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# y Cymmrodor.

THE MAGAZINE

OF THE HONOURABLE

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VOL. XXI.

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*Lletsome, Llangollen.*

Pillar of Eliseg, shewing the Modern Inscription.



# Y Cymmrodor.

Vol. XXI.

“CARED DOETH YR ENCILION.”

1908.

## All around the Wrekin.

By PROFESSOR SIR JOHN RHYS, M.A., D.LITT.

SOME two miles and a half to the south-west of Wellington is the Wrekin, a long and isolated hill which rises some nine hundred feet above the level of the country round, except on the north-east, where there is another and a more irregular hill, called Ercal. They are separated by a deep little glen, along which a very pretty brook winds its way; the line of the hills is, roughly speaking, north-east and south-west. The ridge of the Wrekin forms a sort of long street, except that there are no houses to obstruct the view on either hand, but here and there plenty of trees. The whole hill is an ancient stronghold, forming a double camp two thousand feet long; the fortifications are now somewhat effaced in parts, but enough remains to show that they consisted of a double vallum and fosse, with out-works. I take these details from the proof-sheets kindly lent me of the article on “Earthworks”, in the first volume of the *Victoria County History of Shropshire*; for a full description of the hill the reader must be referred to the forthcoming volume, but I have given enough to shew that the Wrekin is one of the most remarkable fortifications in the British Isles. That is apart from the fact pointed out

by Mr. Davies in his *Handbook to the Wrekin* (Shrewsbury, 1895), that this hill is geologically one of our most primeval landmarks.

I now proceed to quote a passage from Miss Burne's *Folk-lore, Legends and Old Customs*, reprinted from her *Memorials of Old Shropshire* (Bemrose & Sons, London), as follows:—

“Wrekin Wakes, held on the first Sunday in May, were distinguished by an ever-recurring contest between the colliers and the agricultural population for the possession of the hill. This is said to have gone on all day, reinforcements being called up when either side was worsted. The rites still practised by visitors to the Wrekin doubtless formed part of the ceremonial of the ancient wake. On the bare rock at the summit is a natural hollow, known as the Raven's Bowl or the Cuckoo's Cup, which is always full of water, supposed to be placed there as it were miraculously, for the use of the birds. Every visitor should taste this water, and, if a young girl ascending the hill for the first time, should then scramble down the steep face of the cliff and squeeze through a natural cleft in the rock called the Needle's Eye, and believed to have been formed when the rocks were rent at the Crucifixion; should she look back during the task, she will never be married. Her lover should await her at the further side of the gap, where he may claim a kiss, or, in default of one, the forfeit of some article of clothing—a coloured article, such as a glove, a kerchief, or a ribbon, carefully explained the lady on whose authority the last detail is given.”

Having read this about the Wrekin Wakes some years ago, I had long wished to make closer acquaintance with the old camp, and on the 13th of September 1907, in the interval of two of the many meetings which Welshmen have to attend at Shrewsbury, I escaped to Wellington, and had a most agreeable walk to the summit of the Wrekin, though the latter portion of it was a pretty stiff climb. One can, however, break the climb at a conveniently situated refreshment place on the shoulder of

the hill, before you come in sight of the camp. The weather was dry, and I was disappointed to find the Raven's Bowl empty, but a rock hollow, not far off, held water still, which my companion's dog found most welcome. Perhaps that should have been the Raven's, and the other the Cuckoo's, separate provision being made for the two birds. The most probable view, however, is that the Cuckoo is to be discarded altogether as a mere intruder there as elsewhere. Glimpses of many counties may be caught from the top of the Wrekin, but I am more interested in a spot only some few miles away, namely, the site of the Roman fortress of Viroconium, in English, Wroxeter, on the Severn. For till I visited the Wrekin I could never understand why the Romans built a fortress at Wroxeter; but the moment I saw what the Wrekin camp is like I saw also that Wroxeter was meant to keep it in check, that is, until it could be made untenable by the conquest of all the surrounding country. The Wrekin would not be the sort of nest which the Romans would care to occupy any more than the Celts would have elected to fortify the site of Wroxeter on the level ground. In Roman times the inhabitants of the district would seem to have been the Brythonic tribe of the Cornavii.

## I.

If you search the volumes of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for the years 1863 (pp. 134-56, 249-54, 334) and 1864 (pp. 62-74, 156-76, 260-62) you will find the record of a lively controversy between three men of eminence in the field of history and archæology, to wit, Edwin Guest, Thomas Wright, and Thomas Stephens: they have all passed away. The subjects of the discussion were Viroconium, or Uriconium as they called it, the Wrekin, and the Elegy to Cyndylan in the *Red Book of Hergest*, a poem

which was subsequently published at length in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii, pp. 279-91. The elegy consists of over a hundred stanzas, and it has been usually ascribed to Llywarch Hên. Stanza 80 mentions a place called *Dinlle Ureconn*, which Stephens understood to mean the site of Viroconium, the *lle* 'place' of its *din* 'fortress', for of course he regarded the fortress itself as a thing of the past. Guest and Wright took it to mean the camp on the Wrekin, and I have no doubt that they were right. Guest and Stephens agreed in their analysis of the word *Dinlle*: they regarded it as a compound, meaning, literally, a 'fortress place', which Guest interpreted as the place of an actual stronghold, that on the Wrekin, while for Stephens it was the place where a fortress had been at some time or other previously. It happens that they were both wrong: not only is their compound improbable in itself, but we have another *Dinlle*, the history of the name of which is clear and easy to understand. I mean the great mound known as *Dinas Dinlle*, on the Arvon coast to the west of the western mouth of the Menai Straits.

Now the *Mabinogi* of Math ab Mathonwy informs us that *Nantlle*, in the same county, took its name from *Llew Llawgyffes*, whose older name was *Lleu*;<sup>1</sup> but the Southwallian scribe of the *Red Book* was not familiar with that name or with the name of *Dinlle*; so when he found *Nantlleu* and *Dinlleu* in his original, he made them into *Nant y lleo* and *Dinas Dinlleu*,<sup>2</sup> though the pronunciation meant was *Nantlleu* and *Dinlleu*, or rather, perhaps, *Nant Lleu* and *Din Lleu*. In fact, it was the compression of the two words into one, with the accent on the first, that brought about the shortening of the final

<sup>1</sup> Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 398-400.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys & Evans, *Mabinogion*, pp. 71, 78; see also ed. note, p. 312.

syllable so as to make the present forms, Nántlle and Dínlle. This gluing together of two words under one accent is a favourite way of treating place-names in North Wales: take for example *Castéllmarch* and *Abérffraw*. The surmise as to the old pronunciation of the names in question is established by the rhymes in one of the Tomb Englyns given in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, i, 78<sup>b</sup>, which, put into a somewhat normalized spelling, runs thus:—

Y bed yngorthir Nantlleu	The grave in the upland of Nantlle—
Ny gyr neb y gynnedfen	Nobody knows its properties:
Mabon fab Modron gleu.	It is Mabon's, son of swift Modron.

The relation between *Llew* and *Lleu* is obscure: possibly *Llew* was arrived at as the result of a popular tendency to change *Lleu* into a more familiar word, and *llew*, 'a lion', may have been regarded as quite satisfactory, though the story of *Lleu* never gives him the shape of a lion, but, for a while, that of an eagle. The old form of the name *Lleu* should be *Llou*, and we seem to meet with it in the Nennian Genealogies, contained in the British Museum MS., *Harleian* 3859; see the *Cymmrodor*, vol. ix, 176, where we have *Louhen map Guid gen*, that is *Llou hên* 'Ll the ancient', son of *Guidgen*. The latter name was probably the full compound name of *Gwydion*, the father of *Lleu*, *Gwydion* itself being the hypocoristic and secondary formation from the compound; the latter seems to occur as *Gwydyen* in an obscure passage in the *Book of Aneirin*, where we have *eryr Gwydyen*,<sup>1</sup> which, as meaning *Gwydion's Eagle*, would exactly describe *Lleu* his son. The name is

<sup>1</sup> Verse xl, Skene, ii, 75, Stephens's *Gododin*, p. 242. Since the foregoing was written Professor Anwyl has pointed out another instance of *Gwydyen* in the *Myvyrian Arch.*, i, 230<sup>a</sup>, where one of the names with which it rhymes is the singular one of *Pobyen*; there is, he tells me, a *Caer Bobien* between *Aberystwyth* and *Machynlleth*. With *Gwydion* the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, 158) associates a certain *Gwytheint*; the name occurs as *Gwdeint* in the *Life of St.*

further reduced to *Gwyden*, which occurs in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, 190, 193). Further, the name *Lleu* has been usually identified by me with the Irish hero, whose name was *Lug Lamfada*, 'Lug of the long hand'. In Medieval Irish, to which *Lug* belongs, the genitive was *Loga*; and the Welsh *Lou*, to which *Lleu* has been traced, is the etymological counterpart of *Lug*, *Loga*.

We have other instances of vowel-flanked *g* yielding Welsh *u*, not *w*. The Latin word *pugillares*, meaning writing tablets, was borrowed into Welsh, where it appears as *peullaôr*, used in one of the *Taliessin* poems (Skene, ii, 141) in the sense of 'books'. There is a still older form, with *ou*, namely *poulloraur*, as a gloss on *pugillarem paginam*; see the *Capella Glosses*, edited by Stokes, in Kuhn's *Beiträge*, vii, 393. The next instance I wish to mention is a native one, *meudwy*, 'a hermit': the word is to be analysed into *meu-dwy*, meaning 'servus Dei', from *dwy* for *dwyw*, 'god', and *meu*, which has corresponding to it in Medieval Irish, *mug*, genitive *moga*, 'a slave, a thrall'. The relation between *Lleu* and Irish *Lug*, *Loga*, is exactly the same as that between *meu* (in *meudwy*<sup>1</sup>) and Irish *mug*, *moga*. This is not proof direct of the identity of the former words, but if you calculate you will find that the chances against the identity being a mistaken one are overwhelming, and in matters of etymology you can seldom obtain a higher order of proof.

Having practically identified *Lleu* with the Irish *Lug* we know where we are and how to proceed further. For

Benio in the *Elucidarium* Volume of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, p. 124. It is there given to the donor of Celynnog Fawr, in Arvon, to the Saint; in the *Record of Carnarvon*, pp. 257, 258, it has been printed *Gwithenit*, which is probably less correct.

<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to know whether the pronunciation *mouduy*, that is *moyduy*, is still to be heard in Dyfed or Morgannwg in case of the word forming a part of some obscure place-name.



the latter name occurred as that of Lugus in Gaulish;¹ he seems, in fact, to have been one of the most popular gods of the Continental Celts. Holder, in his *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, counts no fewer than fourteen towns on the Continent called after Lugus, from Lyons to Leyden, and probably dedicated to him as their special divinity. His citations shew that the oldest form of the city name was Lugúdūnon, but as Gaulish seems to have had a tendency, like that of Welsh, to lay the stress on the penult, it became Lugdūnon, written in Latin *Lugdunum*. Compare Holder's *Rothmāros* from *Roto-māros*, and *Mogitmāros* from *Mogitu-maros*, with *mogitu* = Welsh *moed* in *Gweithfoed*. *Lugudunon* is a compound meaning 'the Lleu fortress', 'the Lug town'; for *dūno-n* is represented in Welsh by *dīn*, of much the same meaning as its Welsh derivative *dīnas*, 'a fortress, a town or city'; Irish had the related form *dūn*, genitive *dūne*, of the same meaning and use, as in *Dun-garvan*, *Dunlavin* and the like, in Anglo-Irish topography.

You will have anticipated my next proposition, that *Din-Lleu* is nothing else than the compound *Lugu-dunon* resolved into a quasi-compound or syntactical arrangement, meaning 'the fortress of Lleu or Lug'. This resolution of the old compounds is characteristic of the later stages of Brythonic: thus an old compound like *Gwyndy* is rare in Wales as compared with the looser name of *Ty gwyn*, though they mean equally 'the White House'. So to the fourteen *Luguduna* on the Continent, we have practically two to add in this country, one on the Wrekin and one near the Menai Straits—I have quite recently heard of traces of a third. The compound equivalent to *Lugudunum* would be, in modern Welsh,

¹ For more notes on Lugus one may consult my sectional address at the third Congress for the *History of Religions*, recently held at Oxford: see the *Transactions*, vol. ii, pp. 218-24.

*Lleudīn*, and I should not be surprised if it were to be discovered yet, say, in an obscure passage in one of the Welsh poets.

At the Lugudunum now called Lyons, the festival of Lug was probably held on the first day of August, the month called after the emperor Augustus. On that day also was dedicated there an altar to Rome and Augustus:<sup>1</sup> the identity of the day for the two festivals was doubtless not the result of accident, and the name of the emperor was presumably thereby helped not a little to the popularity which it acquired in Gaul. This day fell near a great harvest day in the Coligny Calendar, namely, the fourth day of the month of Rivos, approximately August, called after Rivos, the name probably of the harvest god, at any rate of the only divinity recognized in the fragments of that document, namely, twice within the month of Rivos. In Ireland, the feast on the First of August was called Lughnasad after Lug, Lunasda in Scotland, and Luanistyn in the Isle of Man; but in Wales Augustus has usurped the place of Lleu, so the feast is known as Gwyl Awst 'the feast of Augustus', for I venture to translate it so rather than as 'the feast of August'. The English for it is Lammas, which is explained in the *New English Dictionary* as derived from the Old English *hláfmæsse*, that is, literally, 'loaf-mass', for in the early English Church the first of August, "Festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula" in the Roman calendar, was "observed as a harvest festival, at which loaves of bread were consecrated, made from the first ripe corn". These indications seem to associate the god Lleu-Lug with the corn harvest.

A fabulous story about the founding of Lyons is given by the Pseudo-Plutarch, who introduces ravens into it; by itself it carries no weight, but coins occur on which

<sup>1</sup> Hirschfeld, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIII, i, pp. 227, 249.



the genius of Lugudunum is attended by a raven.<sup>1</sup> Irish literature represents Lug's son, Cúchulainn, commonly attended by ravens. This I am prompted to mention in connection with the Raven's Bowl, pointed out on the Wrekin rock, to which Miss Burne calls attention.

The mimic warfare for possession of the Wrekin hill seems to form a vivid reproduction of more serious struggles in the distant past between the Cornavii and their foes, whoever they may have been. What may be the explanation of its being fixed on the First of May I do not know; but that has always been an important day in the Celtic calendar. The year began on *Nos Galan-gaeaf*, 'Night of the Winter Calends', that is November Eve: second only in importance to this was *Nos Galan-mai*, 'Night of the May Calends', or May Eve. The third great day in the calendar was the First of August already mentioned; and the fourth should be about the First of February, for filling which Welsh folklore and literature do not seem to help. The Irish calendar, however, supplies Saint Bride,<sup>2</sup> "chaste head of Erin's nuns". Her attributes suggest that she represented an earlier goddess of fire; in that case the First of February was not badly chosen as the great day of her cult.

<sup>1</sup> See Holder, *s.v.* *Lugudunon*, ii, col. 313.

<sup>2</sup> Her name in Irish was Brigit, genitive *Brigte*, but she was almost singular in being also called *Sanct Brigte*, genitive *Sanct Brigte*: so when her cult was imported into Wales her name became *Sauffreid*: it appears so in Evans's Facsimile of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, fo. 42<sup>a</sup>. In modern Welsh it is—or should be—*Sauffraid*, with the stress on *ffraid* as in *Llansauffraid*. *Sauffreid* seems to imply *Saucta Bregit* where the *b* had to be softened to *v* and the name to become *Sant Vreid*: but the contact of the voiceless mute *t* with *v* made the latter also become voiceless. Thus arose *Sant Ffreid*, whence *Sauffreid*, *Sauffraid*. *Pymtheg* 'fifteen', often wrongly explained, is a parallel: *pemp-dec* became *pymp-deg*, whence *pymp-theg*, *pymtheg*.

## II.

It is now clear, I hope, that Dinlle Ureconn was not the Welsh name of Viroconium: Dinlle was a distinct name meaning Luguduno-n, the stronghold of Lug, in this instance the one on the Wrekin, *Ureconn*, more correctly *Urecon*, being added to prevent its being confounded with another Dinlle. *Urecon* it may be pointed out here was pronounced as a dissyllable *Urecon*; in fact, had *Dinlle* not been treated as a feminine we should have had Dinlle Gurecon, with the *g* developed before *u* or *w* according to the usual Welsh rule, which, however, it is unnecessary to dwell upon at this point. In *Dinlle Urecon* the latter name served as that of the district, and we have it in a slightly different form in a much older manuscript than the *Red Book of Hergest*.

