard"; see Rabelais (Book 2, Ch.30). The "e" may be a misprint or an editorial substitution. Cf., however, "great beggerly castle" (374 [308]).

great creative Nature (52 [43]) — A favourite expression of JCP's, possibly derived from Perdita's phrase, "great creating nature," in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* (IV iv 88). JCP also uses it in *A Glastonbury Romance* (177 [185], etc.), *Weymouth Sands* (171, etc.), *Autobiography* (104), and elsewhere.

great-grandfather (813 [666]) — Edward III, King of England, 1327-77.

great gulf [... fixed] (507, 682 [416, 558]) — Luke 16:26.

great harp (159 [132]) — See "harp was so large."

Great Mother (563 [462]) — Cybele, the earth-mother, invoked in the closing pages of *A Glastonbury Romance*.

Great Schism (617 [505]) — The split between the rival papacies at Rome and Avignon. See "Avignon."

Great Serpent (415 [341]) — The Druids are supposed to have brought a "cult of the Great Serpent" with them from Atlantis (see *Porius* 4). William Stukeley, the great eighteenth-century archaeologist, had now discredited theories about serpentine figures at Avebury, etc., in his later years.

Great Whitley (820 [672]) — A town eleven miles northeast of Worcester.

green pastures (12, 631 [11, 516]) — Probable echo of Psalm 23:2.

Gregorian-like (705 [576]) — Resembling Gregorian chant.

Grendor, John (624 [511]) — Historical, one of Henry IV's supporters and military leaders in Wales. See Lloyd (96, 131).

Grey, Ambrose (213 [176]; cf. 125 [103]) — The eldest son of Reginald Grey (q.v.) captured with his father by Glendower. Historical, but his character as presented here is fictional.

Grey Friar (27 [23]) — See "Franciscans."

Grey, Reginald (16 [14]) — Historical. The account of his feud with Glendower is recounted in detail by Bradley (Ch.3). For his capture, see Lloyd (48-49); for his ransom, see Lloyd (57) and Wylie (I 305).

Griff (231 [191]) — The young student at Valle Crucis, but also (7 [6]) short for "Griffin" (see immediately below).

Griffin [Griff] (5 [4]) — Rhisiart's horse. "Griffin" is a name related to the Welsh "Griffith."

Griffith (422 [346]) — Gruffydd ap Dafydd ap Gruffydd (q.v.).

Griffith ab Owen (125 [103]) — Glendower's eldest son. He was captured at Pwyll Melyn (see 742 [608]), and died of plague in the Tower of London.

Griffith ap Cynan (794 [650]) — See "Gruffydd ap Cynan."

Griffith ap Madoc (8 [7]) — A historical figure who died in 1269 or 1270, Rhisiart's "traitor-ancestor," who inherited Dinas Bran (q.v.). He had married an Englishwoman and sided with Henry III (Bradley 86). The names "Griffith" and "Madoc" alternated in this family, so there are many characters recorded in history with the same name. In *Owen Glendower*, most references are to the Griffith just described, but at 656 [537]) the reference is to a later descendant (born c.1300), who was Glendower's grandfather.

Griffith Fychan (156 [129]) — Glendower's father. "Fychan" means "junior" or "younger."

Griffith Llwyd [ap Dafydd ab Einion](127 [105]) — A historical figure (c.1380-c.1420), and traditionally regarded as Glendower's personal bard, though often confused by early commentators, including Bradley (100, 234) with Iolo Goch (q.v.). Bradley, however, corrects himself in an errata-slip. Pennar notes that his improvised poem on the comet (473 [389]) is authentic, sometimes attributed to him, sometimes to Iolo Goch, but adds: "... all in all, the picture of Griffith Llwyd in John Cowper Powys as a purveyor of Taliesinic vaticination, is misleading to say the least" (22).

Grosmont (712 [582]) — In Monmouthshire, on the border of Herefordshire. For its fortress in Glendower's time, see Bradley (246-47) and Wylie (II 18-20).

Gruffydd ap Cynan (740 [606]) — King of Gwynedd (c.1055-1137), who spent several years in prison or exile in Ireland but ultimately succeeded in uniting Gwynedd against the attacks of Henry I. He was the father of Owen ap Griffith ap Cynan (q.v.), and said to be an ancestor of Glendower.

Gruffydd ap Dafydd ap Gruffydd (310 [256]) — A historical figure, "the slipperiest thief on the border" (422 [346]). The scene at Meifod (421 [346]) suggests that JCP is thinking of the episode of Falstaff and the laundry-basket in Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. His actions in 1400, immediately before Glendower's revolt, are discussed by Lloyd (29) and Wylie (I 144-45).

Gruc [719] — See "Cruc."

guerre gauloise (810 [664]) — French-style war (French).

Gwalchmai (47 [39]) — The Welsh equivalent of Gawain, one of the traditional Arthurian knights, prominent in the Welsh romance, "The Lady of the Fountain." Also (125 [103]) a servant of Glendower. JCP playfully gives his "ill-favoured ostler" (628 [513]) the name of a knight with, in Lady Charlotte Guest's words (395), "a reputation for courtesy."

Gwenddydd (662 [541]) — Sister of Merlin (Myrddin), who appears as an important character in *Porius*, where the name is spelt with only one of the first d's. JCP here follows the standard spelling, as in Lloyd (95n).

Gwent (110 [91]) — A sometime province and county of southeast, bordering on England, roughly corresponding to Monmouthshire.

Gwerclas (870 [713] — A small community in Denbighshire, one-and-a-half miles southwest of Corwen.

gwerin (908 [744]) — The common people (Welsh).

Gwerthrynion (610 [499]) — An area of central Wales, west of Maelienydd, now part of modern Powys.

Gwion bach (59 [48]) — Nickname for Rhisiart, originating with his nurse Modry, and taken over by Tegolin. It is an allusion to an early manifestation of Taliesin in "The Tale of Taliesin" (often included in translations of the *Mabinogion*, and sometimes separated as "The Tale of Gwion Bach"). It tells how he gained his wisdom from the Cauldron of Ceridwen.

gwledig (809 [663]) — Leader, chief ruler (Welsh), here Uther Pendragon, father of Arthur; see 814 [667].

gwr bonheddig (69 [57]) — Gentleman (Welsh).

gwrogaeth (651 [533]) — Translated (from the Welsh) in text.

Gwyddel (110 [91]) — A Goidel belonging to a branch of the Celtic peoples, of Aryan origin, bringing with them a language from which both Irish and Scots Gaelic derive. They later arrived in North Wales. They appear in *Porius* as the Gwyddylaid.

Gwyddelwern (311 [256]) — Literally "swamp of the Gwyddel," it is a hamlet in Denbighshire, north of Corwen on the way to Derwen and Ruthin. It also appears–under various spellings–in *Porius*.

Gwyddyrn the Goidel (111 [91]) — Presumably a (possibly Powysian) variant of Gwrtheyrn, the Welsh form of Vortigern, misprinted as Gortheyrn in *Porius* (207). The reference would be to one of the dragons found by Merlin beneath Dinas Emrys in Geoffrey of Monmouth (VI 19).

Gwydion [ap Don] (270, 805, 880 [222, 660, 721]) — Celtic enchanter. The stories alluded to here all derive from "Math Son of Mathonwy," the fourth story in the *Mabinogion*.

Gwyn ap Nudd (533 [437) — A king of Annwn, often associated with demons. He is supposed to have once lived in Glastonbury Tor, and is often mentioned in *A Glastonbury Romance* and *Porius*.

Gwynedd 93 [76]) — A princedom in ancient Wales, now a modern county.

H

Hades (42 [35]) — The classical underworld, roughly equivalent to Annwn (q.v.).

Hafgan ... King of Annwn (53) — A character in "Pwyll Prince of Dyfed," the first story in the *Mabinogion*. NB: Hafgan is misspelled "Halgan" in the modern reprints [44].

Hail Marys (208 [175]) — In the singular, the English version of "Ave Maria," the opening words of a Roman Catholic prayer. See especially 295 [244].

Hal Bolingbroke (18 [16]) — See "Henry Bolingbroke.".

Halls of Cynddylan (883 [723]) — See "*Stafell Cyndylan*" and "Cyndylan."

hanging oak (17 [14]) — Presumably a tree from which criminals would be hanged.

Hanmers (167 [138]) — The family of Glendower's wife, Margaret Hanmer. John Hanmer (617 [505]) was Glendower's envoy to the French court; see Lloyd (83).

Hardy, [Tom] (373 [307]) — With Trenchard (q.v.), another of JCP's puckish and anachronistic jokes. Hardy is clearly offered as an ancestor of the Victorian novelist. In addition, the scene in which he drags Philip Sparrow from the church sanctuary (906-7 [742]) is reminiscent of Dogberry's arrest of Conrade and Borachio in Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing* (V i).

Harlech (413 [339]) — A coastal town in Gwynedd, with associations linking it to Bran the Blessed, as presented in "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*. The Castle, built by Edward I, was captured by Glendower in 1404 (Lloyd 81) and recaptured by the English in 1408-9; JCP implies 1410 in his "Argument" (US xi, UK 943) ["Historical Background" 772], but this is incorrect. Photos in Bradley (232), Allday (between 68 and 69), and *La lettre powysienne* 4 (2002) 5, 16, 25).

Harold the Saxon, Harold Godwinson (536, 669, 839 [439, 547, 687]) — The last Saxon king of England, slain at the Battle of Hastings (1066). His father was Godwin, so "Godwinson."

harp was so large (155 [128]) —Iorwerth C. Peate (8ff.) later explained to JCP that the medieval Welsh harp was a small instrument.

Harry of Monmouth (355 [292]) — Prince Henry, the future Henry V.

Hartz Mountains (694 [538]) — A mountain range in central Germany associated with Faust.

Haverford West (787 [645]) — A town in Pembrokeshire, now spelt Haverfordwest.

he hadn't taken thought enough of these things! (258 [212]) — Behind this statement must be a memory of Shakespeare's *King Lear* (III iii 32-33): "O I have ta'en / Too little care of this!"

He laid one hand on the thigh ... (165 [136]) — Walter Brut is making his oath according to the practice frequent in Genesis (e.g., 24:2, 9). The simultaneous swearing on the sword belongs to heroic Christian tradition; cf. Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (I v 147ff.).

"He willing and she willing" (490 [403]) — From Homer but not identified. Also quoted in *A Glastonbury Romance* (889 [851]).

He wished his body to be ... burnt (918 [752]) — Morine Krissdóttir notes that cremation "would not have been countenanced in any Christian society of that time, nor did it appear to have been practised in any pre-Christian tradition in Wales" [UK xxi, US xix]. But this part of *Owen Glendower* is pure romance. JCP told Gerard Casey ("Letters to Casey" 171) that he wanted Owen's death to be "a *thrilling* effort not a laborious & painful one" so gave him "a heathen in place of a Xtian send off."

"Hear and obey ... Marches of the same" (460-61 [378]) — This is derived–often word for word (including "Owen ap Glendourdy"!)–from a list of legislation in Lloyd (55-56), though historically these were proposed after Bryn Glas.

Hector (201 [164]) — The Trojan protagonist in Homer's *Iliad*, whose slaying of Patroclus leads to Achilles' return to the field and to Hector's own death.

"Heddwch!" (248 [204]) — "Peace!" (Welsh).

Heledd (452 [372]) — Princess Heledd of Powys was "daughter of Cyndrwyn" who "laments the death of her brother Cynddylan [q.v.], and the destruction of their home by the Mercians" (Gwyn Williams 220). Here the first reference to "Cynd[d]ylan" should read "Cyndrwyn."

Helen of Troy (368 [303]) — Wife of Menelaus, carried off by Paris, the cause of the Trojan War. Her "nepenthe" is also mentioned in *A Glastonbury Romance* (648 [625]), *Maiden Castle* (104), *Autobiography* (297), *Porius* (396, 652, 873), and *Atlantis* (388), and occurs in Homer's *Odyssey* (Book 4).

Henri Père (759 [622]) — i.e., Henry IV. (but JCP should have written "Henri père", as opposed to "Henri fils")

Henry Bolingbroke (48 [40]) — The future Henry IV, King of England from 1399 to 1413. For his long speech at 854-55 [700-701], see "sleep."

Henry of Lancaster, Prince of Wales (352 [290]) — The future Henry V. Historically, he was thirteen years old at this time. But see also "third Henry of Lancaster."

Henry the Second (560 [459]) — King of England, 1154-89.

"Her skin is whiter ... meadow fountains" (647 [529]) — From "Culhwch and Olwen," an ancient Welsh story often translated with the *Mabinogion*, quoted somewhat inaccurately from Lady Charlotte Guest's translation.

Hercule (845 [692]) —King Henry IV's dwarf, who plays a similar role here to the Fool in Shakespeare's *King Lear*. Presumably fictional.

Hercules (446 [357]) — The classical figure famous for his physical strength. So, "Herculean" (420 [345]).

Hereford (4 [4]) — The county town of Herefordshire, an English county bordering on Wales.

His knees loosened beneath him (567 [465]) — A version of a common Homeric usage (see, for instance, the *Odyssey* (IV 703, XVIII 212), a favourite JCP phrase–see *Porius* (201, 751) and *Atlantis* (213), etc.

Historical Background [769-777] — A considerably abridged version of the "Argument" (q.v.) that appeared in the original editions. No explanation of the reasons for the cuts is offered.

Historical Note (front papers of UK edition) — This note does not appear in the US edition or in the modern reprints.

hog of Chirk — See "Simon the Hog."

Holy Derfel — See "Derfel."

Holy Sepulchre (260 [214]) — The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, built on the reputed site of Calvary and revered as the place of Jesus's burial.

Holyhead (665 [544]) —A coastal port in Anglesey.

Homer (201, 348, 490, 551, 550, 910 [166, 286, 403, 452, 475, 745]) — Greek epic poet, author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, constantly alluded to and quoted by JCP. So, "Homeric" (112, 324, 388, 820 [92, 267, 319, 672]). For the Homeric passages alluded to at 152 [125]), see under "Cassandra"; for that at 820 [672], see under "Achilles ..."

honey-gents (207 [171]) — Obviously connected with "honeysuckle-rogues," a phrase used elsewhere by JCP and Llewelyn (e.g., *Autobiography* 269), and seemingly associated with male friendship.

"hop headless ... and fry faggots" (236 [194]) — JCP derives this quotation from Wylie (I 177). The modern reprints have an unneeded hyphen between the last two words.

Hopkin ap Thomas (636 [521]) — Hopcyn ap Thomas ab Einion (c.1330-post 1403), a historical figure, though not recognized as such in the modern reprints. Lloyd (68-9) accepts him as a prophetic if somewhat opportunistic bard, but other authorities insist that he was "not a bard but a gentleman learned in the work of the bards" (Mathias, "Sacrificial" 255). The *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* considers his claim to be a bard an invention of Iolo Morganwg. Davies goes so far as to call Hopcyn "the greatest Welsh bibliophile and literary patron of his day" (160), but also argues that it was as "an acknowledged expert in the interpretation of the [ancient] prophecies, that he was ... consulted by Owain Glyn Dwr in 1403" (55). There is some evidence, however, to suggest that he occasionally offered prophecies himself. G. Wilson Knight ("*Owen*" 437-38) remarked that in JCP's text "his prophecies are misapplied rather than disproven." Thus "the crowning of a Welsh prince in London" and "the anointing of a great King by a girl in armour" (637 [521]) can be read as applying to Henry Tudor (Henry VII) and Charles VII of France and Joan of Arc rather than Glendower and Tegolin.

horned stag (482-483, 486, 498, 936 [391, 399, 409, 767]) — An ambiguous image in folklore, sometimes seen as a primitive Horned God, sometimes in a Christian context (St. Hubert is supposed to have seen a stag with a cross between its horns). It can also carry associations with Merlin/Myrddin.

hors de combat (815 [668]) — Out of action (French).

horses wading in blood (543 [445]) — One of the legends about Glendower's birth first popularized by Holinshed in his *Chronicles*. Bradley (82) ascribes the story to Welsh tradition, but Lloyd (52n) insists that in the original records "the portent is specifically connected with the birth of Edmund [Mortimer]." JCP clearly plays on the ambiguity; Clanvow's remark can be read as applying to either Mortimer or Glendower, though the former is more probable.

Hotspur (182 [150]) — The nickname of Henry Percy (1364-1403), son of the Earl of Northumberland, killed at the Battle of Shrewsbury.

