MINING AND RULING OF EDINBURGH

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raised regarding the interpretation of Mynyddawc as a ruler, I am not convinced by his conclusion that Mynyddawc Mywynnawr was a heroic hall, or court. More specifically I disagree with his unqualified assertions that Mynyddawc was not a personal-name, e.g. «There is no reason to doubt that this is a place-name» («Nid oes lle i amau nad enw lle yw hwnnw») and, «menexec can only be an adjective [...] certainly there is no reason to suppose that it is a personal-name here» («Geill menezeck fod yn ddim ond ansoddair [...] yn sicr nid oes le i dybio mai enw personol ydyw yma»)².

Support against the supposition that Mynyddawc can only be a place-name is to be gleaned from the personal-name Meneduc, wife of Brychan Brycheiniog according to the Breton Life of St Herve (composed eighth-sixteenth century)³. If we can accept its authenticity Meneduc (Mynyddawc) may be a feminine personal-name; but there is reason to doubt whether this interpretation is correct, not least the dubious aspects of the Life of St Herve - not the earliest of Breton sources - especially with regard to the commonplace appearance of Brychan Brycheiniog. It would be rash to assume on the above evidence that Mynyddawc as a name must be feminine.

We find cognates of Mynyddawc in a number of place-names. Certainly in the case of the Breton hamlet of Keravénexeck (Pleyber-Christ, Finistère), seemingly related to the eleventh century place named Caer Menedoch², and possibly in

⁵. A. DE LA BORDE, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Landévenne, [1888], xxxviii; J. LOTH, Christianité Bretonne (Armorica, Gallois, Cornouaille), Paris, Bouillon, 1890, p. 152. Loth's reading is probably to be preferred over that of de la Borde's, Caer Menedoch.
⁷. Ménéf, noted above, probably lost the medial [é] (written [e]) in the same way. Otherwise one should be wary of connecting the many (Le) Mene in western Brittany, as most, if not all, are derivatives of mën (cf. Welsh mân, meaning). An alternative explanation could be that it is based on a word manc'heg (though the vocalism is difficult, menecheg being needed), similar to that found in the Cornish name Meñeg: cf. O. I. PADEL, A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-names, Penzance, Hodge, 1988, pp. 118-119.
⁸. J.B. GOVERN, The Place-names of Cornwall, Cambridge, University Press, 1948, pp. 224, 546, unpublished, which is to be found at the Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro. I am indebted to O. J. Padel for bringing these place-names to my attention.
thought, thought, thought, thought!

In truth, it is not easy to follow the logic of the argument presented in the text. However, the main points can be summarized as follows:

1. The author begins by discussing the benefits of reading in English, suggesting that it enhances one's comprehension and analytical skills.
2. The author then contrasts this with the challenges of reading in a language one is not fluent in, emphasizing the importance of developing proficiency in both languages.
3. The author concludes by reiterating the importance of reading in both languages and advocating for continued practice and exposure to both.

In summary, the text encourages readers to embrace reading in both their native and a second language to enrich their understanding and analytical abilities.
put themselves so harmoniously under the direction of one of their equals; that is, Mynydawc, ruler of Dineidyn. Though this is not at all impossible, it is rather more probable that these assorted ‘rulers’, in their war against the pagan English, could more easily have given their allegiance to the Christian god, rather than to a more worldly potentate.

An article by D. S. Evans throws doubts upon the genuineness of some of the Christian references in the Gododdin, but mistakenly asserts that the combination of Christian and heroic ideals is incongruous, and states that it is probable the original poem of the Gododdin was a pure unmixed heroic poem (ceredd arwrol bur diledryw). However there is no reason to doubt the presence, or relevance, of Christianity in this period amongst the men of the Gododdin. J. T. Koch has indeed questioned the accepted wisdom that the Gododdin relates to a primarily ethnic campaign by Britons against advancing Anglo-Saxons and emphasises, convincingly enough, that the period in which the campaign was set was characterised by wars that were primarily dynastically motivated. Notwithstanding the undoubted momentum of dynastic politics, one should not downplay the ethnic antipathy of Britons and Anglo-Saxons to each other, and it would be the most natural thing for this antipathy to be expressed by the Britons through resorting to their Christian faith as an added justification for war against pagan Anglo-Saxons.

Support for an identification of Mynydawc as a name for the Christian God may come from the 5th-early 6th century inscribed stone in Llanaber, Merionethshire. It is inscribed:

CAELESTIS
MONEDO
RIGI

And though this has been translated «[The stone] of Caeléstis Monedorix», by V. E. Nash-Williams, or as a personal-name, Caeléstis, with an epithet, we should keep in mind a neglected article by L. Fleuriot, which shows that the translation of Celtic epithets into Latin on inscribed stones (and seemingly vice-versa) was not unknown.