I allude to a list of the Cities of Britain appended to the *Historia Brittonum*, usually associated with the name of Nennius. Those cities differ in their names and their numbers in the manuscripts; but one of them mentions a Cair Guricon, which appears in another as Cair Guorcon.<sup>1</sup> The spelling of this last is due to confusion of the representative of *uiro* with the prefix which in Gaulish was *uer*, as in *Vercingetorix* and *Vercassivellanos*: in Welsh it became *gwor* or *gwur*, modern *gor*, and in Irish *fer* and *for*. Now *Cair Guricon* should be the *caer* or fortress of *Guricon*, just as *Cair Ceint* in the same manuscript meant the Fortress of Kent. Such *Cair Guricon*, that is *Cair Gūricon*, would more correctly be *Cair Ūricon*, since *cair* was feminine. This was undoubtedly Viroconium, the site of which, near the village of Wroxeter,

<sup>1</sup> For both names see Mommsen's *Historia Brittonum cum Additamentis Nennii* (published in the *Chronica Minora Sec. IV, V, VI, VII*), vol. III, i, 211.

is about three miles from the foot of the Wrekin and visible from the Dinlle on the top of that hill. Here I wish to mention that *Guricon* occurs as a woman's name in *Gurycon Godheu*, one of Brychan Brycheiniog's many daughters enumerated in the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, p. 274;<sup>1</sup> the same lady is called Gwrgon or Gurgon in the *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 120, 140.

From an early date in the sixth century vowel flanked tenues seem to have been mutated, and the pronunciation of these names was *Gwrygon* and *Gwrgon*, although one went on for centuries writing *c*, *t*, *p*, just as if they had remained wholly unaffected. This question is to be touched upon later; here it will suffice to state the conclusion that what we have taken as a district name turns out to have been the proper name of a man or a woman. Naturally the further inference is that the Cornavii of the locality considered themselves descendants of a common ancestor or ancestress, whose name was *Guricon*, *Gurecon*, or *Gurcon*. In that way the personal name became practically that of the district, which the local toast in our day describes comprehensively as: "All friends round the Wrekin". In the days of the Cornavii they may have called themselves in the plural, *Virocones*; at all events there is no trace of a formation like the Latin *Viroconium*. The case is different with the possibly related name of *Ariconium*, which may be related also to *Arcunia*<sup>2</sup> and *Hereynia (Silva)*. It survives in Welsh as

<sup>1</sup> See the "Brychan Documents", carefully edited by the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans in the *Cymmrodor*, xix, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Holder's article on this name, and Walde's on *quercus* (in his *Latin Dictionary*), require to be purged of the bogus Welsh words introduced into them: these latter have been discussed briefly by me in the *Arch. Camb. Journal*, 1907, pp. 87-8. As to *cychwynnu*, meaning 'to rise', add references to the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Jones & Rhys), pp. 133, 135, 280.

*Ergyng*, and in English in the district name of *Archenfield* in Herefordshire. The former is given in the *Historia Brittonum* as *Ercing*, and by Geoffrey of Monmouth as *Hergin*, while in the *Liber Landavensis* it has a variety of spellings from *Ergin* to *Ercieg*, all pointing back to some such a form as *Ariconio-n*, with an *i* in the second syllable and a *ǰ* in the last.

In Dinlle *Ūrecon* and Cair *Ūricon* we have a common element to equate with the *Virocon-* of the Latin formation *Viroconium*; for this seems to be the best attested spelling. To explain the equation it is to be noticed that the unaccented syllable *vir*, that is to say *uir*, was shortened into *ǰr*, reducing the whole into *Urocon-*. The next point to be noticed is that subsequent to the shortening into *Uro-con-*, this had associated with it, and eventually substituted for it, an alternative *Uri-con-*, perhaps also *Ura-con-*; for the thematic vowel of the first element in a compound was subject to much fluctuation. Thus our post-Roman inscriptions supply such instances as the following:—*Senq-magli* and *Senē-magli*, *Vende-setli* and *Venni-setli*, *Vendu-magli* and *Vinne-magli*. Compare such variants in Gaul as *Augustodunum* and *Augustidunum*, *Orgetorix* and *Orgetirix*, and others to be found in Holder's pages. This being so *Uriconium* may very possibly have been a real form of the Latin name, but not so old as *Viroconium*, or even as *Uroconium*, which may also have been one of its forms. The manuscripts of the Antonine Itinerary, and of Ptolemy's Geography, contain these and some more forms, which cannot be discussed here.

Other compound names, beginning with *viro* as their initial element, will be found given by Holder, but in all of them *viro* is the stem of the word for 'man', Welsh *gwr*, Old Irish *fer*, modern Irish *feor*, Latin

*vir*. Analogy suggests that *gwr* represents a Gallo-Brythonic *virós*, plural *virī*, which should have given singular *wr*, plural *gwyr*. *Gwr* may, however, have obtained its initial *g* from the plural: in any case the English Wrekin for Gyricon shows no trace of any sound before the *w*. So it would seem that the development of *u* into *gu* dates after the coming of the English into the district, or that, more correctly speaking, the sound was there but not such as to make itself perceptible to the English ear. For it is a feature characteristic not only of Welsh, but of Cornish and Breton likewise, in which our *gwr* is written *gour*: the severance of these dialects may be dated probably some time in the fifth century. The shortening here in question took place in an unaccented syllable; I gather that there was primarily another condition, to wit, that the vowel in the next syllable should be a broad one, *o*, *u*, or *a*.

In the instances mentioned it was *o*, as we have had only the one element, *uīro*, to deal with; that this extended to other words may be inferred from the fact to be mentioned presently more in detail, that unaccented *ui* or *ue*, followed by a narrow vowel in the next syllable, is reduced to Welsh *u*, approximately of the same sound as German *ü*, not to Welsh *w*. Once, however, *uīro* had become *gwr*, there might be a tendency to extend the latter beyond its etymological limits, but Welsh *Gwriad* for early *Uiriatos*, where the second *i* was *i̇*, and not reckoned as a vowel, is not in point: compare the well-known Irish name *Ferad-ach*, later spelling *Fearadhach*.

In the *Liber Landavensis* a number of the compounds involving *uindo-s*, modern Welsh *gwyn* 'white, blessed', begin with *gun*, such as *Gunda*, from *Uindo-tamos*, *Gunguas* from *Uindo-uassos*, *Gunva* from *Uindo-magus*, and the Bishop of Llandaff's palace is called St. Teilo's *Gundy*

(p. 120), as if it were *Uindo-tegos* 'White House'. Most names of the kind are liable in book Welsh to have the *y* of *gwyn* re-inserted. We have an instance which has resisted this kind of 'correction' in the name of the Cardiganshire church of Llanwnnws or Gwnnws, probably from *Uindo-gustus*, but the *s* of *Gwnnws* for *st* looks like a touch of Goidelic influence. One may here also quote from one of the MSS. of the *Historia Brittonum*, *loc. cit.*, p. 193, the name of Gwrtheyrn's grandfather, *Guttolion*, derived from *Vitalianus*, which occurs on one of the bilingual monuments at Nevern, in Pembrokeshire.

But this phonetic change is by no means confined to the vocables just mentioned; we have it in forms of great antiquity, representing the Indo-European perfect of one of our few strong verbs. The *Mabinogion*, for instance, have the following forms, *gwdom*, *gwdam* 'we know', *gwdawch*, *gwloch* 'you know', *gwdant* 'they know';<sup>1</sup> since the Middle Ages they have *y* inserted after the analogy of the other forms of that verb, such as *gwydwn* 'I knew', *gwybyd* 'will know', and *gwybod*<sup>2</sup> 'the fact of knowing, knowledge'.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for a tabular survey of the tenses of the verb in question, which occur in the *Mabinogion*, to Prof. J. Morris Jones, one of whose pupils is preparing to publish on the verbal forms in those tales. I should add to them *gwdost*, 'knowest', which I cannot explain, Mod. Welsh *gwyddost*, in Breton *gouzoud*. The first person singular was *gwm*, now written *gwn*, which looks like a contraction of the form which has yielded Breton *gouzonn*, rather than derived from a verb corresponding to Irish *finnaim* 'I find, I know'.

<sup>2</sup> This implies *uidi-bot-* or *uide-bot-* with the thematic vowel dropped before the *d* and *b* were mutated; so *uid-bot-* yielded *uipot-*, *gwybod*; but there was apparently a later compound with the consonants mutated and yielding *gwyd̄fod* 'immediate personal presence' — *yn ei wyd̄fod* = *yn ei w̄yd̄* 'within his knowledge or consciousness as derived from his sense of sight, hearing, and touch'. The etymological equivalent in Breton seems to be *gouzoud* 'the fact of knowing'; and the compounds with the verb 'to be' are on the same level, for



The corresponding forms in the kindred languages make the structure of our *Mabinogion* verb at once intelligible: take Sanskrit *véda*, Greek *oída* 'I know', Sanskrit plural *vidmá*, Greek *ἴδμεν* 'we know'. Here the root part of the verb appears in its strongest form in the singular, while in the plural it is in its weakest; Sanskrit, moreover, represents the old accentuation, which explains the Brythonic *gwđom*, for instance, as standing for some such a form as *uid-o-mós*,<sup>1</sup> which was weakened into *udomós*, whence, when penultimate accentuation became the rule, *udómo* and (*g*)*údom*, *gúđom*. The treatment was the same in the second and third persons of the plural; and so in Breton, where the corresponding persons are (1) *gouzomp*, (2) *gouzoc'h*, (3) *gouzont*; in Cornish (1) *gōdhon*, (2) *gōdhough*, (3) *gōdhons*; but, according to Jenner's *Handbook of the Cornish Language*, pp. 147-8, from which I copy, *godh-* has been spread almost over the whole of the conjugation.

This explains the etymological difference between the perfect *goruc* or *gorug*, and *goreu* 'did, *fecit*'. The former has by its side *gorugum* 'I did', and *gorugost* 'thou didst', but when this stem invaded the plural in such forms as *gorugam* 'we did', and *gorugant* 'they did', it was encroaching on the domain of *goreu-*, which, in its instance *goufenn* 'I should know', probably for *gouz-venn*, and so in the case of *a(z)naout* = Welsh *adnabod* 'to be acquainted with', as to which see my *Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy*, p. 9. The thematic vowel belonging to the first part of *gwybod* and *gwyđfod* was probably *i* or *e* which we have in the Latin cognate verb *vide-o*. It emerges as *i* in the Medieval Welsh form *gwyđywn* 'I knew, *je savais*', *gwydyei* (Skene ii, 69), and *gwyđyad* 'he knew, *il savait*': compare the Cornish *gōdhyen*, *gōdhya*, and see Norris's *Ancient Cornish Drama*, ii, 263, 267.

<sup>1</sup> As to some of the difficulties connected with the plurals of verbs of the perfect tense, such as the connecting vowel, the unmutated *m* and similar questions, see Brugmann's *Grundriss*, ii, 1205-7, 1212, 1245-9, 1354.

turn, should not have appeared in the singular, but only help to make up such a form as *goreuam* 'we did' for an early *uo-(u)rogomós*, whence *uo-rogóm*, (*g*)*uo-rogóm*, *guoróuom*, *goréuom*, or *goréuam*. *Goreuom* and *goreuant* are not known to occur, for the reason, perhaps, that they have not been looked for. In the singular, not only was the root vowel lengthened, but the mute consonant was protracted;<sup>1</sup> both are processes which were probably carried out under the stress accent. Thus, the third person singular set out from *uo-(u)róce*, whence *uo-róce*, *guo-rúce*, *guorúc*, *górug*. The corresponding Old Cornish was *gwruk*, *wruk*, *ruk*, *rug*, later *gwríg* 'did'. The present tense of this verb in Welsh occurs in the compound *cy-weiriaf* 'I put into working order', from the root *verg*, and is of the same conjugation as the Old Irish *do-airci* (for *do-vairci*) 'effects, prepares', Anglo-Saxon *wyrcan* 'to work, to build'.<sup>2</sup>

A shortening before the stress syllable, parallel to that of *uiró* into *uró*, has taken place in the name *Urien*, written *Urbgen* in the *Historia Brittonum* (*loc. cit.* 63), the same name most likely as that of the Helvetian *pagus* mentioned by Cæsar (i, 27) as *Verbigenus*. We have the Irish form possibly in the proper name *Fergen*, in case that represents *Ferbgen*. Another instance is Welsh *uceint*, now *ugain* 'twenty', which points back to *uicéntion*; the Irish was *fiche* 'twenty', genitive *fichet*. We seem to have a third instance in Welsh *ucher* 'evening', from *ueséro-s* = *ueqséro-s*, for *uesquéros* of the same origin as Greek *ἑσπερος* and Latin *vesper* 'the evening'. The Old Irish was *fescor*, now *feascar* 'evening'. All these cases differ from the previous ones, in the contraction being not into *w*, but into the very

<sup>1</sup> For instances of such protraction see a paper of mine in the *Revue Celtique*, ii, 331-3.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Grammatica Celtica*, pp. 591-3; Jenner, pp. 129-31; Stokes's *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*—s.v. *verg* 'to work', p. 273.



different vowel *u*: the probable explanation is that here the accented syllable had the narrow vowel *e*, which exercised an umlauting influence on the foregoing syllable. None of these, it will be noticed, shows any trace of an initial *g* in Welsh.

### III.

Before proceeding any further, I wish to say a word on early Celtic accentuation and desinence. The former is not infrequently assumed to have been the same in Brythonic as in Goidelic, but nothing could be more mistaken. In both, it is true, the accent, as far back as we can trace it, was a stress accent, but in Goidelic it was fixed on the first syllable in nouns and adjectives, while in Brythonic it had only the range of the three last syllables as in Greek. The older accentuation of Latin<sup>1</sup> appears to have been on the first syllable, as in Goidelic, but in the historical period it is found confined to the last three syllables, as in Brythonic, which was probably the case also with Gaulish. Within the three-syllable limit, Brythonic—also probably Gaulish—tended to drive the accent to the penultimate, and by so doing to put an end to both oxytones and proparoxytones. The former would, in any case, be probably few, containing among their number the *viró-s* ‘man’ already mentioned. The latter were common enough in Gaulish in such names as the following, where the position of the accent is practically indicated by the forms taken in French by such place-names as *Argentó-magus* ‘Argenton’, *Claudió-magus* ‘Clion’, *Novió-magus* ‘Nyon and Noyon’, *Rotó-magus* ‘Rouen’, *Cambó-ritum*

<sup>1</sup> Did the Umbro-Samnites, the neighbours of the Romans, accent their words only within the last three syllables? and, if so, had their influence anything to do with the change of accentuation in Latin?

‘Chambort’, *Noviō-ritum* ‘Niort and Nort’.<sup>1</sup> In Brythonic we have instances in such names as *Brigó-maglos*, *Briámail*, *Briáfael*, and the like to be mentioned presently.

Some of the proparoxytones might have penultimates with long vowels: take, for instance, *Catú-rīges* and *Bitú-rīges*, whence the French place-names *Chorges* and *Bourges*. But such a form as *Bitú-rīges* may have had a tendency to become *Bitu-rīges*, which seems to be re-echoed in the province name *Berry*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly *Lugdúno-n*, if it was Gaulish, must have superseded the longer form, which was probably accented *Lugú-dūno-n*, and later *Lugu-dūno-n*, before the pretonic part of the word was curtailed. A good instance of this occurs in the case of the Gaulish preposition *are*, in Welsh *ar* ‘on, upon, at, *παρά, παρὰ*’, as a prefix in the Gaulish *Aremorica*, probably *Aremórica*, reduced early to *Armórica*—the manuscripts of *Cæsar de Ballo Gallico* show no trace of the pretonic *e*. The same shortening is attested by the Gaulish man’s name *Atpomarus*, as compared with the more usual form *Atepomaros*, to be mentioned again presently. Holder, in his *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, i, 224, has an *Artegia*, which is now *Arthies* in the department of Seine-et-Oise: this stands for *Are-tegia*, where *tegia* represents *tégiha* = *tégisa*, the neuter plural of *tégos* ‘a house or hut’, Old Irish *tech*, Welsh *ty* ‘house’. With the Gaulish preposition translated into Latin *ad* we have *ad tegia* and *ad teia*, which appears to have entered the place-name\* *Adtegia*, now called *Athies*, in the department of the Somme, and a common noun *attegia* ‘a hut or tent’, not to mention that *tegia* survives, for instance, in the Tyrol as *thei, tai* ‘an

<sup>1</sup> See Meyer-Lübke in the *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, cxlii, ii, 40, 44; see also the separate names in Holder’s *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, which is arranged alphabetically.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, Meyer-Lübke, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

Alpine hut', with which compare the Welsh *tai* 'houses', Med. Welsh *tei* for *tegia* from *tegesa*.<sup>1</sup>

One or two other instances will help to illustrate the difference between Irish and Welsh with regard to accentuation. One of the words in point is the Old Irish neuter *dorus* 'a door', from some such a stem as *duorestu-*, in Welsh *drws* from *duorostu-*, which must have been accented *duoróstu*, otherwise the first syllable could not have been reduced to the consonants *dr*: compare Gaulish *Duró-casses*, yielding in French the place-name *Dreux*. In Irish this could not have happened, as the stress accent would there be on the first syllable. A similar instance offers itself in the name of the Denbighshire church and town of Llanrwst, that is the *llan* of *Gurgúst*. When the second *g* of that name was dropped, the pronunciation became monosyllabic *Gwrúst* or *Gurúst*, which, when preceded by the feminine *llan* = *landa*, became *Llanurúst*, whence the modern pronunciation of *Llan'rúst*. The original compound was *Uiro-gustu-s*, which made *Uro-gustu-s*, and, subject to the tendency of the accent to rest on the penultimate, became (*G*)*uro-gústu-s*, and later *Gurgúst*. For Irish the compound was *Vira-gustu-s*, but being accented on the first syllable the resultant form is the well-known name Fergus.