House of Lancaster (37 [31]) — The new royal house established by Henry IV.

House of Mortimer (182 [150]) — See "Mortimer, Lord."

House of Saturn ... House of Mars (823 [675]) — Astrological periods under the influence of their respective planets.

hud or ***lledrith*** (801 [656]) — Enchantment (Welsh).

hugger-mugger (567 [465]) — Perhaps a glance at the use of the word in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (IV i 83), but a favourite word of JCP's: see *Weymouth Sands* (85, 526, 554) and *Autobiography* (122).

Huss, Master (320 [264]) — John Huss (c.1369-1415), Bohemian theologian, burnt at the stake. He is contemporary with Glendower and, since he wasn't ordained until 1401, the reference here is something of an anachronism.

Huw Menai (dedication) — The pseudonym of Huw Owen Williams (1888-1961), the son of a miner. He published four volumes of verse, of which *The Simple Vision* (1945) was the last. The Rhondda is a mining district in Glamorgan with Rhondda and the Rhondda River as its centre. JCP uses the phrase "Huw Menai of the Rhondda" in his introduction to *The Simple Vision*, reprinted in *Obstinate Cymric* (114).

Hyddgant Mountain (518 [425]) — In the Plynlimmon range in Ceredigion (Cardiganshire), where Glendower had fought a successful battle of which little is known (see Lloyd 39 and note).

hyper-moron (551 [452]) — Explained in text, but I have not traced the passage in Homer.

Hywel, Abbot (15, 299 [18, 247]) — Apparently an error for "Abbot John ap Hywel."

Hywel ap Madoc (395 [325]) — Historical, though not acknowledged as such in the introductory lists. Dean of St. Asaph at the outbreak of the rebellion.

Hywel, King (419 [344]) — Hywel Dda (Hywel the Good), well-known in Welsh legendary tradition as a law-giver, grandson of Rhodri Mawr (q.v.), and king of a considerable part of Wales, c.940-50. JCP's view of him is ambivalent; see *Obstinate Cymric* (13-14).

Hywel Sele (27, 437-40 [23, 360-62]) — Lord of Nannau, near Dolgellau in Gwynedd, a cousin of Glendower. The story of his death and burial in the tree at the hands of Glendower is traditional, but of JCP's sources only Bradley (165-68) seems to accept it as in any way historical. Lloyd ignores the story, while Wylie considers it a "legend" (I 446). Davies, however, cites a report of the body being discovered forty years later and observes that the tree "was still being pointed out to travellers in the nineteenth century" (by

which time Scott had mentioned the story in *Marmion*); but he considers that the story itself "has all the hallmarks of a later fabrication" (340). Henken (130–32) records the evolution of the story in the seventeenth-century Robert Vaughan and the eighteenth-century Thomas Pennant (whom JCP had read), and attested to the fact that the story "is very much alive in the current folklore of the Dolgellau area." Jacqueline Peltier records that the supposed site of the tree at Nannau "is still known as 'Ceubrin yr Ellyl', 'The Hollow Tree of the Devils'" (25). JCP is somewhat ambiguous about whether Hywel was alive or dead when lowered into the tree (438 [361], but cf. 562 [461])–and Henken reports that traditional accounts were equally vague on the question (131-32).

Hywel the Bard (268 [221]) — Hywel ab Einion Lygliw (fl. 1330-70). "His only extant poem is his love-poem to Myfanwy Fychan of Dinas Bran, Llangollen, which was included in *The Myrvyrian Archaiology* (1801)" (Stephens). See also under "Myfanwy, Princess."

Hywel the Good (441 [363]) — See "Hywel, King."

I

"I am I" (319 [263]; cf. 290 [240]) — An important phrase and concept in JCP's *In Defence of Sensuality, Philosophy of Solitude* (especially Ch.2) and elsewhere.

"**I am the Way, the Truth and the Life**" (234 [193]) — John 14:6.

"**I hanged my steward *to make them bread***" (65 [54]) — An obscure allusion. The last four words are not italicized in the modern reprints.

Iago [ap Cynan] (269 [221]) — Fictional. The reason for JCP's naming this page after the villain in Shakespeare's *Othello* is not clear, though Iago is a common Welsh name (+ James). The page is, of course, fictional There is confusion throughout the book about his age. He is said to be younger than Elphin (732 [599]), but Elphin was "about twelve" in 1400 (197 [163]), while Luned was "eighteen" (267 [220]). Thus Iago as the father of Luned's child (732, 870 [600, 712]) is impossible.

Ial or **Ial** (202, 341 [167, 281]) — Also known as Yale (q.v.), a lordship near Valle Crucis Abbey. The Ial form is used by Lloyd, Yale by Bradley, Wylie, and Davies. The Welsh would be "Iâl" rather then "Ial." The modern reprints consistently use "Ial."

Idris (733 [600]) — Idris the Giant is said to have been one of the three chief astrologers in ancient Britain; see Spence (132). He is also mentioned in *Porius* (759).

"**... if it has been ... it *will* be**" (388 [319]) — Possibly an echo of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (V ii 230-32).

If you're serving the Lord of Chirk. (39 [33]) — An obvious misprint. The full stop should be a comma, and should be followed immediately by "I'm serving ..." No paragraph- or even sentence-break is involved, and no quotation-mark. Unfortunately, this error is perpetuated in the modern reprints.

ignis fatuus (281 [231]) — Will o' the Wisp.

Ignotus, Father (617 [505]) — Historical, though not listed as such in the modern reprints. "Ignotus" is Latin for "unknown." He appears as the Archdeacon of Bangor (and is so described in Lloyd 93), associated with the organizing of the Tripartite Indenture. Mathias asserts (without offering evidence) that in *Owen Glendower* he is "no more than the presiding mask of evil" ("Sacrificial" 255).

"Illumina, Domine Deus, tenebras nostres" (25 [21]) — "Lighten our darkness, O Lord God" (Latin). From a collect which appears in a wide variety of liturgical situations. NB: "*nostres*" should read "*nostras*."

"In Exitu Israel de Egyptu" (37 [31]) — "When Israel went out of Egypt" (Latin). Psalm 114:1.

"In Exitu Mulieres" (462 [380]) — "When the women went ..." (Latin). Possibly from the Vulgate version of the Resurrection story, but these "obscure words" have not been traced.

in medias res (181 [150]) — Into the midst of things (Latin).

In nomine Christi et omnium sanctorum (211 [174]) — In the name of Christ and all the saints" (Latin).

in situ (689 [583]) — In place (Latin).

"**In the kingdom of the blind ... king**" (813 [666]) — Another of JCP's anachronisms, since the first record, in *The Oxford Book of English Proverbs*, is credited to John Skelton in 1522.

"In toto corde meo" (46 [38]) — In my whole heart (Latin).

inconvertendo (48 [39]) — The Latin opening to Psalm 126. See "When the Lord turned ..."

Incubi and Succubi (82 [68]) — Evil spirits consorting with human beings during sleep; an incubus visited women while a succuba (or succubus) visited men. Merlin's father was said by some to have been a succubus.

indult (193 [159]) — A document permitting bishops and others to diverge from customary practice in face of special events (*Webster's*). This is a historical document extending an earlier indult of 1397 (Lloyd 110), though he dates this later one at 9 November 1403.

Inferno (5 [4]) — Hell (Italian). The first part of Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

infinite space (304 [251]) — Probably an echo of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (II ii 262). Also quoted in *The Complex Vision* (86).

Innocent the Seventh (617 [505]) — Pope (at Rome) from 1404 to 1406.

Inns of Court (775 [634]) — The law school in London. Lloyd (19-20) confirms Glendower's attendance at the Inns

of Court, but notes that they had by then become "a kind of upper-class university" rather than a place providing exclusively legal training. See also "student days."

"insect" (261 [215]) — See *Petrushka and the Dancer* (77-78).

"Into thy hands ..." (161 [133]) — From a Christian prayer, itself adapted from Jesus's last words from the Cross in Luke 23:46.

Introduction [UK xi-xxiv, US ix-xxii] — This helpful introduction by Morine Krissdóttir did not, of course, appear in earlier editions.

Iolo Goch (50 [41]) — Iolo the Red (c.1320-98), a historical figure, though JCP is romancing in the account of his death (157-63 [130-35]), which took place before Glendower's Proclamation. He was, however, buried at Valle Crucis (180 [149]). Bradley (100, 234) erroneously identified him with Griffith Llwyd (q.v.)–but corrected himself in an errata-list. Mathias claims that "in history [he] was not known to be disloyal to the Crown" (Sacrificial" 245); on the other hand, his "dislike of ecclesiastics" (160 [132]) is well known.

ipso facto (642 [525]) — By that very fact (Latin).

Irish Sea (258 [213]) — The sea separating England from Ireland.

Isaac (632 [517]) — The biblical patriarch, son of Abraham, in Genesis.

Isis (8 [7]) — The name given to the section of the River Thames that runs through Oxford.

"Isle of the Mighty" (367 [302]) — A traditional description of Britain, occurring in "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*.

It is reported by Saint Luke." / "Well? What then?" (197 [162]) — There is a textual confusion here. Possibly the first sentence should belong to Walter Brut; possibly a line has been omitted. The modern reprints assume both lines are Rhisiart's, omit the quotation-marks, and run both paragraphs together.

"It remains bread ... body of Christ" (235 [194]) —Quoted from William Chatrys (q.v.).

It was Father Pascentius ... a new charger" (368) — These two paragraphs are unaccountably omitted from the modern reprints.

It was not till the grey dawn ..." (934 [765]) — Krissdóttir (UK xxiii, US xxi) notes that this final section was written at the urging of Phyllis Playter.

J

Jack-and-the-Beanstalk (124 [102]) — Traditional children's fairy-tale.

Jack-in-the-Pulpit (313 [258]) — A rural term applied, for example, as a name for the wild arum.

Jacob (632 [517]) — The biblical patriarch, son of Isaac, in Genesis.

Jennap ab Adam (226 [187]) — The husband of Princess Myfanwy (q.v.).

Jinn (605, 842 [496, 690]) — A Genie, a supernatural figure out of Arab mythology.

John ap Hywel (18 [15]) — A Cistercian Abbot of Llantarnam, near Caerleon. Glanmor Williams (*Welsh* 220) called him "one of the most attractive figures among the rebels," remarkable for a "blending in his person of martial courage and ascetic piety." Killed in battle in 1405 (see 743 [608]) and Lloyd 97). NB: The modern reprints omit an apparently erroneous "the" in "the ap Hywel" (19).

John Baptist (29 [24]) — The patron saint of St. John's or Midsummer Day. JCP often omits the more usual definite article.

John, King (181, 819) — King of England, 1189-1216. He is buried in Worcester Cathedral (see 336 [277]). For JCP's own story of visiting his tomb, see *Autobiography* (372).

joisting (313) — Presumably a typographical error for "jousting." So corrected in the modern reprints [258].

jonglerie (313 [258]), **jongleur** (824 [676]) — Juggling, juggler, minstrel. (French).

Jorwerths (347) — Corrected to the more usual "Iorwerths" in the modern reprints [286].

Joseph of Arimathea (517 [424]) — See "Saint Joseph of Arimathea."

Jove with his thunderbolts (800 [656]) — The chief Olympian god in Greek mythology.

Judas (77 [64]) — Judas Iscariot, betrayer of Jesus.

Justinian (900 [737]) — Byzantine Emperor from 527 to 565. The code of law that bears his name was created by his legal experts.

K

"keep nothing back" (685 [559]) — I have not traced this quotation attributed to St. Francis.

Keeper of the Keys (580 [475]) — St. Peter in his capacity as the gatekeeper of Heaven.

Kelpy (253 [209]) — Water spirit in the form of a horse that likes to drown its riders; Evil spirit (Scottish).

Kicva ferch Wyn Gloyw (128 [105]) — The wife of Pryderi in Welsh mythology. See the opening of "Manawydan Son of Llyr," the third story in the *Mabinogion*.

Kidwelly (459 [377]) —A town on the south coast of Wales in Carmarthenshire.

Kilhwch (117 [96]) — Nowadays usually spelt "Culhwch" (JCP follows the older spelling of Lady Charlotte Guest). A

leading character in the ancient Welsh tale, "Culhwch and Olwen," often included in translations of the *Mabinogion*. The incident in question occurs close to the beginning of the story.

"**kind sword**" (662 [541]) — Cf. 379 [311]..

Kings Lynn (235 [193]) — A town in Norfolk.

knavish tricks (621 [508]) — From a verse of the British National Anthem, "God Save the King [or Queen]" that is nowadays generally omitted. Also quoted in *Autobiography* (325, 597).

Knight of St. John (862 [706]) — A member of a military order, like the Knights Templar (q.v.), which took over some of the confiscated Templar lands.

Knights Templar (823 [674]) — A military order founded in Jerusalem in the early twelfth century. They later became powerful and wealthy, and appear to have possessed potent secrets relating to the origins of Christianity. They were brutally suppressed by Philip IV of France in 1307, though some escaped and continued to operate, especially in Scotland.

"Knives!" (346 [285]) — See under "sinister old tale."

knot of contrariety (707 [579]) — This phrase is presented in quotation-marks in *Morwyn* (172, 271), and also occurs in *Atlantis* (363) and *Up and Out* (78). I have not, however, identified it.

"**Know thyself**" (453 [372]) — The oracle in question is that of Delphi.

L

Lacrima Christi (838 [687]) — Tear of Christ (Latin). The name of an Italian wine.

Lady Scudamore in Herefordshire (871 [713] — The generally accepted version of Glendower's place of refuge. His daughter Alice had married Sir John Scudamore (see Lloyd 144-45).

Lammas (781 [645]) — Derived from Loafmas, the day when first-fruits were offered (1 August).

l'amour d'escalier (514 [422]) — Literally, "the love of the staircase" (French), containing the hint of a ladder or scale of love. (Although it is an unknown expression, probably invented by JCP.)

Land's End (406 [336]) — The westernmost point of England, on the coast of Cornwall.

late unhappy king (8 [8]) — Richard II (q.v.).

lavrocks (254 [209]) — Skylarks (obsolete usage).

Lawnslot (61 [50]) — The name of this page is a variant form of Launcelot.

Lazarus (507 [416]) — The reference is to Luke 16:20, the beggar contrasted with Dives, not the Lazarus whom Jesus raised from the dead.

Le Borgne, Robert (813 [667]) — "The One-Eyed" (French), nickname of Robert de la Heuze (q.v.).

le capitaine sauvage (168 [139]) — The violent captain (French).

Leper's window (734 [601]) — A window in some ancient churches from which lepers, in isolation, could view the services. According to *Autobiography* (328), there was one in the church at Burpham, where JCP once lived.

let me hold her for five minutes (604 [495]) — Clearly an allusion to a scene in Thomas Hardy's *The Return of the Native* (Book 2, Ch.4).

Lethe (285 [235]) — One of the rivers of the classical underworld, the drinking of whose waters brings forgetfulness.

letter to Mortimer's tenants ... incommoded (610 [499]) — JCP is deeply indebted here to Lloyd (59).

Lewes (66 [54]) — A town in southern England, in Sussex, the land of the South Saxons. JCP lived near Lewes in the early 1900s.

Lewis ab Ievan (597 [489]) — See "Byford, Lewis."

Lewis of Aber (103 [85]) — Lewis Aber, a historical figure, aspirant to the see of Bangor. He was "treasurer of St. David's and prebendary of St. Asaph's" (Lloyd 113). He died in 1401.

life-illusion (11 [9]) — One of JCP's central preoccupations, especially in *Ducdame* and *Wolf Solent*. In *Letters to Henry Miller* (47), he acknowledges its source in Ibsen's *The Wild Duck*.

"**like a clap of thunder and a fall of mist**" (45 [37]) — From "Manawydan Son of Llyr," the third story in the *Mabinogion*, also quoted in *Porius* (522), *Obstinate Cymric* (43) and in Peate (1). See also Wood ("Queer Attacks" 43). Perhaps JCP's own translation.

like a drunken man (101) [83]) — Psalm 107:27.

like an old war-horse who hears the trumpet (189 [156]) — An echo of Job 39:25, also cited in *Autobiography* (331).

"**Like the Assyrians ...**" (469 [386]) — An allusion to 2 Kings 19:35.

Lilith (82 [68]) — A Semitic demon, also said in the Jewish Talmud to have been the name of a wife that Adam had before Eve.

"**lions rampant and sable**" (197 [163]) — See "four lions, rampant and sable."

