

XIX.—WINWEDFIELD: THE OVERTHROW OF ENGLISH PAGANISM.

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On Sunday, the 15th of November, A.D. 655,¹ there was fought on the banks of the 'Winwæd' one of the most important battles of English history. It was there that, as Freeman² says, the strife between the creeds of Christ and of Woden was finally decided. On Hefenfield the issue had lain between two Christian kings. However great its ultimate effect, the real import of the uplifting of St. Oswald's cross was at the moment subjective; it was conditional recognition of Celtic Christianity in the Beornica camp. But on the 'Winwæd' the Cross stood out in distinct antagonism to the Valhalla as it had done on Hatfield and on Maserfield, only now at last it was victorious; the deaths of Edwin and Oswald were avenged on their destroyer Penda, and the triumph of the Northumbrian Church was definitely assured.

¹ 'prope fluuium Uinwæd . . . bellum rex Osui in regione Loidis tertio decimo regni sui anno, xvii^a die Kalendarum Decembrium . . . confect.'—Baedæ, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. cap. xxiv. Mr. Plummer, in the notes to his excellent edition of Bede's text, has raised what seem needless difficulties with respect to the chronology of Oswi's reign, etc. The rule, 'le roi est mort, vive le roi,' did not hold in the elective monarchy of the Beornicas. An interregnum of four or five months may easily have occurred between the defeat and death of St. Oswald, 5th August, 642, and the election of Oswi in preference to St. Oswald's own son, the boy Æthelwald. Indeed, it would seem to have been during this time that Penda made his attempt to burn Bamburgh, and it was not until a year after Oswald's death that his successor, 'coming down with an army,' recovered his head and arms ('post annum deueniens cum exercitu successor regni eius Osui').—*Hist. Eccl.* iii. xii. Lothian is called 'provincia Loidis' in *Flor. Wig.* and *Chron. Mailv.*, and *Sym. of Durham* speaks of the Tweed, 'qui Northumbriam et Loidem disterminat.' Leeds was also called 'regio quæ vocatur Loidis' (Baedæ, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 14), but as Skene remarks (*Celtic Scotland*, i. p. 254 n.), there is a slight variation between this expression and the simple 'regio Loidis' or Lothian. Nennius (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 76) specifically states that Oswi reigned twenty-eight years and six months; this would be reckoning from the death of St. Oswald, according to the ideas of hereditary succession prevalent among the Britons. According to the plain literal interpretation of St. Bede's words, Oswi became king in February, 643-4 (see *Vita Oswaldi*, cap. xli. in *Sym. of Durham*, Rolls Series, i. p. 366), and after a reign of twenty-eight years, died on February 15th, 670-1. In his recapitulation (lib. v. cap. xxiv.), Bede definitely fixes the date of the battle of the Winwæd as 655.

² *Norman Conquest*, i. p. 37. In the preceding sentence Freeman dogmatically calls 'Winwedfield,' Wingfield (apparently Wingfield in Derbyshire). For this there is no shadow of evidence.

In the whole annals of Christendom no one battle perhaps, except that of the Milvian Bridge, has had such far-reaching consequences; yet the circumstances of the campaign that led to it, nay even the very locality of the fight itself, have been allowed to fade from our national memory.

The endless revolutions and counter-revolutions inherent in a monarchy half-elective by two rival tribes and half-hereditary among three or four rival dynasties caused all early Northumbrian writers to be extremely guarded in their allusions to contemporary politics. That which was loyalty one day became treason the next. St. Bede especially is most careful to keep within the strictest limits of ecclesiastical history. With regard to the campaign of A.D. 655 he only drops the hint that Ethelhere, king of the East Angles, was the author of the war,³ leaving us to read the rest between the lines. Now, Ethelhere was the husband of St. Hilda's sister, Heresuid, and their son, Aldwulf, was, on pure legitimist principles, the rightful heir to the throne of the Deras, then occupied by St. Oswald's son, Ethelwald.⁴ In his turn Ethelwald had the best hereditary claim to the throne of the Beornicas, on which, in his minority, his half-uncle, the powerful Oswi, had been placed.⁵ For Oswi, the maintenance of Ethelwald as king of the Deras was a politic method of keeping dormant his pretensions to the allegiance of the Beornicas. Ethelhere, however, who owed his own crown to Penda, persuaded that stalwart heathen, despite his eighty years, to champion the claims of Aldwulf. The murderer of Oswin, Oswi was ready to sacrifice Ethelwald in his turn; he sent his young son, Egfrid, to the Mercian court as a hostage⁶ for his benevolent neutrality in the event of an attack being made on his half-nephew by the two southern kings. In this extremity Ethelwald, we may gather, adroitly turned the tables on Oswi by offering to give up York to Aldwulf if the Mercians and East Angles would aid in establishing himself at Bamburgh. The three confederate kings, Ethelhere, Penda, and Ethelwald, were readily joined by Catgabail, king of