The next instance to be mentioned is one in which I cannot vouch for the correct sequence of the phonological modifications involved: Old Irish had a neuter noun *aithesc*, which comes from *áti-sequa-n*, which became *áthesqua-n*, *áithesc-n*. For Brythonic this would

<sup>1</sup> See Mayer-Lübke, *loc. cit.*, pp. 12-13, who has been improved on by Holder in several respects; but from not knowing that *tegia* was etymologically a plural itself, he has suggested *ad tegia(s)* and *are tegia(s)*, with an *s*, which the authors of most of the old documents to which he refers did not think necessary. See also Walde's *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. *attegia*.

be *ate-hepo-n*, probably *até-hepo-n*, whence *ade-hépo-n*, *ade-hép*, *ad-hép*, *átep*, *áteb* ‘answer’. We have possibly traces of this word in Gaulish: Holder gives two proper names, *Atepomāros* and *Ateporīx*. They are usually explained with some trouble, with the aid of the Gaulish *epos* ‘a horse’; but we have so much ‘horse’ in Gaulish nomenclature that it is a relief to find something else. Should the conjecture that *atépo-n* (for *até-hepo-n*) enters into those two names, the compounds must have meant respectively, ‘One who is great in his replies’ and ‘One who answers like a king’. It is needless to say that those great names had shortened and hypocoristic forms: one of these Holder gives as *Atepilos*, and from Latin contexts *Atepa*, *Atepatus*, *Atepiccus*, *Atepillā* and *Atepo*, genitive *Aleponis*. A Gaulish parallel to *atepo-n* would be *arépo-n*,<sup>1</sup> from *aré-hepo-n*. I have no proof of its having existed, but in Irish we have its counterpart in *airesc* ‘a saying’, in Welsh *di-areb* ‘a proverb’, now pronounced *diháreb*, plural *diarhébion*.

There is no need to dwell in general terms on the connection between the case endings of a word and the accent which falls in that direction, as it did in Brythonic.

1. One of the points of principal importance to notice is the fact that the endings of the nominative case in the vowel declensions *ō-s*, *ū-s*, *ī-s*, fell away so early that they have not perceptibly affected our mutation system in Brythonic.

<sup>1</sup> This reminds me that Holder has *are-po-s* suggested by the reversible words: **SATOR** They will be found in the Berlin *C. I. L.*, **AREPO** xii, 202\*, where it is suggested that they **TENET** are not earlier than the seventh century. **OPERA** Holder mentions two translations which **ROTAS** have been proposed of the puzzle; they are: *ὁ σπείρων ἄροτρον κρατεῖ ἔργα τροχούς*, and “Le laboureur Arepo tient avec soin les roues”.

2. There is no apparent reason why this remark should be limited to the nominative endings just mentioned: it is probable that their history was bound up with that of the other short-vowel endings; that is, they were all swept away by the same phonological tendency, and in the same period. The principal endings in point would be the vocative singular *ē* of the *O* declension, the *ǎ* of the neuter plural in the nominative and accusative of all declensions, the *ǒ-s* of the genitive singular of the consonantal declensions, the *ě-s* of the nominative plural, masculine and feminine of the same declensions, and the *ě* of the nominative and accusative dual in the same.<sup>1</sup>

3. On the other hand, the long-vowel endings are supposed to have lasted longer, so that while the others were wholly dropped the long vowel was only curtailed, not completely dropped, for some time later. Thus, while in the masculine *uindo-s* became (*g*)*uind*, *gwynn*, *gwyn* 'white', the feminine *uindā* only became *uéndǎ*, whence later (*g*)*uend*, *gwenn*, *gwen*. At all events the feminine ending *ā* as *ǎ* remained long enough to leave its mark permanently on our mutation system. Take a common instance like the feminine *llaw goch* 'a red hand', derived from *lāma cocca*, the *c* between the two vowels being mutated to *g* by the influence of those vowels. Other instances would be the genitive singular of the *O* declension, which ended in *ī* like the Latin *dominī*, the *ō* (or *ū*) of the dative of that declension, like Latin *dominō*, and the nominative plural in *ī* like Latin *dominī*. To these should be added the ending *ō* of the nominative, vocative, and accusative of the dual in the *O* declension, and of the genitive dual in all the declensions. The vowels in question

<sup>1</sup> A glance at Stokes's *Celtic Declension*, especially his tables, pp. 100-04, or those in Brugmann's *Grundriss*, ii, 736-59, will make all this clear.

were probably reduced to *ĩ*, *õ* or *ũ* before they ceased altogether to be pronounced, which took place late enough for them to have affected the mutation system. Why they did not do so in the case of the plural is explained by the endings: there was a lack of unanimity to establish a mutation: the nominative plural of the *O* declension, for instance, ended in *ĩ*, while the corresponding feminine had *ās* and the consonantal declensions *ēs*. Not so with the dual, which, though comparatively little used, has left the soft mutation to mark its presence in the background even in Modern Welsh: witness, for instance, the Welsh wording of the Church of England's bans of marriage, where we have *y deudŷyn hyn* 'these two persons': here the softened *d*, in both instances, is due to the ancient dual. For that number had a vowel termination in all the cases except the dative, which had a dissyllabic ending: this is not quite certain. But the others agreed in leading up to the soft mutation, and a remarkable instance offers itself in the elegy, already mentioned, to *Cyndŷlan*, stanza 28, where we have the following lines:—<sup>1</sup>

Stauell gyndylan yspeitha6e [?] heno  
 g6edy ketwyr uoda6e  
 Eluan kyndylan kaea6e.

"Cyndŷlan's chamber, it is desolate to-night:  
 Gone the two contented warriors,  
 Elvan and torque-wearing Cyndŷlan."

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<sup>1</sup> See Skene's *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, i, 452, ii, 282, 445. In his notes Skene writes as follows:—"The first 57 stanzas of this poem have been carefully translated by Dr. Guest in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, ix, p. 142, and the translation has been, with his permission, adopted. The reader is referred to the notes by Dr. Guest on this part of the poem. The remaining stanzas have been translated by Mr. Silvan Evans." In this instance, Skene's process of 'adopting' Guest's translation involves changing the latter's "contented" into "contended", and misrepresenting the sense of the original; for Guest was practically right here, though he was not by any means



The words in question more particularly are *ketwyr uodaŵc*, which seem to point back to an early combination *catu-úrō bodŵcō* which, as regards the case ending of the dual, might be nominative, accusative, or genitive. The preposition *guedy* 'after' should decide, but it is not known what case it governed. In Old Welsh it is found as *guetig* and *gotig*,<sup>1</sup> but the etymology is obscure. If it involves a nominal element it probably governed the genitive; of the three cases, the only other one which the sense would seem to admit is the accusative, which appears less likely than the genitive.

We may now examine the alternative forms *Guricon* and *Gurcon* from the point of view of their etymology, so as to shew in what sense they are entitled to be regarded as equivalents. It happens that we have the exact equivalent of *Gurcon* or *Gurgon*, in the Irish name *Ferchon*, which is nought else than the genitive of a compound which is in the nominative *Ferchú*,<sup>2</sup> to which corresponds exactly the Old Welsh *Gurcu* in the *Liber Landavensis*, later *Gurci*, sounded *Gwrgi*: it is matched by *Gurcon* in the same manuscript, which supplies a number of other similar instances, such as *Elcu* or *Elci*, and *Elcun* or *Elcon*, *Guidci* and *Guidcon*. But though those ending in *con* or *cun* were, etymologically speaking, the genitives of those ending with *cu*, *ci*, they are there treated as distinct names. This would have been impossible here in

equal to the task he had undertaken. If Silvan Evans had translated the 57 stanzas we should have had a correct rendering of the portions then intelligible to a man well trained in literary Welsh. Skene, however, does not appear to have known enough Welsh to help him to judge correctly as to their respective merits in the matter of translating.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 688<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See Windisch's *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, 2,893, 2,914, and *The Book of the Dun Cow*, f. 82<sup>b</sup>.

Old Irish, as *Ferchon* would at once be associated with *Ferchú, cú*, genitive *con*, being words familiar to all who spoke Irish. It was different in a language where, as in Brythonic, the system of case-endings had gone to pieces. So we find the same thing happening in other instances: take, for example, the Latin word for city or state, *civitas*, genitive *civitatis*; in Welsh the one yielded regularly *ciwed* and the other *ciwdawd* or *ciwdod*. Here the language has utilized both; *ciwed* has now the sense of 'a rabble', and *ciwdod* that of the people or population of a city. We have another instance in *trined* and *trindod*, from Latin *trinitas*, genitive *trinitatis* 'a trinity'. Here the language, having seemingly found no special use for *trined*, lets it become obsolete. Lastly, we have a native instance in *Gwyned* and *Gwyndod* (for *Gwynđot*), from an early *Venedos*, genitive *Venedotos*, which occurs in a Latin inscription as *Venedotis*, to wit, at Penmachno in Carnarvonshire. *Gwyned* is the form in ordinary use, while *Gwyndod* is left to the poets, and to be the base for *Gwyndodes* 'a Venedotian woman', and *Gwyndodeg* 'the Venedotian dialect of Welsh'.

Similarly, the accent has left us a certain number of compound proper names with two forms each, as *Urbagen* or *Urbeghen*, and *Urbgen*,<sup>1</sup> later *Urien*; *Tutagual* and *Tudwal*; *Dumnaqual* and *Dyfnwal*; *Dinogat* or *Dinagat* and *Dingad*. The early nominatives of these last were *Toutóvalos*, *Dubnóvalos* or *Dumnóvalos*, and *Dūnócatas*, to which may be added *Brigómaglos*, which became later *Briámáil*, *Briáfáel*. This accentuation has been proved in the case of names of similar composition, and the same number of syllables in Gaulish; see p. 17 above. But, as

<sup>1</sup> See the *Historia Brittonum*, *loc. cit.*, 206-7; Nicholson's "Filius Urbagen" in Meyer & Stern's *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, iii, 104-11.



in our instances the endings *-ōs* and *-ūs* were discarded early, the nominatives became, for example, *Toutóval* and *Dǔnócat*, which provided a stable position for the accent. That is proved by the later forms being *Tutáguál* (or *Tudáwal*) and *Dinógat* (or *Dinágat*), without any shifting of the accent. This would apply probably also to the corresponding Brythonic accusatives, *Toutovalon* and *Dǔnocatun*; but when we come to case-endings with a long vowel, which would remain longer intact, a shifting of the accent probably took place: thus the genitives *Toutó-valī* and *Dǔnó-catōus* or *Dunó-catōs*, became probably *Touto-váli* and *Duno-cátos*, whence resulted *Tout-ŭáli*, *Dun-gátos*, whence *Tuduál*, *Dingát*, and later, *Túduwal*, *Díngad*. The resulting forms in the dative, ablative, locative, and instrumental would, if they existed, be probably identical. One of the steps here guessed, namely, that from *Toutó-valī*, let us say, to *Tout-ŭáli*, recalls a Gaulish proper name already mentioned as *Atepilos*, that is probably *Atépilos*. We seem to meet with its genitive variously written *Atpīli* and *Atpilli*, which were accented, probably *Atpīli*, *Atpílli*. See Holder s.v. *Atpillos*, *Atpilos*, nominatives for which, be it observed, he cites no authority.

The foregoing instances belong to the *O* declension (*Toutovalos*) and the *U* declension (*Dunocatus*); when we come to the consonantal declension it is not so clear what has happened, but the same general rules of accentuation may be assumed to have applied. The results, however, differ conspicuously from those in the vowel declensions, for here we may have not two forms but three. Unfortunately the names to our purpose are only two: they have both been already partly discussed, *Gureu* and *Mailcu*. The nominatives must have been *Ūirocū*, *Maglocū*, accented probably on the *cū*; this would lead to the elision of the *o* immediately preceding the stress

syllable, and, with the consonants softened previously, we should have [*G*]urgú (written [*G*]urcu), *Gurgí*, *Gúrgi* (written *Gurci*). Similarly with *Mailcu*, *Elcu*, and the like. Next comes the genitive, which should have been *Uirocunos* or *Uiroconos*, reduced to *Uroconos*, with optional forms *Ureconos* or *Uriconos*. These fall into the same accentuation as *Brigómaglos*, *Toutóvalos*, and the like, yielding accordingly *Uréconos* or *Uriconos*, and, when the short-vowel case ending went, *Urécon* or *Uricón*, whence the attested forms *Uréconn*, *Gurícon*, *Gurycon*. There remains *Gurcon*, which may be explained in one of two ways. (1) The *gur* of *Gurcon* may be due simply to the analogy of *Gurcu* in the nominative, and the formation may have been meant as a genitive, which in due course superseded *Guricon*. (2) It is, on the whole, more probable that it represents another case, say, the dative. So we set out from *Uróconī* with a final *ī* as in Latin *hominī*, and assume that it would take longer time for the *ī* to be dropped than in the case of a short-vowel termination. So we may set down *Urgóni* as the next stage, whence one arrives at *Urgón*, *Gurgón*, *Gúrgon* (written *Gurcon*).

One would reason similarly as to *Mailcon* or *Mailcun*, and we have a trace of the genitive as *Meilochon* in *Brude mac Meilochon*, the name of more than one Pictish king: the father of the first of that name has sometimes been supposed to have been Maelgwn, king of Gwyned. It is remarkable that *B. mac Meilochon* comes in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, iii, 4: in Irish annals it is more usually *mac Mailcon* or *mac Maelchon*. In *Meilochon*, as well as in *Maelchon*, the *ch* is an Irish touch, which must be due to the scribe who first wrote it in this name being aware of the fact that in Brythonic the original *c* was mutated to *g*, whether written so or not, and that the corresponding Irish mutation was to *ch*, which he accord-

ingly used in his spelling of this genitive, *Meilochon*: that is to say, he knew that the Brythonic pronunciation was *Mailogon*, probably *Mailógon*; we have possibly the same formation in Breton, to wit, in *Maelucun*, which occurs in the Cartulary of Landevennec, published by MM. Le Men and Ernault. Gildas, addressing Maelgwn in the vocative, calls him *Maglocune*, which suggests that he would have used *Maglocunus* as the nominative in Latin. With this agrees the bilingual inscription lately discovered at Nevern, in which the Latin genitive is *Maglocuni*, though the Goidelic genitive is *Maglicunas*.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to find Geoffrey of Monmouth producing a faint echo of the purely Brythonic declension of the name in his *Malgo*, genitive *Malgonis*, accusative *Malgonem*.

On looking back at our conclusions, which have been drawn from the foregoing instances, we seem at first sight to have a difficulty in the fact that the longer forms *Dinócat*, and *Tutáqual*, appear to have been nominatives, and the short ones *Dingat*, *Dingad* (as in *Ilan Dingad*) and *Tutgwal*, *Tudwal* (as in *Ynys Tudwal*) to have been, let us say, genitives, while *Gurícon* or *Gurécon*, and *Meilochon*, that is, *Mailógon* must be genitive, and the shorter ones, *Gurcu*, *Gurgi*, and *Mailcu*, *Elcu*, nominatives. There is no real difficulty; it has been shown practically that the former belong to the vocalic declensions and the latter to the consonantal ones. The discrepancy between them was connected with the break up of the older and fuller inflection of the noun. In fact, this difference of declension was possibly one of the things which helped to accelerate that result. The state of things which this indicates may be appositely compared to what happened in Old French when the Latin declensional system broke up. There one finds, for example, the *cas régime* of the mascu-

<sup>1</sup> See the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1907, p. 84.

line singular identical in form with the *cas sujet* of the plural, and often enough the *cas sujet* of the masculine singular with the *cas régime* of the plural.<sup>1</sup> The question how the declensional system in Brythonic disappeared is one of great difficulty, owing chiefly to a great scarcity of data; but, in fact, the few data available have never been studied and forced to give up their latent evidence.

The Nevern Ogam, with the genitive *Maglicunas*, proves beyond doubt that the second element is the word for 'dog', nominative *cū*, genitive *cunas*, dative *cuni*, which in Brythonic were probably *cunos*, *cuni*. In Celtic names this word had the secondary meaning of guardian, champion, or protector: so *Uiro-cū*, *Gurcu*, Irish *Ferchú*, would mean, literally, a 'man guardian' or 'man protector'. In the other compound, the one with *maglo-s*, Modern Welsh *mael*, and Irish *mál* 'a nobleman, a prince, a king', that vocable is supposed to come from the same root as Greek *μεγάλη*, Gothic *mikils* 'great', and Scotch *mickle* 'great, much'. In Irish annals the name should appear as *Málchú*, genitive *Málchon*, but I have no note of meeting with an instance except in the Nevern Ogam. The name should mean a 'prince guardian' or 'king protector'. This use of the word for dog or hound in Celtic personal names is very remarkable, and is borne out by Celtic history: the Gauls, for instance, used dogs in their wars, and Strabo tells us that dogs fit for hunting and for war used to be exported to Gaul from this country. The Irish word *cú* is epicene, and in Welsh names it is not restricted to men: witness *Gwrgon* and *Gurycon* as the name of one of Brychan's daughters already mentioned, to which may be added from the *Book of Llan Dáv a Leucu* (Hiugel's wife), p. 236, later *Lleuci*.<sup>2</sup> So with *y Weilgi* 'the wolf-dog', as a

<sup>1</sup> See Nyrop's *Grammaire historique de la Langue française*, ii, 184-9.

