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Historia Brittonum and Britain's Twenty-Eight Cities

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THE TWENTY-EIGHT BRITISH CITIES listed by the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* are an old puzzle. They have perplexed scholars since the tenth century; they still pose questions of identification, textual criticism, and etymology, despite studies in 1938 by Kenneth Jackson (1909-91) and 2015 by Keith Fitzpatrick-Matthews. This paper offers a new analysis, arranging its material in two parts. First is a survey of previous work, including publications by Sir Ifor Williams (1881-1965) and other Welshmen writing in their native tongue; second, an updated catalogue of the twenty-eight names, offering new locations, readings, and derivations.

We begin five centuries ago with John Leland (d. 1552), antiquary to Henry VIII. Leland's papers suggest the enigmatic appeal of the forms. After quoting from *Historia Brittonum* the passage on Arthur's Twelve Battles, he gave the names of seven of the twenty-eight cities, without identification:

Ex catalogo urbium Britannicarum ibidem.

Caer Legion Guaruuic.

Caer Guortigern.

Caer Caradauc.

Caer Britto.

Caer Muncip.

Caer Pensauelcoit.

Caer Manchguid.

The seven indicate the obscurities involved (Leland II 47). Welsh *caer* "stronghold" is easily recognized, so that the first three may be understood as

Stronghold of (the) Legion

Stronghold of Vortigern (the fifth-century ruler)

Stronghold of Caradog

-- with the first being Caerleon, South Wales. Leland's curiosity is shown by his elsewhere quoting the whole tally from Henry of Huntingdon (d. 1155), with fresh attempts to locate them (Leland II 289-90). Yet many have been as mysterious in the twenty-first century as they were for Leland in the sixteenth.

By 1900, however, professional scholarship was getting a grip on the difficulties. Introducing his history with a eulogy of Britain (amongst the few entities to receive his praise), Gildas in 536 saw the island as "beautified by twenty-eight cities (*civitatibus*), and some strongholds (*castellis*)." In translating this remark, Hugh Williams (1843-1911) of Bala was prompted to identify some of the places that Gildas left nameless. Williams cited Heinrich Zimmer (1851-1910) of Berlin for the *Historia Brittonum* list as predating 796 CE, the *g* in its Cair Legion, Cair Segeint, and Cair Guorthigirn being an Old Welsh archaism (Hugh Williams 14, 15). But problems persisted. Hogan's gazetteer of early Ireland gives "the chief twenty-four cities" of Britain from the Middle Irish translation of *Historia Brittonum*, where the forms are both corrupted by scribes and reduced in

number. Almost the only ones located by Hogan were *Caer Ebroc* or York, *Caer Legion* or Chester, and *Caer Luail* or Carlisle (Hogan 136-7).

The background to Gildas's comment was further taken up by Sir John Lloyd (1861-1947). He declared with characteristic stateliness that, when Gildas wrote, the glory of these cities had departed; they "lay in hideous overthrow, desolate and untenanted" (Lloyd 101). Whatever the truth here, we shall see that the *Historia Brittonum* treatise shows concepts of the city unlike those of the Greeks and Romans. Bibliographical information on *Historia Brittonum* was thereafter set out by the Canadian-Irish scholar James Kenney, the fundamental edition being Mommsen's of 1894, written with Germanic thoroughness and even providing a translation back into Latin (by Zimmer) of the Irish text (Kenney 152-5).

At this point we come to essential contributions from Wales. Sir Ifor Williams edited a Middle Welsh version of the list in Oxford, Jesus College, MS 111 (= MS Welsh 1 = the Red Book of Hergest), compiled in about 1400. While Irish scribes had reduced the number of cities to twenty-four, Welsh ones proudly increased them to thirty-two. Williams offered hints on forms and locations from a Welsh translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, other early Welsh texts, and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* (Ifor Williams 19-21). Williams's comments are useful to this day. We shall return to them. Essential too is the monumental glossary by John Lloyd-Jones (1885-1956) of bardic poetry, unmasking bogus information from Geoffrey of Monmouth, such as his equating *Caer Caradog* and Salisbury (Lloyd-Jones 95-6).

At Cambridge, the Chadwicks meanwhile indicated clues and hazards for researchers. They regarded the catalogue as pre-dating *Historia Brittonum*, quoting the words of its compiler from the Cambridge text on how he had copied them "as other writers before me wrote them down." The list certainly occurs in a text which (despite modern claims on its organization) is more a dossier of historical materials than a history. But the Chadwicks went on as follows. "Indeed it is a question whether Gildas had not the former in his mind when he wrote (cap. 1) that there were twenty-eight cities in Britain. We suspect that several of the catalogues noticed above may have a long history. Compositions of this kind cannot safely be dated by the latest item" (Chadwick and Chadwick 281). Their view must yet be rejected. There is no reason to regard the text as an ancient one, itemizing Roman communities from the Channel to the Wall. Once we treat it not as a document of the palmy days of Empire, but of the ninth century, its difficulties will melt away, after a millennium of failure and frustration. Inability to appreciate this applied even to Kenneth Jackson, a very great scholar indeed. He was a pupil of the Chadwicks, and their influence appears in his paper of 1938, itself responding to an article by C. E. Stevens on Gildas and the *civitates* in *The English Historical Review* for 1937. Although published in a journal of archaeology and not linguistics, Jackson's research is stamped with his gift for clear philological thinking (Jackson, "Nennius"). Unfortunately, even his powers were hamstrung by preconceptions of the list as delineating Roman Britain.

Besides that are fictions of Geoffrey of Monmouth, leaving a smear that nine centuries have not effaced, despite observations by Henry Lewis (1889-1968) of the University of Wales. Citing Sir John Lloyd, he dismissed Geoffrey's taking *Caer Caradog* as Salisbury, but added that the name (if of obscure location) figures in early Welsh poems (Lewis 240). His technique was sound. Linguistic analysis of the material set out by Ifor Williams, Lloyd-Jones, and Lewis helps restore correct readings and indicate where these places were. Kenneth Jackson yet made little use of the list in later work on phonology, although he did reject Joseph Loth's view that some forms were archaic. He took almost all of them as from the Welsh of the early ninth century, when *Historia Brittonum* was compiled (Jackson, *Language* 48-9). The point is significant. The catalogue reflects a Britain post-dating Offa and Charlemagne. We must put aside the model of Roman Britain, which has ensnared and deluded so many investigators.