Livius, [Lemuel] (628 [514]) — Fictional. The name of a claimed JCP ancestor. Livius was the maiden name of Maria Dorothea Johnson, JCP's great-grandmother. He connected the name with Levi and became convinced, without other evidence, that it implied a Jewish strain in the family. For

further details, see Stephen Powys Marks, "John Cowper Powys's 'great-grandfather from Hamburg'," *Powys Society Newsletter* 37 (July 1999), 14-15. Another Jewish "Mr. Livius" appears on the last page of *The Inmates*.

Llan (902 [738]) — Enclosure, especially ecclesiastical (Welsh); here, shrine.

Llan-Collen (76 [63]) — The modern Llangollen, in Denbighshire, literally the shrine of Collen (q.v.). JCP calls it "the romantic town of Llangollen" in *Obstinate Cymric* (57). Photo in Bradley (96).

Llanderfel (730 [598]) — Literally, the shrine of Derfel, a village in Gwynedd, northeast of Llyn Tegid.

llanerch (926 [759]) — Clearing, glade (Welsh).

Llanfaes (27 [23]) — North of Beaumaris Castle in Anglesey, the location of a Franciscan friary supportive of Glendower that was destroyed by Henry IV's forces in October 1400 (though it was repaired and re-established in 1401). See Lloyd (33-34).

Llanfechain (17 [14]) — A community in Powys, some seven miles north of Welshpool.

Llangar (938 [768]) — A small community in Denbighshire, southwest of Corwen, with a church of which JCP writes in *Obstinate Cymric* (58).

Llangollen — See "Llan-Collen."

Llantarnam (788 [646]) — An abbey close to Caerleon (q.v.).

Llanwys (103 [85]) — A misprint for Llanynys, a hamlet just north of Ruthin, Denbighshire.

Llew Llaw Gyffes (916 [750]) — Son of Aranrhod (q.v.), his adventures, including his transformation into an eagle, is told in "Math Son of Mathonwy," the fourth story in the *Mabinogion*.

Llewelyn (400 [329]) — Llewelyn ap Gruffydd, the Lord Prince whose death in 1282, in a minor skirmish, effectively saw the end of Welsh hopes for independence at that time. At 446 [367]), however, the name refers to a servant of Broch-o'-Meifod.

Llwyd fab Kil Coet (645 [528]) — An enemy of Pryderi. His story is told in "Manawydan Son of Llyr," the third story in the *Mabinogion*. See also *Porius* (518).

Llyn Tegid (355 [292]) — Lake Tegid or Bala Lake in Gwynedd.

Llys (112 [92]) — Court or palace (Welsh).

Llywarch Hen (157, 389 [129, 320]) — "Llywarch the old," a sixth-century bard, traditionally regarded as the author of *Stafell Cynddylan* (q.v.). The poems attributed to him are now recognized as belonging to the ninth or tenth century.

loathliest (286 [236]) — Most repulsive. JCP deliberately employs an archaic (if not obsolete) word here to echo the frequent use of the word in the medieval romances.

Lollard (5 [5]) — A follower of John Wycliffe (q.v.). The movement was part of the opposition to traditional Catholicism. The beliefs about them expressed at 78 [65] are those attributed by their enemies to the Knights Templars (q.v.) in the previous century. JCP discusses the word in his "Argument" (US viii, UK 940, "Historical Background" [770], quoting Wylie I 175). The origin of the term is in fact in dispute. It probably derives from a Dutch word for "mutterer," alluding to the Lollards' habit of mumbling over prayers and hymns. According to Wylie, the name "was really a mere term of abuse, flung about as readily as 'infidel' or 'free thinker' now" (I 175). The specific reference here is to Walter Brut (q.v.). So, "Lollardry" (79 [65]) and "Lollardy" (110 [90]).

London Bridge (527 [432]) — A bridge across the Thames where in ancient times the heads of the executed would be displayed.

Long John to Fordington (376 [309]) — A local reference to a supposed fortune-teller at Fordington (q.v.); "to" often means "from" in Dorset dialect.

Long Thomas (18 [15]) — Fictional inn-keeper of the Tassel.

looking for us (25 [21]) — That is, after they have crossed by the ferry and are rejoining those on horseback.

Lord Charlton's Castle (4 [4]) — See "Castell Goch."

Lord Edmund (182 [150]) — See "Mortimer, Edmund."

Lord Grey of Codnor (637 [521]) — See "Codnor."

Lord Grey of Ruthin (16 [14]) — See "Grey, Reginald."

Lord of Chirk (361 [297]) — See "Fitz-Alan, [Thomas]."

Lord of Nannau (28 [24]) —Hywel Sele (q.v.).

Lord of Northumberland (182 [150]) — This reference recalls and is probably derived from Northumberland's non-appearance at the Battle of Shrewsbury as presented in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* (IV i).

Lowri [ferch Ffraid] (62 [51]) — Fictional. Coincidentally, Glendower had a sister named Lowri (see Davies 140).

"Lu" (562 [461] — See "Elliw."

Ludlow (523 [428]) — A town in Shropshire, where JCP's ancestors came from (see *Obstinate Cymric* 55).

Lud's town (648 [530]) — An old name for London.

Lugg (524 [429]) — A river of Powys that flows east into Herefordshire.

Luned (267 [220]) — Fictional. The name for a "hand-maid" is clearly borrowed from the hand-maid in "The Lady of the Fountain," also known as "Owain," a Welsh romance often translated with the *Mabinogion*, which is regarded as cognate with Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain*.

Lyde Manor (507 [416]) — The home of Walter Brut near Hereford (Lloyd 109).

M

Mabinogi (112 [92]) —The major mythic epic-chronicle of ancient Wales. The meaning of "Mabinogi" is still uncertain. Some scholars believe that it refers to collective material relating to the Brittonic god Maponos; others consider it more likely to mean "tales of origin." The plural form, "Mabinogion," arose from a textual error, but has become established because Lady Charlotte Guest used it for her influential translation. See also *Obstinate Cymric* (5). Wood notes: "Powys sees the mythology of *The Mabinogion* as a record of the conquest of the essentially pacific Neolithic Welsh aborigines by the Celts" ("Owen" 93).

Mad Huw (27 [23]) — A fictional Franciscan not mentioned as such in "Characters of the Novel" in the original editions but included in "Principal characters" in the modern reprints. Lloyd (53) reports that friars at this time were not only "accused of collecting money to send to Owen" but of imposing penances that men "should go to Wales to seek Richard II," who was alleged to be living there. Given the references to the image of Derfel (i.e., Hu Gadarn) within the book, it is interesting to note that, according to Spence (150), when the image was taken to Smithfield and burnt in 1528, "there was taken with it a 'friar' *who bore the same name as itself*, and who was also committed to the flames" (my emphases).

Madoc ab Ieuan (177 [147]) — Glendower's personal sentry. A neighbour of Glendower near Glyndyfrdwy and distantly related to him by marriage (Davies 142).

Madoc ap Griffith 49, 225 [41, 186]) — Historical ruler of the region of northern Powys from 1191 until his death, he was the founder of Valle Crucis Abbey in 1200, and was buried there on his death in 1236. Powys Fadog (q.v.) was duly named after him ("f" is a mutation of "m" in Welsh). He is believed to have built Dinas Bran (Stephens).

Madoc ap Meredith (397 [326]) — The last King of Powys (d.1160).

Madoc, Prince (569, 739, 793 [466, 605, 650]) — The claimed son of Owen Gwynedd (though the claim has been disputed), Madoc is said to have made an early voyage to America where he established a colony in 1170. This is historically unproven. See also *Obstinate Cymric* (16). The case against was made forcibly and in detail by Thomas Stephens in 1858, published as *Madoc: An Essay on the Discovery of America by Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd in the Twelfth Century* (1893); a more recent, thoughtfully argued case in favour is offered by Richard Deacon in *Madoc and the Discovery of America: Some New Light on an Old Controversy* (1966). See *Obstinate Cymric* (16) and *Morwyn* (156).

Madoc's Haven (735 [602]) — Most probably Tremadoc or Port Madoc on the coast of Gwynedd, north of Harlech.

Maelienydd (486 [399]) — An area which had been under the rule of the Mortimers for centuries, now in modern Powys.

Maelor (16 [14]) — Maelor Gymraeg, once part of Powys Fadog (q.v.), now part of the modern county of Wrexham. A "fruitful plain" (Lloyd 14). Glendower's wife came from Maelor. See also under "Yale."

Maen-y-Meifod (420 [345]) — Meifod Mill. See also under "Broch ..."

Maenads (556 [456]) — Female followers of Bacchus, the god of wine and drunkenness, said in classical legend to tear males to pieces while in frenzy.

Maesyfed (486 [399]) — The Welsh for Radnor, once a separate county, now in Powys.

magicians ... Pryderi (644 [527]) — Gwydion and Gilfaethwy, the sons of Don. See "Math Son of Mathonwy," the fourth story in the *Mabinogion*. Cf. "magicians of the Age of Bronze" (563 [462]).

Magnificat (746 [611]) — The celebratory hymn of the Virgin Mary recorded in Luke 1:46-55. See also "My soul shall magnify ..."

Maid of Edeyrnion (93 [77]) — The parallel with Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans, is here evident, but again involves one of JCP's anachronisms, since Tegolin predates Joan by about twenty years. Ian Mulder comments: "surely Powys teasing the French?" (10).

"Maister of Brut" (657 [538]) — Presumably "Master of the Matter of Britain," referring to Hopkin ap Thomas. The term is taken from Lloyd (68).

Maitre Jacques Bonhomme (782 [641]) — Master Jack Goodfellow (French). Fictional. A generic term for a French peasant. It is employed, for example in Scott's *Quentin Durward* (ch.5). Here applied to the chimpanzee. "Maître" would be the correct form.

making his moan (210 [174]) — A phrase from medieval balladry (e.g., "The Twa Corbies"). A common phrase among the Powyses.

Manawydan fab Llyr (645 [528]) — In Welsh mythology, the husband of Rhiannon after the death of Pwyll. See "Manawydan Son of Llyr," the third story in the *Mabinogion*. Lady Charlotte Guest uses the older spelling, "Manawyddan"; in this case JCP favours the later.

mandrake — See "eat the mandrake."

Manuel, Emperor (261 [215]) — Manuel II, Byzantine Emperor. See "Argument" (US xix, UK 951 ["Historical Background" 776]).

Map [vi] — In the modern reprints, a simple but useful map, "Wales in the time of Glendower," replaces the "Historical Note" in the front papers.

Marakash (920 [753]) — In fact, Marakesh or Marrakesh. Corrected to "Marakesh" in the modern reprints. A city in

Morocco associated with popular beliefs about the North African origins of the Welsh people.

March, Earl of (182 [150]) — See "Earl of March."

Marches (17 [14]) — The Welsh Marches, English lands bordering on Wales, where English lords and officials imposed their power over the Welsh.

marrow (432 [356]) — Beloved (obsolete usage).

Martinmas (913 [747]) — 11 November. Martimas (376) is possibly a dialect variant, though it may well be a typographical error and is so corrected in the modern reprints [309].

martyred namesake (234 [193]) — Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, murdered with the apparent encouragement of King Henry II in 1170.

marwnad (933 [764]) — Death-song (Welsh).

"**Math fab Mathonwy**" (249 [205]) — The fourth story in the *Mabinogion*.

Matholwych (644 [527]) — The King of Ireland whose arrival with his fleet at Harlech opens "Branwen Doughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*.

Mathrafal (111 [91]) — The home and principal court of the princes of Powys after the time of Offa, King of Mercia, though Wood notes that, in the book, "Glendower associates Mathrafal with the Welsh aboriginals ("Owen" 97). Close to Meifod (q.v.), it was destroyed by King John. Mathias complains that the ride to Mathrafal "might be over any moorland anywhere" ("Sacrificial" 263), but fails to realize that it is an object of mythic romance for Glendower, like Dinas Bran for Rhisiart. For "Mathrafal" as the last word in the novel-romance, and for an account of JCP's writing of the conclusion, see "Letters to Gerard Casey" (171-72). JCP visited the site with Littleton on 25 June 1937, and reported: "I cannot describe to you the romance of this place. It was more than magic, more than mystery ..." (see *Petrushka* 247).

measure for measure (591 [484]) — The phrase inevitably brings to mind the title of Shakespeare's play. Later in the book (835-36 [684-85]), the situation of Tegolin, saving Rhisiart at the cost of her own honour, is surely influenced by the comparable (though different) dilemma involving Isabella and Claudio in the same play. A comparable scene based on the same dramatic original may be found in *Wood and Stone* (Ch.13).

Medusa (39 [32]) — One of the three Gorgons in classical mythology, the sight of whom changed anyone who looked at her into stone.

meet and right (71 [59]) — From the Anglican Prayer-book.

Meifod (270 [222]) — A village seven miles northwest of Welshpool in Powys. JCP and Littleton believed it to be "our ancestors' abode" (*Petrushka* 247). We must presume that the mill, home of Broch and Morg, was rebuilt after the collapse of the revolt (see 899, 907 [736, 743]) since it had earlier been reported burnt (751 [615]).

Meirionydd (673 [551]) — The Welsh form of Merioneth, an area in Gwynedd, formerly a county. Meirion (730 [598]) is a shortened form.

melting ... mood (386 [317]) — Presumably an echo of Shakespeare's *Othello* (V ii 349). Also quoted in *Wood and Stone* (587), *Porius* (520), and elsewhere.

Memnon (775 [675]) — Son of Tithonus and Eos, King of the Ethiopians, killed at Troy. His statue at Thebes was supposed to give forth sounds when struck by the sun's rays at dawn. Also mentioned in *Porius* (464, 828).

mephitic (334 [275]) — Poisonous, noxious.

Mercian (353 [290]) — Relating to Mercia, a separate kingdom in central England during Anglo-Saxon times. I do not know the background to the reference at 920 [753]).

Meredith ab Owen (30 [25]) — Glendower's son, referred to in Lloyd in the Welsh form, Maredudd. Here he obtains a pardon by 1416 (935 [765]), but Lloyd gives the date as 1417 (144n), while both Bradley (306) and Davies (310) give it as 1421. For his marriage, see under "Elliw."

Merioneth (598 [490]) — See "Meirionydd."

Merlin 79 [66]) — Also known as Myrddin (Welsh), an enchanter-prophet figure mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth in *The History of the Kings of Britain* and associated with Arthur. According to Geoffrey, he was said to be the son of a nun. His Prophecies (109 [90]), included in Geoffrey's book, were widely read. "[W]here Merlin receded" (486 [399]) is a reference to his "esplum[e]oir" (q.v), the equivalent to Glendower's "difancoll." As Myrddin he plays a major role in *Porius*.

Mersey, River (662 [541]) — An English river flowing into the Irish Sea close to the northeast boundary of Wales.

Mesopotamian (632 [517]) — Relating to Mesopotamia, an ancient kingdom roughly equivalent to modern Iraq, where the Jews are said to have originated.

metheglin (33 [28]) — A kind of spiced mead.

méthode scientifique (649 [531]) — Scientific method (French).

Metropolitan (643 [526]) — An archbishop having authority over subsidiary sees.

Midsummer Eve (48 [39]) — Midsummer Day is 24 June (St. John's Day).

Milborne Port (381 [314]) — A village in the Vale of Blackmore in Somerset, near Sherborne.

Milford Haven (786 [644]) — A coastal town in Pembrokeshire.

Milky Way (880 [721]) — Known in Welsh as Caer Gwydion (q.v.).

Mill of God (849 [696]) — Cf. Longfellow's "Retribution," one of his "Poetic Aphorisms" (1846), beginning: "Though the mills of God grind slowly, they grind exceeding small."

"**mind animating matter**" (283 [234]) — From Vergil, but not traced.

mind of Christ (243 [200]) — 1 Corinthians 2:16.

mirabile dictu! (722 [591]) — Marvellous to relate! (Latin).

miserere nobis (241 [198]) — Have mercy on us (Latin). From Psalm 51:1.

mist (24, 74 [20, 63]) — Cf. the supernatural mist at the opening of *Porius*. Jeremy Hooker (29-30) reminds us that mist is one of the principal symbols in Celtic mythology. It is prominent in several passages in the *Mabinogion*.

Modry (7 [7]) — Rhisiart's nurse, referred to many times in the course of the book.

Moel Fammau (401 [330]) — More correctly, "Moel Fama," the "mountain of the Mothers" on the borders of Denbighshire and Flintshire, northeast of Ruthin. It is frequently referred to in *Porius*.