<sup>2</sup> D. ab Gwilym, poem clxvi, has *Lleucu*, however, to rhyme with

poetic term for the sea, which, though of the same composition as the Irish man's name *Faelchú*, is a feminine.<sup>1</sup>

## IV.

A word must now be said of the English forms of the name in question, and here I am very pleased to acknowledge my complete indebtedness to the kindness of Mr. Stevenson, the learned editor of Asser's *Life of King Alfred*. According to him *Wrekin* derives directly from *Wreocen*, which he treats as a Mercian modification of an original *Wrekun* or *Wrikun*, the form taken in Old English by *Wrikon*, that is the Celtic *Ūricon*. The name *Wroewardine* is, in its first part, of the same origin, and represents what must have been in Old English *Wreocen-weordign* "Wrekin village or Wrekin farm". This became successively what is found written *Wrokewurđin* or (with Norman *ch = k*) *Wrochewurđin*, later *Wrochwurđin* or *Wrocwurđin*: that is, *Wreocen* is first reduced to *Wroke*, and then to *Wroc*, in the compound. The case of *Wroxeter* must have been partly similar. For, setting out from *Wreocen-ceaster*, we get a form written *Wrocce-cestre*, and French influence makes *cestre* into *sestre*, so one arrives at *Wrockesestre*, which readily becomes *Wroxeter*.<sup>2</sup>

The English form *Wrekin*, and the others derived from the same Celtic original, suggest conclusions as to that

*Dyddgu*, in which the second syllable possibly represents *cu* 'dear, beloved'. But in any case one is tempted to ask why *Lleucu* is not modified into *Lleuci*, *Lleugu*, or *Lleugi*. The same is the case with *gwenci*, a feminine, which is the word in North Cardiganshire for a weasel.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, f. 38b., and Skene, ii, 40. In the curious passage about the river fabled to have once separated Britain and Ireland, *y teyrnassoed* should be emended into *y theyrnassoed* 'her realms': see the Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> As Mr. Stevenson's monograph is rather too long for a footnote, it will be found printed at length at the end of this paper.



original which are of interest from the point of view of Brythonic phonology. Setting out from *Uirocon-*, we know that before it was adopted by the English *uīro* had not only become *ūro*, but *ūro* and its alternative *ūri* or *ure* had further become monosyllabic, *uro*, *uri*. This latter process of shortening may be dated as near as you like to the conquest of the Wrekin district by the English, provided it be treated as dating before that conquest and not after it. The antecedent change of *uīro* into *ūro* occurs beyond Welsh in the Breton language, where the word spelt in modern Welsh *gwr* 'a man, *vir*' is written *gour*. In other terms we may probably regard *uro* for *uīro* as common Brythonic, and an accomplished fact before the separation of Welsh and Breton, say some time in the fifth century. In the other direction it had not taken place at the time when the Romans first became acquainted with the Cornavii of the district. This can hardly have been later than the presence in this country of the Roman general Ostorius Scapula, who received command here in the year 50, and proceeded, among other things, to maintain a boundary extending from the Severn to the basin of the Trent. It may be guessed to have reached from the site of Viroconium to that of Pennocrucium. In fact it is possible that Ostorius it was that selected the former site and began to fortify it.

The next point of importance to be mentioned is that when the English borrowed the word which became Wrekin, the Brythons had not as yet mutated the vowel-flanked *c* into *g*, otherwise the Old English Wreocen would not have *c* or *k*, but *g*, or else a sound derived from *g*. One naturally asks next when did the English first become familiar with the district and its name: no certain answer has ever been given that question. It is true that an entry in the *Saxon Chronicle* has been supposed by some

to supply it. Under the year 584 we read to the following effect:—"In this year Ceawlin and Cutha fought against the Britons at the place which is named Fethanleag, and Cutha was there slain; and Ceawlin took many towns and countless booty; and, wrathful, he thence returned to his own." The difficulty is to identify Fethanleag; some have suggested a place in Gloucestershire, in which case the entry would be irrelevant here; but Dr. Guest argued for its identity with a place now called Faddiley, near Nantwich, in Cheshire. In that case Ceawlin, marching up the Severn valley, could hardly avoid having to do with the people of the Wrekin district: he could not have ventured further north without getting possession at least of Viroconium, or of effecting its destruction, that is to say if its destruction had not happened some time or other previously.

This is, however, not a very satisfactory way of trying to date a phonological change, so I would now turn to Bede. It has already been suggested that the *Meilochon* in his *Ecclesiastical History* seems to imply that the name had, in Brythonic pronunciation, been modified from *Mailocon* into *Mailogon*. But the same work contains other names in point, such as that of *Caedmon*, the first Northumbrian poet. He died in 680, and his name is a form of that which Welshmen went on writing for a long time afterwards as *Catman*, now *Cadfan*. Similarly with *Caedwalla*, both as the name of the Veuodotian king, called in Welsh *Catguollaun*, later *Cadwallon*, who was blockaded in the Isle of Glannog, or Priestholme, by the English in 629, and as the name of a West Saxon king who, according to Bede, gave up his throne in 689. The early Celtic form of the name must have been *Catuvellaunos*, the plural of which is attested as the name of the *Catuvellauni*, one of the most powerful tribes in Britain in the time of Cæsar. Bede

mentions, also, a Welsh king Cerdic: his words are "sub rege Brettonum Cerdice", and Mr. Plummer, the editor of Bede's historical works, rightly suggests that this was probably the Ceretic whose death is given in the *Annales Cambriæ*, A.D. 616. The same name occurs also in the shorter spelling *Certic*, given in the *Historia Brittonum* to the king of Elmet, expelled by Edwin of Northumbria. That is, there were two Brythonic forms, *Ceretic* and *Certic*, parallel to such pairs as *Dinogat* and *Dingat*, *Tudawal* and *Tudwal*; and the shorter form *Certic* had reached Bede, with the *t* reduced in pronunciation to *d*; so he wrote *Cerdic*.<sup>1</sup>

Here it may be asked, what about the unmutated *c* in this name; but the rule as to vowel-flanked consonants does not apply. Mr. Plummer kindly informs me that it was Bede's habit to place the proper name in apposition to the appellative accompanying it, which means here that the ending *e* of *Cerdice* has to be regarded as the Latin ablative case termination supplied by Bede, the name as he got it being *Cerdic*. Now a final consonant was not subject to more than half the mutational inducement which was exercised on a consonant not preceded only, but also followed, by a vowel. As a matter of fact the consonant proves to have resisted much longer, and this persistence has left its impress on the spelling down to the late Middle Ages: witness the final *t* and *c* (less often *p*) regularly retained in the spelling usual, for instance, in the *Mabinogion* in the *Red Book of Hergest*. The same remarks apply to Bede's "in silva Elmete": he had the name as *Elmet*,

<sup>1</sup> See Plummer's *Bede*, i, 255 (book iv, 23), ii, 247, and the *Historia Brittonum*, *loc. cit.*, p. 206; see also p. 177, where Vortigern's interpreter's name is variously given as *Ceretic* and *Cerdic*. Still more remarkable is the debüt in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 495, of a prince whose name *Cerdic* or *Certic* suggests intermarriage with Celts even earlier than can be implied by the case of Caedwalla.



which in Welsh is now *Elfed*, in English *Elvet*, as the name of a district containing the parish church of Cynwyl Elfed, so called to distinguish it from Cynwyl Gaeo, both in Carmarthenshire. It is this Elvet, probably, that I seem to detect in the bilingual inscription at Trallwng, near Brecon, where the Ogam version reads *Cunacennivi Ilveto* 'the Grave or Place of Cunacenniu of Elvet': this shows the Welsh reduction of *lm* to *lv*, for *lm* would have persisted had the word been purely Irish. The Latin version of the inscription will be mentioned later. *Elmet*, *Elfed* was possibly not a very uncommon place-name: Bede's instance survives in 'Elmet Wood', near Leeds.

Bede gives a still simpler instance, *loc. cit.*, i, 82, namely, 'Dinoot abbas', the abbot of Bangor, who met Augustine in one of the first years of the seventh century. In later Welsh the name was *Dunawt*, now *Dunod*, being the Latin *Dōnātus*, borrowed and pronounced at the time to which Bede refers, probably as *Dūnōt*, with *u* tending to the unrounding characteristic of the pronunciation of Welsh *u*. When exactly the mutation of Welsh final consonants took place in our Welsh texts has not, as far as I know, been carefully studied. It is relevant to mention that the sister dialects of Welsh, namely, Cornish and Breton, appear never to have carried this mutation through. If one consult Le Gonidec's Dictionary of Breton, one finds, for instance, such alternatives<sup>1</sup> as *tat* and *tad* corresponding to Welsh *tad* 'father', *bet* and *bed* to Welsh *byd* 'world'. So with many more, including words where Le Gonidec

<sup>1</sup> I take the forms ending with the tennes to be the older, but the rules as to the use of the two sets do not seem to have been exhaustively studied. Professor Joseph Loth has kindly referred me to an article in which he has touched on them: see the *Annales de Bretagne*, xviii, 617, also x, 30, where one of his pupils has discussed an aspect of the same question.

suggests no option, such as *oanik* 'a little lamb', Welsh *oenig*; *troadek* 'having feet, having big feet', Welsh *troediog* 'having nimble feet, active on one's feet', which is the common meaning given the word in Gwyned; *hévélép* 'equal, similar', Welsh *cyffelyb* 'similar', partly of the same origin as the Breton adjective. It is possible that we have some instances in Welsh itself: they would be short-vowel monosyllables of which there is no lack in Welsh; but most of them, when examined, prove to be English loanwords.

The foregoing notes on the proper names, preserved by Bede, suggest two questions: the first is, when did the English become familiar with the Brythonic names which he gives as *Caedmon*, *Caedwalla*, and *Cerdic-e*: perhaps *Aebbercorn-ig* 'Abercorn' should be added to them: see Bede, i, 12. The *Annales Cambriae* carry us, in the case of *Cerdic*, probably back to 616. We do not know for certain when *Caedmon*, and *Caedwalla* of Wessex were born, but before they were called by those names, time enough must be allowed to have elapsed for intermarriage or other processes of race amalgamation to render it possible for Brythonic names to have had a chance of emerging among the conquerors. On the whole the opening of the seventh century appears by no means too early as the approximate date of the earliest acquaintance of the English with those three names. If that should prove tenable one might, roughly speaking, lay it down that the mutation of vowel-flanked tenues was an accomplished fact by the year 600. The absence of that mutation in the name *Wrekin* and its congeners does not enable us to fix on a very much earlier time for the change, at most, perhaps, half a century: so let us say 550, or thereabouts. Nevertheless, the subtle and imperceptible beginnings of the tendency to mutate the consonants, to slacken the contacts made in pronouncing them, must date earlier,

since the same mutation system is characteristic of all the Brythonic dialects.

The other question is, when did the mutation of final *tenues* take place in *Ceredic*, *Dunaut*, *Elmet*, and similar vocables. It will be found on enquiry that the tendency to make that change had probably exhausted itself before the period when the mass of English loanwords in colloquial Welsh found their way into Wales; for in them this mutation is seldom found carried through. The following may serve as instances, to which many more might be added: *adargop* or *adyrgob* 'a spider', a word in use in the Vale of Clwyd, and derived from Old English *attercoppe* 'a spider', also Welsh *copa*, *cop* or *cob* from *coppe* 'a spider': the more common term for spider is in Welsh *copyn* or *pryf-copyn*. Another instance is *clwt* 'a rag or clout', from some English form other than *clout*, which, in the sense of a blow, has yielded the Welsh *clewt* 'a box on the ear'; and, lastly, *llac*, from English *slack*, the meaning of which it retains; *whap* 'a blow, stroke, or slap' (D. ab Gwilym, poem 196), more frequently used as an adverb meaning 'with the suddenness or quickness of a blow', pronounced in Cardiganshire *whap*, and in Glamorgan *wap*, while the verbal noun in the former county is *wabio* 'to beat'. The origin is to be sought in the dialectal English *whap*, *wap* 'to strike sharply or with a swing; a blow, a knock, a smart stroke': see Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*.

There remains to be mentioned one of the most common words in South Wales (except North Cardiganshire), one that has always struck me as not of Welsh origin: it is the word *crwt* 'a lad, a small boy', with its derivatives *crwtyn* of the same meaning, and the feminine *croten* 'a lass, a little girl'. To recognize the origin of these words one has only to turn to Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, and, in its proper place, one finds the word *crut* explained

as meaning "a dwarf; a boy or girl, stunted in growth". The word is there stated to belong to Northumberland, Yorkshire, and Pembrokeshire, and the reader is referred further to *crit* and *croot*. Of these, *crit* is explained as having, among other meanings, those of 'the smallest of a litter' and 'a small-sized person', while *croot* is given as the form usual in Scotland, meaning 'a puny, feeble child; the youngest bird of a brood; the smallest pig of a litter'. All this raises the question when and whence *crwt* was introduced into Welsh: it looks as though it was from Little England below Wales. When, in that case, one bears in mind the former hostility between Wales and that isolated England, it will not surprise one that the word is not admitted into Welsh prose.

Similar questions attach to most examples of this class, and few of them are regarded as literary words to be found in Welsh dictionaries. An exhaustive and carefully classified list of them is much wanted. When made it would probably throw much needed light on the intercourse between the Welsh and the English from the time of King Alfred down. An excellent beginning was made some years ago, in his own dialect, by Prof. Thomas Powel in the *Cymmrodor*; but search requires to be made in all the Welsh dialects, as they have not always borrowed the same words. This would form a good subject for research work by one or more of the scholars trained by the professors of Celtic at our University Colleges in the Principality.

#### V.

Reference has been made to the bilingual inscription on a sepulchral stone at Trallwng, near Brecon: the Latin version has been misread by me, and, I believe, by others. What I make of it now, on the strength of a photograph given me by the late Mr. Romilly Allen, is the following:—

## CVNOCENNI FILIV[S?]

## CVNOQENI HIC IACIT

That is to say: "The grave or the cross of Cunocenn: the son of Cunogen lies here." In the Ogam the equivalent for *Cuno-cenni* is *Cuna-cennivi*, and one perceives that there was here a decided wish to keep to family names with the same initial element *Cuno-*, Goidelic *Cuna-*, which has already occupied us. In other terms, the two names *Cunocenn* and *Cunogen* have to be carefully distinguished: the former became in Welsh *Concenn* (*Concen*) or *Cincenn*, and later *Cyngen*, pronounced *Cyng-gen*, while the latter became successively *Congen*, *Cingen*, with a soft spirant, *gh*, which might either become *ġ* or else disappear. In the former case we might expect *Cinyen*, which I have not met with, and in the other *Cinen*, which would have, however, to be written *Cinnen*, as the first vowel remained a blocked one and the later pronunciation and spelling were *Cyn-nen*,<sup>1</sup> not *Cy-nen*. The *Book of Ilan Dáv*<sup>2</sup> carefully distinguishes *Concenn* from *Congen*, as in the names of the three abbots: "Concen abbas Carbani uallis, Congen abbas Ilduti, Sulgen abbas Docguinni." Substantially this is also the case with the oldest MS. of the *Annales Cambriæ*, and with the Nennian Genealogies, both published (from the British Museum MS., *Harleian* 3,859) by Mr. Phillimore in the 9th volume of the *Cymmrodor*. There they are *Cincenn* (or *Cincen*) and *Cinnen*, but some of the later MSS. of the *Annales Cambriæ*, by retaining the *g*, which had ceased to be heard, and writing *Cyngen* or *Kengen* (for *Kennen*), appear to have misled not only Williams Ab Ithel, but even more recent writers. The personal name enters into

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that *Cennen* is a variant of this name, to wit, in Carreg Cennen, 'Cennen's Rock', on the top of which the ancient Carmarthenshire castle of Carreg Cennen stands. At the foot of that remarkable site flows the river Cennen.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 152, 154, 155, and others duly given in the Index.

that of a farm called *Cynéinog* and *Cynéiniog* at the top of the basin of the Eleri in North Cardiganshire. It analyses itself into *Cyn-ein-i-og* = *Cuno-gen-i-āco-n*, and compares with *Rhufoniog* from *Rhufawn*, *Rhufon*, 'Roman-us', *Peuliniog* from *Poulin*, *Peulin*, 'Paulinus', and *Anhunyawc*, *Anhuniog* from *Anhun* 'Antonius'.

The *Cunocenni* of the Latin of the Trallwng bilingual has corresponding to it *Cunacennivi* in Goidelic, and from Dunloe, in Kerry, we have a related form *Cunacena*, where the final *a* is all that remains of a genitive ending which was probably *ias*. Later in the language one meets with a feminine *Conchenn* or *Conchend*, genitive *Conchinni* or *Conchinne*: the masculine also occurs, to wit, as *Conchend* or *Coinchenn*, genitive *Coinchinn* or *Conchind*,<sup>1</sup> corresponding exactly to *Cunocenn-i*, Welsh *Concenn* (*Concen*), *Cincenn*, *Cyngen*. The element *cuno*, Goidelic *cuna*, in these names has already been discussed, and the question remains what we are to make of the other, *cenno*, Goidelic *cenna*. I am now disposed to regard it as representing an earlier *quenno*, Irish *cenn*, *ceann*, Welsh *penn*, *pen*, 'head or top, the end in any direction'. We have another—probably an earlier—instance of simplifying a medial *qu* into *c*, namely, in the Carmarthenshire bilingual, which has *Voteporigis* in Latin for *Votecorigas* in Goidelic. If this conjecture proves admissible we can equate *Cunocenn-* with the Gallo-Roman *Cunopenn-us*, cited by Holder from Brescia, in North Italy, *C. I. L.*, V, 4216. The name would mean 'dogheaded', or more probably, 'a head who is a dog', that is to say, dog in the sense of a champion or protector, as usual in Celtic names of this kind.<sup>2</sup>

Historically, the most important bearer of the name

<sup>1</sup> See the *Rev. Celtique*, xiii, 290; *Ó Huidhrin*, note 597 to p. 109; *Book of Leinster*, ff. 325<sup>b</sup>, 325<sup>b</sup>, 326<sup>c</sup>, 351<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1895, pp. 307-13; 1907, pp. 85-9.