If we accept caelesti (Latin caelestis) as a (partial) translation of monedorigi (Modern Welsh mynydd, and rhi), we must posit a figurative semantic equivalence between mynydd and

21. Cf. *JARMS*, T Gododdin, pp. xlvii, lii-liii, and also M. Haycock, *Bleduggerf Barddas o Gasu Crefeddol Cymru*, Swansea, Cyhoeddusiau Barddas, 1994, pp. xli-xlvi for refutations of this view. Koch (Thoughts on the «Ur-Gododdin», p. 88) argues that the archaic poem *Trawsogyn Kynan* is also devoid of Christian terminology and concepts, from which he interprets lack of Christian motifs as a feature of archaism in Old Welsh poems. In Trawsogyn Kynan the lack of Christian motifs can be explained alternatively by the fact that Kynan is shown to be fighting fellow Christian Britons rather than pagan English, and in this case resort to Christian motifs would be considered inappropriate. In my view, the debate of Christian nature versus pagan nature of early Welsh poetry is a rather sterile one, as there seems no a priori reason that every poem had to resort to Christian imagery, or conversely had to ignore it. Furthermore G.R. Isaac, *Trawsogyn Kynan Garzyn mab Brochseula*: a tenth century political poem, 1969, argues that Trawsogyn Kynan is not such an archaic poem and quite plausibly dates the poem to the tenth century.

The tradition among Canaanites that the mountain was the place where the high god El issued decisions that affected the order and running of the cosmos influenced the subsequent Israelite traditions of Mount Sinai / Horeb where the high god Yahweh issued his laws to Moses. The connection of the Christian God with mountains was not unknown in Dark Age Insular tradition, witness the testimony of Old Irish glosses to the Old Testament Psalms, dating to about c. 800 where we find:

The attributing of 'eternal' to the mountains is discussed in the Latin commentary and the relevant Irish gloss reads: (xii) i. dindii rombó s hi seleb 'i.e. from that He was in mountains' (ML 95 a 3). This is an affirmation of God's affinity for mountains.

The case for the translating of names (or epithets) into Latin in the wording of some early Christian inscriptions in the Brittonic world can be made from other examples. The clearest of which is the Llanfyllin stone (Carmns.). It is inscribed:

MEMORIA
VOTERPORIGIS
PROCTORIS

This commemorative inscription of the mid-fifth century king of Dyfed has led to one of the most commonly quoted ideas concerning Roman continuity in sub-Roman Britain. In 1911 J. E. Lloyd in his History of Wales stated that Voteporix had «[...] the title of 'protector', bestowed by the Romans in the declining years of their Empire upon notable barbarian leaders and no doubt borne by Voteporix hereditarily».

K. H. Jackson continued further along this line of speculation:

This sixth-century petty Irish king of south-west Wales was called on his gravestone by the high imperial title of Protector, to which one would scarcely suppose he could have had any right. This is not the only tomb in the world which makes out a man to be more important than he really was, but the significant thing is that it took the direction of pretending to be a high-ranking Roman. The late Mr. M. P. Charlesworth pointed out to me that the Romans often gave allied barbarian kings some sort of title, status and insignia, and suggested that the rank of Protector may have been bestowed on one of Voteporix's ancestors during the Empire, and that the family claimed it hereditarily afterwards [...] This is very ingenious and plausible, and would explain the occurrence of it in Britain at so late a date.34

What has not been stressed is that protectoris is a partial translation of voteporix (Modern Welsh goded and rhi). Proinsias Mac Cana did note the semantic equivalence («te-bygrywdd semantegob» of goded 'hiding place, retreat, refuge' with Latin prētege)34 but without pushing this point to its logical conclusion. Though K. H. Jackson would subsequently change his mind, most commentators have continued to express the view that protectoris is a title, and one can say this

39. Quoted in Mac Mathuna Old Irish Heighs, p. 38; the gloss is placed about the asterisk in «externus autem montes appellat quod pro sempera uritute in se dei habitantis numquam essent in ilis hostium transituri, unde* velut respiciens diuinitas securitatem maiestatis adfune
tido: Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, ed. W. Stowe, J. Strachan, Cambridge, University Press, vol. i. 1901, p. 323; the manuscript is thought by the editors [p. xvi] to emanate from the monastery of Bangor (Co. Down).
41. Ogam voteporigus.
42. London, Longmans & Green, vol. i, p. 133.
45. «This has been much discussed, including the unlikely proposition that Voteporix actually held an official Roman appointment and the title of Protector: K.H. Jackson, Gildas and the Names of British Princes, Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies, iii, 1982, p. 32.
ously as ‘mountain citadel’, ‘mountain stronghold’, ‘mountain court’, ‘mountain feast’, ‘mountain chief’, ‘mountain country’, ‘highland zone’ (nor does he refuse ‘mountain hall’ a meaning close to G. R. Isaac’s interpretation)\(^{56}\).