Moel Goch (204 [168]) — Foel Goch, well to the west of Corwen, on the border of Conwy and Gwynedd ("f" is a mutation of "m" in Welsh).

Mon (76 [150]), **Mona** (93 [76]) — The modern Anglesey, in ancient times a chief centre of the Druids. Mon is altered to Môn in the modern reprints. The reference at 461 [379] draws on a tradition (cf. Thomas Gray's "The Bard") that various members of the Druid community committed suicide by throwing themselves over a precipice when attacked during the reign of Edward I.

monking monk from a monkery of mummers (576 [472]) — Cf. JCP's translation (*Rabelais* 351) from Rabelais (Book 1, Ch.27): "since the monkey world first monked a monkery."

Monkswod (742) — An error for "Monkswood," corrected in the modern reprints [608]. In Glendower's time a great forest close to the River Usk (see Lloyd 96).

Monmouth (666 [545]) — The county town of Monmouthshire.

Monnow (712 [582]) — A river on the border of Monmouthshire and Herefordshire, which joins the River Wye at Monmouth.

Montfoison, Sir James (534 [438]) —Fictional.

Montgomery [895 [732]) — A town in Powys close to the English border.

Morg ferch Broch (907 [743]) — The eldest daughter of Broch and Morg ferch Lug, married to Philip Sparrow. She is mentioned earlier as Morgie at 418 [343].

Morg ferch Lug (418 [343]) — Broch-o'-Meifod's wife. There is some evidence that JCP based her on Phyllis Playter, especially the emphasis on her small stature. She is, of course, fictional.

Morgan le Fay (422 [347]) — The mysterious sister of Arthur, who plays a major role in many of the Arthurian romances.

Morgannwg (712 [583]) — An ancient kingdom roughly equivalent to the Vale of Glamorgan.

"**Mortal men ... fingers**" (465 [383]) — See "Oldcastle."

Mortimer, Edmund — See under "Mortimer, Lord."

Mortimer ... knew Welsh (572 [469]) — JCP contradicts Shakespeare in this detail; cf. *1 Henry IV* (III i 193).

Mortimer, Lady — See "Catharine."

Mortimer, Lord (274 [226]) — Edmund Mortimer (d.1409), the eventual husband of Catharine, younger brother of Roger Mortimer (d.1398). Edmund was captured by Glendower at Bryn Glas. His place of burial is uncertain, but JCP (895 [732]) follows a suggestion in Lloyd (137n) that it was in Montgomery. NB: There were two Edmund Mortimers at this time, the younger being Roger's son. For the latter, see "Earl of March."

mortmain (490 [403]) — Literally, "hand of death," and so used here. Technically, this term refers to laws governing property held by religious organizations or corporations with perpetual existence, so that death (involving taxes and death-duties) is not involved.

Mother Goose's feathers (859 [704]) — Sleep in a comfortable bed made of goose feathers. Mother Goose is, of course, a traditional nursery-rhyme figure.

"**Mothers**" (929 [761]) — A combination of protecting and inspiring goddesses from Welsh mythology and the more mystical beings in the second part of Goethe's *Faust*. In *The Pleasures of Literature*, JCP writes of "the mysterious creativeness in the heart of Nature which [Goethe] called *the Mothers*" (591). The phrase also appears in *A Glastonbury Romance* (285, 512 [279, 496]), *Maiden Castle* (482), *Weymouth Sands* (271), and *Porius* (427).

mound-stone (205 [169]; cf. 935 [765]) — A sacred stone placed by a family burial.

"**multitudes of the heavenly host**" (197 [162]) — Luke 2:12.

Mummer, Jimmy (376 [309]) — A nickname of Trenchard (q.v.).

"**Mummers**" (4 [4]) — Itinerant actors.

Mur-y-Castell (397 [327]) — Generally identified as Tomen-y-Mur, a hill-fort close to Ffestiniog, Gwynedd.

Muscovy (775 [635]) — Poetic word for Russia.

"**My soul shall magnify ... rejoice**" (622 [509]) — The opening of the Magnificat; see Luke 1:46-47.

Myfanwy, Princess (28, 226 [24, 186]) — Myfanwy Fychan, a fourteenth-century woman who fell in love with Hywel ab Einion Lygliw, Hywel the Bard (q.v.). The basic story so far as JCP is concerned is recounted at 268 [221]).

He also mentions her in *Obstinate Cymric* (57), where she is said to be buried in Valle Crucis Abbey. This story became popular when retold in a nineteenth-century poem, entitled "Myfanwy Fychan," by John Ceiriog Hughes (1860).

mygedorth (827 [718]) — Fortress (Welsh).

Mynydd-y-Gaer-yng-Nghorwen (538 [441]) — Usually referred to as "Mynydd-y-Gaer" (the "-yr-" in the original editions is an error). Literally, "hill-fortress," the neolithic encampment just north of Corwen now called Caer Drewyn. It is unusual among prehistoric encampments in having stone ramparts (see 876-77 [718]). The place becomes central in *Porius*. Henken records being told in 1982 that Glendower hid in a cave there "when the English came"–but this may be a part of modern oral tradition influenced by JCP! An actual Mynydd-y-Gaer exists in South Wales, north of Bridgend.

Mystic Serpent (910 [747]) — See "Great Serpent."

N

Nannau (27 [23]) — An estate near Dolgellau in Gwynedd. The "Lord of Nannau" (37 [31]) is Hywel Sele (q.v.).

Nant Clwyd (496 [407]) — See "Vale of Clwyd." "Nant" is Welsh for "brook" or "stream."

Narberth (413 [339]) — In Pembrokeshire, generally identified with "Arberth," the form that appears in the text of the *Mabinogion* and in modern translations, though Lady Charlotte Guest employed "Narberth" throughout. JCP follows suit, hence the reference to Pryderi and its famous mound (563 [461]). The latter landmark is prominent in both "Pwyll Prince of Dyfed" and "Manawydan Son of Llyr," the first and third stories in the *Mabinogion*.

ne forte defendas ad lapidem pedem tuum (229 [189]) — That you do not by chance hurt your foot against a stone (Latin). See Luke 4:11.

nepenthe (368 [303]) — A drug that was supposed to drive away care. See "Helen of Troy."

Nereids (324 [268]) — Sea nymphs, daughters of Nereus, in classical mythology.

Nessus (344 [283]) — In classical mythology, a shirt steeped in the blood of Nessus the Centaur was given to Hercules by his wife Deianira, not knowing that it was excruciatingly poisonous.

Newport (560 [456]) — A city in south Wales, now also a county.

Newport, Henry (725 [593]) — Historical, mentioned in Wylie (II 19).

Nicholls, Benedict (875 [717]) — Historical. The "Holy Father" in question was Gregory XII. As JCP notes, following Lloyd (134), Nicholls held the rectorship at Stalbridge (q.v.).

"N'importe! Ce n'est pas grand' chose" (799 [655]) — "Never mind; it's not a large issue" (French).

Nine Heavens (472 [388]) — A reference to the nine spheres of the old cosmology, those of the seven planets (including the moon rather than the earth), plus the Primum Mobile and the Empyrean.

Nineveh (427 [350]) — The capital of Assyria at the height of its power, frequently mentioned in the Bible, and central to the Book of Jonah.

"Nis gwn!" (938 [768]) — Translated (from the Welsh) in text. Also quoted in *Mortal Strife* (115).

"noble" (362 [298]) — A gold coin minted between the reigns of Edward III and Henry VIII.

nom de Diable (909 [744]) — [In] the Devil's name (French).

Norsemen (942 [771]) — Since JCP wrote, the Norse presence in North America, previously suspected, has been established with the discovery of a Norse encampment at L'Anse aux Meadows in northern Newfoundland.

Northumberland (182 [150]) — A county in northern England. The Percies were earls of Northumberland. So, "Northumbria" (100 [90]) and "Northumbrian" (383 [315])..

Nostradamus (179 [148]) — French astrologer (1503-66), who published prophecies and an almanac. Another of JCP's teasing anachronisms in this book.

not built by hands (12 [11]) — Loosely quoted from 2 Corinthians 5:1; also quoted in *Wood and Stone* (11), *Autobiography* (277), *The Pleasures of Literature* (576), and *Obstinate Cymric* (92).

Nous (283 [234]) — Mind, intellect (Greek).

Novum Testamentum (196 [162]) — The New Testament (Latin).

Nurse (127 [105]) — JCP seems to have created this character by combining features of Eurycleia, the nurse in Homer's *Odyssey*, and the unnamed nurse in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. See 207-8 [171-72] in particular.

"Nyt oed uawr ... aeth ef" (781 [639]) — Translated (from the Welsh) in text. See "There wasn't much water ..."

O

Odysseus (378 [311]) — The hero of Homer's *Odyssey*, who was required to visit the underworld on his way home (Book 11), and avenged himself on the suitors trying to marry his wife Penelope when he was presumed dead (Books 21-22). The "sun-witch" of 528 [433]) is Circe (see Books 10-12).

Ogam (910-11 [745-6]) — A script used by the Irish and Welsh peoples (often spelt "Ogham"), composed of straight lines inscribed at different angles from a central line. JCP's "Druidic" is, however, doubtful.

ogyrvens (389 [320]) — Prophecies (Welsh).

"**Oh Rhisiart my son, my son Rhisiart!**" (743 [609]) — A deliberate echo of David's mourning over the death of Absalom in 2 Samuel 19:33. Cf. *Letters to Llewelyn* (I 55).

Oldcastle, Sir [Thomas] John (399, 465 , 771-5 [328, 382, 631-4]) — A well-known Lollard, later martyred. JCP is inconsistent in sometimes incorrectly giving him Thomas as a first name. Shakespeare used Oldcastle as a basis for Sir John Falstaff, and originally used his name, but later altered it after protests from his descendants (see the epilogue to *2 Henry IV*). See also "old man of the castle." Oldcastle later led a revolt against Henry IV in 1414, and was thought to be in communication with Glendower's son (see Davies 300-301). JCP also mentions him in *Maiden Castle* (327-28).

"**old conjurer**" (388 [319]) — A favourite phrase here, also used by and of Urien in *Maiden Castle* (34, 140, 227).

old parchment-covered folio (389 [320]) — In May 1939, JCP writes of his recently bought copy of *The Myvyrian Archaiology*: "It's like a folio I've *invented* ere I saw this one to place in Owen Glyndwr's hands!" ("Letters to Gerard Casey" 170).

old tale ... banquet (346 [285]) — See "sinister old tale."

old trot (17, 208 [14, 172]) — Old woman, a phrase from Thomas Urquhart's translation of Rabelais (Book 2, Ch.15 and Book 3, Ch. 17), but also occurring in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* (I ii 79).

on such a night as this (644 [527]; cf. 646 [528]) — Although this does not suggest a quotation, JCP used the famous phrase from Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* ((V i 1) so often–in *Ducdame* (16), *A Glastonbury Romance* (409, 415 [397, 403]), *Petrushka* (282, misquoted but presented as a quotation), and elsewhere–that it must have been consciously in his mind.

On your allegiance (473, 855 [389, 701]) — Apparent echoes of Shakespeare's *King Lear* (I i 169).

one of the dead King's ... minions (13 [11]) — Not identified.

one particular faecal entity (302 [249]) — An image repeated memorably in *Porius* (657, etc.).

one thing needful (338, 718 [278, 588]) — Luke 10:42. Also used in *Autobiography* (334, 424), *Porius* (550), *Dostoievsky* (29), *Rabelais* (33), etc.

one to notice these little things (890 [729]) — Apparently an echo of Thomas Hardy's self-description in his poem "Afterwards": "one who used to notice such things." JCP alludes to the same line in *Maiden Castle* (424) and *Autobiography* (229).

"**Onennau Meigion**" (662 [541]) — The Welsh name for Six Ashes, on the border of Worcestershire and Shropshire, southeast of Bridgnorth. JCP's account follows Lloyd (95) almost word for word.

Orkneys (406 [334]) — A group of islands off the north coast of Scotland.

Oswestry (61 [51]) — A town in Shropshire, close to the Welsh border.

Our Lord ... a woman possessed by a devil (558 [458]) — JCP and Walter Brut seem to have forgotten that Jesus cast seven devils out of Mary Magdalene (Mark 16:9 and Luke 8:2).

"**outer darkness**" (384 [315]) — Matthew 8:12, 22:13.

ouzels (883 [723]) — Dippers or water-ouzels.

Ovid (572 [469]) — Ovidius Naso (43 BC - AD 18), Roman poet, author of *Metamorphoses*. He was banished by Augustus, for unknown reasons, to the banks of the Danube.

Owain ab Urien (794 [651]) — Possibly historical figure, who appears in Welsh romance in "The Lady of the Fountain" and "The Dream of Rhonaby" (both generally translated with the *Mabinogion*) and elsewhere. He is a shadowy presence in *Porius* (419).

Owen 'ap' Glendourdy (460-61 [379]) — That is, "Owen 'son of' Glendourdy," which is absurd. JCP takes this account, word for word, from Lloyd (56).

Owen ap Griffith [Fychan] (95 [78]) — Welsh name for Owen Glendower.

Owen ap Griffith ap Cynan (11 [10]) — Leader of Gwynedd (c.1100-72), better known as Owain Gwynedd. He had gained some success over Henry II, but eventually recognized him as feudal overlord, and dropped the title of king. He was the son of Gruffydd ap Cynan (q.v.) and reputed father of Prince Madoc (q.v.).

Owen Glendower (8 [8]) — The anglicized version of Owain Glyn Dwr, "Owen of the Glen of Water" (77 [64]). For a succinct and balanced account of the background and events of his rebellion, see Glanmor Williams, *Owen Glendower* (1966). Possible dates for his birth given in early sources range from 1349 to 1359. JCP is vague concerning his birthdate. Lloyd (18) records "a fairly persistent tradition that he was born in 1349, the year of the great plague." JCP apparently follows this at 720 [589], where Glendower claims to be fifty-five years old five years after his Proclamation in 1400, but at 820 [672] confusingly refers to himself as "a little child at the time of the Black Death" and soon afterwards claims to be sixty years old "come Michaelmas," implying a birthdate of 1345 (822 [674]). In *Obstinate Cymric* (12), JCP calls him a "Normanized Celt" as distinct from "we aboriginals," and in *Letters to Llewelyn* describes him as "pure-blooded Brython without a touch of Goidelic blood" (II 282), though as the book progresses (see 760 [622-23]) he seems to acknowledge Glendower's kinship with the earlier Welsh population. For his reputation as magician, see Lloyd (55, 68-9). There are useful maps tracing the year-by-year rise and decline of the rebellion in Rees (Plates 50-51).

Owen Glendower (title) — The first English and American editions read: "*Owen Glendower: An Historical Novel*." The subtitle did not appear in the Cedric Chivers / Portway reprint of 1974 or the Picador. The modern reprints read: "*A Historical Novel*."

Owen Gwynedd (560 [459]) — See "Owen ap Griffith ap Cynan." (Not to be confused with the sixteenth-century poet of the same name.)

Owen Red-hand (8 [7]) — Owain Lawgoch (c.1300-78), a claimant to the princedom of Wales. He fought for the kings of France against the English, but was eventually assassinated by an English spy. Glendower claimed dubiously to be his rightful heir (Davies 160).

Owen's new standard, the four lions rampant of Gwynedd (626 [512] — See "four lions rampant."

Owynus Princeps (499 [410]) — Prince Owen (Latin).

Oxonian (105 [87]) — A native of Oxford or (as here) graduate of Oxford University.

P

Padua (94 [77]) — A city in northern Italy. Given the context of speculation about the centre of the universe at 304 [251], it may be relevant that Galileo was later to be a teacher at the university there.

Pali (128 [105]) — Welsh for "silk." JCP consulted Iorwerth C. Peate on the use of this fabric (see Peate 1), which is frequently mentioned in the *Mabinogion*, where it is usually translated as "silk brocade." It is defined as "Arabian satin" in *Porius* (98).

Pandarus (53 [43]) — The go-between in the story of Troilus and Cressida in both Chaucer and Shakespeare.

pardon (891 [730]) — See under "Talbot."

"Pardon ... gentles ... all" (110 [90]; cf. 777 [636]) — A possible allusion to the Chorus in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (Prologue, l.8).

Pascentius, Father (89 [73]) — A fictional Cistercian priest. He is clearly modelled, at least in part, on W. J. Williams, "the Catholic," a friend of JCP's (see "relative").

"Pater-Filius-Spiritus" (579 [475]) — "Father-Son-Spirit" (Latin).