*J. Percy Clarke, Llangollen.*

Pillar of Eliseg, shewing the Concenn Inscription.

Concenn or Cincenn was one mentioned in the Nennian Genealogies in the British Museum MS., *Harley* 3859: see Phillimore's Pedigree xxvij (*Cymmrodor*, ix, 181), where he is called Cincen, son of Catel, also spelt Catell, later Cadell. This latter is probably to be identified with Cadell king of Powys, mentioned as Catell Pouis in the *Annales Cambrie*, which record his death under the year 808, while the names of two sons of his occur under the year 814, Griphiud and Elized. Now a monument of capital importance, known as the Pillar of Elisseg, was erected by Concenn in the neighbourhood of Valle Crucis Abbey, not far from Llangollen. The Pillar had been broken and fragments of it had been lost some time or other before the inscription was examined in 1696 by our great antiquary and philologist, Edward Llwyd. In a letter written that year he sent a facsimile of what remained of the writing to a friend, the letter and the copy are now in the Harleian collection in a volume which is alphabetical and numbered 3,780. Since 1696 what Llwyd was able to read has become nearly all illegible: so it has been deemed expedient to have a photograph of Llwyd's copy submitted: see pages 40, 41. This was rendered all the more necessary owing to the astounding carelessness with which Gough, Westwood, and Hübner have treated Llwyd's text; but I cannot go into details at present, as this paper has already grown much longer than was intended.<sup>1</sup> It should be

<sup>1</sup> Gough printed both Llwyd's letter and his text in his *Camden's Britannia* (London, 1789), vol. ii, 582, 583, plate xxii. The letter was printed also in the *Cambro-Briton* in 1820, pp. 55, 56, and recently a copy of it has been included in Mr. Edward Owen's *Catalogue of the MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*, part ii, 410. That part, even more than the previous one, reflects great credit both on the compiler and those who have the direction of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series*. The letter is reproduced for reference' sake at the end of this paper.

- (1) **+** COHCEPH FILIUR CATT ELI CATT ELL
- (2) FIL **+** IUR BROHcmccIL BROHcmccL FILIUR
- (3) ELIREZ ELIREZ FILIUR ZHOILLAYC
- (4) **+** COHCEPH ITAQVE PROHEPOR ELIREZ
- (5) EDIFICAVIT HINC LAPIDEM PROCVO
- (6) VNO ELIREZ **+** IPREERT ELIREZ QVI NECR
- (7) DAT HEREDITATEM POYOR-IPC-- MORT
- (8) CACTEM PER VIMI-- EPO-TEERTACCECCNGLO
- (9) \_\_\_\_\_ IN GLADIO VNO PCCRTCA INI SHE
- (10) \_\_\_\_\_ INQVE RECITVERIT MAJER EP-P
- (11) \_\_\_\_\_ =M DET BENEDICTIOMEM RYPE
- (12) \_\_\_\_\_ IN ELIREZ **+** IPREERT COHCEPH
- (13) \_\_\_\_\_ TUP-CC-EMEIVZE-MAHU
- (14) \_\_\_\_\_ ECDREZMUMVUM POYOR
- (15) \_\_\_\_\_ =ER INI BACHY-RECC QVOD
- (16) \_\_\_\_\_ /I > RECCVYCCVHEJMEC

- (17) ————— ~~II<sup>o</sup> - ERM - MORTEM~~
- (18) —————
- (19) ————— -IL E--K- MORCARCHIATI
- (20) ————— CIL MAXIMUS BRITANNICUS
- (21) ————— H PACEM -- MAXIMUS
- (22) — BRITANNIA FILIUS SACRATI
- (23) — <sup>III</sup>QUE BEPES - SERMAMURQUE
- (24) — EPERIT EIRE IRCE FILICE MAXIMI
- (25) — SIRGHI OCCIDIT RESEM ROMANO
- (26) RYM + COMARCH PIPXIT HOC
- (27) CHIROSROFUM RESE RUO PORCEPTE
- (28) CONCEPIT HEBEDICTIO DPM IN COM
- (29) CEPH E R N TOTOA FACILIA DIRM
- (30) ET IR TOTOA BASSIOME POUOIR
- (31) <sub>4</sub> UEQUE IP —————

mentioned that Llwyd some ten or eleven years later endeavoured to give in printed characters a facsimile of lines 23-28 of the inscription. They are to be found in his *Archæologia Britannica* (Oxford, 1707), i, p. 229<sup>c</sup>, where he uses among other letters a Greek  $\mu$  for N, and several letter-forms now used only in writing Irish. Put into ordinary English letters, the lines in question run as follows, differing slightly from the copy in 1696, which has here been submitted in photography:—

. . . . bened . . . . Germanus quē  
 . . . . peperit ei se . . ira filia Maximi  
 regis qui occidit regem Romano  
 rum ✕ Conmarch pinxit hoc  
 chirografū rege suo poscente  
 Concenn ✕ &c.

The Llwyd copy, reduced to what is intelligible at a glance, but extended by the insertion of individual words suggested by the context, and of certain formulæ of a well-known description, will stand somewhat as follows:—

- (1) †Concenn filius Cattell Cattell (i)  
 (2) filius Brohemail Brohema[i]l filius  
 (3) Eliseg Eliseg filius Guoillauc  
 (4) †Concenn itaque pronepos Eliseg (ii)  
 (5) edificavit hunc lapidem proavo  
 (6) suo Eliseg † Ipse est Eliseg qui . . . . . (iii)  
 (7) . . . . hereditatem Pouo[i]s . . . . .  
 (8) . . . per viiii<sup>1</sup> [annos] e potestate Anglo-

<sup>1</sup> After I had made repeated attempts to understand the text, my friend Professor Sayce kindly came to my assistance, and he has carried the interpretation further than I could. Thus, for instance, at the end of line 6 and the beginning of line 7 he would read *nactus erat*; and here, I believe, I owe to him the reading *viiii*, for Llwyd's dots seem only to suggest *vim*. Before leaving for the Soudan he gave me to understand that his emendations would be

- (9) [rum] in gladio suo parta in igne  
 (10) [†Quic]umque recit[a]verit manescrip- (iv)  
 (11) [tum lapid]em det benedictionem supe-  
 (12) [r anima]m Eliseg † Ipse est Concenn (v)  
 (13) manu  
 (14) ad regnum svum Pouo[i]s  
 (15) et quod  
 (16)  
 (17) montem  
 (18) (One line wanting, perhaps more) (vi?)  
 (19) monarchiam  
 (20) Maximus Britanniae  
 (21) [Conce]nn Pascen[t . . . ] Maun Annan  
 (22) [ †] Britu a[u]t[e]m filius Guarthi (vij)  
 [read Guorthi]  
 (23) [girn] quem bened[ixit] Germanus quem-  
 (24) [qu]e peperit ei Se[v]ira filia Maximi  
 (25) [re]gis qui occidit regem Romano-  
 (26) rum † Conmarch pinxit hoc (viiij)  
 (27) chirografum rege suo poscente  
 (28) Concenn † Benedictio domini in Con- (ix)  
 (29) cenn et svos in tota[m] familia[m] eius  
 (30) et inn tota eagionem [read in totam eam  
 regionem] povois  
 (31) usque in [diem iudici]

To check the lacunæ, more or less, we have Llwyd's spacings, but they cannot be relied on so much as the number of letters to the line. Up to line 25 inclusive, the lines that permit of being counted make an average exceeding 28 letters a line. From line 25 onwards the

published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* as part of his address to the Monmouth meeting of the Cambrians in September last. The October number has been issued, but does not contain the account of that meeting: it will probably be in the January part.



inscriber has taken more room, and the average falls to 24. The whole inscription was divided into paragraphs, with a cross placed at the beginning of each. The third of the paragraphs begins with *Ipse est Eliseg qui*, etc., a very Celtic construction, meaning 'It is Eliseg who' did so and so. The paragraph seems to relate how Eliseg added to his dominions by wresting from the power of the English a territory which he made into a sword-land of his own, 'in gladio' suo'.

Paragraph v is mostly hopeless, but it seems to summarize the achievements of Concenn himself, especially as regards the additions which he made to his realm of Powys. Then followed probably a paragraph stating that Eliseg's mother was Sanant, daughter of Nougoy (or Noe), descended from Maximus (Ped<sup>s</sup>. ii and xv), and closing with a sentence giving the names of five sons of Maximus. I am not clear how the sentence ran, but possibly thus:—"Priusquam enim monarchiam obtinuit Maximus Britanniae, Concenn, Pascent, Dimet, Maun, Annan genuit." *Concenn* is a mere guess: perhaps *Maucann* would be better, but any name in *nn* is admissible. *Dimet*, which in the Pembrokeshire bilingual inscription at Trefgarn Fach is *Demet-i*, seems to fit the lacuna, and a bearer of that name

<sup>1</sup> The full term in Irish appears to have been 'to clean or clear a sword-land', or 'to make a land of the sword' of it. The land itself was called *claideb-thir* or *tir claidib*, which came to be called simply *claideb* or *cladeom* 'sword'. Possibly in the case of the two Pembrokeshire rivers Cleddau 'sword', the word originally meant the districts drained by them, and seized by the Déssi as their sword-lands in Dyfed. See *Celtic Britain*, p. 195, Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and the Scots*, pp. 10, 319, 329, and the *Book of Leinster*, f. 333<sup>a</sup>, 333<sup>b</sup>. Compare also Meyer's "Expulsion of the Déssi" in the *Cymmrodor*, xiv, 116, 117, where we meet with the phrase *do auryglanad rempu* 'to clear (the land) before them' of its inhabitants. *In igne*, meaning 'with fire, by means of fire', is a literal rendering from Celtic: see the same story, pp. 114, 115.



is mentioned as a son of Maximus in Pedigree ii, which makes Dimet an ancestor of Concenn through Eliseg's mother Sanant. Maximus is said to have been a native of Spain, but Dimet's name is of importance as indicating a connection between Maximus and Dyfed, the country of the ancient Demetæ, perhaps through his supposed British wife, the Elen Llydŏg of Welsh legend. Add to this the fact of that legend associating him with Caerleon and Carmarthen, and, above all, calling a Dyfed mountain top<sup>1</sup> after him *Cadeir Vaxen* 'Maxen or Maxim's seat'. *Annan* is probably to be corrected into *Annun*, given as *Anthun* son of Maximus in Ped. iv. It is the Latin *Antonius*, with the *nt* reduced into *nn* as in *Maucann*, by the side of *Maucant* in Ped<sup>s</sup>. xxii and xxvii: it is otherwise spelt *Annhuu* or *Anhun* as already mentioned. The MS., Jesus College xx, gives Maximus (*Cymmrodor*, viii, 84, 86, 87) three other sons all with their names derived from Latin *Owein*, older spelling *Eugein* = *Eugenius*, *Custennin* = *Constantinus*, and *Dunaó*t = *Dōnātus*.

The next paragraph runs as follows, beginning in a Celtic fashion without a copula:—"Britu autem filius Guorthigirn, quem benedixit Germanus quemque peperit ei Severa filia Maximi regis qui occidit regem Romanorum." For *Sevira* is doubtless a spelling of *Severa*, but whether a daughter of Maximus of that name is mentioned anywhere else I cannot say. To put this important statement right

<sup>1</sup> See 'Maxen's Dream' in the Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 89: the Pedigrees give the name as *Maxim*, but even that is not really ancient: the old form would have been *Maisiv*, later *Maesyf*, which must be supposed superseded by the book form *Maxim*. It is a difficulty; and there is another, namely, how *Maven* came to supersede *Maxim*. The former recalls *Maxentius*, without, however, being correctly derived from that name. Mr. Wade-Evans, in the *Cymmrodor*, xix, 44, note 4, suggests that our man was a Maxentius, and not the Maximus who became emperor in the West.

with the Nenuian Pedigrees, the latter have first to be corrected in certain particulars. One of the foremost things to attract one's attention is the fact that they never<sup>1</sup> mention Guortheyrn or Vortigern. For his name they substitute "Cattegirn, son of Catell Durnluc": this seems done partly for the sake of Catell or Cadell, the pet convert in the story of St. Germanus's miracles as given in the *Historia Brittonum*, *loc. cit.*, p. 176. There the Saint is made to tell Cadell, one of the servants of Benlli, that he, Cadell, would be king, and that there would always be a king of his seed. The story proceeds to exaggerate the prophecy as follows:—"Juxta verba Sancti Germani rex de servo factus est, et omnes filii eius reges facti sunt, et a semine illorum omnis regio Povisorum regitur usque in hodiernum diem." So the Nennian Pedigree xxii ends with "map Pascent | map Cattegirn | map Catel dunluc", though the Fernmail Pedigree in the *Historia Brittonum*, *loc. cit.*, p. 193, has "filii Pascent filii Guorthigirn Guortheneu", without a trace in any of the MSS. of either Cattegirn or of Catell. Pedigree xxvii, however, emphasises Ped. xxii, as it ends with "map Pascent | map Cattegir[n] | map Catel | map Selemiaun". Here the father of Cadell seems to have been an unnamed man belonging to Cantrev Selyv, in Brecknockshire. This looks ingenious on the part of the scribe, as Cadell was described in the Germanus legend as *rex de servo factus*. The difficulty is avoided in the MS., Jesus College xx (*Cymm.*, viii, 86), where we have words to the following effect:—Cassanauth Wledig's wife was Thewer, daughter of Bredoe, son of Kadell deernlluc, son

<sup>1</sup> In studying these pedigrees I have found Mr. Phillimore's edition of them in the *Cymmrodor*, vol. ix, invaluable, and next to that Mr. Anscombe's "Indexes to Old Welsh Genealogies" in Stokes & Meyer's *Archiv für celt. Lexikographie*, i, 187-212. See also p. 514, where he has anticipated me as to Severa.

of Cedebern (= Cattedgirn), son of Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu. This makes Cadell grandson of Gwrtheyrn or Vortigern. The *Bredoe* of this pedigree I take to be the same name as *Brittu* in the Nennian Ped. xxiii, which ends with "map Brittu<sup>1</sup> | map Cattedgirn | map Catell". Making here the correction found necessary in the other cases we get "map Brittu | map Guorthegirn". That this hits the mark is proved to a demonstration by the "Britu autem filius Guarthigirn" of the Elisseg Pillar.

If we try to look now at the inscription as a whole we perceive that the object which Concenn had in view was the glorification of himself and Eliseg (1) on the score of their own achievements, and (2) by reference to their ancestors, the Emperor Maximus and the King Gwrtheyrn or Vortigern. The Powys dynasty was Goidelic, and probably the Welsh epithet in *Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu*, which Williams ab Ithel, at the beginning of his edition of *Brut y Tywysogion*, has rendered into English as 'Vortigern of Repulsive Lips', simply meant that Gwrtheyrn spoke a language which was not intelligible to his Brythonic subjects, or at least that he spoke their language badly. Here one cannot help realizing that the inhabitants of what is now Wales could not then have had any collective name meaning men of the same blood or men who spoke the same language. They could hardly adopt any name in common, which was not comparatively colourless. So there eventually became current an early form of the word *Cymry*, which only meant dwellers in the same country. In fact *Cymry* connotes the composite origin of our Welsh nationality. By the beginning of the ninth century, however, the dynasty had practically become Welsh,

<sup>1</sup> The name occurs in one of the Tomb Verses, no. 36, in *Ryd Britu* 'Britu's Ford', so the modern pronunciation should probably be *Rhyd Bridw*.

which possibly made it all the more necessary in the opinion of Concenn and his Court to place on record what they considered a true account of Gwrtheyrn's position with regard to Maximus and to St. Germanus, as contrasted with the ugly stories which the Brythons associated with his name. There is, therefore, no hope of reconciling the testimony of the Pillar of Elisseg with the legends in the *Historia Brittonum* in so far as they concern Gwrtheyrn's character.