As a lesson, we quote R. S. Loomis. He wrote of how *Historia Brittonum*'s compiler (or a later writer) "gave a list of the twenty-eight cities of Britain. The cities, so far as they can be identified, were Roman settlements or forts; the forms of the names are Welsh. Only three of the towns, however, were located in Wales, and they are mentioned together: Cair Segeint, Cair Legeion guar Uisc, Cair Guent, i.e., the old Segontium, Caerleon on Usk, and Caerwent." He believed that Cardiff and Carmarthen were ignored (Loomis 3). When we reach the end of this paper, it should be apparent that most of this can be dismissed.

Nora Chadwick (1891-1972) mentioned, without elaboration, the cities in an outline of the contents and manuscripts of *Historia Brittonum* (Chadwick 38). A University of Wales handbook cites other and neglected research in Welsh, French, Dutch, and German (*Bibliography* 83), which we mention here for researchers (especially on the European Continent) who are in a position to use resources unavailable to others. As for Jackson, his hand appears in official cartography on the period. He was its advisor on Celtic, so that it plots identifications which he thought sound, such as *Cair Guricon* for Wroxeter, Shropshire, and ignores others, such as *Cair Mincip* for St Albans or *Cair Grauth* for Cambridge (*Map of Britain in the Dark Ages*). Published soon after were notes by the pioneer antiquarian William Worcestre (d. before 1485), friend of the Pastons and secretary to Sir John Fastolf (d. 1459). He reminds us of the continuing allure of enigmatic toponyms. Intrigued, Worcestre quoted the first five, apparently from Oxford, Merton College, MS 241 (its text of *Historia Brittonum* now lost, but known from an old table of contents):

Cair Guorthegirn
Cair Muncip
Cair Meigudel
Cair Ebroauc
Cair Garataus

-- where corruptions in the manuscript (or introduced by Worcestre himself) remind us of the need for textual criticism (Worcestre 278). Its application will rescue us from Alcock's dusty remark on what "purports to be a list of the twenty-eight cities of Britain. Some of these are in fact Roman forts and towns, but many of the places named cannot at present be identified, and the sound historical evidence of the list has still to be separated from the dross" (Alcock, *Arthur's Britain* 40-1).

Little was done on the catalogue thereafter. On Caer Caradog, Rachel Bromwich (1915-2010) stated that, while its site was uncertain, Jackson in 1938 had referred to Shropshire hill-forts called after Caradog. She herself thought (with defective logic) that allusions in the earliest Welsh poetry put it somewhere in North Britain. She noted further how the treatise expands an earlier comment in *Historia Brittonum* (Bromwich 218, 232). Text and translation are now readily found in a posthumous volume by John Morris (d. 1977) of London University, following Mommsen's edition of 1894. Forms and interpretations are as follows, the latter not distinguishing between identification and mere translation:

1 Cair Guorthigirn	Vortigern's Fortress
2 Cair Guinntguic	Winchester
3 Cair Mincip	St Albans?
4 Cair Ligualid	Carlisle
5 Cair Meguaid	Lindisfarne
6 Cair Colun	Colchester?
7 Cair Ebrauc	York
8 Cair Custoeint	Constantine's Fortress

9 Cair Caratauc	Caradog's Fortress
10 Cair Grauth	Cambridge
11 Cair Maunguid	Manchester?
12 Cair Lundem	London
13 Cair Ceint	Canterbury
14 Cair Guiragon	Canterbury?
15 Cair Peris	Llanberis?
16 Cair Daun	Doncaster
17 Cair Legion	Chester
18 Cair Guricon	Wroxeter
19 Cair Segeint	Caernarfon
20 Cair Legeion Guar Usic	Caerleon
21 Cair Guent	Caerwent
22 Cair Brithon	Dumbarton
23 Cair Lerion	Leicester?
24 Cair Draitou	Draithou Fortress
25 Cair Pensa vel Coyt	Penselwood Fortress
26 Cair Urnarc	Urnarc Fortress
27 Cair Celemion	Celemion Fortress
28 Cair Luit Coyt	Wall-by-Lichfield

-- which, with the article by Fitzpatrick-Matthews, will be the basis for our second part (Morris 40, 80).

Brynley Roberts of the National Library of Wales, noting the Red Book of Hergest and later versions of the treatise, relates them to “an old and well-established tradition” first evidenced in Britain by Gildas. In *Historia Brittonum* it had changed, becoming a facet “of that body of traditional lore, or *cyfarnyddhyd*, which is a central component of the whole work” (Roberts, “*Culhwch ac Olwen*” 89). Remarking that the “physical area covered by the traditional history and geography is not merely Wales but the Island of Britain” from Caithness to Cornwall, he saw the list as “obviously derived from a similar body of learning” with powerful implications for the unity of British sovereignty (Roberts, *Studies* 28). Knowledge of exactly what the twenty-eight cities were must shed light on these and similar comments, for it will show how an ecclesiastical document with a strong bias towards south-east Wales was transformed into a statement on *Romanitas* and British territorial irredentism.

In the present century, Nick Higham has observed that the catalogue of cities, although prompted by a remark of Gildas (echoed in Bede's *Historia*), is “not consistent with a date much earlier than 800” and therefore reflects British geography of the ninth century. Higham also quotes Jackson's unwise speculation that some forms were “made up by the author” (Higham 121). We accept the first comment and dismiss the second. Faced with corruptions that they cannot solve, timid scholars always seek refuge in “invented” forms. A good one like Jackson should have scorned the excuse. A Welsh encyclopedia echoes Brynley Roberts's remarks, relating the list's “Twenty-eight (or Thirty-two) chief cities” to long-standing Welsh concepts of Britain's political unity (Anonymous, “Britain”). Behind the remark is a concept of Roman urban communities extending from Exeter to Canterbury to the Wall. It will be challenged when we look at the forms in detail. Most recently, Keith Fitzpatrick-Matthews of the North Hertfordshire Museum, Hitchin, has provided welcome discussion of a subject that has lacked proper study for nearly eighty years (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 1-19). Nevertheless, recent and not-so-recent publications unmentioned in his paper will modify its conclusions.

We now reach our second section, going through the toponyms as they appear in *Historia Brittonum*.