³ 'Aedilheri . . . auctor ipse belli.'—*Hist. Eccl.* iii. xxiv.

⁴ See genealogical table of the royal house of the Deras, *ante* p. 153.

⁵ This is very clearly put in *Vita S. Oswaldi*, cap. xix. in *Syemon of Durham*, Rolls series, i. pp. 358, 359.

⁶ 'alius filius eius Egfrid eo tempore in prouincia Merciorum apud reginam Cynuisse obses tenebatur.'—*Hist. Eccl.* iii. xxiv.

North Wales, and other British princes, and [their immense host advanced against Oswi, who could offer no adequate resistance. The whole land of the Beornicas⁷ was soon laid waste; of the church and village of Bamburgh, the wooden stay against which St. Aidan had leant in his last illness was all that there was left standing.⁸ Oswi himself fled to the city of Judeu.⁹

Owing to a mistaken interpretation of a passage in St. Bede's ecclesiastical history,¹⁰ this city of Judeu which he calls Giudi has been located on Inchkeith, an island in the very middle of the Forth¹¹ instead of at Inveresk in the centre of the fine bay that forms the southern side of the firth. Judeu is evidently the same city as the Roman EJUDENSCA mentioned in the Ravennas.¹² It requires little etymological subtlety to detect in the termination of the word a reference to the river ISCA or Esk. Of the three places inserted by the Ravennas between Alnmouth and the east end of the Antonine Wall, apparently along the coast, EJUDENSCA follows OLEICLAVIS, which, as I have before suggested, is probably Ulchester. (now miscalled Outchester) near Bamburgh,¹³ and precedes RUMABO, which seems to be a variant or a corruption of the Celtic *Rimindu*,¹⁴ and to be the same as the Roman settlement at Cramond. The Roman remains at Inveresk have been celebrated ever since the discovery in 1565 of the altar dedicated to Apollo Grannus by the proconsul Quintus Lucius Sabinianus,¹⁵ and their extent and grandeur have received quite recent confirmation.¹⁶ It is possible that EJUDENSCA may have remained a Roman 'factory' on the coast after the interior of the Lowlands had been abandoned. In Celtic times, the Forth appears to have been called

⁷ 'Penda . . . in Berniciam ad debellandum regem Oswium ascendit.'—*Flor. Wig.* in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 531.

⁸ *Hist. Eccl.* iii. xvii. ⁹ *Historia Nennii* in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 76.

¹⁰ 'Orientalis (sinus) habet in medio sui urbem Giudi, occidentalis supra se, hoc est ad dexteram sui, habet urbem Alcluith.'—*Hist. Eccl.* i. xii.

¹¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. p. 71.

¹² 'Bremenium. Cocuneda (Cocenneda). Alauna. Oleiclavus (Oleaclavis). Ejudensca (Evidensca). Rumabo.'—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. xxvi.

¹³ *History of Northumberland*, Elliot Stock, pp. 20, 21.

¹⁴ 'The wall of Severus' is said to extend 'a flumine kaldra usque ad Rimindu.'—*Historia Nennii. var. lect. Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 60 n.

¹⁵ *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* vii., No. 1082; *Scots Lore*, Glasgow, 1895, p. 212.