'Paternosters' (208 [172]) — "Our Fathers" (Latin). "Our Father" is the opening phrase of the Lord's Prayer, incorporated into the Mass.

Patroclus (201 [166]) — The friend of Achilles in Homer's *Iliad*, who is killed by Hector below the walls of Troy. By mentioning this just after the incident with Elphin, JCP is raising the whole complicated issue of male friendship.

Patrouillart de Trie — See "de Trie."

"Pax vobiscum, filii carissimi" (246 [203]) — "Peace be with you, most dear sons" (Latin).

"Peace on earth ... men of good-will" (197 [163]) — Luke 2:14. Modern translations now agree on a reading closer to the second than to the first.

peaceful hill-city (258 [212]) — Cf. 563 [462], *Maiden Castle* (222), and *Obstinate Cymric* (59). JCP's idealized view of peaceful neolithic peoples derived from the now-discredited ideas of H. J. Massingham.

peculiarity (38, 121 [32, 100], etc.) — A favourite JCP construction derived from the *Mabinogion*. In *Obstinate Cymric* (52) he calls it the "most characteristic word in the *Mabinogi*."

Pedryollt (916 [750]) — Four-sided. Cf. *Porius* (868).

Pelagius (537 [440]) — A British monk and theologian (360-420) who originated the "Pelagian heresy," which denied original sin and asserted the freedom of the will. His influence is strong in *Porius*. The phrase "the curse of Pelagius" is ironic, given Pelagius's principles.

Pembrokeshire (676 [553]) — A county at the extreme southwest of Wales.

Pendragon (474 [391]) — King Arthur's father was "Uther Pendragon" (q.v.), but JCP notes in *Obstinate Cymric* (51) that "the supreme ruler of the Welsh or ancient British people was called 'Pen-Dragon,' or the Head whose Gonfalon or Oriflamme was the Dragon."

Penfro (787 [645]) — Welsh for Pembroke.

Pengwern (477 [392]) — Not indisputably identified, but probably Shrewsbury (q.v.). For the opening "stave" or alliterative verse of the dirge in question, see "*Stafell Cyndylan*" (q.v.). For further information, see "Cyndylan."

Penllyn (397 [327]) — The area around Lake Tegid (Bala Lake).

pensions (790) — A textual difficulty. Almost certainly a typographical error or mistranscription of "pennons." The modern reprints diplomatically omit the whole phrase.

Pentecost (42 [35]) — The time when the Holy Spirit descended on the disciples. See Acts 2:2. So, "Pentecostal" (131 [108]).

Pen-y-Pigyn (873 [715]) — Close to Corwen: "the hill rising steeply behind the church on the other side of the churchyard" (Henken 153). Henken records several traditions of Glendower at Pen-y-Pigyn (140, 153-55). Krissdóttir notes that JCP used to make an "almost daily walk to the top of Pen-y-Pigyn" (x). There is a photo of "Corwen and Pen-y-Pigyn" in Bradley (44).

Per festum Sancte Johannis Baptistas (101 [86]) — Translated in text (Latin).

Percies (15 [12]) — The earls of Northumberland familiar to readers of Shakespeare's history plays. "Young Percy" (62 [51]) is Henry Percy or Hotspur (q.v.).

perdu (675 [552]) — Lost (French).

Peredur, Sir (606 [496]) — Peredur ab Evrawc (794 [651]), one of the knights in the Arthurian romances, including the Welsh "Peredur ab Evrawc" ("Peredur Son of Efrawg"), often translated along with the *Mabinogion*).

persona grata (636 [520]) — An acceptable person (Latin).

"petit clerc ... sous-commis ... mon ami ... couteau-poignard ... bouleversé ... quant à moi je suis ... la glace ... désavantage... (631 [515]) — "junior clerk ... junior book-keeper ... my friend ... knife-dagger... upset ... as for me I am ... ice ... disadvantage..." (French).

Pharoah's two servants (828) — The story is told in Exodus 40; one of the servants is spared, the other condemned. JCP makes the common error of misspelling "Pharaoh." This is corrected in the modern reprints [679].

Phorkyad, Phorkys (90 [74]) — Phorkys (often spelt "Phorcys") was a sea-deity, father of the Gorgons (see "Medusa") and of three older sisters, the Phorkyads, in classical mythology. They had one eye and one tooth between them, which they passed from one to another.

Pictish aboriginals (345 [284]) — Presumably the Ffichti of *Porius*, mentioned as aborigines in John Rhys and David Brynmor-Jones's *The Welsh People* (1900).

Pilate and Herod [830 [680]) — See the gospel accounts of the trial of Jesus.

Pilleth (523 [428]) — A small community just south of Knighton in Powys. Lloyd (51n) makes reference to the village possessing "a notable image of the Virgin" (cf. 544 [446]).

"pitiless bronze" (278, 299 [228, 247]) — One of JCP's favourite quotations from Homer; see *Porius* (263, 493, 507, 571), *Mortal Strife* (114), and *Obstinate Cymric* (8, 11).

Plato (660 [540]) — Greek philosopher (c.427-347 BC), famous for his dialogues involving Socrates. In the fifteenth century, Plato was generally known in the West only through Latin translations. The reference to "shadows on the wall of a cave" refers to a famous myth in the *Republic* (Book 7). So, "Platonic" (767, 771 [628, 632]), meaning "ideal." The "Platonic year" was a period of 26,000 years, the time needed for a complete revolution of the equinoxes.

Playter, Palamedes (862 [706]) — This character's surname is clearly introduced by JCP as a tribute to his companion, Phyllis Playter. His first name is that of one of the knights in Thomas Malory's stories of Arthur (see "Questing Beast"). He is, of course, fictional, though not mentioned as such in either "Characters in the Novel" or "Principal Characters."

Plinlimmon mountains (345 [284]) — A range on the borders of Ceredigion and Powys, east of Aberystyth. The more correct spelling is "Plynlimmon."

poem in the Tuscan vernacular (722 [591]) — *Paradiso*, the third book of Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

Point-du-Tout, Monsieur (219 [180]) — Not at all, Sir (French).

points we've agreed upon (661 [524-25]) — These are derived, sometimes word for word, from Lloyd (119-21).

Poitiers (362 [298]) — A city in the south-west of France where the English defeated the French in 1356.

Polack (838 [687]) — A Pole, an inhabitant of Poland.

Pontifex Maximus (193 [159]) — Supreme pontiff, chief priest (Latin).

Pontic Sea (294 [242]) — An ancient name for the Black Sea, probably a reminiscence of Shakespeares's *Othello* (III iii 452).

Poole Harbour (793 [650]) — A coastal town in Dorset.

"Pour le Royaume de France!" (799 [655]) — "For the kingdom of France!" (French).

Powys (8 [7]) — A princedom in ancient Wales, and now once again the official name of a county, though the boundaries are very different. Powys Fadog (69 [56]) refers to an "isolated fragment of Powys" (*Obstinate Cymric* 56), which was centred upon Dinas Bran. JCP derived from his father a highly dubious belief that the family was descended from the princes of Powys.

Prague (304 [251]) — Capital of the Czech Republic. During the lifetime of Glendower, it was the centre of religious controversy led by John Huss (q.v.), who carried on the work of Wycliffe (q.v.).

Prenez garde à cela (264 [218]) — Take heed. See "*embrouillé à la folie!*"

Presence (661 [541]) — The presence of Hotspur that Rhisiart sees in a timeless vision, anticipating the scene in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* (see 663 [542-43]).

presentation of ... armour (621 [508]) — A historical detail derived from Lloyd (85).

Prester Owen (745 [610]) — Glendower is being likened to Prester John, a legendary Christian king and priest who is supposed to have reigned somewhere in Africa or the East during the twelfth century, and to have supernatural powers.

Priapus (771 [632]) — Son of Dionysus, god of fertility in classical mythology.

Primum Mobile (304 [251]) — The outermost tenth sphere in Ptolemaic astronomy, revolving every twenty-four hours with the other spheres.

Prince de Galles et Prince de Bon Compères (777 [636]) — Prince of Wales and Prince of Good Fellows (French).

Principal characters [UK ix-x, US vii-viii] — This list was called "Characters of the Novel" in the original editions, and is very different. Fourteen characters "Mentioned in History" and two "Unmentioned in History" are omitted, and only one (Mad Huw) inserted. The ordering of the characters within the list differs, and some of the descriptive

information has been altered. No explanation of these changes is given.

Prior (202 [167]) — See "Bevan, Prior."

"**pro tem**" (169 [140]) — For the time being (Latin).

procession of the Son from the Father (469 [385]) — A controversy in the early Church concerning the relation between two of the three components of the Christian Trinity. Father Pascentius explains the terms of the argument at 369-70 [303-304]).

Promethean (861 [705]) — Relating to Prometheus, the Titan in classical mythology who was punished by Zeus for bringing fire to earth.

Prophecies of Merlin — See "Merlin."

prophet (937 [767]) — Not identified.

Provençal (613 [502]) — Belonging to Provence, which was the region of southeast France noted in the medieval period for troubadours and the cult of courtly love.

Provinces of the Seine (916 [750]) — The Seine is both a department including Paris, and the river that flows through Paris towards Normandy.

Pryderi (146 [120]) — Welsh hero, whose life, adventures, and death are recounted in the four stories that make up the *Mabinogion*. Robin Wood ("Owen" 93) argues that, "while Glendower is also associated with the deities Bran and Manawydan, the dominant mythological identification is with Pryderi, and the other southern gods defeated by the Celts, 'the cruel "magicians" of the Age of Bronze'" (563 [462]). The significance of "the Pryderi tree" (581 [476]) is not clear. The reference at 644 [527] is to the opening of "Manawydan Son of Llyr," the third story in the *Mabinogion*.

Prydwen (938 [768]) — Arthur's ship in which he sails between Hell and Heaven in the ancient Welsh poem *Preiddeu Annwn* ("The Spoils of Annwn").

psychic withdrawals (121 [100]) — See "attacks."

Puddletown (380 [313]) — A village in Dorset, the "Weatherbury" of Thomas Hardy's *Far from the Madding Crowd*.

"Punctual Sparrow," etc. (428 [352]) — This sounds rhetorically similar to Falstaff's self-praise in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* (II iv 21-28).

Purgatory (382 [314]) — The after-death state where, according to traditional Catholic theology, souls must be purged of their sins before entering Paradise (see the second book of Dante's *Divine Comedy*).

Purification of the [Blessed] Virgin (622, 646 [508, 529]) — A feast commemorating the purification of Mary in the Temple forty days after the birth of Jesus celebrated on 2 February, Candlemas.

Purvey, John (233 [192]) — A fellow translator of the Bible with John Wycliffe. His beliefs are quoted by JCP word for word from Wylie (I 180).

pwyll diwaelod (735 [602]) — The bottomless hole (Welsh).

Pwyll Melyn (742 [608]) — Close to the town of Usk in Monmouthshire, on the River Usk above Newport (see Lloyd 96).

"**Pwyll Pen Annwn**" (115 [95]) — See "Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed" below.

Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed (53 [44]) — Welsh hero who becomes Lord of Annwn (Pwyll Pen Annwn) for a year in the first story of the *Mabinogion*. Dyfed was an ancient princedom roughly equivalent to Pembrokeshire.

Q

"Quant à moi ... lettres de créance plénipotentiaire" (668 [547]) — "As for me ... letters of diplomatic credentials" (French).

Questing Beast (889 [728]) — Described by R. S. Loomis as "a strange monster in the Arthurian menagerie, [with] hybrid origins in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* and in Welsh tradition" (100). In *Maiden Castle* (93), JCP quotes the appropriate passage from Book 9, section 12 of "Tristram de Lyones" in Malory (358-59). More information may be found in Book 1 of "Merlin" (33-34). The questing beast is associated with Sir Palomedes [*sic*], thus providing a connection with Palamedes Playter (q.v.).

R

Rachel (634 [518]) — Rachel was buried near Bethlehem; see Genesis 35:19. She was one of the wives of Jacob.

Radnor (486 [399]) — A town in what was once Radnorshire, now a part of Powys.

"**rampant and sable**" (142 [117]) — See "four lions rampant and sable."

Rawlff [ap Dafydd ap Llwyd] (266 [219]) — Fictional, the Welsh form of Ralph. The "Daffydd" at 554 [454] is a misprint.

Rebecca (634 [518]) — Rebekah, wife of Isaac, was buried at "Machpelah, which is before Mamre in the land of Canaan" (Genesis 49:30-31).

Red Burrow (375 [308]) — Ruthin.

red castle (62 [51]) — Lord Grey's castle in Ruthin in this case (see Bradley 110), though Castell Goch (q.v.) means "Red Castle," and is mentioned later (401 [330]).

red dragon (109 [90]) — Heraldic symbol of Wales, "the mystical dragon of the chief ruler of Britain" (809 [663]). Christopher A. Snyder stresses the fact that Glendower's dragon was the symbol of Arthur, and that in letters to Scots and Irish rulers he reminded them of "Merlin's prophecy

that the Red Dragon–that is, the Britons–will one day defeat the white dragon of the Saxons" (248).

Red Head (403 [331]) — A nickname for Iolo Goch (q.v.). "Goch" is Welsh for "red."

Redcliffe, Jack (777 [637]) — Presumably fictional. The name "Redclyffe" has Bristol connections; cf. St. Mary Redclyffe, the Bristol church associated with Thomas Chatterton the poet, and Redclyffe Bay.

"relative" (188 [156]) — This word shows that JCP is borrowing a trait from his friend W. J. Williams ("the Catholic"), the original for Mr. Taxater in *Wood and Stone*, who was also fond of using "relative" or "relatively" (66, 73, 454). See especially *Autobiography* (282).

"remission from all their sins" (193 [159]) — See "indult." Historically, this clause was an integral part of Griffith Young's "Pennal policy" of 1406 (see Glanmor Williams, *Welsh* 225).

Rhayader (610 [499]) — A town in Gwerthrynion (q.v.) in Glendower's time, now in the west of modern Powys.

Rheinalt, Father (39 [32]) — A fictional Cistercian priest.

Rhiannon (115 [95]) — Wife of Pwyll, mother of Pryderi; her story is told in "Pwyll Prince of Dyfed," the first story in the *Mabinogion*. See also "Birds of Rhiannon."

Rhisiart [ab Owen] (3 [3]) — The Welsh form of Richard. According to JCP, Rhisiart ap Owen is historical, though the actual name of Glendower's secretary was Owain ap Gruffydd ap Rhisiart (Lloyd 98, Davies 163). JCP obviously changed the name to avoid confusion. Both the scene when he sucks the blood from Glendower's wound and the later one when he foils Davy Gam's assassination attempt appear to be influenced by an episode in Scott's *The Talsiman* (Ch.21). The young Rhisiart of the final chapter is Rhisiart ab Edmund (see below).

Rhisiart ab Edmund (618-19 [506]) — Fictional, though his parents are historical.

Rhisiart is Rhisiart (290 [240]) — A version of "I am I" (q.v.), so central in JCP's other books, including *In Defence of Sensuality*, *A Philosophy of Solitude*, and in *Porius* (841-43).

Rhisiart's occupation was gone (706 [578]) — Clearly an allusion to Shakespeare's *Othello* (III iii 357).

Rhodri Mawr (364 [259]) — Rhodri the Great, King of Gwynedd and Powys, from whom Glendower claimed descent (see Lloyd 47n). He was the nephew of Cyngen, and succeeded him in Powys in 855. Late in life, in an undated letter, JCP told Glyn Hughes: "... my father always used to tell us with pride that we were descended from *Rhodri Mawr King of all Wales!*" (*Letters to Hughes* 59), but "all" is an exaggeration. See also *Autobiography* (141) and *The Dorset Year* (262). For a useful family tree tracing descendants of Rhodri Mawr, see Allday (169-71).

Rhondda (dedication) — See "Huw Menai."

Rhosymeirch (665 [544]) — In central Anglesey. The battle is mentioned by Lloyd (99).

Rhuddlan [Castle] (616 [564]) — Rhuddlan is a town in Flint, north of St. Asaph.

Rhydderch (61 [50]) — A page, the Welsh form of Roderick.

Rhys ap Griffith ap Llewelyn ab Ieuan (562 [461]) — See "Rhys Ddu."

Rhys ap Tudor (284 [235]) — Historical figure, cousin of Glendower through his mother (Lloyd 33). He was captured and put to death at Chester at the same time as Rhys Ddu (q.v.). See Lloyd (142) and Wylie (III 267).