1. Cair Guorthigirn. The meaning, “Fortress of Vortigern” (the semi-legendary fifth-century ruler), is clear. Fitzpatrick-Matthews takes it as Craig Gwrtheyrn, near Llandysul in south-west Wales, because (as he states) *Historia Brittonum* elsewhere locates the place “in Dyfed and close to Afon Teifi.” This must be right. Although various places in Wales are associated with Vortigern, Craig Gwrtheyrn was recorded in this form by George Owen (d. 1612) in his Pembrokeshire local history (Lloyd-Jones 716). The name is not due to eighteenth-century antiquarian speculation. The fort is a “strong stone-built defence” in “an imposing position” on a hill (at National Grid Reference SN 4340) overlooking the River Teifi (Houlder 175). Its stone walls suit the word *caer*, as opposed to the *dinas* applied to hillforts with ramparts of earth.

2. Cair Guinntguic. This is certainly Winchester (NGR SU 4729), Hampshire, known to the Romans as *Venta Belgarum*. Fitzpatrick-Matthews quotes Jackson on the Old Welsh form, otherwise unrecorded, as having elements equivalent to Welsh *Gwent* (from *venta* “market”) and *gwig* “wood, forest.” That makes sense. There are forests near Winchester even now, and they were once far more extensive. The sense “market of (the) forest” distinguished Winchester from Caerwent in Gwent (south-east Wales), nearer the sea and so with fewer trees. The spelling with *i* and not *e* is unproblematic. *Caermynt* (not “Caerwent”, with expected development of British *venta*) also occurs as the name of Winchester in the tenth-century political poem *Armes Prydein* (Ifor Williams, *Armes Prydein* 47). Because Winchester in the ninth century was a centre of ecclesiastical and secular power, the place in *Historia Brittonum* cannot be *Venta Icenorum* or Caistor-by-Norwich, Norfolk, its site long abandoned and forgotten (Watts 109).

3. Cair Mincip is stated as “clearly derived from the Latin technical term *municipium*” (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 5), which makes “perhaps likely” the common identification with *Verulamium* or St Albans (TL 1507), the one city of Roman Britain known as a *municipium*. But we should not be so sure. There are three objections. First, it would be strange if St Albans were known in Wales as the “municipality” and not (thanks to Gildas and Bede) as pilgrimage-centre of the martyr Alban, whose name has identified the place since the late eighth century (Watts 517). Second, *municipium* was a technical word, which (unlike *civitatem*, giving Welsh *cindod* “city”) did not enter medieval Celtic vernaculars. Third, if it had entered Welsh, it would have given “mungyb” (from Old Welsh “muncip”), with *u* in the first syllable. Compare the analogies of *cufygl* from Latin *cubiculum* or *ufylltod* from *humilitatem* (*Geiriadur* 628, 3700). Another answer seems certain.

Ifor Williams in his article provided the variants *mercipit*, *minchip*, *muncip*, *mencest*, and *mencipit*. These, with *mincip*, allow emendation to Old Welsh *Mingui*, the River Monnow, the stronghold on it being Monmouth, at a prime defensive spot where Roman roads meet by the barrier of Monnow and Wye (Jackson, *Language* 379). We therefore take “mincip” and the like not as *municipium*, but as corruptions of *Mingui*. We are dealing with the standard name of a Welsh town, not an artificial one for St Albans, a place unfamiliar to the Welsh. If it is objected that we have the expected Old Welsh form *muncip* as a variant, we shall reply that this is in late and poor texts, such as the one used by Leland. It may be due to Latin influence, like the readings *mercipit* and *mencipit*. Given the paucity of readings in *mum-*, it is therefore more likely that Cair Mincip derives from *Cair Mingui* or Monmouth, Wales, than from *municipium* as an otherwise unknown name for St Albans. Ninth-century Monmouth was important. It had a monastery (Davies, *Wales* 144). Pre-Norman settlement is suggested by archaeological finds (Soulsby 181). Hence the belief that Monmouth “may have been an urban centre when part of the kingdom of Gwent” (Anonymous, “Monmouth”). That accords with emendation of Cair Mincip to *Cair Mingui* or Monmouth.

4. Cair Ligualid. All agree that this is Carlisle (NY 4055), Cumbria. The *Historia Brittonum* form, meaning “fortress of Luguvalium” (itself meaning “settlement of Luguvalus, place of a man

strong in (the god) Lugus”), appears in the Cambridge dictionary (Watts 116).

5. Cair Meguaid. A crux. Although Jackson left it unexplained, Morris accepted emendation to Old Welsh *Medcaut* (from Latin *Medicata* “healing island”) or Lindisfarne (NU 1243), off the Northumberland coast, a suggestion now (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 8) rejected as too drastic, so that place and etymology are better regarded as unknown. Yet *Medcaut* appears earlier in *Historia Brittonum* as a scene of conflict and then as a retreat of St Cuthbert, while Ifor Williams quoted for our form the variants *mygeid*, *meaguaid*, *medgnid*, *meiguod*, and *meguod* (Williams, “Enwau” 19, 20). Lindisfarne was also until Viking times the seat of an Anglo-Saxon bishop, like other places in the catalogue. The implication is again not of pagan Rome, but Early Christian Britain. Corruption is yet no surprise. Until other places listed, Lindisfarne was far from Wales and so less familiar to scribes there. They would also be misled by its unusual form. It is a borrowing from Latin, the variant spellings above showing scribal attempts to treat it as a native Welsh word. The correct reading is surely Old Welsh *Cair Medcaut* “healing island” or Lindisfarne, Northumberland.

6. Cair Colun. Despite Jackson’s scepticism, this is now taken (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 6) as Colchester (IM 0025), Essex. With Gloucester, Lincoln, and York, it was one of Roman Britain’s four *coloniae*; hence the “Col-” of its modern name. Nevertheless, even if the reading *Colun* is to be expected (as with Welsh *Annbum* from Latin *Antonius*), doubts remain. An Essex city hardly concerned the Welsh. Nor was it an ecclesiastical centre. *Colun* is more probably an erroneous reading of *Clut* or *Clud* (perhaps via “Clun”) and so referring to *Caer Clut*, *Caer Glut*, or Dumbarton (NS 4075), capital of the Strathclyde Britons (Ifor Williams, *Poems of Taliesin* 136). References in Welsh poetry make this spectacular volcanic rock by the Clyde an obvious choice for a city of Britain (Clancy 160). This despite a catastrophic siege and sacking by Vikings in 870, perhaps after the catalogue was composed (Clarkson 27-47).