¹⁶ *Proceedings of Soc. Ant. Newc.*, vol. viii., p. 14.

the Sea of Giudan¹⁷ or Iodeo,¹⁸ and the name lingered on under the English form of Iudanbyrig¹⁹ till immediately before the fall of Edinburgh, in the tenth century.²⁰ The city was probably destroyed during the Scottish conquest and its very name forgotten.

The name Judeu is so peculiar that it is not surprising that an ignorant translator mistook it for Judea, and rendered Caer Judeu by Jerusalem. I have several times pointed out that the legends of Arthur's battles with Romans, Spaniards, Moors, and Dacians may rest on a historical foundation if we suppose him to have encountered the remains of the cosmopolitan garrisons cantoned in the neighbourhood of Carlisle.²¹ The tradition of his journey to Jerusalem is satisfactorily explained if he did really resort to the city of Judeu on the Esk. He is said to have made and hallowed a cross of wood of the same size as the Holy Rood, and to have prayed before it for three days that God would grant him victory over the heathen.²² Then, we are told, he sallied forth with a cross and a figure of Our Lady painted on his shield, and routed the pagans with great slaughter at Castell Guin,²³ in Wedale, on Gala Water, about six miles to the north of Melrose. Fragments of the figure of the Blessed Virgin were

¹⁷ 'Muir n-Giudan.'—Book of Lecan, quoted by Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 124.

¹⁸ 'merin iodeo.'—Book of Aneurin, in Skene, *Ancient Books of Wales*, ii. p. 103, see *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1889, pp. 230-2, and Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 241.

¹⁹ '952. Her on thyssum geare het Eadred cyning gebringan Wulstan arce-bishop in Iudan byrig on thaem faestenne.' *Sawon Chronicle* D, Earle, p. 118. 'Iudan byrig' cannot be Jedburgh, which was then called 'Geddewrđ' or 'Geddewerde,' *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls series, ii. pp. 101, 198, and can scarcely be the Roman OTHONA in Essex, afterwards known as 'Ythancaestir.' The general idea conveyed by the passage is that Wulstan was intriguing against Edred in his own province when he was seized and confined in the chief English frontier fortress of the North.

²⁰ It is important to note that Judeu could not have been Edinburgh, as this seems clearly distinguished as 'Eiddyn, the lofty hill,' in the Gododin poems (Skene, *Ancient Books of Wales*, i. p. 425), while the name 'Edwinesburgh' appears already in 854 (*Symeon of Durham*, ii. p. 101).

²¹ *History of Northumberland*, Elliot Stock, p. 51.

²² 'Arthur Ierosolimam perrexit, et ibi crucem ad quantitatem salutiferae crucis fecit, et ibi consecrata est; et per tres continuos dies jejunavit, vigilavit, et oravit coram Cruce Dominica, ut ei Dominus victoriam daret per hoc signum de paganis.'—*Hist. Nennii*, cap. lxiv.; *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 73.

²³ 'Octavum fuit bellum in castello Guin (Gunnion); in quo Arthur portavit imaginem crucis Christi et Sanctae Mariae semper virginis super humeros suos: et pagani versi sunt in fugam in illo die.'—*Ibid.* A Welsh original has been mistranslated: *ysgwydd*, a shield, being mistaken for *ysgwyd*, a shoulder.—Skene, *Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 55.

long shown in the church of St. Mary at Stow, in Wedale;²⁴ a rock with a foot-print, as evidence of her miraculous interposition, was sacrificed to the exigencies of road-making, but St. Mary's Well still exists.²⁵

It is now a question whether, in the case of Oswi's flight to Judeu, we have an example of the well-known tendency of history to repeat itself, or whether, as a consequence of the Celtic re-occupation of the Lowlands, the traditions of Oswi at Judeu and his defeat of the heathen English on the 'Winwaed' were not transferred to Arthur, just as the death of Egfrid at Nechtansmere appears to have been remembered locally as the death of Arthur.²⁶

At any rate, Oswi did take refuge in Judeu. In vain he promised to deliver all the riches he had with him in the city to Penda if the vigorous old pagan would withdraw into his own country. He seems even to have offered all the treasures he had between Judeu and Manau; and if we may believe the British account he actually sent this 'Atbret Judeu' or 'Ransom of Judeu' to Penda, who distributed it among his allies.²⁷ Still, according to Bede, Penda was not to be appeased, but vowed the destruction of every Northumbrian, young or old. Then said Oswi, 'Since the heathen contemns our gifts, let us offer them to One who will accept them—to the Lord our God.' He accordingly bound himself in case of victory to devote to religion a daughter who had just been born to him, and to give twelve estates for monastic purposes. At the head of a small army he issued from