Both I. Williams and J. T. Koch\(^{57}\) point out that Edinburgh – usually Dùn Eideann in Scottish-Gaelic\(^{58}\) – had as an alternative name Dùn Monaidh in 1565. This was connected by I. Williams to the c. 1250 mention of Minit Eidin in the Black Book of Carmarthens\(^{59}\) – which was indubitably in the same general area as Edinburgh. But Monadh as W. J. Watson pointed out\(^{60}\) originally referred to the mountaneous part of Scotland, and was later applied, in a wider sense, to the kingdom of Scotland: Dùn Monaidh ‘the fortress of Monadh’ was accounted by early and legendary Irish material as the seats of the kings of Alba. W. J. Watson believed\(^{61}\) that «[...] the probability is that Dùn Monaidh was used loosely to denote the seat of the Gaelic kings of Scotland wherever it might be placed», and that the late identification by an author of Dùn Monaidh with Edinburgh «probably means simply that Edinburgh was in his time the seat of the king of Scotland». Even if Edinburgh could be accounted the original Dùn Monaidh – which is doubtful – its name would derive from Monadh (E. The Mount) which was the original name given to the Grampians, or central Highlands, by Scottish-Gaelic speakers, and not to the environs of Edinburgh. Monadh in Scottish-Gaelic is a loanword from the pre-Gaelic speakers of northern

Scotland, cognate with W. mynydd ‘mountain’\(^{62}\). The Old and Middle Welsh term for the Scottish Highlands may have been Old Welsh (montum) Bannauc, Middle Welsh Mynyd Bannauc, or simply Middle Welsh Bannauc (Modern Welsh Bannog)\(^{63}\). If mynydd – as a simplex – was ever a specific geographical

\(^{56}\) I. Williams, The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland, p. 67.

\(^{57}\) I. Williams, Gododdin, pp. 1-6.

\(^{58}\) In Welsh tradition, Dineidyn or Dinaseidyn (cf. Williams, Canu Anerin, pp. xxxviii, xxxix).

\(^{59}\) I. Williams, Canu Anerin, Caerdydd, Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1938, p. xxxviii.

\(^{60}\) W. J. Watson, The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland, p. 186.

\(^{61}\) W. J. Watson, The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland, p. 186.

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creation not contemporary with the facts they purport to relate, with the qualification, however, that they do contain some genuine archaic material originating from northern Britain, at least in names and in Brittonic words or usages not attested elsewhere in Welsh literature. Beyond the disagreements as to what Mynyddog in the poem represents, the latest views — arrived at independently — converge towards one salient conclusion: that, as J.T. Koch puts it, there is «a compelling and straightforward» case that the old view of Mynyddog as a sixth century ruler of Edinburgh can hardly be sustained uncritically on the basis of the surviving documentation.

APPENDIX

In Wales we have a problematic place-name Neulwyd-fynyddog (89 90-60, Llanbrnymair, Montgomeryshire), which was written, *Neywed Uemeaduc 1191*71, *Mynidd Fynyddog*, *Myndyd Fynyddog*, *Newidd Eyfnyddog*, *Newidd Efynudog 1683-87*72, *Neulwyd Eyfneydod* (sic) Ordinance Survey 1836, *Neulwyd Fynyddog* Ordinance Survey 190373, and was noted as pronounced [*newyd fyn-

70. Koch, The *Gododdin*, at p. xlvi, note 2, states: «I first exposed my doubts about *myndeych* as a person at a seminar in Harvard in 1986 […] The fact that Isaac and I reached largely the same conclusion independently underscores the compelling and straightforward nature of the case». I myself was inspired to write this article through being present at an informal conversation between students at Aberystwyth University about 1987; G. R. Isaac proposed his views about Mynyddog, later published in his article of 1990, whilst another student of Celtic Studies, Muriel Mac Ualghairg, preferred to interpret Mynyddog as the Christian God.

71. Montgomery Collections, vol. 51 p. 167. The «<ge>» of the form *Neywed* seems a relic of Old Welsh orthography just like the «<ge>» in the form of a witness’s name in the same church register of the later Bleddyn.


73. 6th Ordinance Survey map, 2nd ed.

noted as pronounced [*newyd fyn-

74. Ellis, Astudiaeth o Ersau Lleoedd Sir Drefaldwyn, p. 697 (which would be written by me, in a more modern phonetic script [*newyd van-

75. Neulwyd-fynyddog and the adjoining farms belonged to the estate of Watkin Wyn of Wynn, but was sold about the time of the 1914-1918 war (p.c. Peaty Williams).


77. Llanbrnymair Tithe Map, National Library of Wales.

78. The adjective *newyd* ‘new’ is common in Welsh before a verb-noun or sometimes before a noun — e.g. *newyd ddod ‘just come’, newyd fflam ‘band new’ — but not before an adjective.

79. «It is difficult to understand why one has two adjectives as a mountain name. Should one suspect the loss of an element such as *carn*, *carnedd* (a feminine noun) to account for the mutation of the initial consonant of *mynddog*?» (Anodd deall paham y ceir dau ansodddair fel enw ar fyn-


LOTH, J., *Chrestomathie Bretonne (Armorica, Gallois, Cornique)*, Paris, Bouillon, 1890.


Passage, below p. 144-4

Conclusions

Though the conclusions drawn do not exclude the latter possibility, the combination of the exposure to damaging pollutants and a combination of both factors may have been contributing factors to the reported increase in cases of lung cancer. Further research is needed to fully understand the relationship between exposure to damaging pollutants and lung cancer incidence. The results of this study suggest that exposure to damaging pollutants may increase the risk of lung cancer, but additional research is necessary to confirm these findings.

Later influence

Juan Whitley