7. Cair Ebrauc. York (SE 6052), without a doubt, the Old Welsh name corresponding to British-Latin *Eburacum*, incorrectly explained as “place of yew-trees” by place-name scholars. But the yew (*Taxus baccata*) is naturally found “in dry woods and scrub, rarely forming pure woods on chalk in the South” (McClintock and Fitter 288-9). The situation of York being neither dry nor on chalk, the translation will be “place of hogweed” (=Welsh *efwr*) or, preferably, “place of alder buckthorn, place of black alder” (=Breton *evor*), trees that both like damp soil (*Geiriadur* 1173).

8. Cair Custoeint. Another crux. Ifor Williams gave variants *custeint*, *gustaint*, *gustint*, *gusdirt*, *cuscerat*, and *cucerat*. Here *Custeint* is the expected development of Latin *Constantius*, as Welsh *Custennin* is of *Constantinus*. For its location, we are referred (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 7) to *Historia Brittonum* on Constantine, son of Constantine the Great, “whose tomb is to be seen by the city called *Caer Seint*” or Caernarfon (then at *Segontium*, east of the modern town). This is, however, unacceptable. It means a duplicate in the list, because Caernarfon is certainly item 19.

More likely is Welsh Bicknor (SO 5917), overlooking the River Wye in south Herefordshire. A grant in the twelfth-century Book of Llandaff refers to it as *Lann Custenbinn* and relates it to the spear of Constantine associated with the True Cross (Davies, *Llandaff Charters* 92-3, 130). Welsh Bicknor was apparently the seat of an early Welsh bishopric. By the tenth century the see was defunct, but its “archives and traditions” ultimately reached Llandaff (Davies, *Wales* 158-9). As the seat of a bishop, Welsh Bicknor is surely the “city” of Cair Custeint. The place’s legendary associations with Constantine the Great (not Constantius) imply emendation to *Cair Custenbin*, early scribes having confused the two names. Welsh Bicknor being six miles east-north-east of Monmouth (item 3), readers will see a pattern emerging from our results, of toponyms spread not over the whole of Roman Britain, but clustered in south-east Wales and the border. It leads to our next entry.

9. Cair Caratauc. The stronghold must be Caradog (SO 5527), Herefordshire (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 7). A strategic site recorded in 1292 as *Cayr cradoc*, it figures (as an emblem of Wales’s far

limits) in an archaic Welsh poem on Cadwallon of Gwynedd, who devastated Northumbria in the 630s. There is no allusion to hillforts in Shropshire, as Jackson imagined. Their links with Caradog do not predate the eighteenth century and are antiquarian, as pointed out by Richard Coates of Bristol (Breeze, “Seventh-Century Northumbria” 151). Caradog is some six miles north of Welsh Bicknor. Like Welsh Bicknor and Monmouth, it is on the west bank of the Wye.

10. Cair Grauth. Another crux. Williams in his article gives variants *graat*, *graad*, and *brut*. Henry of Huntingdon (d. 1155) emended to *Grant* and took the place as Cambridge. There are grave objections. Jackson observed that the River Granta’s name is probably Germanic (Jackson, *Language* 221). No compelling British etymology has been found for it, and Bishop Asser (d. 909) mentions Cambridge without giving it a Welsh name, contrary to his practice with English towns (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 8). Why, too, should an obscure and undistinguished town in the Fens interest the Welsh? A quite different explanation is possible.

The sole Old Welsh toponym resembling Cair Grauth is *Dougarth* or Doward (SO 5516), Herefordshire. It means “two hills” and figures in both the Book of Llandaff and Geoffrey’s *Historia*. These provide a tale of scribal muddle. Blundering variants include *Cloard* and *Cloward* (Ekwall 143), *Denarch* (Lloyd-Jones 523), and *Clorach* (Lewis 118). They help with Cair Grauth. Doward was the site of *Lann Dougarth*, an important Welsh monastery (Charles 95). It was one of many in the region (Davies *Wales*, 144). But it was more important than most, for it existed in the seventh century and its *princeps* or abbot witnessed charters preserved in the Book of Llandaff (Charles-Edwards 612, 613). It lies between Welsh Bicknor and Monmouth. Given the corruptions of *Dougarth* set out above and the status of Doward’s religious community, we correct unintelligible “Grauth” to *Dougarth*. “Grauth” will be from the intermediate form “Garth” (with *G* and *-th* surviving). A connection with Cambridge can be discarded. In its stead is, once again, a monastery on the Wye’s west bank.

11. Cair Maunguid. A further crux. Despite reference to Jackson for a reconstruction (meaning “bog forest”), a link with the legendary hero Manawydd of the twelfth-century *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* is now preferred, so that (following speculation by John Koch) Cair Maunguid is located near Colchester, Essex (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 8). All this is standing on air. A better answer was proposed almost ninety years ago, but has been little noticed. Williams in his article related Maunguid and the variants *mauchguid*, *mauchguit*, *machuit*, *machod*, and *macaid* to *Caer Ffanydd* “stronghold of beech trees” or Hereford (SO 5140). In Old Welsh it would be *Cair Fanguid* (Jackson, *Language* 443), here apparently giving corrupt and meaningless “Cair Maunguid”. Hereford, upstream from Monmouth, Doward, Welsh Bicknor, and Caradog, was the seat of a bishop, who in 803 attended a council of the province of Canterbury (Watts 298). Welsh monks further down the Wye would know him well. Connections with bogs, Manawydan, or (as John Morris supposed) Manchester are to be rejected.

12. Cair Lundem. Despite colourful variants set out by Williams (including *limden*, *lunaind*, and *lugain*), we can be sure that London is meant. Two points only need be made. First, Sir Ifor Williams observed a century ago that Modern Welsh *Llundain* cannot possibly derive from the British toponym behind Latin *Londinium*. He concluded that the Welsh forgot the name completely, the present form being a borrowing of Old English *Lunden* (Williams, *Cyfranc* 15). His observation has been little noticed, but is a telling comment on Dark Age London’s lack of importance (Breeze, “Two Ancient Names”). Second, London even in the ninth century did not have the significance which we give it. Not until 1066 were kings (Harold, William) crowned there, so that the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* in the 1120s or so took the “crown of London” as symbolizing national political authority (Breeze, “The Crown of London”). In the ninth century the political and military power of London (item 12) was less than that of Winchester (item 2, perhaps significantly). Yet it has had a bishop from the days of Gregory the Great, as Welsh clerics knew from Bede. Bishops,

not traders, would explain its inclusion here.