Rhys Ddu, Rhys the Black (562 [461]) — Historical. His proper name was Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ab Ieuan of Ceredigion (Cardigan). Glendower later threatened him with death if he gave up the castle at Aberystwyth in 1407 (cf. 868 [711]); see Lloyd (133). Captured by the English in 1410, he was executed and his head exposed on London Bridge (895, 935 [733, 765]); see Lloyd (142) and Wylie (III 267). Jacqueline Peltier notes that, historically, "he was a less faithful ally than in the book" (25).

Rhys Gethin, Rhys the Savage (105 [86]) — Historical, known as "the Fierce" (Lloyd 66). Bradley (171) calls him "one of Owen's most formidable captains." Iolo Goch (q.v.) addressed a poem to him.

Richard Cœur de Lion (661 [541]) — Richard I, King of England, 1189-99.

Richard, King (9 [8]) — Richard II, King of England, 1377-99, deposed and almost certainly murdered. But there were rumours of his survival and, according to Lloyd (43), he "was alleged to be living and in league with the Welsh." Wylie has a whole chapter on the subject (I 111-18), and more records of the rumour are given later (267-77).

Richard of St. Victor (370 [304]) — A Scottish or Irish Augustinian mystical writer of the mid-twelfth century.

rigor mortis (580 [475]) — The stiffness of death (Latin).

river-ouzel (496 [407]) — Dipper (cf. "water-ouzel").

Robert the Third of Scotland (437 [359]) — He reigned from 1390 until 1406. This letter (along with its equivalent to the Irish chieftain) derives from Lloyd (46-7); as JCP states, both were intercepted.

rocks and stones and stumps (455 [324]) — Probably a deliberate allusion to the final line of Wordsworth's "A Slumber Did My Spirit Seal" ("rocks and stones and trees"). This is a favourite quotation of JCP; see, for instance, *Autobiography* (26, 633), *In Defence of Sensuality* (7, 221-22, 282), *Porius* (278), and elsewhere.

"Roman" sword (384, 408 [315, 335]) — There is a discrepancy here. Glendower hands over the sword to Denis Burnell in Dinas Bran, but still possesses it in the next chapter.

Rosinante (3 [3]) — Don Quixote's horse in Cervantes' comic epic.

Round Table (18 [15]; cf. 806 [661]) — The famous Arthurian Round Table is traditionslly supposed to be at Winchester. However, a Roman Amphitheatre at Caerleon "was popularly known as Arthur's Round Table" (Lloyd 104n).

Royaume de France (786 [644]) — Kingdom of France (French).

ruined castle (4 [4]) — Dinas Bran (q.v.).

Ruthin (16 [14]) — A small town north of Corwen and Llangollen in Denbighshire, in Glendower's time "centre of the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd" (Davies 9). It was sacked by Owen Glendower on 18 September 1400. "Ruthin–the rebels' first target–was an English borough, but it was heavily populated by Welsh families, and Owen's decision to attack on a market day ensured that many (perhaps most) of the people in town that day were Welsh. The attack was a blow against the centre of Reginald Grey's power at the time when it was most vulnerable; nationality was not an issue" (Moore 220). For an old print of Ruthin Castle, see Bradley (130).

S

Sabean (272 [224]) — Relating to Saba (= Sheba), an ancient kingdom in northwestern Arabia.

sacred river (4 [4]) — The Dee (q.v.); the phrase is also used throughout *Porius*.

Saint Alban (523 [428]) — Third-century soldier and martyr (d.308), of whom little is known. His day is 22 June (see Lloyd 51); Wylie (I 281]) claims 17 June, but this is an error.

St. Alban's (402 [331]) — A town in Hertfordshire in eastern England.

Saint Ann (535 [438]) — Mother of the Virgin Mary, of whom nothing historical is known.

St. Asaph (310 [256]) — A small town in modern Clwyd. For its bishop, see "Trevor, John." St. Asaph was a local saint, a bishop in North Wales in the early seventh century.

Saint Augustine (466 [384]) — One of the Church Fathers (354-430), best known for *The City of God* and his *Confessions*. Between 396 and 430 he was Bishop of Hippo in what is now Algeria.

Saint Bonaventura (231 [190]) — Monk and theologian (c.1218-74) who became general of the Franciscans in 1256. Known as the "Seraphic Doctor" (448 [369]). He was made a cardinal just before his death. JCP later introduced him as a character in his novel *The Brazen Head*.

Saint Bride (337 [278]) — Alternative name of Saint Bridget, an Irish saint who had associations with London and Glastonbury. Little is known about her, though she is said to have been Abbess of Kildare.

Saint Clare [482 [395]) — Founder (1194-1253) of an order of nuns, the Poor Clares, the female equivalent of the Franciscans.

Saint Collen (71 [59]) — A Welsh saint of the late sixth century, whose name is incorporated into Llangollen. Mentioned also in *Porius* (626). Nothing is known of his life. He also has claimed connections with Glastonbury, though JCP never mentions these. The *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* calls him a "decidedly local saint."

St. Collen's Church (76, 901 [63, 738]) — See "Church of St. Collen" and "Llan Collen."

St. Cybi (665 [544]) — A holy man named Cybi, associated with Anglesey, is mentioned at the opening of "The Tale of Taliesin," the ancient story often translated along with the *Mabinogion*. A mid-sixth-century saint best known in Wales and Cornwall. His chief settlement was at Holyhead, where he founded a monastery. The story of the shrine being carried off to Dublin is recorded by Lloyd (99).

Saint David (517 [424]) — Patron saint of Wales, St. David flourished in the late sixth century. He is supposed to have built St. Joseph's Chapel in Glastonbury (q.v.), and the Abbey claimed to possess his relics. His following was, however, strong in what is now Pembrokeshire.

St. David's (183 [151]) — A small town at the extreme west of south Wales in Pembrokeshire.

Saint Denis (649 [531]) — A saint of the third century sent to convert the Gauls and eventually martyred by the Romans. He is the patron saint of France.

Saint Derfel — See "Derfel."

Saint Ffraid (801 [657]) — Ffraid derived from the Welsh for Bridget. See "St. Bride."

Saint Francis (110 [91]) — St. Francis of Assisi (1181-1226), founder of the Franciscan Order of friars (see "Franciscans").

Saint Gabriel (748 [612]) — The Archangel Gabriel, first named in the Litany of Saints in the late seventh century.

Saint John (15 [13]) — John the Baptist. The Eve of Saint John is 23 June, the following day being Saint John's Day (78 [64]). I found no information about St.-John's-cakes (76 [63]).

Saint Jude (741 [607]) — The apostle and martyr, and traditional considered the author of the Epistle of Jude in the New Testament.

Saint Martin (546 [447]) — Martin of Tours (c316-400), where he was Bishop, one of the most popular saints in the Middle Ages, best known for his care of beggars.

Saint Mary (546 [447]) — Mary, mother of Jesus. For Mary of Glastonbury (876 [717]), see "Glastonbury."

St. Matthew's Day (163 [135]) — 21 September, but see "eighteenth."

Saint Michael (19 [17]) — The archangel Michael (see Daniel 10:13, Revelation 12:7). Farmer writes: "His cult became popular in Wales in the 8th century" (339). See also "feast of St. Michael ..."

Saint Ouen (546 [447]) — Seventh-century Bishop of Rouen, who founded monasteries, sent out missionaries, and combated simony.

Saint Paul (454 [374]) — The reference is presumably to "the whole creation groaneth ..." (Romans 8:22), also quoted in *Autobiography* (464), *The Pleasures of Literature* (181), *Mortal Strife* (60, 149), and *Singular Figures* (31). So, "Pauline" (557 [456]). JCP has a shrewd essay about St. Paul as the architect of Christianity in *The Pleasures of Literature*.

Saint Sebastian (381 [313]) — A third-century Roman martyr who suffered under Diocletian. He was killed with arrows and is traditionally presented as pierced by arrows in art. Whether JCP has a particular painting in mind is uncertain.

Saint Stephen (335 [276]) — The first Christian martyr. See Acts 7, especially 51ff; "... he saw the heavens opened" (56).

St. Sulien — See "Church of St. Sulien" and "St. Tysilio."

St. Swithin's Church — See "Swithin's Church."

Saint Thomas (89 [73]) — St. Thomas Aquinas (c.1226-74), Italian theologian best known for his *Summa Theologica*–or, more correctly, the *Summa Theologiae*. Perhaps the greatest scholar of the medieval Church, he constructed a synthesis of Christian and Aristotelian thought that came to be known as "Thomism."

Saint Tysilio (101 [83]) — A local seventh-century saint, "the centre of whose cult was at Meifod (Powys)" (Farmer 470). "Tysilio-Sant" appears in *Porius* (347), and the Llantysilio Mountain stretches north of Corwen and Llangollen. Sometimes considered identical with St. Sulien.

Saint Ursula (405 [338]) — The patron saint of virgins. Sometimes claimed to be a Cornishwoman (c.third-fourth century), she is said to have been murdered by the Huns in Cologne along with her train of accompanying virgins on her way to be betrothed, against her will, to a pagan prince.

Sais (922 [755]) — Saxons (Welsh).

Salamanca (94 [77]) — A city in north-western Spain.

Salic Law (895 [733]) — A law limiting succession to the throne to male heirs and so to the exclusion of females and female lines of descent. It was followed in France in the medieval period. The reference here is clearly intended to recall the opening of Shakespeare's *Henry V*, where Henry invokes it to claim French territories. See especially I ii 9-12.

Salome (80 [66]) — The daughter of Herod who caused the death of John the Baptist; see Matthew 14: 3-11 and Mark 6: 17-28.

Salop (543 [445]) — Another name for Shropshire. Glendower's "tribute from Salop" (728 [596]) is historical; see Bradley (229). So, "Salopian" (15 [13]).

Samson (225, 933 [185, 764]) — The first reference is to Samson's hair being cut by Delilah, the second to the death of Samson as recorded in Judges 16.

sang-froid (784 [642]) — Calmness of mind, composure, self-control (French).

Sangreal (517 [424]) — The story of the Sangreal or Holy Grail is often seen as beginning with a supposed voyage to Britain of Joseph of Arimathea, bringing two "cruets" containing Christ's blood to Glastonbury. It later develops into a mystical symbol; the subsequent elaboration of the story is explored by JCP in his own way in *A Glastonbury Romance*. While it is usually interpreted as deriving from "San Greal" (holy vessel), some claim it as "Sang Real" (true blood).

sans cesse (8 [7]) — Endlessly (French).

Saracen (282 [233]) — An adjective relating to the Saracens, a medieval word for Arabs and Moslems. Also "Saracenic" (272 [224]).

Sarah (634 [518]) — The wife of Abraham, buried with her husband, like Rebecca, in "Machpelah, which is before Mamre, in the land of Canaan"; see Genesis 49:30-31.

Sarum (381 [314]) — An old name for Salisbury, the county town of Wiltshire.

Saul, King (751 [615]) — See Samuel 19.

Sawtry (235 [193]) — Alternative name for "Chatrys" (q.v.).

Scab, the — See "Yr Crach."

scar on the man's neck.— (712 [582]) . JCP nods here. Glendower's wound affected his arm and shoulder.

scaramouch (160 [132]) — A stock character in Italian comedy introduced into English drama in the seventeenth century. A favourite JCP usage; see *A Glastonbury Romance* (347, 615 [339, 591]), *Weymouth Sands* (325), etc.

scholar at Oxford (3 [3]; cf. 8 [7]) — Both Lloyd (35) and Wylie (I 189) report that many Welsh students left Oxford in 1400-1401 to follow Glendower.

Scrope, Stephen (665 [544]) — Deputy governor of Ireland; see Lloyd (99).

scrub (901 [738]) — Small, insignificant person.

Scudamore, Lady — See "Lady Scudamore in Herefordshire."

Sea-Horse of Annwn (735 [602]) — This reference is not clear.

Securus iudicat orbis terrarum (234 [192]) — "The entire world judges with security" (Latin). From Saint Augustine, probably via J. H. Newman's *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (Ch.3). Also quoted in *War and Culture* (8, 17), *In Defence of Sensuality* (26), and *The Pleasures of Literature* (193).

See how this river ... cantle out! (663 [543]) — From Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* (III i 98-100). "Cranking in" is also quoted in *Letters to Llewelyn* (II 266).

Seisyll (417 [343]) — The name of Glendower's horse, "historic" because it was the name of an eighth-century king of Ceredigion (Cardigan) and of a twelfth-century bard.

Selah (732 [600]) — A word of uncertain meaning used at the close of Hebrew psalms. See Psalms 3, 4, 52, 88, 143.

sely (376 [309]) — Simple (dialect).

Seneschal of Dinas Bran (22 [19]) — Adda ap Leurig (q.v.).

Senlac (395 [325]) — The battlefield at Hastings, where William the Conqueror (q.v.) defeated King Harold in 1066.

Seraphic Doctor (448 [369]) — St. Bonaventura (q.v.).

Servant of the servants of God (193 [159]) — Translation of "*Servus servorum Dei*" (Latin), a papal honorific title first adopted by Gregory I (590-604).

"serving two masters" (61 [50]) — Presumably an allusion to the well-known play, translated as *A Servant of Two Masters*, by the Italian dramatist Carl Goldoni (1707-93). The sentiment, of course, goes back to Jesus's "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon" (Matthew 6:24).

Seven Horsemen (871 [713]) — See "Bryn Saith Marchog," and references in *Porius* (96, 159). They are named in "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*, where they are identified as the seven caretakers left behind by Bran when he went to Ireland.

seventh heaven (343 [282]) — A place of supreme happiness–a term originating with the Cabalists to denote the abode of God and the highest in the hierarchy of angels.

Severn (614 [503]) — A river in the west of England that flows down from Shropshire to form the Bristol Channel. In its lower reaches, it forms the boundary between England and Wales.

Shaftesbury (308 [254]) — A town in Wiltshire in southern England. According to tradition, its famous nunnery, also mentioned in *Maiden Castle* (149), was founded by King Alfred.

shard-borne (155 [128]) — This could be an echo of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* ("shard-borne beetle," III ii 42), which JCP quotes in *Maiden Castle* (158, 479).

shining brow (915 [749]) — "Taliesin" means "shining brow."

shining candles in this naughty world (61 [50]) — A clear allusion to Portia's lines, "How far that little candle throws its beams, / So shines a good deed in a naughty world," in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (V i 90-91).

Shirley, Capt. (824 [676]) — Not traced.

Shore, Dickon (829 [680]) — Presumably fictional, though the reference suggests a historical character. Not mentioned in "Characters of the Novel" or "Principal Characters."

Shoreditch (777 [636]) — A district of northeast London. The specific reference is uncertain.

Shrewsbury (616 [504]) — The county town of Shropshire, scene of the battle in 1403 in which Hotspur is killed.

Shropshire (402 [331]) — English county bordering on north Wales.

Sibli, Mistress (253 [234]) — Fictional.

Sidon — See "Tyre."

Silurian (110 [91]) — A member of the Silures, an ancient people inhabiting southeast Wales.

Simon the Hog (28 [24]) — The fictional Steward of Chirk.

Sin-Eater (670 [548]) — A traditional practice, as described here. John Aubrey wrote: "I believe this custom was heretofore used all over Wales" (qtd. in Burne 306-7). JCP includes details (e.g., not speaking again) that he may have derived from a novel by Allen Raine set in this period (see *Letters to Llewelyn* II 203). A well-known scene involving sin-eating occurs in Mary Webb's *Precious Bane* (1926), which JCP had read (see "Letters to Lucy" 110; also, his diary records Adrian Bury reading the sin-eating parts of the novel in his presence [*Powys Society Newsletter* 58 (July 2006), 25]).

sinister old tale (346 [285]) — The reference is almost certainly to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* (VI 15), where Hengist massacres the forces of Vortigern at a "peace conference" at Mount Ambrius (Amesbury, Wiltshire), though a similar story dating from 1176 is recorded by Allday (163).

Sion (469 [385]) — Jerusalem.

Sisera (825 [676]) — The leader of the enemies of Israel in Judges 4-5, especially 5:20.

sixteen years (95, 428, 881, 898, 929 [78, 352,721, 736, 761]) — This repeated time-span may often be determined by Welsh history, but, given other Shakespearean allusions in this novel, it is difficult not to recall the famous lapse of sixteen years in *The Winter's Tale* (see IV i 6).

skimble-skamble stuff (643 [526]) — Clearly JCP borrows this dialect word, meaning "confused, rubbishy," from Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* (III i 154), where it is used by Glendower. Used also in *Wood and Stone* (159). The Shakespeare quotation is employed by Wylie as a running-head (I 347).