The *Historia*, however, throws a ray of light on Gwrtheyrn's origin; for in Fernmail's pedigree he is said in two of the MSS., one in the Vatican and the other in Paris, to have been the son of Guitaul, son of Guitolion or Guttolion;<sup>1</sup> but those names are simply the Welsh adaptations of the Latin *Vitalis* and *Vitalianus*. Most of the MSS., it is true, have instead of *Guitolion* the form *Guitolin*, but this was a different though kindred name derived from the distinct Latin name *Vitalinus*. In fact *Guitolin* occurs later in the *Historia Brittonum*, namely, in sec. 66. Most of the scribes have,

<sup>1</sup> See the readings given in Mommsen's edition, *loc. cit.*, § 49 (p. 193), § 66 (p. 209); and for his account of the MSS. see pp. 119-21. The Vatican MS. was published by Gunn (London, 1819): for its reading of the Fernmail pedigree see p. 78. It is remarkable for combining such old spellings as *Embres* and *Tebi* with such a comparatively late form as *Teudor*, in Mommsen's text *Embreis*, *Teibi*, *Teudubir* respectively. The first element in this last name is *tew* 'thick', used probably with the force of 'very, exceedingly', and the second, *dubir*, became successively *dwfr*, *dwr*, so the later form of the name is *Tewdwr*. Compare Welsh *dubr*, *dwfr* 'water', which in colloquial Welsh is always *dwr*. The meaning, however, of *dubir*, *dwr* in the personal name has to be guessed from the probable equivalents in other languages, such as English, where it is *dapper*, Modern German *tapfer* 'valiant', Old Slavonic *dobrā* 'beautiful, fine, good'. Some would also connect the Latin *faber* 'smith' as meaning the man of a cunning art or craft. So *Tewdwr* may have signified 'very good, very fine, very clever', or possibly 'very valiant'.



*J. Percy Clarke, Llansgollen.*

A View of the Pillar of Eliseg, and the Mound on which it stands.





not unnaturally, made *Guttolion* or *Guitolion* into *Guitolin*, except the two which I have specified: for them the temptation to reduce the name in *-ion* into *Guitolin* probably did not exist, as their texts do not appear to contain sec. 66. Now the former name occurs on a bilingual tombstone at Nevern, which reads in Ogam simply *Vitaliani*, meaning 'the monument or place of Vitalianus or Guttolion', and in Latin letters of the most ancient type perhaps to be found in our non-Roman inscriptions:—

VITALIANI  
EMERETO

This is so condensed that it is difficult to be sure of the exact meaning, but it seems to suggest that the deceased was regarded as holding some rank in the Roman army, and the case may be compared with the later Dyfed bilingual from Castell Dwyran,<sup>1</sup> where the deceased has the Roman title given him of 'protector'. Such cases help to answer the question how it was that during the later years of the Roman occupation the troops of whom we read were all in the north and east of the Province; for it would seem that the west was to be looked after by the chiefs of the Déssi. The latter, on the other hand, appear to have pursued a more or less romanizing policy, as may be gathered from the Latin names to be found in Goidelic inscriptions both in Wales and Ireland, such, in the former, as *Pompeius* and *Turpilius*, *Severus* and *Severinus*, and, in the latter, such as the *Vitalinus* already mentioned. For besides the Déssi who came over to Dyfed, there were others who coasted westwards and landed in Kerry. It is to them, probably, one has to refer an Ogam inscription including the name *Vitalin*, found at Ballinvoher, in the

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1895, pp. 307-13, and the *Cymmrodor*, vol. xviii, 'The Englyn', pp. 72-4.



barony of Corkaguiny in that county. At a well near Stradbally, in co. Waterford, the land, to this day, of the Déssi, I have seen an inscription involving the genitive *Agracolin-i*, which I take to be a derivative from *Agricola*. The motive here was doubtless admiration for the fame of the great Roman general of that name. In the case of a group like *Vitalis*, *Vitalianus*, and *Vitalinus*, the motive was different but not far to seek: the names were chosen as involving *vita* 'life', probably by a family whose Goidelic names began with an early form of the vocable *béo*, in Welsh *byw* 'alive, quick', such as *Béoán*, *Béóc*, *Béo-aed*, *Beo-gna*, which was borrowed into Welsh early, and modified eventually into *Beu-gno*, *Beuno*. Time would fail me to do justice to all the conclusions to be drawn from the facts to which I have called attention. There is one, however, on which I wish to lay stress, and it is this: the Vitalianus stone at Nevern probably marked the grave of the grandfather of Gwrtheyrn, son-in-law of the Emperor Maximus.

## VI.

To return to the Pillar of Elisseg, it has always struck me that it is a column obtained from some Roman building of respectable dimensions; but where? The inscription upon it must, when perfect, have formed a historical document, with which we have absolutely nothing of the same importance to compare. There remains one thing to be done to lessen our loss from the treatment to which the stone had been submitted before Ed. Llwyd's examination of it, and that is to have a thorough search made for the missing fragments. Regardless of expense the little mound, on which has been set up what remains of the original pillar, should be carefully sifted, and the hedges near should be ransacked until the broken pieces have

been found. In any case they cannot be far away, and they have probably escaped the weathering which has reduced almost to illegibility the exposed portions of the pillar. Let us hope that some generous Cymmrodor will come forward to help us in the search which I have suggested. It is also highly desirable that good casts should be made of the pillar as it is and before it has become completely illegible.

The fact that Concenn, king of Powys about the beginning of the ninth century, bore an Irish name, has, as far as I know, never been detected, and still less, if possible, that his great-grandfather Eliseg's name was also Irish. So I have to dwell a little on the latter: Edward Llwyd has copied it as *Eliseg* the five times which it occurs in the inscription; but in the *Genealogies* it is usually *Elized*, as also in the *Annales Cambrie*, A.D. 814, 943, 946. On the other hand the *Liber Landavensis* regularly spells it *Elised*, and so with the Latin genitive *Elised-i* in the *Book of St. Chad*; but a form *Elisse* also occurs, as, for instance, in *Brut y Tywysogion*, A.D. 815, 944, while under 1202, in the same, we have it twice as *Elisy*.<sup>1</sup> These, without the final *d*, practically prove the consonant to have been sounded as the soft spirant *ɔ̃* or *dd*, a sound which was sometimes represented in Old Welsh by *t*. Hence the final *t* of *Elitet* in Pedigree xxvij (p. 181): the other *t* of that spelling was probably a result of the scribe misreading *z* or a reversed *s* as *t*.<sup>2</sup> Thus the older spellings in Welsh practically reduce themselves to three, *Eliseg*, *Elised*, and *Elized*. The Irish name occurs in a

<sup>1</sup> Possibly *Elisei*, which occurs once as the name of a witness in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 216, is to be regarded as an instance of this name.

<sup>2</sup> How this can have happened may be seen from the way in which *Crizdi* or *Crisdi* in a Margam Abbey inscription used to be read *Critdi*: see the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1899, p. 142.

genealogy of the Déssi in the *Book of Leinster*, fo. 328<sup>b</sup>, as *Heslesach*. The man so named stands twelfth in descent from Artcorb, whose son Eochaid was leader of those of the Déssi who took possession of a part of Dyfed about 265-70. The initial aspirate forms no etymological part of the name; so the more regular spelling was doubtless *Eslesach*, which would be that of the nominative. The genitive should be *Eslesaig*, and it occurs in the same MS., fo. 340<sup>a</sup>, spelt *Éislesaig*, where the apex means that the pronunciation of *ěsl* had been modified in actual speech into *ēl*. Welsh made *sl* into *stl*, while Irish reduced it into *l* or *ll*, with or without vowel compensation. Thus Welsh *gwystl* 'a hostage' is in Irish *gíall*, of the same origin as German *geisel*, Old H. German *gīsal*: in fact, the German was probably a loan from some Celtic language of the Continent. Or take the Welsh name *Ygcestyl*, *Engistil*, the Irish, equivalent of which is found written in Irish, *Ingcél* and *Ingell*.<sup>1</sup> The pronunciation of the *g* at the end of a genitive of this kind was that of a very evanescent palatal *gh*, and the retention of the *g* of *Eliseg* was historical rather than phonetic. But the Irish sooner or later treated every *dh* as if it had been *gh*; and Irish *gh*, influenced by the vowel *i* or *e*, passed into the semivowel or consonant, *ĭ* or *y*,<sup>2</sup> which Welsh pronunciation had once a habit of converting into *đ*, now written *dd*, as for instance in *Iweryđ* (for *Iueriĭu*), *Iwerđon* (for *Iueriĭon-os*), Irish *Ériu* genitive *Érenn*, 'Ireland'.

It remains to say something about the spelling with *z*, a letter which looks equally singular in Welsh and in Irish, for neither language has the soft sibilant in

<sup>1</sup> For more instances see Rhys's *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 567, and *Celtic Folklore*, p. 542; also *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1898, pp. 61-3.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Manx Phonology*, pp. 118-23; and as to Welsh *đ* from *ĭ* or *y*, my British Academy paper *Celtæ & Galli*, p. 13, note.

its pronunciation. But in Medieval Irish *z* was treated as an orthographic equivalent for *sd* or *st*; so we have in the later portion of the *Book of Leinster*, ff. 357<sup>a</sup>, 357<sup>b</sup>, 358<sup>b</sup>, 358<sup>d</sup>, 364<sup>b</sup>, *Zephani* for *Stephani*, and ff. 341, 353<sup>c</sup>, 364<sup>b</sup>, *Zrafáin* for what is there otherwise written *Srafáin* and *Srafáin*, nominative *Srafan*, seemingly for an earlier *Strafan*: Stokes, in his *Martyrology of Gorman*, p. 397, cites *Strofan* from the *Martyrology of Tamlacht*. *Vice versa* we have *Elisdabet*<sup>1</sup> for *Elizabeth*, and *Stéferus*<sup>2</sup> for *Zephyrus*. More illuminating, however, is the name of an Irish bishop given in the *Martyrology of Oengus* as *Nazair*, July 12, and p. 168. It occurs also in the *Book of Leinster*, ff. 312<sup>c</sup>, 315<sup>a</sup>, 335<sup>d</sup>, 348<sup>i</sup>, 351<sup>d</sup>, 351<sup>f</sup>, as *Nazair*, both nominative and genitive, but the genitive of what appears to be the same name occurs, fo. 337<sup>g</sup>, as *Nadsír*. This suggests that the name is to be regarded as syntactically made up of *Nad-sáir*, with *nad* as the unaccented form of *nioth* ‘nephew’, and *sáir* ‘artificer’. In that case the *z* of *Nazair* represents here, not *sd* or *st*, but *ds* or *ts*, and the origin of the spelling with the *z* becomes clear at a glance. It is to be sought in such Greek spellings as  $\Sigma\delta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$  for *Zeús*, and the like, and in the teaching of the old grammarians that  $\zeta$  was pronounced  $\sigma\delta$  or else  $\delta\sigma$ .<sup>3</sup> In a Latin list of bishops ordained by St. Patrick, one detects the name *Nazair* made into *Nazarius*, and that form, coming, as it does, from the *Book of Armagh*, a MS. finished in the year 807, carries the *z* back to the eighth century.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stokes's *Martyrology of Oengus*, p. 110, à propos of April 1.

<sup>2</sup> O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> In either combination the sibilant meant the sonant *s* which in English and French is written *z*. See Georg Curtius's *Erläuterungen zu meiner griechischen Grammatik* (Prague, 1870), pp. 17-19, and Blass, *Über die Aussprache des Griechischen* (Berlin, 1888), pp. 113-122.

<sup>4</sup> See Stokes's *Patrick*, p. 304, Stokes & Strachan's *Thesaurus Palæohibernicus*, ii, 262, also pp. xiii-xv. One of the most singular

All this would seem to imply that the name was *Eslestach*, when the spelling with *z* was first applied to it: Irish reduces *sd*, *st*, *ds*, and *ts* all to *ss* or *s*, though how early it happened in the case of *sd*, *st*, it is hard to say. The name might in that case be regarded as a contraction of some such a longer form as *Eselestach*, derived from *Eselest* or *Eseles*. I suggest this because we have at the top of Ped. xxij, a name *esselis*, the initial letter of which, like other initials in the Neunian Pedigrees, the rubricator neglected to insert. I guess it to have been an *h* to help to make up *Hesselis*, which, with the accent on the first syllable, would be liable to be contracted in Irish to *Eislis* or *Eisles*—there was an Irish name *Aneisles*, *Aneislis*—whence probably our Welsh name *Elis*, spelt also *Ellis* with English *ll*. The only other name which the *-esselis* of the things connected with the letter *z* in Irish is that one of the Ogam symbols, not yet found in an ancient inscription, namely, the 14th, is, in a tract on Ogmic alphabets in the 14th century MS. of the *Book of Ballymote*, named *zraif*, ff. 309<sup>a</sup> lines 21, 45; 309<sup>b</sup> l. 33; 310<sup>a</sup> l. 40. O'Donovan, in his *Grammar*, p. xxxii, treats this as *straif*, and interprets it as “the sloe tree”; for it belongs to an alphabet which has the individual symbols called by tree-names. From this arose the untenable notion that the Ogam in question stood for *st* or *z*. The sound originally meant was probably that of *f* or *ph*, a phonetic reduction sometimes of Indo-European *sp* or *sp'h*. This *f* has since been mostly changed into *s*, and the symbol is lost in favour of the Ogam originally representing *s*. The change into *s* took place initially, while *f* still remained as a non-initial, and the man who first called the *f* Ogam *straif* could, doubtless, not find an instance of its use as an initial, so the name *straif* may be regarded as aptly chosen. In Irish, initial *f* stands, since the eighth century or thereabouts, mostly for the protracted sound of *v* or *w*, and not for an original *f* at all; but among other instances of *f*, derived from original *sp*, and still remaining *f* in Welsh (now written *ff*), may be mentioned Irish *seir* ‘a heel’, nominative dual *dá seirith*, but accusative *tria adípherid* ‘through his two heels’ (Stokes’s *Celtic Declension*, p. 26): the Welsh is *ffer* ‘the ankle’, Greek *σφυρόν*, the same. See also his *Ur-keltischer Sprachschatz*, p. 299, where he cites ‘bó trí sine’ ‘of a cow of three teats’, otherwise ‘bó triphne’, where *sine* and *-phne* are pro-



MS. could possibly suggest is what is usually treated as *Llevelis* or *Llefelis*: this ought, doubtless, to be *Llevelis* or *Lleuelis*, to be analysed *Lleu-elis*. As to this use of *Lleu* compare Old Welsh *Lou-brit* or *Leu-brit* to be equated with *Logu-quirit-* in an Ogam inscription (in the Nat. Museum, Dublin), later *Luicrith*: it would mean 'one who has the form or countenance of Lleu or Lug'.

The five names in the first clause of the legend on the Pillar of Elisseg<sup>1</sup> are, as read by Ed. Llwyd, Concenn, Cattell (wrongly Catteli), Brohemail and Brohemal, Eliseg, and Guoillauc. Of these Concenn and Eliseg have been shown to be of Goidelic origin. *Broccmail* is a name common to Brythonic and Goidelic, or else a loan from Goidelic: the common Welsh spelling is *Brochmael*, and the Old Irish would be *Broccmál*, genitive *Broccmáil*, but at present I

bably forms of the same origin as Anglo-Saxon *spana* 'teats or spears'. Other names in the tract in the *Book of Ballymote* for the *f* Ogam are the following, ff. 310<sup>b</sup>. ls. 34, 48; 311<sup>b</sup>. l. 4:—(1) A place-name *Sruthar*, derived probably from *sruth* 'a stream', Welsh *ffrud*, possibly from the same root as German *sprudel* 'a well, a fountain'. (2) *Sust*, which is the Latin word *fustis* borrowed, as is the Welsh equivalent *ffust* 'a flail'. (3) *Sannan*, a saint's name, probably identical with *Fanon-i* in the Latin of a Devon bilingual, now in the British Museum. Compare *Fannuc-i* from a Latin inscription in South Pembrokeshire, which recalls Irish *Sannuch*, the name of one of St. Patrick's monks. See Stokes's *Patrick*, pp. 305, 412, but take note of *Sanucus*, *Sanucin-o*, *C. I. L.*, *V*, 2080, *XIII*, 5258. (4) There are other names there of which I know not what to make, such as *Zur*, that of a 'linn' or water, hardly *Siúir* 'the Suir', and *Zeulæ*, the name of a *dinn* or height, and *zorcha* 'light or bright'.

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written my attention has been drawn to the pedigree of Cerdic in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 552, where one reads that Cerdic was *Elesing*, that is, son of *Elesa*, and *Elesa* was *Esling*, that is, son of *Esla*. Here there is not only a striking similarity between *Eliseg* and *Elesa*, but two names, *Elesa* and *Elsa*, to compare with the two *Eliseg* and *Elis*, or rather, with the Goidelic forms from which they derive. Even were it to be urged that *Elesa* and *Esla* are due to a meaningless duplication the residue of similarity is significant.

cannot lay my finger on an instance. The Welsh *Brochmael* should regularly be pronounced *Brochvael*, or rather *Brychvael*, but what has come down to us is *Brochwel*,<sup>1</sup> which is a modification of the Irish genitive *Broccmáíl*, pronounced *Brocwel* with the accent on the first syllable, accompanied with a shortening of the second. This leads me to expect that *Cattell* or *Catel* may prove to have been Goidelic too: the name which in that case it represents must have been the Irish *Cathal*, genitive *Cathail*, for an early *Catyal-i* = *Catu-yal-i*, in Welsh *Catwal*, *Cadwal*. Possibly it is in the name of some Irish *Cathal* that we have to seek for the *Cadwal* after whose name the commot of *Cedweli* or *Cydweli* was called: the English spelling is now *Kidwelly*, with the accent on the second syllable and *ll* pronounced as in English. Somewhat similar remarks might be made on *Guoillauc*, which occurs in pedigree xxvii as *Guilauc*.