13. Cair Ceint. The “stronghold of Kent” is archepiscopal Canterbury (IR 1557). There is no disagreement here. The sole comment is etymological and semantic. Scholars regularly take Kent as “corner land, land on the edge” (as if seen by someone in the middle of Britain), even though Welsh *cant* “outer circle, periphery, rim” does not mean this (Watts 341). The reference will surely be to the long rim or escarpment of the North Downs, running the length of the county (the same Celtic expression being applied to the ridge of the Quantock Hills, Somerset).

14. Cair Guiragon. Here there is disagreement. The traditional identification is Worcester (SO 8555), in the West Midlands. Morris, however, regarded the place as perhaps Canterbury. On the basis of Gwyrangon, a Kentish ruler mentioned elsewhere in *Historia Brittonum*, Canterbury or else Rochester are now considered possible (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 7). But Cair Guiragon certainly means Worcester elsewhere in Welsh, as in a poem from the fourteenth-century Book of Taliesin on “long-haired men of Gwent / Around *Caer Wyragon*” (Haycock 374). Because Gwent warriors were hardly besieging Rochester or Canterbury, the explanation of Worcester will stand. Like Hereford, it was the seat of an Anglo-Saxon bishop (of more interest to Welsh clerics than any bishop of Rochester). As for the form, it may (like *Worcester*) be explained as “Roman city of those living in Wyre” or Wyre Forest, in north Worcestershire, and so ultimately related to Welsh *gwair* “grass; hay” and reconstructed Celtic *uegro-* “to be strong, to be green” (Breeze, “The Wild Green Hills of Wyre”). The sense is apt for the forests of ancient Worcestershire, a county still heavily wooded.

15. Cair Peris. Yet another crux. Despite the textual difficulties, Ifor Williams in his article referred this to Portchester, a Roman fort by Portsmouth Harbour, Hampshire. Jackson saw a possible link with the Parisi of east Yorkshire, and Morris one with Llanberis in Snowdonia, the last now being cited, if without conviction (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 8-9). It is indeed hard to see why this last insignificant place should be thought a city of Britain, despite the attestation *Lanperis* of 1283 (Owen and Morgan 220).

We have a new solution. The reference may be a corrupt one to Dinas Powys (ST 1571), near Cardiff. The place is well-known from archaeological excavations of the 1950s. In the words of a modern archaeologist, its “great natural strength and its seclusion” made it “an ideal location for a princely household in the troubled times” of the fifth and sixth centuries, although the site was admittedly abandoned in the seventh century, when turbulence declined. It was refortified in about 1100 (Alcock, *Dinas Powys* 73). Old Welsh *Pouis* here would allude not to Powys, the region bordering Shropshire, but to local *pagenses* “those living in the *pagus* or country-dwellers” (Owen and Morgan 124-5, 399), *pagus* having potent implications for local government and taxation throughout the Roman Empire. We have, then, a further toponym from south-east Wales. Cair Peris will make sense as *Cair Pouis* or Dinas Powys, Glamorgan, a stronghold perhaps once “the seat of the kings of Glywysing” (Anonymous, “Dinas Powys”).

16. Cair Daun. There has been much confusion. Ifor Williams, giving the variant *Dauri*, cited Henry of Huntingdom for Dorchester or else Water Newton, near Peterborough in the English East Midlands. Jackson and others preferred Doncaster, on the River Don, Yorkshire (Lloyd-Jones 95). This is now doubted, and rightly, Doncaster having little significance until the advent of coal-mines and railways, so that Jarrow on the Tyneside Don is thought more likely (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 4). But this is all uncertain.

We make yet another suggestion. All agree that the catalogue includes Caerwent and Caerleon in south-east Wales. Cair Daun may thus refer, in corrupt form, to Cardiff (ST 1876), with remains of a fourth-century Roman fort. Cardiff is on the River Taff, spelt *Tam* as late as the twelfth century; it appears too as *-dauo* in *landauo* (oblique case) or Llandaff “church on (the) Taff” of about 1126 (Owen and Morgan 70, 222, 450). These allow emendation of Cair Daun to *Cair Dam*, with the

hydronym in the nominative case (as in “Llandaff”) and not the genitive (as in “Cardiff”, with *i*-affection). Roman Cardiff consorts readily with Caerleon and Caerwent. Doncaster does not.

17. Cair Legion. Opinion is unanimous that this is Chester (SJ 4066). The name means “(the) legion’s stronghold” (Watts 130). Occurrence of Chester in the list is yet stranger than might seem, for it was described as “deserted” in 893, even if other sources show that it then had a church (Swanton 88). Because Chester vanishes from the records between the early seventh century and late ninth (while Hereford and Worcester had bishops and monasteries, Chester had nothing), its presence in *Historia Brittonum* poses a question. Either the reference is symbolic, for ninth-century Chester was no more than a village (if one with magnificent Roman buildings empty but intact); or (less probably) the list is later than usually thought, indicating Chester’s rebirth in the Viking age.

18. Cair Guricon. There is a surprise here. Following Jackson and others, this is related to Wroxeter (SJ 5608), on the River Severn five miles south-east of Shrewsbury, Shropshire, and still possessing mighty Roman ruins (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 4-5). The city was called *Viroconium* after the Iron Age fort on the Wrekin (a massif four miles east of Wroxeter). Yet there is an objection. Urban life at Wroxeter came to an end by the sixth century. The Welsh remembered the name, occurring in ninth-century elegies from Powys (Breeze, “Ashes Under Uricon”). But why should *Historia Brittonum* call Wroxeter a city when it was barely a village?

A better answer is provided by *Uilla Guidcon* or Trelleck Grange (SO 4901), Monmouthshire, three miles south of Trelleck and three miles west-north-west of Tintern Abbey. It is mentioned in a grant of about 960 (Davies, *Llandaff Charters* 120), and is shown as a monastery (not a mere church) on a historical map (Davies, *Wales* 144). The list’s compiler seemingly had in mind a monastery between Usk and Wye, but scribes soon confused the minor house of *Guidcon* with *Guricon* or Wroxeter, famous in Welsh poetry.

19. Cair Segeint. For once, plain sailing. Jackson and all parties agree that this is Caernarfon (SH 4862), meaning not the present small town with a large castle, but the Roman fort half-a-mile east of them, a setting for royal government and administration in the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* (Breeze, *Origins* 104).

20. Cair Legion Guar Usic. Again, unanimity. It is Caerleon (ST 3390), near Newport and on the Usk (*Guar Usic* = “On Usk”). Doubts that (despite claims by Geoffrey of Monmouth) this “fort of (the) legions” was the *Legionum Urbs* of Gildas, relating the martyrdom of Julius and Aaron, are nevertheless well-founded (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 6). A little thought prompts emendation of Gildas’s form to *Legorum Urbis* “town of the *Legores*,” or Leicester, a bigger place than Caerleon, and more likely to have a Christian community which suffered persecution.