"slave of the lamp" (728 [596]) — Now a standard phrase, but ultimately harking back to the story of Aladdin in *The Arabian Nights*.

sleep (755 [700] — It is surely impossible to read this passage without recalling Henry's famous speech in Shakespeare's *2 Henry IV* (III i 4ff.).

smell of mortality (864 [708]) — Probably an allusion to Shakespeare's *King Lear* (IV vi 136).

smile and smile — See "You may smile and smile."

smoke of their burning (469 [386]) — Cf. Revelation 18:9.

Snowdon (395 [325]) — The highest mountain in Wales, in Gwynedd. So, "Snowdonia" (458 [377]).

"**So runs the world away**" (97 [80]) — An obvious allusion to Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (III ii 285).

Socratic (197 [167]) — Relating to Socrates, the Greek philosopher (c.469-399 BC), especially his method of teaching by means of question and answer.

Solomon (64 [53]) — This reference is not altogether clear, though it may represent a somewhat garbled version of Proverbs 6:26. The Proverbs were attributed to Solomon.

son of Annyn's king (880 [721]) — Pryderi (q.v.).

son-of-Belial (183 [151]) — A lawless, rebellious person. See 1 Samuel 2:12.

son of Cynan — See "Iago [ap Cynan]."

son of Dafydd — See "Rawlff [ap Dafydd ap Llwyd]."

son of Griffith Fychan (156 [129]) — Owen Glendower.

sous-commissaire ... le poète avec le visage de rose ... très interessés ... méthode scientifique ... mon cher (634-35 [519]) — Sub-clerk ... the bard with a rosy face ... very interested ... scientific method ... my dear (French).

"**South-Walian**" (110 [90]) — An inhabitant of South Wales.

Spanish steel (479 [393]) — Spanish steel was known for its strength; see "Toledo."

Sparrow, Philip (21 [18]) — One of JCP's literary jokes, alluding to the title of a poem by John Skelton (c.1460-1529), an elegy for a sparrow so named. He is, of course, fictional.

"**speak... now...hold my peace** " (94 [77] — From the formula about impediments to marriage in the marriage service.

"**speculation**" (127 [104]) — Presumably an allusion to the line "Thou hast no speculation in those eyes" in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (III iv 96]).

Spencer, Henry (236 [194]) — Historical. JCP derives this passage from Wylie (I 177).

"**spirit moving upon the face of the waters**" (157 [130]) — Adapted from Genesis 1:2.

spitting on the Blessed Sacrament (266 [219]) — This is close to the charge brought against the Knights Templars a century earlier.

splendid–though ... not war (375 [308]) — A whimsically anachronistic reference to the well-known remark made by General Bosquet to A. H. Lloyd on the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava: "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre."

springald (255 [210]) — Youth (obsolete).

squinnied (207 [171]) — To squinny: to squint, to look askance. An unusual word, probably borrowed by JCP from Shakespeare's *King Lear* (IV vi 149-50). Also used in *After My Fashion* (66), *A Glastonbury Romance* (467, 505 [452,, 488]), and *In Defence of Sensuality* (232).

Stafell Cyndylan (452) — Corrected to "Cynddylan" in the modern reprints [372]. Translated (from the Welsh) in text. The opening stanza of a central poem in the "Canu Heledd" or "Song of Heledd," a poem-sequence of the ninth or tenth century. According to Bradley (7-8), the author was Llywarch Hen in the sixth century, but this attribution is now discredited. See "Cyndylan." For a translation of the whole poem, see Clancy (92-3).

Stalbridge (875 [717]) — A village in Dorset, mentioned in Lloyd (134) but doubtless taken over by JCP as a tribute to his father, who was born there. Stalbridge is frequently mentioned by JCP in his novels. See *Ducdame* (412), *Wolf Solent* (22), and *A Glastonbury Romance* (684 [657]).

stars in their courses (325, 420 [268, 345]) — Judges 5:20. Also quoted in *Wood and Stone* (179, 478), *The Inmates* (151), and *Atlantis* (135). Cf. "if the stars fight for us" (406 [334]).

Stephen, King (828 [678]) — King of England, 1135-54.

"**Stop! ...**" (66 [54]) — This passage may well recall the protest and death of the First Servant in Shakespeare's *King Lear* (III vii 73ff.).

Stourbridge (875 [717]) — The River Stour flows close to Stalbridge (q.v.); apparently an alternative name for Stalbridge; cf. *Ducdame* (176)–hence the confusion here.

strange seizures (257 [212]) — See "attacks."

Strata Florida (183 [151]) — An important Cistercian abbey in Ceredigion, southeast of Aberystwyth, northwest of Tregaron.

student-days at the Inns of Court (775 [634]) — One suspects that JCP here has in mind Falstaff's reminiscences with Justice Shallow in *2 Henry IV* (III ii). See also "Inns of Court."

Sturminster (381 [314]) — Sturminster Newton in Dorset, close to the "Hardy country."

suck your hurt (388 [319]) — Compare the taste of blood as presented in *A Glastonbury Romance* (55) and *Porius* (47, 270, 309, 759). In his diary, JCP describes this episode as "a sort of psychic bridge over which the reader & the author can pass together from the consciousness of young Rhisiart to that of the middle-aged Glendower" (*Petrushka* 288).

sui generis (82 [68]) — Of its own kind (Latin),

Summa Theologica (349, 375, 436 [287, 308, 359]) — More accurately, *Summa Theologiae*, the great treatise by St. Thomas Aquinas (q.v.). But "*Summa*" at 466 [383] refers to Aristotle's.

sumpter-mules (402 [380]) — Pack-mules.

sun-witch (528 [433]) — Circe, to whom Odysseus returns at the opening of Book 12 of Homer's *Odyssey* after his visit to the underworld.

Swithin's Church (894, 895 [732]) — A church in London. The burial of Lady Mortimer and a daughter is recorded in Lloyd (131n). It is probable that "St." has been omitted erroneously in the first reference. Saint Swithin was a bishop of Winchester in the ninth century, and distinguished himself by charities and church-building.

Sycharth (50 [41]) — Glendower's "major residence and source of income ... the centre of the eastern half of the commote of Cynllaith" (Davies 131) in Powys, close to the English border, south of Llangollen. It was burnt by Prince Henry's forces in May 1403 (Lloyd 61). JCP visited the site with his brother Littleton in June 1937 (see *Jack and Francis* (II 83). For photos, see Allday (between 20 and 21), Bradley (100, 186), Davies (181), and Glanmor Williams, *Owen* (between 16 and 17).

T

Taid (789 [647]) — Grandfather (Welsh).

Talaith (270 [222]) — Province–here, princedom (Welsh).

Talbot, Lord (624 [511]) — Gilbert Talbot, English gentleman and military leader. Lloyd (96) calls him Lord of Goodrich (cf. 922 [755]), Bradley (303) Talbot of Grafton. He was prominent in the defeat of Rhys Gethin at Grosmont (see Wylie II 18-20). For his role as "the conqueror of Harlech" (922 [755]), see Lloyd (136-37). Davies calls him "the single English hero of the Glyn Dwr wars" (244-45). In 1415 Henry V empowered him to "treat with Owen on his behalf and to receive him ... to the royal grace" (Lloyd 143). This was repeated in 1416, when Glendower's son Meredith was also involved. By 1417, Glendower was dead (144). NB: At 874 [716], the Talbot in question is John, Gilbert's younger brother (see Lloyd 131).

Taliesin (157, 389, 660 [129, 320, 540]) — Late sixth-century bard (often spelt "Taliessin"), "the archetypal poet of Welsh tradition" (Ford 1). His mythical story is told in "The Tale of Taliesin," often translated with the *Mabinogion*. JCP introduces him as a character in both *Morwyn* and *Porius*.

talking ape of the Emperor Manuel (784 [642]) — Not traced.

"taller and fairer in form and in face" (769 [630]) — Evidently the translation of a line from Homer's *Odyssey*.

tantum ergo (323 [266]) — Literally, "so much, therefore" (Latin). The penultimate stanza of the hymn *Pange lingua*, often sung as part of the Latin Mass. Also mentioned in *Rodmoor* (301). Since it is used here as a title, "*Tantum*" should presumably be capitalized.

Tartar (667 as "Tatar," 790 [546, 647]) — A member of a Mongolian tribe that overran Asia and eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, known for ferocity. "Tatar," corrected in the modern reprints, is an inconsistency, and may be a misprint, but the spelling is an acceptable alternative, and also occurs in both "Argument" (943–though "Tartar" appears at 941) and "Historical background" [772, the second passage being omitted]).

Tartarean (379 [312]) — Relating to Tartarus, the classical underworld.

Tassel (9 [8]) — A local inn, acknowledged by JCP as "imaginary" (*Petrushka* 247). A tassel was a male goshawk used in falconry.

Taunton (876 [717]) — The county town of modern Somerset in the west of England.

Tawy (636 [521]) — The Tawe, that rises in western Powys and eventually flows into the Bristol Channel at Swansea.

Tegid — See "Llyn Tegid."

Tegolin [ferch Lowri] (53 [44]) — Fictional, though inspired, of course, by Joan of Arc.

Tenby (788 [646]) — A coastal town in south Wales, in Pembrokeshire. For events taking place here, see under "English fleet."

tendresse ... sympathétique (641 [524]) — tenderness ... sympathetic (French) – though the normal word for "sympathetic" is "sympathique".

Tercal (15 [13]) — Presumably an error for "Tercel," a male falcon.

that dark quiver ... cruelty (497 [408]) — Cf. JCP's own cerebral sadism discussed in detail in *Autobiography*.

"The Castle" (3 [3]) — Dinas Bran (q.v.).

The Father loveth ... all things which–" (458 [376] — John 5:20.

"The Fool ... his bread" [64 [53]) — See "Solomon."

"The Glen of the Divine Water" (935 [766]) — See "Dee, river" and "Glyndyfrdwy."

"The harrowing of Annwn" (934 [764]) — See "Annwn."

"The King of France ... climbed down again" (847 [694]) — According to the Opies' *Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*, this refers to Henri IV of France, who reigned from 1589 until 1610. He is supposed to have levied a huge army of 40,000 men, an enterprise which came to nothing when he was assassinated (176). Other traditions explain it as referring to an incident involving James II of England at the time of the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. Both explanations, of course, reveal that this is another of JCP's (surely deliberate) anachronisms.

"The knife is in the meat ... bringing his craft" (117 [96]) — From "Culhwch and Olwen," an ancient Welsh story often translated with the *Mabinogion*, in Lady Charlotte Guest's translation.

"the lake of his heart" (834 [683]) — Not identified. Also quoted (as "lake of his mind") in *After My Fashion* (261).

"The Lord gives and the Lord takes" (838 [687]) — Adapted from Job 1:21.

"the old man of the castle" (399 [328]) — An obvious allusion to Prince Hal's play on the name of Sir John Oldcastle (q.v.), "my old lad of the castle," in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* (I ii 51; see also the last lines of the Epilogue).

"the pitiless bronze" (228, 299, 922 [228, 247, 755]) — See "pitiless bronze."

"the powerless heads of the dead" (580 [475]) — Another favourite quotation, from Homer's *Odyssey* (Book 10), used also in *A Glastonbury Romance* (921, 929 [881, 889]), *Weymouth Sands* (561), *Autobiography* (371), *Porius* (122), etc. "I like the expression the powerless heads of the dead" (*Diary 1931* [238]). Cf. "the weary heads ..."

The Rose of Northumberland (875 [717]) — Not traced.

"the rushing mighty wind" (131 [108]) — Acts 2:2. Also quoted in *Maiden Castle* (144, 247) and *Atlantis* (384). Wilson Knight (*Saturnian* 67) compares the weird sound in *Maiden Castle* (also connected with Wales). The second *Maiden Castle* citation occurs in the scene between Dud and Urien on the encampment.

"the upper and the nether millstone" (849 [696]) — Deuteronomy 24:6.

"the weary heads of the dead" (528 [433]) — A variant of "the powerless heads ..." (q.v.).

"Then they went on to Harlech ... close by" (672 [550]) — A passage from the end of "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*, in Lady Charlotte Guest's translation.

"There wasn't much water ... went wading" (781 [639]) — Translated from "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*. Bran is leading a fleet to support Branwen. This translation (which is quite literal) bears no resemblance to Lady Charlotte Guest's. JCP's own?

third Henry of Lancaster (849 [696]) — Henry VI, son of Henry V, who reigned from 1422 until 1461. His reign was in fact characterized by wars and rebellions, so the effect of the Archbishop's speech is decidedly ironic.

Thomas, Lord Bardolf — See "Bardolf."

"throughout the shadowy hall" (348 [286]) — Another translation from Homer's *Odyssey* (Book 7). Also quoted in *Porius* (207, 232).

Tiberius (721 [591]) — Second Roman Emperor, reigning from AD 14 to 37. He became proverbial for his cruelty, though this has been disputed recently by some historians.

time one of they every shaven-polls (376 [309]) — Presumably a typographical error; "every time one of they shaven-polls" is surely intended.

Ting-a-Ring ... Spy-Fox (313 [258]) — I have not tried to identify these games which, as Rhisiart suspects, may be either traditional pastimes or even Walter Brut's inventions.

Tintern (714 [584]) — On the River Wye in Monmouthshire. JCP is doubtless thinking of Wordsworth's famous poem, "Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey."

tirra-lirra (792 [649]) — The reference here is probably to the description of Sir Lancelot in Tennyson's "The Lady of Shalott" (l.107). Cf. "trilla-lirra."

"To drive out devils ... Prince of Devils" (265 [218]) — See Matthew 12:24. It may be relevant to note that the "context" is an analogy between a person (the man possessed by a devil) and a country divided against itself. Jesus goes on to say: "Every country divided against itself is brought to desolation" (12:25).

to love is better than– " (710 [581]) — The reference is to 1 Corinthians 7:9, "it is better to marry than to burn."

Toledo (94, 198 [77, 163]) — A town in central Spain celebrated for its swords. "Teledo" (554) is, of course, a misprint, corrected at [454].

"took other counsel" (388 [319]) — Another Homeric translation, also used by JCP in *Porius* (348, 752) and *The Inmates* (122).

Torah (632 [517]) — A central book in Judaism, consisting of the Pentateuch, the first five books of the Old Testament.

"touch wood" (564 [462]; cf. 922 [755]) — A traditional superstition. Cf. *Porius* (550, 803) and *Obstinate Cymric* (9, 10, 17).

Tower of London (527 [432]) — The traditional place where traitors were imprisoned before execution. It is also the place where, according to tradition, Bran's head was buried. Also known as the White Tower.

traitor-ancestor (4 [4]) — Griffith ap Madoc (q.v.).

trance (216 [178]; cf. 396 [324]) — See "Attacks"

Trawsfyn[n]ydd (711 [174]) — Correctly, "Trawsfynydd," corrected in the modern reprints. A small community in Gwynedd west of Bala, north-northeast of Harlech, where the "Porius stone," important in *Porius*, originally stood.

treisio (213 [176]) — Rape (Welsh).

Trenchard (373 [307]) — The name of a well-known Dorset family altered by Hardy to Henchard in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*. JCP, however, habitually refers to Henchard by the historical name–for example, in *Maiden Castle* (255) and *The Dorset Year* (210). His nickname, "Jimmy Mummer," is never explained.

Trent, river (658 [589]) — A river in the midlands of England.

Trevor, John (236 [194]) — A historical figure, though not mentioned as such in "Characters of the Novel" or "Principal characters," appointed Bishop of St. Asaph's in 1395.

Originally favouring Henry IV, he went over to Owen's side as late as 1404. He died in 1410. Davies calls him "far and away the most impressive figure in the episcopate of Wales in his day" (213).

"triads" (722 [591] — Normally, Welsh lists arranged in threes as a mnemonic device, but here the *terza rima*, three-line stanzas with interweaving rhymes used by Dante in the *Divine Comedy*.

trilla-lirra (650, 788 [532, 640]) — Perhaps a punning variant on "tirra-lirra" (q.v.), or perhaps a slip on JCP's part (though the second usage as dialect speech works well).