²⁴ '(Arthur) secum imaginem S. Mariae detulit, cujus fracturae adhuc apud Wedale in magna veneratione servantur Wedale est villa in provincia Lodonesie, nunc vero juris episcopi S. Andreae Scotiae, VI. milliaria ab occidentali parte, ab illo quondam nobili et eximio monasterio de Meilros.'—*Hist. Nennii*, cap. lxiv. in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 73.

²⁵ *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, quoted in *Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 412. Skene there suggests that the rock in question may have been the white stone of Galystem, mentioned in the poem on the battle of Gwenystrad.

²⁶ 'A confused tradition of a great battle having been fought on the East Mains of Dunichen [in Forfarshire], between Lothus, king of the Picts, or his son, Modred, and Arthur, king of the Britons, in which that hero of romance was slain.' *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xi. p. 46; Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 46.

²⁷ 'Tunc reddidit Osguid omnes divitias quae erant cum eo in urbe (Judeu) usque in Manau Pendaë, et Penda distribuit ea regibus Britonum; id est Atbret Judeu.'—*Hist. Nennii*, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 76. Manau is identified by Skene with Slamanann; Nennius speaks of the 'regio' 'Manau Guotodin.' The idea conveyed is that Oswi gave or offered to Penda all the riches in the country still left to him along the shore of the Forth; he possibly had the command of the sea.

Juden with his son Alcfrid, and fell unexpectedly by night—a Sunday night—on the host of Penda, thrice larger than his own, as it lay encamped on the banks of the ‘Winwæd.’²⁸

Catgabail took advantage of the darkness to withdraw from the battle. Better known as Cadavael, son of Cynfedw, this usurper is said to have murdered Iago, a former king of Gwynedd. A traitor to the last, he now disappears again from history branded with the surname of ‘Catguommed’ or ‘the Runaway.’²⁹ Cowardice is contagious; and Ethelwald, unmindful of his promises to Penda and Ethelhere, also led his forces out of the field and awaited the issue in a place of safety.³⁰ We know nothing of the after-fate of this royal founder of Lastingham, but there is reason to think that his descendants cropped up again to kill and be killed in the continuous massacre of Northumbrian kings. Penda and Ethelhere both perished with nearly all the thirty princes who had joined in their campaign, more of their followers losing their lives in the swollen torrent than in the battle itself. Like Brunanburh, the ‘Winwæd’ had its epic:—

In Winwæd stream was ’venged the slaughter of Anna,
The slaughter of the kings Sigebert and Egric,
The slaughter of the kings Oswald and Edwin.³¹

²⁸ The phrases ‘se certamini dedit’ and ‘Christo duce confisus, occurrit,’ in Bede’s account, show that the attack was made by Oswi.

²⁹ ‘Solus autem Catgabail, rex Guenedotae regionis, cum exercitu suo evasit, de nocte consurgens; quapropter vocatus est Catgabail Catguommedd.’—*Hist. Nennii, Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 76. On Cadavael, see Skene, *Ancient Books of Wales*, i. p. 68; ii. p. 368. No writer on this hazy period has been able to free himself completely from the fatal influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth, just as the taint of ‘Richard of Cirencester’ still infects nearly every map of Roman Britain. Catgabail has generally been confounded with Cadwallon or with Cadwallader.

³⁰ ‘Oidiluald . . . tempore pugniandi sese pugna subtraxeret, euentumque discriminis tuto in loco exspectabat.’ *Hist. Eccl.* iii. xxiv. Mr. Plummer (ii., p. 182) remarks that the Anglo-Saxon version substitutes ‘& feaht and wonn with his ethle and with his fœdran.’ This surely means that ‘he fought and won with his people and with his uncle.’ A very beautiful cross-slab, with the runes *Kununc Othilwalde*, was found during the restoration of ‘St. Gregory’s minster’ at Kirkdale, about six miles to the south-west of the monastery of St. Mary at Lastingham. This grave-cover has been ascribed to Ethelwald, son of Oswald, though it may, with equal probability, be the tomb of king Ethelwald Moll, deposed in 765. By a train of reasoning that it is difficult to follow, it was copied for bishop Lightfoot’s memorial at Auckland; the original has been allowed to perish.—*Conversion of the Heptarchy*, by Dr. Browne, now bishop of Bristol, p. 151.