Enough has now been said to shew that the Powys dynasty of Eliseg was a Goidelic one, and I will only add a mention of a passage in the MS., *Jesus College* xx, § 23; see the *Cymmrodor*, viij, 87, where the mothers of Einion and Cadwallon Lawhir, the father of Maelgwn Gwyned, are described as daughters to Didlet, king of *Gwydyl Fichti* in Powys. Whether these were Goidels or Picts is not certain, nor is there any indication where in Powys they were located.<sup>2</sup> The question suggests itself whether at

<sup>1</sup> My previous attempts to account for this form have been unsatisfactory; and for one or two other instances of the popular form of a name in Wales being more Irish than Welsh see my *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 541, 542. Compare the case of *Doemael*, *Dogmael*: two of that saint's churches are called *Llan-Ddogwel* and 'St. Dogwel's,' and a third *Llan Dydoch* (= *Do-Tocc-*), in English 'St. Dogmael's,' retaining an old quasi-official spelling *Dogmael*. See Rice Rees's *Welsh Saints*, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Who were the five chiefs of *Wydyll Ffichti* mentioned in the short poem, xlix, in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, 205)? The number,



the outset the Goidels of Powys extended their power to that region from the direction of Bualt and the Wye, or from Gloucester and the Severn. On the one hand, Fernmail, descended from Pascent son of Gwrtheyrn, was king of the Wye districts of Bualt and Gwrtheyrnion about the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, legend associates a branch of the Déssi with *Caer Loyw*<sup>2</sup> or Gloucester, apparently the same branch which was descended from Pascent son of Gwrtheyrn. In other words the ancestors of the Eliseg family may have pushed northwards along the Severn valley in the direction of Pengwern Amwythig and Wales. All this, however, is merely touching the surface of the history of the Déssi in Wales and the Marches, but even so we have stumbled across some important data for the writing of a new chapter on the most obscure period of Welsh history. It only remains for me to mention one or two subjects which it would be desirable to have studied in connection with it. Such, among others, are the distribution of Goidelic inscriptions in South Wales, the prevalence of Goidelic proper names in the diocese of Llandaff, as attested by the *Liber Landavensis*, and the so-called *breiniau* or privileges of the Men of Powys.<sup>3</sup> Finally, should the evidence point to the conclusion that the Déssi pushed their conquests up the vale of the Severn, it could not help suggesting at the same time the question, whether it was not they that destroyed Viroconium.

five, suggests the men in the first clause of the Eliseg inscription, though none of them can have been contemporary with Cadwallon Lawhir's mother's father.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Historia Brittonum*, *loc. cit.*, p. 193, and Zimmer's *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> See my paper on "The Nine Witches of Gloucester", in the volume of birthday essays, presented to E. B. Tylor (Oxford, 1907), pp. 285-93.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Myryrian Archaeology*, i, 257, and Aneurin Owen's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, ii, 742-7.

## APPENDIX I.

## MR. STEVENSON'S MONOGRAPH ON THE NAME WREKIN.

*(See p. 29 above.)*

THE earliest mention of the Wrekin occurs in the dating clause of a charter of 855, derived from the late eleventh century Worcester chartulary "quando fuerunt pagani in *Wreocensetun*" (*Cart. Sax.*, ii, p. 89). This is an older name than Shropshire for the district about the Wrekin (or, strictly speaking, the people of the Wrekin). They are probably the *Wocensætna* (gen. pl.) of the list of early territorial names (*Cart. Sax.*, i, p. 414) upon which Professor Maitland has conferred the name of the Tribal Hidage. This is derived from a tenth or eleventh century MS., which contains many corruptions. A thirteenth century copy (*Ibid.*, p. 415) reads *Porcensetene* (by confusion of the O.E. sign for *W* with *P*, which it greatly resembled), so that the original probably read *Wrocen-sætna*. This form occurs in another Winchester charter dated 963 (*Ibid.*, iii, 355, from the twelfth century *Codex Wintoniensis*) "in provincia *Wrocensetna*".

The Wrekin itself is mentioned in a charter, derived from the same chartulary of 975 (*Ibid.*, iii, 650) "on *Wrocene*", "andlang *Wrocene*" in boundaries near Uppington, co. Salop. Here the name is, apparently, declined as a feminine *ō*-stem, with a nom. sing. *Wrocen* and a short vowel in the root syllable. The absence of the demonstrative pronoun proves that *Wrocene* is the name of some local feature and is not a common noun. Celtic local names usually appear in the O.E. charters without inflexion and without the demonstrative pronoun, as pointed out by Professor Sievers in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, ix, p. 251.

The Abingdon chartulary contains a charter of 944 (*Ibid.*, ii, 557), which mentions in the boundaries of Blewbury, co. Berks, "be eastan *Wrocena stybbe* þæt swa to *Wrocena stybbe*, þonne of *Wrocena stybbe*". In form this seems to be a genitive plural, but no such word is recorded in O.E. One would expect a tree-stump to be

known by a man's name or by an adjective or participial compound. This name is probably unconnected with that of the Wrekin.

Apart from this last instance, we have evidence that the name fluctuated between *Wreocen* and *Wrocen*. The instances are too numerous to be ascribed to clerical errors, and it is evident that the two forms existed both in the name of the Wrekin and in the local names formed from it. Professor Napier suggests that the *Wrocen* form arises from *Wreocen* through labialisation of the *r* produced by the initial *W*. The variation seems to be clearly due to phonetic action, and not to arise from different forms originally.

In this case we may regard *Wreocen* as the original form. This may be explained as a Mercian development (with the change of *e* or *i* to *eu*, *iu*, later *eo*, produced by a following *w*) from an original *Wrekun* or *Wrikun*. The latter would have been the form necessarily assumed in O.E. by an early Celtic *Wrikon-*.

From the evidence of the forms it is obvious that *Wreocen* was exempt for dialectal or other reasons from the Anglian "smoothing" before *c*, by which *Wreocen* should have become *Wrecen*. The modern form of the name descends from *Wreocen*. The *Wrocen* forms seem to shew that the diphthong was sometimes accented on the second vowel.

Wroewardine, Salop, represents an O.E. *Wreocen-weorðign* (the latter part of the compound usually becomes *-wardine* in local names in this district; it is related to *weorð*, *weorðig* 'village, farm'). It appears in *Domesday* several times as *Recordin(e)*, where the Norman scribe has not represented the initial *w* of the O.E. form, as is usually done in the Survey. But the *Rec-* represents regularly, with the exception of the suppression of the initial consonant, the O.E. *Wreoc-*. The initial *W* is represented in the usual Norman way with a parasitic vowel between it and the *r* in *Werecordina*, the spelling of this name in a charter of William the Conqueror printed in the *Monasticon* from an *Inspeximus* of Henry VI. In compound names the Norman scribes usually represent *wur* by *or*, so that *Wreoc-wurðine* (dat. sing.) would be represented by them as *Werecordina*. The name is written *Worocordina* in a charter of Earl Hugh of Shrewsbury, 1094-1098, printed in the *Monasticon*, iii, 520b, which represents the

*Wroc-* form. The original O.E. form must have been *Wreocen-weorðign*, which became by the eleventh century *Wreoce-* by the weakening and dropping of the *n* in the weak-accented syllable, and the Normans seem to have failed to hear the resultant *-e* before the *wu* or *weo*, which is not unnatural in such a polysyllabic word. But we have traces of the persistence of this *-e* in late twelfth century forms in the Pipe Rolls, which sometimes write the name without it (probably as the result of dictation) and sometimes with it. The name is written *Wrokewurðin* in the Roll for 21 Henry II, and in the chancellor's counterpart for the 23 and 24 years. It is written with the *k* expressed by the Norman *ch* as *Wrochewurðin* in the 18, 19 and 20 years. The syllable in question is entirely ignored in the forms *Wroch-wurðin*, *Wroc-wurðin* in the 22, 23 and 24 years, and in the first of Richard I.

Wroxeter similarly seems clearly to represent an O.E. *Wreocen-ceaster*, reduced to *Wreoce-ceaster*. It is written *Rochecestre* in *Domesday*, where *ch* has the usual Norman value of *k*. The initial *W* is represented in *Wrochecestre* which occurs in an early twelfth century charter recited in a confirmation of Henry III in the *Monasticon*, iii, 522b, and in the *Wroccecestre* of the Hundred Roll of 1255 cited by Eyton. Through French influence *cestre* became pronounced *sestre*, and so *Wrockesestre* easily becomes *Wroxeter*.

Wroxall, in the Isle of Wight, occurs in a Winchester charter of 1038-1044 as *Wrocce-heale* (dat. sing.) in Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, iv, 76. This *Wrocce* seems to be the gen. of a masc. personal name. It also occurs in Wraxhall, Wilts, *Weroches-hale* in *Domesday*; Wroxton, co. Oxford, in *Domesday*, *Werochestane*; and Wraxall, Somerset, in *Domesday*, *Werocosale*. Wroxham, Norfolk, and Wroxhall, co. Warwick, and Wroxhill, co. Bedford, seem to have the same origin.

The name of *Wrexham* appears to be unconnected. It occurs in a charter of 1236 as *Wrectesham* (*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, ii, p. 459), and in 1316 as *Wryghtlesham* (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, p. 347).

APPENDIX II.

EDWARD LLWYD'S LETTER TO THE REV. DR. MILL,  
PRINCIPAL OF EDMUND HALL, OXFORD.

*Copied from the Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 4, p. 410.*  
(See page 39 above.)

“Swansey, Sept. 14, [16]96.

“Rev'd. Sir. I have here presum'd to trouble you with a copy of an inscription,<sup>1</sup> which amongst several others I met with this summer in North Wales. The monument whence I took it was a stately pillar of very hard stone; of the same kind with our common millstones. 'Twas of a cylinder form; above twelve foot in height, seaven in circumference at the basis where it was thickest, and about six near the top where smallest. The pedestal is a large stone, five foot square and 15 inches thick; in the midst whereof there's a round hole 12 inches deep wherein the monument was placed. Within a foot of the top 'tis encompassd with a round band or girth, resembling a cord; from whence 'tis square to the top, and each square adorn'd with a ring, reaching from this band to the top and meeting at the corners. It was erected on a small mount which seems to have been cast up for that purpose; but in the late civil warres (or sooner) 'twas thrown down and broken in several pieces, whence the inscription is so imperfect. The reason I trouble you with it, is because I remember amongst Usher's Letters one from Dr. Langbain to him, wherein he writes to this purpose—*'I have receiv'd both the inscriptions; and shall send you my thoughts of that at Vale Crucis; but for the other, I give it over for desperat.'* Now this I send you is the IS. at Vale Crucis; and I doubt not, but the vale receiv'd its name from this very stone, tho' 'twas never intended for a crosse. The copy Dr. Langbain receiv'd was perhaps taken before the stone was broke, and you may possibly meet with it amongst his

<sup>1</sup> This letter was printed also in the *Cambro-Briton*, 1820, pp. 55, 56, where the editor appended the following footnote:—*'This inscription, which from its imperfect state, it would be of very little use to transcribe here, Mr. Llwyd entitles "An Inscription at Maes y Groes, in the parish of Llandysilio, in Denbighshire, transcribed anno 1696.'*



papers and letters, if you know where they are lodg'd; or direct me to search for it when I come to Oxford which will be a month hence at farthest.

“The inscription would be legible enough were it entire. It begins *Concenn filius Catteli, Cattel filius Brochmali, Brochmal filius Eliseq, Eliseq filius Guoillauc. Concenn itaque pronepos Eliseq edificavit hunc lapidem proavo suo Eliseq &c.* ’Tis remarkable that adjoining to this monument there’s a township calld *Eglwysig*, which name is corrupted doubtlesse from this *Eliseq*, thô our greatest critics interpret it *Terra ecclesiastica*. Thus, in Caermardhshire we find this epitaph: *Servatour [pro servator] fidæi patrieque semper amator Hic Paulinus jacit cultor pientissimus æqui.* The place where the stone lies is calld *Pant y Pôlion* i.e., the *Vale of Stakes*, corruptly for *Pant Powlin* Plainities Paulini. I find other places denominated from persons buryed at or near them; whence I gather they were anciently men of great note, who had inscriptions on their tombs be they never so rude and homely. But I trouble you too much with trifles, so shall adde no more but that I am,

“Worthy Sr, Your most obliged and humble servant,

“EDW. LHWYD.”

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POSTSCRIPT: see p. 7.

My address in the Transactions of the Oxford Congress for the *History of Religions* touches ground covered by this paper: see II, 211, where I have suggested correcting *Eueydl* into *Eved*, and equating it with Irish *Ogma*, Gaulish *Ogmios*. The form required is *Euvyđ*, which would be written *Euwid* or *Euwýđ*: it occurs as *Euwýđ*, and, misread, as *Eunýđ*. See Skene, ii, 200, 303, and Stephens’ *Gododin*, p. 377 (*Eunýdd*); also Skene, ii, 108, where it is *Ieóyđ*, with an intrusive *i*. The points of the equation are: (1) Gaulish and Brythonic *Ogmios* was pronounced *Ogmíios*, and *íi* makes *yđ* in Welsh; (2) *gm* or *ghm* behaves like *lm*, which becomes *lv* in Welsh, but remains *lm* in Irish; (3) *Og* or *ogh* becomes in Welsh *ou*, later *eu*. So *Ogmios* has its exact equivalent in *Euwýđ* in Welsh. Space fails me to give analogies, to discuss texts, or draw conclusions.

# The Dynasty of Cunedag and the 'Harleian Genealogies'.

By E. WILLIAMS B. NICHOLSON, M.A.

BODLEY'S LIBRARIAN.

THE oldest 'genealogies' of Welsh royal families are contained in an early twelfth century MS. in the Harleian collection at the British Museum (*MS. Harl. 3859*). They were very carefully printed, with an introduction and valuable notes, by Mr. Egerton Phillimore, in vol. ix of *Y Cymmrodor*. And an index to the names in them has been compiled by Mr. A. Anscombe, and published in vol. i of the *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie*.

They are, however, most inconveniently constructed. They contain no dates, and very seldom any mention of the status of the persons whose names are given in them. Also they are arranged not in modern pedigree-form, but in backward order. If a genealogy of our present king were so constructed, it would appear thus :

[ ]<sup>1</sup> Edward  
 son of Victoria, daughter of Edward  
 son of George  
 son of Frederick  
 son of George  
 son of George.

Had all the persons with whose names the 'genealogies' begin been contemporaries, that fact alone would have

<sup>1</sup> Initial left for an illuminator to insert.



enabled us to get approximate dates for the entire series ; but this is far from being the case.

I have, nevertheless, found that not fewer than twenty-two out of the thirty-two 'genealogies' can be fitted on to each other, and that a second series of three can also be fitted on to each other. By tabulating them accordingly, and inserting in brackets the known or approximately known dates of some of the persons mentioned, I have been able to reduce the 'genealogies' into a synchronous form in which they can be more conveniently consulted. And I shall add certain preliminary notes which will throw some little new light on their origin and import.

The 'genealogies' are immediately preceded by the oldest text (also early twelfth century) of the *Annales Cambriae*, and Mr. Phillimore has said (p. 144) :—

“Both *Annales* and *Genealogies*, in their present form, show marks of having been composed in the last half of the tenth century. The years of the *Annales* are written down to 977, though the last event recorded is the death of Rhodri ab Hywel Dda in 954 ; while the omission of the battle of Llanrwst, which was fought in the very next year (955) between the sons of Idwal and those of Hywel Dda (especially on the part of an annalist who, if also the composer of the *Genealogies*, would seem to have been a partisan of Hywel's family in their contest for the supremacy of Wales), certainly points to the *Annales* having been finished as they are now in the year 954 or 955, and never subsequently retouched. The *Genealogies* commence with that (given both on the father's and on the mother's side) of Owen ab Hywel Dda, who died in 988, and they must, therefore, have been compiled during his reign, and before that year. The frequent allusions to St. David's and its Bishops, and the almost complete absence of similar allusions to Llandaff, in the *Annales*, show these to have been composed in the former, not in the latter, See ; and we are led to place the composition of the *Genealogies* in the same district from a consideration of the extreme meagreness and incompleteness with which they give the pedigree of the royal lines of Gwent and Morgawg, districts politically and ecclesiastically

as much identified with the See of Llandaff as were Dyfed and Cardigan with that of St. David's."

In a paper contributed to the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (vi, 439-53), I have shown that the *Annales* are merely notes from the margin of a paschal table constructed by the 532-year cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine. This table would certainly belong to a church, and we may pretty safely conclude that the *Annales* and the 'Genealogies' which immediately follow them were compiled in the cathedral of Meneu (St. David's).

The fact that the *years* of the *Annales* are continued to 977 is simply due to their being copied (and divided into fifty-three decads) from a 532-year cycle which began with 444.<sup>1</sup> And the first 'genealogy', though it includes Owein, who died in 988, appears to have been originally compiled in the reign of his father, who died in 950. For it begins 'uen map iguel', the initials both of Ouen and of Hiquel being left out. Now, in all the 'genealogies' the initial of the first name is left out—for an illuminator to supply—but (except in this one case of 'iguel') never any other initial. Presumably, then, the 'genealogy' originally began with '[H]iguel', to which were prefixed '[O]uen map' when his son succeeded him.