Tripartite Indenture (636 [520]) — Some historians consider this a fake, though it was accepted by Lloyd. For an excellent discussion of the pros and cons, see Davies (65-69). It is referred to in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* (III i 80), which derives from an inaccurate account in Holinshed. JCP (661-62 [541-42]) follows Welsh tradition in having the agreement between Mortimer, Northumberland, and Glendower after the death of Hotspur at Shrewsbury. It is generally dated February 1405. For a map illustrating the boundaries, see Rees (Plate 52).

Trojans (201 [166]) — JCP makes Rhisiart accept the Welsh claims to be descended from the (defeated) Trojans, a standard claim in British legendary history frequently alluded to in *Porius*. See also *Obstinate Cymric* (8).

"Troppo avem sofferto" (191 [158]) — Translation (from the Italian) follows in text.

True Cross (272 [224]) — Fragments of the True Cross, the actual cross upon which Jesus was said to be crucified, were much in demand after its supposed discovery by St. Helena, mother of Constantine, c.327. Under its alternative name of "Holy Rood, " it is mentioned in *Wood and Stone* (1), a reference glossed (though misprinted as "Holy Road"!) in *Autobiography* (117).

Trundle of Shoreditch, Master (749 [614]) — Presumably fictional.

"Tu quoque!" (206 [170]) — "You also!" (Latin).

Tudor (396 [325]) — Glendower's brother. The story of being carried on the brother's shoulders is borrowed from an incident involving JCP and Littleton; see *Autobiography* (48). For the story of the two brothers and the stream (433-34, 743 [356, 609]), cf. *Autobiography* (49).

Tudors in Mon (182 [150]) —An Anglesey family connected to Glendower's mother, who was sister-in-law of Tudur ap Goronwy (Davies 209). Rhys ap Tudor (q.v.) and Gwilym ap Tudor were "two brothers, inordinately proud of their ancient heritage and military experience and the natural leaders (as they saw it) of society in their corner of north Wales" (Davies 201). Their capture of the castle at Conway (q.v.) was a dramatic event in the rebellion. They belong to the family that ultimately formed the Tudor dynasty.

"Turn your wheel!" (652 [534]) — Almost certainly an echo of Shakespeare's *King Lear* (II ii 180). Also quoted in *Letters to Llewelyn* (II 198).

Tuscan (191 [158]) — From Tuscany, a region in the north-west of Italy. The "Tuscan pretender" (722 [591]) is Dante (q.v.) and his poem the *Paradiso*, the third book in the *Divine Comedy*, which was revolutionary in being written in the vernacular.

Twm Bugail (793 [650]) — Tom the shepherd (Welsh).

Twm-o'-Bryth (788 [646]) — Literally, "Thomas of the hill," the shepherd (see "Twm Bugail" above).

Twrch Trwyth (822-23 [674]) — A wild boar whose hunting is an important element in the romance "Culhwch and Olwen," often translated along with the *Mabinogion*. Arthur does drive the "pig of Hell" into the Severn, but it is eventually killed on the Cornish shore.

"Ty-uwch-y-Lyn" (793-94). Literally, "the higher house by the lake" (Welsh). Given more accurately as "*Ty-uwch-y-Llyn*" in the modern reprints (650).

tynghed (203 [168]) — A common Welsh word meaning "fate" or "destiny," but often used by JCP as something between a curse, an obligation, and a necessity.

Tyre and Sidon (415 [341]) — The two leading cities of the ancient Phoenicians, twenty-two miles apart on the coast of what is now Lebanon. The association of the two names is biblical–see, for example, Matthew 11:21, 22.

"Tysilio sat on Tysilio's throne" (914 [748]) — JCP's version of a rhyme that occurs in Shakespeare's *King Lear* (III iv 76) and is quoted in *A Glastonbury Romance* (795 [763]). See also under "Saint Tysilio."

Tywyn, Forests of (560 [461]) — Tywyn, home of Rhys the Black, is on the coast of Gwynedd.

Tywysog Cymru (102 [84]) — Prince of Wales (Welsh). NB: "Tywysiog" (341 [281]) is an error.

U

Urban the Sixth (641 [524]) — Pope (at Rome) from 1378 until 1389.

Usk (37 [31]) — Either a river in southern Wales flowing into Monmouthshire and entering the Bristol Channel at Newport, or, as at 560 [459], a town in Monmouthshire.

"Usque quo Domine ... sanguinem nostrum?" (248 [204]) — "How long, O Lord, will you not judge [them] and avenge our blood?" (Latin). A shortened version of Revelation 6:10.

Usurper (315 [260]) — King Henry IV. This term, it should be noted, is rarely employed after Glendower's Proclamation. It becomes common thereafter.

Uther Pendragon (474 [389]) — The father of King Arthur in the Arthurian romances. The star seen at his birth is mentioned by Lloyd (48). I have not traced his Battle-song

or Psalm (704, 705 [576], which may well be JCP's invention.

V

Vale of Clwyd (436 [359]) — "Dyffryn Clwyd" (Welsh), the Valley of the River Clwyd on the borders of Denbighshire and Flintshire, in Glendower's time more specifically a political area around Ruthin. Glendower's raid (489 [402]) is historical; see Lloyd (48).

Valle Crucis (16 [13]) — An Abbey in Denbighshire, one-and-a-half miles northwest of Llangollen, founded in 1201, and belonging to the Cistercian order. Its ruins are still extensive. Photos in Bradley (54) and *La lettre powysienne* 4 (2002), 17, and one of JCP and Phyllis at Valle Crucis in *The Dorset Year* (263). JCP's presentation of the details of the abbey are generally faithful. He wrote in his diary: "... save for Glastonbury, I was more affected by this than by any Abbey in Ruins I have ever seen" (*The Dorset Year* 262).

Varges-Deslormes (780 [638]) — Not traced.

"vasty deep" (10 [9]) — A phrase used by Owen Glendower in Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* (III i 53), often employed by JCP elsewhere; see also "call up spirits ..."

"veil of illusion" (290 [240]) — A phrase from the end of Lady Charlotte Guest's translation of "Branwen Daughter of Llyr," the second story in the *Mabinogion*. Most modern translations refer to a "magic mantle."

verdurous ... mossy (412-13 [339]) — A possibly unconscious echo from Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale" (l. 40).

"Vierge de Chartres!" (799 [655]) — "Virgin of Chartres!" Chartres Cathedral, dedicated to Mary (Notre Dame).

Virgil (129, 239 [106, 197]) — Publius Vergilius Maro (70-19 BC), Roman poet, best known as author of the *Aeneid*, though the reference at 129 [106]) is to the *Georgics* (Book 4). ~~I have not traced~~ the passage about " mind animating matter" (283 [234]). Aeneid VI:727 'mens agitat molem'

vivats (400 [309]) — Cries of "Long live ..." (Latin).

"Vous avez des desseins à outrance" (810 [664]) — "You have plans to excess" (French).

Vyrnwy (544 [446]) — According to tradition, Glendower's forces were defeated on the Vyrnwy on 25 September 1400 by Hugh Burnell, a week after the sacking of Ruthin; see Lloyd (32). The Vyrnwy is a river in Powys which becomes a tributary of the Severn.

W

"Wailing and gnashing of teeth" — See "And there shall be wailing ..."

wambly (376 [309]) — Rambling (dialect).

Wareham (376 [309]) — A small town in eastern Dorset.

water-ouzel (410 [337]) — Dipper. "Ouzel" is an old word for thrush or blackbird.

way of a man with a maid (587 [481]) — Proverbs 30:19.

weaving day after day (481 [395]) — Suggestive of Penelope in Homer's *Odyssey*.

well-laid schemes (587 [481]) — Possibly an echo of Robert Burns's "To a Mouse" (l.39).

Welsh universities (442 [363]) — The provision for two Welsh universities is historical; see Lloyd (121).

Welshpool (4 [4]) — A town in Powys, on a direct route between Oxford and North Wales. It was attacked by Glendower early in his rebellion.

Wessex (65 [54]) — The kingdom of the West Saxons in Saxon times, Wessex was a term revived in the nineteenth century by William Barnes and popularized by Thomas Hardy. JCP took up the term from Hardy in his early Wessex romances.

Westminster Hall (371 [305]) — The hall of the King of England's court at this period.

wharves of Lethe (285 [235]) — Most probably a deliberate echo of the Ghost in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (I v 32). The passage is quoted in *A Glastonbury Romance* (977 [934]), *Maiden Castle* (34), *Visions and Revisions* (113), and *Rabelais* (247).

What is Prince? A word (419 [344]) — Glendower is echoing Falstaff's famous Honour speech in *1 Henry IV* (V i 144-45).

What madness leaps up in a lover's heart? (527 [432]) — Almost certainly an inaccurately-remembered allusion to the last verse of William Wordsworth's "Strange Fits of Passion Have I Known."

What matter ... makes my bed! (173 [143]) — Not identified.

What you do, Master Seneschal, do quickly! (275 [226]) — Apparently an echo of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (I vii 1-2).

"When Adam delved ... gentleman?" (581 [476]) — A traditional rhyme that goes back to John Ball and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

"When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion" (48 [39-40]) — Psalm 126:1.

Where is my servant Rhisiart? (724 [592]) — A clear allusion to Shakespeare's *King Lear* (V iii 283).

white night (647 [529]) — An innocent phrase, but it may well echo a chapter title in Walter Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*, which JCP admired.

white samite (127 [105]) — Presumably a reference to a famous line, "Clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful," in Tennyson's "Morte d'Arthur" (l.31), expanded in "The

Epic" (l.90), and finally incorporated into "The Passing of Arthur" (l.327) in *The Idylls of the King*.

White Tower (648 [530]) — A chief tower of the Tower of London (the White Mount of 276 [228]) where, according to tradition, Bran's head was buried.

Whitney, Robert (523 [428]) — Like de la Bere and Devereux, he came from Herefordshire and was killed at Bryn Glas. But a textual confusion occurs at 560 [459]): it was Devereux, not Whitney, who made the prediction (see 548 [449]).

Who can strew whiteness ... their scales! (534 [437]) — Not traced. Possibly JCP's invention.

"Who'd have thought that the Crow had so much blood in him!" (495 [407]) — An obvious reference to Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (V i 41-42).

William the Bastard (699 [547]), **William the Norman** (395 [325]) — William the Conqueror, King of England, 1066-1087.

Winchester (401 [330]) — The county town of Hampshire in southern England.

"With a broken sword ... hurricane!" (156 [129]) — Meirion Pennar notes (21) that Griffith Llwyd is made to produce authentic lines in translation from his poem on Glendower's exploits in Scotland with Richard II. Part of the extract in question is quoted in a different translation in Glanmor Williams, *Owen Glendower* (70).

with its face ... France (809 [663]) — From the opening sentence of "Manawydan Son of Llyr," the third story in the *Mabinogion*, following Lady Charlotte Guest's translation.

Woe for us! ... the clay! (349 [287]) — Not traced.

Wold Un (376 [309]) — The old one, i.e., the Devil (Dorset dialect).

wolves (62 [51]) — Wolves still survived in Wales at this period.

Woodbury Hill (620 [672]) — Eleven miles northeast of Worcester (q.v.).

Worcester (35, 648 [29, 530]) — The county town of Worcestershire in the English Midlands. If the account is reliable, it was the closest Glendower's army ever got to London (see 820 [672]). Moore, however, casts doubt on the historicity of the campaign: "A late and somewhat unreliable French source claims that Glyn Dwr and the French moved eastwards as far as Worcester, but this is hard to accept ... there is no mention of such a momentous campaign in any of the contemporary sources" (180). Similarly, Davies decides that the story "savours of a flight of chivalrous literary fancy" (184)–though some local traditions may support it. Lloyd accepts it (104). King John is buried in the cathedral; see "John, King."

worser devil (269 [221]) — "Worser" is still included in larger dictionaries as a dialect usage, but JCP is doubtless alluding to the "worser spirit" in Shakespeare's Sonnet 144 (l.4), a supposition strengthened by the balancing use of "better angel" (l.3) at 326 [269]).

Wycliffe, Master (233 [192]) — John Wycliffe (c.1320-84), English theologian who began the first full translation of the Bible into English. This was published in 1388. His teachings challenged ecclesiastical authority, but his popularity helped to protect him. So, "Wycliffite" (841 [689]).

Wyddfa (937 [767]) — Properly, "Yr Wyddfa." One of the peaks of Snowdon, the highest mountain in Wales. It is the setting for the climactic final scene at the end of *Porius*. JCP published a poem, "Yr Wyddfa: The Tomb" in *Dockleaves* 6 (Summer 1955), 11.

Wyddgrug (69 [57]) — Yr Wyddgrug is the Welsh name for the town of Mold in Flintshire.

Wye [River] (58 [48]) — The river that forms the boundary between Monmouthshire and Gloucestershire.

Wyvern (895 [733]) — A winged dragon in heraldry.

Y

y Crach [14] — See "Yr Crach."

y faggdu (735 [802]) — An error for "y fagddu," utter distress (Welsh), corrected in the modern reprints.

"y Grug" (794 [650]) — See "Cruc."

Yale (16 [14]) — See also "Ial." Part of Powys Fadog (q.v.), linked with Maelor Gymraeg to form Bromfield and Yale. It was incorporated into Denbighshire in 1536.

ym Mhowys (882 [723]) — In Powys (Welsh).

yng ngh[y]ngor (195 [161]) — In council (Welsh). NB: "*nghngor*" in the original editions is a misprint.

Ynys Prydain (314 [259]; cf. 749 [614]) — The Island of Britain (Welsh). JCP is inconsistent about the spelling; the alternative form, "Ynys Prydein," also occurs in all editions.

yoke of oxen at Hereford fair (249 [205]) — Surely at least a faint echo of "How a good yoke of bullocks at Stamford Fair?" in Shakespeare's *2 Henry IV* (III ii 40-41).

York (315 [260]) — The county town of Yorkshire in northern England. "Cousin York" (825 [676]) is Edward, Duke of York.

"You *that* way–I *this* way (893 [732]) — Clearly a quotation from Shakespeare's *Love's Labours Lost* (the final line of the play). Also quoted in *Ducdame* (220), *Wolf Solent* (348), and *Mortal Strife* (71).

"You *think* too much" (543 [445]) — Perhaps an echo of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (I ii 195).

"You too, Master Brut?" (165 [136]) — A punning quotation of JCP's part of the English version of "Et tu, Brute?," said to be the last words of Julius Caesar before his assassination. They are employed in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (III i 77). JCP also quotes the phrase in *A Glastonbury Romance* (233). Owen is implying that he has been betrayed into rebellion.

young knight ... lord's fire (189 [156]) — Not traced.

Young, Master (103 [85]) — Griffith Young (or Yonge), Canon (later Bishop) of Bangor, Glendower's chancellor and envoy to the French with John Hanmer. He was probably the illegitimate son (cf. 180, 200 [150, 165]) of Morgan Yonge, Glendower's older friend and neighbour at Glyndyfrdwy (Davies 142-3). Historically, he did not join Glendower until 1404 (Lloyd 122). Young "had a brilliant academic career and a panoply of degrees to his name" by this time (Davies 213). He survived participation in Glendower's revolt to become Bishop of Ross and even Bishop of Hippo in what is now Algeria (Davies 214). He was never, however, Archbishop of St. David's (642 [526]).

yr abred (735 [607]) — The abyss (Welsh).

yr Arglwydd heb saeth (937 [767]) — Translation (from the Welsh) follows in text.

yr Arglwyddes — See "Arglwyddes."

"yr Crach" (16-17 [cf.14]) — Corrected in the modern reprints to "y Crach" (Welsh), "the Scab." "Crach Ffinnant," a historical figure present at Glendower's Proclamation as "their prophet" (Lloyd 31, Davies 159), and recognized as a poet by Griffith Llwyd (Lloyd 31n). JCP's characterization of him is invented; making him the illegitimate son of a nun links him with Merlin (see 79-80 [61]). Davies accepts him as "a professionally trained poet and soothsayer, from [Glendower's] home district" who may have been "loosely attached" to his service (159).

Ys tywyll heno! (883 [723]) — Translation (from the Welsh) precedes text. From the first line of "Stafell Cynddylan" (see 452 [372]).

Ysgerbwd Hen (267 [219]) — The old skeleton (Welsh)– actually the skeleton of Hywel the Bard; see 268 [221]).

ystafell (453 [372]) — Hall (Welsh).

"Ystavell Cynddylan" (883) — Corrected to "Ystafell Cynddylan" in the modern reprints [724]. "The Hall of Cynddylan" (Welsh).

Z

Zacharias (600 [491]) — In the New Testament, the husband of Elizabeth and the father of John the Baptist.

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