³¹ ‘In Winwed amne vindicata est caedes Annae
Caedes regum Sigbert et Egrice
Caedes regum Oswald et Edwine.’—*Hen. Hunt. (Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 717). The Anglo-Saxon version of Bede translates ‘prope fluuium unuæd,’ ‘neah Winwede streame.’

In Penda, who was already a man at the time of St. Augustine's landing, the gods of the North lost their last champion ; henceforward, except in the wilds of Sussex, there was no material bar to the progress of Christianity in the island.

With the locality of Judeu fixed at Inveresk, the scene of this ever-memorable victory falls naturally at Stow in Wedale. The names *Gwinion* and *Wedale* taken together give back to us the long-lost 'Winwaed.' The pass through which the Gala Water runs was a natural route for an army marching from Bamburgh on Inveresk to choose ; and the local traditions clearly prove that a heathen host was there signally annihilated. The Scottish conquest of northernmost Northumberland in the tenth century fully accounts for the name of the 'Winwaed,' like that of Judeu, having fallen into desuetude.

By the Britons the battle of the Winwed was called in Latin the *Strages Gai Campi*, or the Slaughter of 'Gai' Field.³² This would appear to be connected with the Winwed's alternative name of *Gala Water*. It has been suggested that the Celtic equivalent of 'Gai Campus' was 'Gal-traeth' or 'Ca-traeth,' and that the battle of *Catraeth*, so celebrated in the old Welsh poems, was in reality *Winwedfield*.³³ This opens a large and burning question, which it is impossible to fathom here. History cannot be built on popular poetry, though popular poetry supplies the most valuable illustrations of history. To suppose that every detail in a poem like that describing the battle of *Catraeth* will square with the plain truth recorded in prose chronicles is to have no critical knowledge of ballad literature. When we remember the errors, accidental and intentional, that have crept into the ballads of Otterburn, Chevy Chase, and Flodden Field, we may naturally expect a still greater confusion of incidents and substitution of persons in poems dating from the seventh or eighth centuries. Especially is this the case with poems which, relating the tragic events of the English conquest of Central Britain, were preserved in distant Wales, where the original scenes were unknown and where the heroes celebrated had left no practical mark in the national life. The text of these poems is, no doubt, extremely corrupt and the

³² *Hist. Nennii* (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 76).

³³ *Cambrian Journal*, 2nd series iv. p. 1 ; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. p. 255 ; *Ancient Books of Wales* ii. pp. 365, 366.

vills on the Bolbend (Bowmont), said to have been made by Oswi, after the death of St. Aidan, to Cuthbert, then a monk of Melrose,⁴⁰ a grant that, if genuine, was the real root of the palatine power of the bishops of Durham.

NOTE.

THE NAMES OF THE ROMAN FORTRESSES BETWEEN THE CLYDE AND THE FORTH.

The identification of the Roman EJUDENSCA (the Celtic Giudi or Judeu and the English Iudanbyrig) with the ancient remains at Inveresk, and the consequent location of RUMABO at Cramond make it tolerably certain, after all,⁴¹ that the names of the fortresses between the Forth and the Clyde are given in the Ravennas in order from east to west, like those between the Tyne and the Ellen. VELUNIA was thus at the east end of the chain, and CREDIGONE at the west