21. Cair Guent. Also straightforward. It is Caerwent (ST 4690), Monmouthshire; a large village with very large Roman walls.

22. Cair Brithon. The meaning is “fortress of Britons” and has consistently been taken by Jackson and others as Dumbarton (NS 4075), Scotland. A rat is yet now here scented (but of the wrong kind) in the observation that occupation of this rock by the Clyde “appears to be post-Roman” (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 9). So much is irrelevant, for the list is also post-Roman. The real objection is this: Dumbarton was “fortress of Britons” for the Gaelic-speakers of Argyll and beyond; but the Britons called it *Alt Clut* “Rock of the Clyde” and the like (Jackson, *Gododdin* 76). It would be curious if they termed it “stronghold of Britons”, for they had many such. The case is strengthened by our regarding item 6 as Dumbarton and not Colchester. There can be no duplicate. Implication: the text is corrupt.

If we seek a correct reading, the probable answer is not in Scotland at all. It will be Carmarthen (SN 4120) in south-west Wales, which had a Roman fort and traditions of a native community around a Celtic church dedicated to St Teulyddog (Soulsby 101). Early spellings here include *kaer wyrтин*, *caer wyrтин*, and (in the Book of Llandaff) *cair mirdin* (Lloyd-Jones 95). Corruption

of Old Welsh *Cair Uirtin* to “Cair Brithon” would not be difficult.

23. Cair Lerion. Another obscurity. Leicester is now proposed after Morris, who clutched at the straw of *Keirleir* offered by Geoffrey of Monmouth (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 9). Henry of Huntingdon, more reasonably, suggested Leicester from the emendation *Legion* (Williams, “Enwau” 20). Leicester and its district are certainly the *Lego* and *Arlego* of *Armes Prydein*, as proved by *Legorensis civitatis* in an Anglo-Saxon document of 803 (Williams, *Armes Prydein* 49, 62; Watts 367-8). But this Midlands city (despite having a bishop) was of little interest to the Welsh. Hence the seeming distortion of *Legorum Urbs* “town of the *Legores*” or Leicester in Gildas to *Legionum Urbs* or Caerleon; while the *Armes Prydein* poet mentioned Leicester solely (it seems) because in the year 940 it was the scene of West Saxon political humiliation by the Vikings. Nor are we helped by mention in *Armes Prydein* of *Kaer Geri* or Cirencester, despite its familiarity to the Welsh, with Bishop Asser calling it *Cair Ceri* (Williams, *Armes Prydein* 42). Emendation of “Cair Lerion” to “Cair Ceri(n)” or Cirencester is no more attractive than the alternative “Cair Legio” or Leicester. Still worse is Dr Padel’s proposal of a link with Lerryn (SX 1457), near Fowey in south-east Cornwall (Padel 109). We must look elsewhere.

Given the compiler’s penchant for Welsh monasteries, the likely (if unexpected) answer is Much Dewchurch (SO 4831), Herefordshire. It figures in the Book of Llandaff as *Lann Dewi Ros Cerion* “St David’s Church by Cerion’s Moor” (Charles 90). Who Cerion was is unknown, but emendation of “Lerion” to his name is straightforward. Of the plethora of monastic houses in south-east Wales, Much Dewchurch was amongst the most significant. It was the home of an early *clas* or community of canons, like Welsh Bicknor and Caerwent (Rees plate 27). Its status was considerable (Koch 91). It is mentioned elsewhere with Welsh Bicknor and Little Doward (items 8 and 10 above) as a major church in the area, with abbots who witnessed charters (Charles-Edwards 612, 613).

24. Cair Draitou. “A puzzle” (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 9). Fortunately, we are helped by *Din Draitbou* in a Latin life of St Carantoc and *Dind Tradui* in the *Glossary* of Cormac (d. 908), Irish bishop-king. They allow us to locate it in south-west Britain. Fitzpatrick-Matthews quotes Nora Chadwick (1891-1972) for it as Carhampton in Somerset, where she followed G. H. Doble (1880-1945), Cornish cleric and hagiographer. But he himself is less certain, although the place “was clearly somewhere in the south-western peninsula” as has long been accepted, with some putting it in Cornwall (Lloyd-Jones 358). He further quotes Jackson for the name as meaning “fort of beaches” (indicating a coastal settlement).

So we have clues. The place was in the south-west; it was on the coast and by conspicuous beaches; it was a secular stronghold (as made clear by the life of Carannog, which makes King Arthur out as its lord). If we turn to historical maps we find one such place, the cliff-fort of Trevelgue (Koch 104), situated north of the holiday resort of Newquay and the village of Crantock “(church of) St Carantoc” (Padel 74). Hence, it appears, the reference to it in the Latin life of St Carantoc. Because Trevelgue is on a headland between two long beaches, the name “fortress of beaches” suits it to perfection. Together with the stronghold of Vortigern in Carmarthenshire, then, we have another in Cornwall, this time of Cadwy and Arthur.

25. Cair Pensa vel Coyt. The archaeologist F. J. Haverfield (1860-1919) is cited for this as Penselwood (ST 7531), Somerset, but with objections. A Welsh text would hardly quote an English form, while Asser mentions the place as *Coit Maur* “Great Wood” and nothing else (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 9). One may add that a wood is a wood, not a city. There have been other textual knots. Ifor Williams in his article gave (not in this context) the late form *kaer nidawl wir*, dubiously associated with St Albans and Watling Street. Lloyd-Jones cited *kaer pen bnylkoet* and medieval identifications with Exeter, Devon (Lloyd-Jones 96). Lewis disbelieved both, Exeter being some way from Somerset (Lewis 223). For a better answer we must look north.

Now, *Historia Brittonum* earlier describes the Antonine Wall, stretching from the Forth “to the estuary of the Clyde and Caer Pentloch” where it finished. Professor Watson (1865-1948) of Edinburgh long ago identified the place as Kirkintilloch (NS 6573) “fort at (the) head of (the) hillocks” (Watson 348), in East Dunbartonshire. He inferred that the Gaelic name translates the Cumbric one, a view accepted by later writers (Nicolaisen 189). Just as the compiler lifted Caer Gwrtheyrn “Fortress of Vortigern” (=Craig Gwrtheyrn, Carmarthenshire) from an earlier chapter in *Historia Brittonum* to supply his Cair Guorthigirn, so again (it appears) with Caer Pentloch. Yet this settlement near Glasgow was not familiar to others. Hence, we maintain, the monstrosities of Cair Pensa vel Coyt, *kaer pen hnylkoet*, and *kaer widawl wir*.

26. Cair Urnarc. Here we encounter *Wrnach Gawr* “Wrnach the Giant” and a red herring. He figures with his *caer* in the eleventh-century *Mabinogion* tale of Culhwch and Olwen. A connection between him and Cair Urnarc was initiated by Ifor Williams in his article (giving variants including *urnach*). Thereafter came a reference to the “unidentified city named *Cair Urnarc*” in a note on the giant (Bromwich and Evans 138). Professor Sims-Williams cites the *Historia Brittonum* form as a Welsh “instance of the name” of the giant, against those who see it as Irish (Sims-Williams 183 n. 297). We are now very reasonably told how it would be strange for Wrnach’s fort (“greatest of forts in the world”) to be “purely folkloric”, if with the admission that it cannot at present be located (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 7).

What follows makes the unromantic proposal that the *Historia Brittonum* fortress is now under a housing estate in Chepstow, Monmouthshire. The Book of Llandaff mentions *ecclesia Cynmarchi* (ST 5294), half a mile north-west of the town centre (Davies, *Llandaff Charters* 105). Buildings on the site of the Celtic foundation survived into the eighteenth century as St Kynemark’s Church; alongside it from the thirteenth century was the priory of St Kynemark, a house of Augustinian canons with its own church, dedicated to John the Baptist (Cowley 34-5). The name of St Cynmarch, Cynfarch, Kynemark, or Kingsmark lies behind *Urnarc* or *Urnach*. Although a church and not a monastery, the Chepstow community possessed a large *territorium*, as the Book of Llandaff makes clear. Hence its appearance in the catalogue, with corruption of *Cynmarchi* (after loss of initial) to *urnarc*, *urnach*, and the like. It may, nevertheless, actually lead us to Giant Wrnach’s stronghold. The clerical author of “Culhwch and Olwen” alludes to many places in South Wales, including *Aber Gwy* or the mouth of the Wye, two miles downstream from Chepstow. If he conjured up Wrnach’s name from the deformed reading in *Historia Brittonum*, with an idea of a giant living near the estuaries of Wye and Severn, it will explain much; not least the dearth of references to Wrnach elsewhere in Welsh, and failure to explain his name as Irish, despite an Irish look.

27. Cair Celemion. Recorded by Henry of Huntingdon with this spelling, it is now emended to *Cair Celeinion* and related to Ptolemy’s *Colania* “place of corpses” (a fort on the Antonine Wall), if with a caveat that “why an abandoned second-century Roman fort should be remembered in ninth-century Wales is not at all clear” (Fitzpatrick-Matthews 9-10). So there is once more a likelier solution in the Book of Llandaff. Llandogo (SO 5204) is a village in the Wye Valley two miles upstream from Tintern Abbey. Its former importance is indicated by grants, one of the seventh century giving the alternative name *Llanenniaun* (Davies, *Llandaff Charters* 101). Wendy Davies regards Llandogo as the seat of a tenth-century bishop (Charles-Edwards 595). That will explain Llandogo’s place in the list. It was a city because it had a bishop; and it is not difficult to derive unintelligible “Celemion” from *Cel Einion* “cell of Einion” (the same element occurs in *Dolgellau* “meadow of cells”), for Llandogo was a monastic house, with a seventh-century abbot witnessing the Chepstow grant mentioned above.

28. Cair Luit Coyt. This is unproblematic. The “fortress of (the) grey wood” is Lichfield, Staffordshire, site of a British monastery and thereafter an Anglo-Saxon cathedral, its name transferred from that of *Letocetum* or Wall (SK 0906), a Roman settlement two miles to the south (Rivet and Smith 387-8).

This concludes the main entry in *Historia Brittonum*. To it, in the early tenth century, the Vatican text's redactor (working in England) added five more toponyms: Cair Guorcoc, Cair Merdin, Cair Ceri, Cair Gloiu, and Cair Teim. These are dealt with by Fitzpatrick-Matthews, who correctly identifies them as Wroxeter, Carmarthen, Cirencester, Gloucester, and Cardiff. There are still surprises, as follows.

First, he regards the initial item as a (mis-spelt) duplicate of Cair Guricon (entry 18). We put it differently. We took that place as *Uilla Guidcon* or Trelleck Grange, Monmouthshire. But the redactor of the Vatican text was interested in genuine Roman places, not monasteries in Ergyng (=south Herefordshire) and Gwent. Whatever the spelling of entry 18 in his copy-text, he did not understand it as Wroxeter, and so wrote again its name, famous in Welsh poetry and saga. Second, a slightly different error occurred with Cair Brithon (entry 22). Because the form “stronghold of Britons” is otherwise unknown (the Britons had many strongholds), we proposed the reading *Cair Uirtin* or Carmarthen. Again, the Vatican redactor did not recognize it when copying his text; and made good the omission. Third, Cair Lerion (entry 23), which we take as *Cair Cerion* or Much Dewchurch. The Vatican scholar did not (unlike some modern scholars) understand the toponym as *Cair Ceri* or Cirencester (mentioned as such by Asser and the *Armes Prydein* bard). Hence a further addition. Fourth, Gloucester being ignored in the *Historia Brittonum* list, it was naturally added. Fifth, we argued that Cair Daun (entry 16) was Cardiff, which the Vatican editor again did not recognize, and so made his contribution. His naming Wroxeter, Carmarthen, Cirencester, Gloucester, and Cardiff reveals an interest in South Wales and the south-west Midlands, just as the original treatise does an extreme interest in south-east Wales and the border (excluding not merely St Davids and Bangor, but even the monasteries of Llanilltud and Llandarfan in the Vale of Glamorgan). *Historia Brittonum* was itself put together in north-west Wales in 829 or 830. We here see how its text was copied thereafter in Ergyng (=Archenfield in south Herefordshire, with Welsh-speakers until the eighteenth century) or Gwent, and then (the Vatican redaction) in the south-west Midlands of England, collecting materials on the way, each with its bias.