⁴⁰ 'Tunc rex et omnes meliores Angli dederunt sancto Cuthberto omnem hanc terram quae jacet juxta fluvium Bolbenda, cum, his villis, Suggariple, et Hesterhoh, et Gistatadun, et Waquirton, et Cliftun, et Scerbedle, et Colwela, et Eltherburna, et Thornburnum, et Scotadun, et Gathan, et Minethrun. Et ipse sanctus abbas sub testimonio ipsius regis monasterium Melros cum omnibus suis' appenditiis, ut haberet illud proprium post diem obitus sui.—*Hist. de S. Cuthberto*, § 2 (*Sym. of Durham*, Rolls Series i, p. 197.) The usual account which makes St. Cuthbert enter Melrose immediately after the death of St. Aidan is, of course, inaccurate, as omitting his period of military service when 'in castris contra hostem cum exercitu sedens,' he had a vision of the beatification of a 'gerefa' ('praefecti'), and his return north through the desert country round Chester-le-Street.—See *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xvi, p. 88. Mr. Plummer, in his edition of Bede, evades this difficulty, but soon involves himself in others. It seems clear that three years elapsed between the return of SS. Eata and Cuthbert from Ripon to Melrose, which Mr. Plummer places in 661, and St. Boisil's death, which falls naturally in 664, the year of the great plague: then, too, the Lindisfarne life, section ix, expressly says that St. Cuthbert was prior of Melrose in succession to Boisil 'aliquot annos' (cf. 'multos in Mailrosensi monasterio degens annos.'—*Hist. Eccl.* iv. xxv.), so that to invent a special pestilence for St. Boisil to die of in 661, and to take St. Cuthbert to Lindisfarne in 664 is to do violence to the earliest and only true authorities. The probability is that St. Cuthbert did not leave Melrose till nine years before his death in 687, as the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* evidently confuses Farne and Lindisfarne (as also does Nennius, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 76), making him proceed direct to Farne from Melrose and live there 'per novem annos.'—*Sym. of Durham*, i. p. 197.) This agrees with the statement of the Lindisfarne biographer, that St. Eata, consecrated in 678, was already bishop, when Cuthbert reluctantly came to Lindisfarne (see *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xvi, p. 88), and explains that it was his introduction of a modified rule, consequent on archbishop Theodore's visitation, that gave rise to his difficulties with the brethren. Mr. Plummer has relied too much on secondary authorities, like the so-called Lindisfarne Annals, and Florence of Worcester, where the dates have only been inferred and inferred wrongly.

⁴¹ See p. 112 above.

end. The striking position of the fort of Bar Hill, with both the Forth and the Clyde in view, justifies (in the opinion of some leading Scottish antiquaries) our regarding it hypothetically as MEDIUM (CASTRUM), the central fortress of the eleven. Five altars found carefully buried near Auchindavy,⁴² the fortress immediately west of Bar Hill, prove a 'nemet' or shrine to have existed there, and make the name NEMETON, an apposite one. There are still further west the traces of four Roman fortresses, Bemulie, East Kilpatrick, Castle Hill, and Duntocher, to which the names of SUBDOBIADON, LITANA, CIBRA, and CREDIGONE may be tentatively applied in the order given in the Ravennas. There seemed to be no real evidence of any fortress having existed to the west of Duntocher.

For the eastern half of the chain we are even less fortunate. Westerwood may be COLANICA, Castle Cary BEGESSE, and Rough Castle PEXA,⁴³ leaving us to imagine a fortress at Falkirk or at Mummersills, near Polmont, for VOLITANA, and another at Inneravon or Carriden for VELUNIA. We are probably dealing with a period anterior to the erection of the Antonine wall, so that Duntocher and Inneravon may have been the termini of the earlier chain of forts.

⁴² *Corp. Insc. Lat.*, vii., p. 119, nos. 1111-1114. Were it not that the name MEDIUM (CASTRUM) so exactly fits Bar Hill, I should agree with Mr. Haverfield in preferring the reading MEDIONEMETON, and should place this at Auchindavy. A place called Nemhtur (Nentur or Nevtur), *Ancient Books of Wales*, ii. p. 321, apparently the same as Nyved, *ibid.*, i. p. 398, occurs as in the region of the Antonine Wall in Fiech's *Life of St. Patrick* written in the eighth century. It would be more satisfactory if COLANICA could be associated with the river Kelwyn.

⁴³ An antiquary of the old school would probably have suggested that the modern Seabeg was only BEGESSE inverted and have connected PEXA with Dunpae.