While Fitzpatrick-Matthews gives Wroxeter as the sole duplicate in the five, we argue that the real duplicates are instead the second and fifth, Carmarthen and Cardiff. The arithmetic is, then, $28 + 5 = 33$. With two duplicates we emerge with thirty-one places. One more may be added. In his article Ifor Williams cites *kaer weir* from the Red Book of Hergest, explained either as Durham (on the River Wear) or Warwick. As *Caer Weir* appears in *Armes Prydein* to denote an extreme limit of Britain, it may be a former Pictish stronghold in Caithness, near *Ynys Weir* “Isle of (the) Bend” or Orkney (by the *Gweir* “Bend, Turn” of Duncansby Head), there being no reference (as some imagine) to Lundy in the Bristol Channel, or the Isle of Wight (Breeze, “Durham”).

Some final points. A few corruptions may of course be due to miscopying of the Vatican text, a tenth-century redaction in an eleventh-century manuscript, now fortunately in a modern edition (Dumville). More generally, we see in action the principle of *lectio difficilior*. Many of our forms designate minor places in south-east Wales: Monmouth, Welsh Bicknor, Caradog, Doward, Dinas Powys, Trelleck Grange, Much Dewchurch, St Kinemark, Llandogo, as also Trevelgue in Cornwall. Hence the blunders of scribes to whom these places were unknown. Hence, too, a constant (but futile) referring of them to famous places: Cambridge, Manchester, Doncaster, Leicester, and the like. If what we say is true, the Sisyphus of toponymy may here now rest for ever. The stone of his labours is fixed, and will not move again.

There are four further observations. The great majority of the “cities” are monasteries or seats of bishops or both. Seven sites only are secular: Cair Guorthigirn, Cair Clut, Cair Caratauc (if by Sellack, with its monastery), Cair Pouis, Cair Dam, Cair Segeint, and Cair Pentaloch (items 1, 6, 9, 15, 16, 19, 25). The *civitas* in the compiler’s mind was not the Graeco-Roman ideal of Gildas, apparently educated at Cirencester, a metropolis then still with splendid public buildings and schools of rhetoric and law (Breeze, “Gildas”). It was instead, after St Augustine, that of *civitas Dei*, the monastery or cathedral town as spiritual fortress against the world’s evil. Of these there were nine in Ergyng and Gwent. Unfortunately, nine was not enough. But, despite their being in Wales, the compiler (if there was a single author, and the text is not an amalgam) was not going to include Bangor, St Davids, Llanilltud, or Llancarfan. They would not do at all. So the number was made up thus. We can classify the forms as follows:

- (a) Religious communities between Usk and Wye = 9
- (b) Secular sites in south-east Wales = 3
- (c) Cathedral towns in England = 7
- (d) Places cited from elsewhere in *Historia Brittonum* = 4
- (e) Other British strongholds, Roman or later = 5

-- the lesser entities being (b) Caradog, Dinas Powys, and Cardiff; (d) Craig Gwrtheyrn, Lindisfarne, Caernarfon, and Kirkintilloch; (e) Carlisle, Dumbarton, Chester, Carmarthen, and Trelvelgue. There is of course overlap. Caradog is geographically closer to places in (a) than to the others in (b); Caerwent, Cardiff, Carmarthen were Roman sites in Wales, but are in different groups; and so on. One arrangement would put Roman towns like Winchester, Carlisle, and Caerleon together, in contrast to medieval sites like Caradog, Lindisfarne, Dumbarton, and Trelvelgue. But more important is the glimpse of the compiler’s mentality. For him, monasteries between Usk and Wye were the core material. A selection of English (arch)episcopal cities was also important, although excluding ones not on Roman sites, like Sherborne, Selsey, or Dorchester-on-Thames. The result is scrappy, erratic, and prejudiced. Unlike places are yoked violently together; Exeter, Bath, Gloucester, Cirencester, and Leicester are ignored; a remote fortress in Cornwall is included. Our unknown Welsh topographer(s) left a startling rag-bag, to the bemusement of posterity.

The Twenty-Eight Cities of Britain may, therefore, be regarded as an addition to *Historia Brittonum* in a monastery of south-east Wales or the border after its composition in 829 or 830 by an anonymous Gwynedd writer. If the reference to Dumbarton was not (in the manner of reference books) outdated when added, it may predate this citadel’s sacking and abandonment in 870. Once the nature of this text is appreciated, this will modify all above comments on it as a pan-British survey (even if taken as such from the twelfth century). We conclude with a table giving the toponyms (with emendations) in Old Welsh spelling, their modern name, National Grid Reference, and county.

Table of Identifications

1 Cair Guorthigirn	Craig Gwrtheyrn (SN 4340), Carmarthenshire
2 Cair Guintguic	Winchester (SU 4729), Hampshire
3 Cair Mingui	Monmouth (SO 5012), Monmouthshire
4 Cair Ligualid	Carlisle (NY 4055), Cumbria
5 Cair Medcaut	Lindisfarne (NU 1243), Northumberland
6 Cair Clut	Dumbarton (NS 4075), West Dunbartonshire
7 Cair Ebrauc	York (SE 6052), North Yorkshire

8 Cair Custenhin	Welsh Bicknor (SO 5917), Herefordshire
9 Cair Caratauc	Caradog (SO 5527), Herefordshire
10 Cair Douarth	Doward (SO 5516), Herefordshire
11 Cair Fauguid	Hereford (SO 5140), Herefordshire
12 Cair Lunden	London (TQ 3079), Greater London
13 Cair Ceint	Canterbury (TR 1557), Kent
14 Cair Guiragon	Worcester (SO 8555), Worcestershire
15 Cair Pouis	Dinas Powys (ST 1571), Vale of Glamorgan
16 Cair Dam	Cardiff (ST 1876), Cardiff
17 Cair Legion	Chester (SJ 4066), Cheshire
18 Cair Guidcon	Trellech Grange (SO 4901), Monmouthshire
19 Cair Segeint	Caernarfon (SH 4862), Gwynedd
20 Cair Legion Guar Uisc	Caerleon (ST 3390), Newport
21 Cair Guent	Caerwent (ST 4690), Monmouthshire
22 Cair Uyrtn	Carmarthen (SN 4120), Carmarthenshire
23 Cair Cerion	Much Dewchurch (SO 4831), Herefordshire
24 Cair Draithou	Trelvelgue (SW 8263), Cornwall
25 Cair Pentaloch	Kirkintilloch (NS 6573), East Dunbarton
26 Cair Cinmarc	St Kinemark (ST 5294), Chepstow
27 Cair Cel Einion	Llandogo (SO 5204), Monmouthshire
28 Cair Luit Coyt	Lichfield (SK 1209), Staffordshire

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