My next point is that in their original form these were not all of them certainly 'genealogies' in the modern sense of the word—that, in fact, No. 1 is not a genealogy but a table of succession. Part, at least, of the original table had no *map*'s, but the preposition *guor*, 'over', in their place. This will be seen from lines 5, 7, and 9 in the list of Cunedag's precursors:—

<sup>1</sup> The cycle would end at 976, but another 'an.' may have been added to the paschal table with a note that the cycle began over again, or else the extractor of our *Annales* carelessly wrote an 'an.' too many—just as he often puts 11 'an.' into a decad.

<i>Phillimore's text</i>	<i>Corrupted from</i>
[1] map. Ætern.	? guor Cunedag Ætern.
[2] map. Patern. pefrut.	? guor Ætern Patern. pefrut.
[3] map. Tacit.	? guor Patern Tacit.
[4] map.* Cein.	? guor Tacit Cein.
[5] map.* Guoꝛcein.	} guor cein doli.
[6] map* doli.	
[7] map.* Guoꝛdoli.	} guor doli dumn.
[8] map.* dumn.	
[9] map.* Gurdumn.	} guor dumn Amgueryt.
[10] map. Amguoloyt.	
[11] map. Anguerit.	} guor Āguerit dubun.
[12] map. Oumun.	
[13] map. dubun.	guor dubun Brithguein.
[14] map. Brithguein.	guor Brithguein Eugene.
[15] map. Eugene.	} guor Eugene Aballac. <i>qui fuit</i> .
[16] map. Aballac. map. Amalech. <i>qui</i> fuit.	
beli magni filiuf[&c.]    beli magni filiuf[&c.]	

Here the original structure is revealed by the sequence of six entries against which I have put a \*. Then came a man who *meant* to strike out all the repeated names and the *guor's*, and to substitute *map*<sup>1</sup>: but he left in *guorcein*, *guordoli*, and *gurdumn* by accident, and failed to see that Amguoloyt, Oumun, and Amalech were only doublets<sup>2</sup> of names next them.

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 91 for the amazing recklessness with which *map* was prefixed to the beginning of lines in table xvi—ordinary words, parts of words, and the name of Jesus having thus had parentage attributed to them. In my *Keltic Researches* (pp. 49, 50) I have pointed out that the table of the succession of Brudes was constructed with the Pictish preposition *uor*, *ur* (Welsh *guor*), 'over', 'after', between names which were repeated like those of Cein, Doli, and Dumn. Then came a later hand who put 'Brude' in front of all the *ur's* and so created 14 or 15 additional Brudes. In a table on p. 134 of Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, we have 'filii Sin, filii Rosin, filii Their, filii Rothir', which looks as if the original text had no *filii*, but either the Latin *pro* or an Irish *ro* corresponding to it in meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Phillimore has seen this of Amalech. *F* in Welsh is a

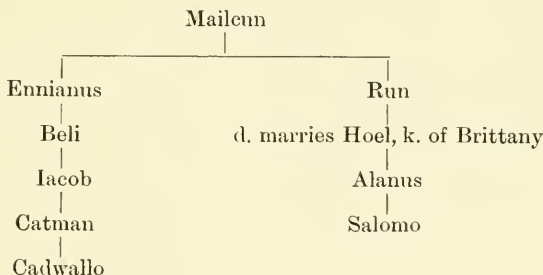
In other words, we have before us what may not be a table of direct blood-descent at all, but only of succession:—

before Cunedla, Ætern  
 „ Ætern, Patern 'pesrut'  
 „ Patern, Tacit

and so on.

When this is realized, we are at once able to clear away two great apparent discrepancies between this list and early twelfth century authorities.

(1) Geoffrey of Monmouth (xii, 6) puts into the mouth of king Cadwallon an extremely specific statement of his relationship to the king of Brittany, which I tabulate thus:



According to our doctored Harleian table, Beli was the son, not of Enniaun, but of Run. Strike out the interpolated *map's*, restore the original *guor's*, and we see that

guor Beli Run  
 guor Run Mailcun

meant not that Run was father of Beli, but that he preceded him as head of the house of Gwynedd. Why

mutation both of medial *b* and medial *m*, and Aballac, Amalech, are merely archaic spellings of Afallach: no doubt the *b* form is here more correct than the *m* form. When this is recognized, and the similarity noticed between the short-necked capital  $\delta$  and an O, it will at once appear that Oumun and Dubun are also doublets. In Amguoloyt the *l* is a scribe's misreading of the conjunct form of *r*—*i.e.*,  $\mathfrak{r}$ —as a capital L. This suggests that the tables are copied directly or indirectly from an exemplar written in capitals.

Enniaun is not so named is obviously due to one of two causes: either he died before his father Mailcun, or he was younger than his brother Run. In either case the headship of the house would naturally devolve on Beli if Run left no son.

It is possible that Geoffrey's own authority was not any Welsh pedigree, but the book of Breton tradition from which he borrowed so freely.<sup>1</sup> In any case, however, that Enniaun, and *not* Run, was Beli's father is practically certain from the fact that Run would have *better* suited the drift of Cadwallon's speech.

Finally, in the *Brut y Tywysogion*, Caradoc of Llan-garvan says that Cynan Tyndaethwy's daughter Essyllt married a chieftain named Mervyn Frych. This Mervyn he represents subsequently as king of North Wales, and as being killed by the English in 844, and succeeded by Rotri. Of any Mervyn the *son* of Essyllt he knows nothing, and it is clear to me that in our original pedigree the text ran:—

*guor Rotri mermin gur Etthil merch cinnan*

before Rotri, Mermin—husband of Etthil, daughter of Cinnan

and that the later scribe (who struck out *guor*'s and inserted *map*'s) mistook *gur*, 'husband', for the preposition *guor*, and, by substituting *map*, turned Etthil's husband into her son!

Since writing the last few paragraphs, I discover, in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (text, ii, 218; translation, i, 462), a document (from the *Red Book of Hergest*) which is virtually conclusive as to one of these discrepancies. It is a poetical 'prophecy' (put in the mouth of Merlin) of the succession of chiefs of the Cymry. It begins with Rydderch Hael, described as an enemy of the city on the

<sup>1</sup> See my note in *Y Cymmrodor*, xix, p. 6. To the instances there given, add the very striking one of Guithelin's embassy (vi, 4).

Clyde. He was to be followed by Morgant Mawr, son of Sadyrnin (= Saturninus), who was to be followed by Urien (= Urbigena). Then was to come Maelgwn, in connexion with whom Gwendydd (*i.e.*, Gwynedd) is for the first time mentioned by the poet.<sup>1</sup> Then would follow Run, Beli, Iago (son of Beli), Cadvan (son of Iago), Cadwallawn, Cadwaladyr, Idwal, Howel (son of Cadwal), and Rodri. Then Mervyn Vrych, *described as coming from Manaw*. Then Rodri Mawr, his son Anarawd, and Howel.

Now, the very important statement that Mermin Frych came from Manaw is not in Caradoc—in other words, the evidence of the prophecy is presumably not *borrowed* from him. And the only way to bolster up the statement in our 'genealogies' that Mermin was the son of 'Etthil' is to suppose that she had both a husband and a son of the same name—which is to the last degree unlikely; for in these 'genealogies' no 'son' bears the name of his 'father'<sup>2</sup> except in a few cases for which no historical corroboration is forthcoming, and which are almost certainly mere doublets of the kind we have already detected in the ancestry assigned to Cunedag.

And now for the names of some of Cunedag's precursors, and the lost history revealed by them.

Everyone has seen that Ætern is a Latin name, but has anyone explained why it should be given? We *do* sometimes speak of 'that eternal baby', but no one ever heard

<sup>1</sup>The writer clearly supposed that the primacy was previously with the 'men of the North', for, in the *Historia Brittonum*, § 63, we are told that the invaders of Northumbria were combated by Urbgen, Riderch Hen, 'Guallanc' (Guallanc), and Morcant. But these princes did not precede Mailcun, and his precursors in the dignity of chief king were, doubtless, the Gildan kings specified by Geoffrey of Monmouth.

<sup>2</sup>The earliest instance I know of such a case in Welsh history is that of Idwal Fychan, '*Little Idwal*,' a son of Eidwal Foel ('Idwal the Bald,' who died in 943).



of the baby being named Eternal for the rest of his life. No one, in fact, has noticed in this connexion that *aeternus*, 'immortal', is a title borne on coins by Diocletian (emperor in 284-305), his imperial partner Maximian († 310), and Julian (360-3).

Everyone has also seen that Patern(us) is a Latin name, but has anyone observed that it was borne by Roman consuls of 233, 267, 268, 269, and 279 ?

Finally, everyone has seen that Tacit(us) is another Latin name, but has anyone pointed out that it was the name of a Roman emperor of 275-6 ?

And no one, so far as I know, has detected in Cein the well-known Roman family name Ceionius, borne by a consul of 240.

The inference is obvious, that the names of the four immediate precursors of Cunedag are *regnal* names (as those of the Popes are even now), borrowed from those of contemporary emperors or consuls, and that the bearers of them held rule in subordination to, or alliance with, the Roman government of South Britain.

It may be asked why Cunedag has no regnal name. There are at least three possible replies: (1) that he had a regnal name which has not descended to us, the length of time during which he had been known as Cunedag<sup>1</sup> having prevented the later name from ever taking root; (2) that, whereas Cunedag's father, Ætern, was (to judge from his name 'Immortal') probably a Pagan, Cunedag himself was probably a Christian, and preferred not to change the name

<sup>1</sup> So given in the eighth century *Historia Brittonum*, and = Good Hound, like Biliconus in the Bath Christian tablet (see my *Vinisia to Nigra*). The perpetuation of the "connecting vowel" in this and certain other early Welsh names was doubtless due to the continued recitation of ancient poems from which it could not be eliminated without spoiling the metre or altering the text.

under which he was baptized; (3) that a nationalist feeling had arisen in favour of vernacular names.

Of the names of Cunedag's own children two in every three are apparently Roman, the third is Keltic. From what Latin name in *-anus* Typipaun<sup>1</sup> comes I do not know, unless it be from Tiberianus; but Rumaun, Dunaut, Enniaun, are Romanus, Donatus, and Ennianus (as Geoffrey of Monmouth calls him)—names which may have been those of Roman governors or commanders in Britain. Possibly, Abloyc = Apulicius or Apulicus—the latter name found<sup>2</sup> in West Britain in the fourth century; Ætern is probably not a genuine borrowing from Latin, as in the case of his grandfather, but an instance of that repetition of ancestral names which afterwards becomes so common in these 'genealogies'. But Osmail, Ceretic, and Docmail are Keltic.

So, too, Typipaun's son Meriaun appears to represent a Marianus; Enniaun's 'son' Eugene<sup>3</sup> is probably named after Eugenius, emperor in 392-4; and Dunaut's 'son' Ebiaun seems to = Epianus, or (Prof. Anwyl suggests from *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, 1336, 5) Abianus. Ebiaun is followed by a 'son' with a Keltic name, but *his* 'son' Mouric is

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Phillimore says: "Certainly a mistake for *Typiaun* (now *Tybion*)". Does Tybion exist except as a modern form of this very man's name? And does not Typipaun represent a partly obliterated TYBIRIAUN? I am reminded of the supposed reading PRESPIETER on the Senacus stone at Cefn Amwleh, where I have ascertained by my own eyes that the supposed second P is a B.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Vinisius to Nigra*. The Apulicus in question was the bearer of a letter to a Christian woman from a man who apparently held a position of some authority among British Christians. Our MS. has *oy* for *i* in Amguoloyt and Cynloyp. The *Annales* give the death of a king Abloyc in a year corresponding to 942.

<sup>3</sup> True that it is found as the name of one of Cunedag's remote ancestors, but in that case it may be pure Keltic (= Avigeni-os). In the case of Enniaun's son, the name may have been selected from Roman sources, but with ancestral *nuance*.

named after some Mauricus or Mauricius. If after the Emperor Mauricius, who attained that position in 582, either he must have taken the name at an advanced age or probably a generation or two is missing between him and Dunaut.<sup>1</sup>

I cannot refrain from mentioning here two passages in *MS. Jesus Coll.* 20, as printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 83-91, which have an important bearing on the doings of Cunedag in North Wales.

The first says that Cunedag had two daughters, Tecgygyl and Gwen, the latter of whom became the wife of Anlafd 'wledic', and that the mother of his sons was Wawl, daughter of Coyl Hen (No. vii, p. 85).

The second says that Einyav and Katwallavn Llavhir were two brothers, and their two mothers were sisters, daughters to Tidlet (*y didlet*)<sup>2</sup> king of the Goidel Picts (*gydydl fichti*) in Pywys (No. xxiii, p. 87).

Now Einyavn was not Katwallavn's brother, but his father, and is given as such in the preceding pedigree: doubtless for Einyaun we should substitute Eugene

<sup>1</sup> I say 'probably' because recent letters to *The Daily News* show that the usual allowance of thirty years to a generation is sometimes very inadequate. In its issue of Feb. 10, 1909, is a letter from William J. Stephens, of Newquay, saying that Robert Carne, born in 1624, had a grandson John born in 1714, who had a grandson James born in 1806 and still living—being parish-clerk of St. Columb Minor! This gives four *complete* generations in 1624-1806, an average of forty-five years. Mr. Stephens says he has verified the dates in the parish register.

<sup>2</sup> Sir J. Rhŷs believes 'didlet' to be a name: I was in doubt whether it might not be a *di-* word meaning 'dethroned', 'expelled', or the like. I know no such *Pictish* name, and take it to represent Titlat for Lat. Tit(u)latus. In Welsh the *ā* should give *au*, *av*, or *o*, not *e*, but, if the source of the pedigree were Goidelic (whether Pictish or Irish), Titled would be a quite correct genitive, which, in later Welsh, would become Tidlet, and (after the preposition *y*) Didlet.

Dantguin. That the alliances between their father Ennianus and the Pictish sisters took place after their grandfather Cunedag's descent from the North is clear from the fact that his two grandsons by them—Maileun and Cinglas—were still living about 548, when the former died. Indeed, it is practically certain that Ennianus and his younger brothers were born in Wales.

Katwallavn's own name I take to mean Catuvellaunian, and to show that his mother belonged to that people, who, there is strong ground for believing (see Holder), had a town Tossobion on a river Tossobios (the Conwy?) in N. Wales. In that case, they were apparently Goidelic-speaking Picts, *i.e.*, Goidels who tattooed. If the name of the Catalauni is only an abbreviated form of Catuvellauni (as is generally assumed), that is likely enough: for that people were in the Belgic part of Gaul and next neighbours to the Sequani, who certainly tattooed (see my *Keltic Researches*).

But Cunedag himself seems beyond doubt to have allied himself to a lady of North Wales, whether his wife Waul<sup>1</sup> was dead or not. For the name of his daughter Tecgygyl is to me Tegŷgyl, Deceangla, 'the Deceanglan',<sup>2</sup> and I take Tegeing(e)l to be the district settled on her.

Continuing the consideration of Cunedag's ancestors, I make nothing at present out of *Doli*, and suspect that we should follow the version of this pedigree given at p. 144 of Rees's *Cambro-British Saints*, and read *Docil* =

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the modern Gwawl, 'Brightness', and the name Vālos (Holder), and see Stokes, *Urk. Spr.*, p. 262, under 'Vāleti-s'.

<sup>2</sup> That certain inscribed pigs of lead in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, do show an *L* in the name of the Deceangli—as contended by Sir J. Rhŷs—I felt sure from photographs and rubbings which I owed to the kindness of the Keeper of the Museum, Mr. Alfred Newstead. I have now seen them. No. 196 is beyond question. Otherwise Tegŷgyl would = Deceangula, 'the little Deceangan'.

the Latin surname Docilis. *Dumn* appears to be the adjective *dumnos*, 'tall', though that does not seem to be found as a proper name except in composition. If its phonetics had been influenced by transmission through Goidelic sources, it *might* = *Domn*, representing *Domnus* for *Dominus*. *Amguerit* is simply the form eventually taken in Welsh<sup>1</sup> by the name of the Ambivareti or Ambivariti, a people on the borders of Belgium and Burgundy, and it enables us to add one to the small number of Belgian tribes hitherto identified<sup>2</sup> as occupying the coast-regions of Britain: their name is also preserved in Irish in the name of 'the king of the descendants of Neill, Aidus, the son of Ammereth'<sup>3</sup> (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 562). And the natural inference is that *Amguerit* had an Ambivaritan mother.

Exactly similar is the case of the next ancestor, *Dubun*, who doubtless had for his mother one of the Dobuni, a tribe settled about the head of the Severn estuary, in or near Gloucestershire: the first *u* suggests Goidelic influence in transmission, or else that Ptolemy's *Δοβούνοι* should have had not *ō* but *ō̄*—which may very well be, as Ptolemy sometimes trips in his quantities (e.g., in *Δημηται* for *Dēmĕtæ*).

*Brithquein* looks like an error for *Brithgein* (*Bricto-genios*), which would mean 'of painted ancestry', or 'of distinguished birth', but the corresponding pedigree in

<sup>1</sup> *M* for earlier *mm* (= *mb*); terminal vowel (*i*) of first part of compound lost; *gu* for earlier *u*; *e* 'umlaut' of following vowel. An earlier Welsh *Ammueret* can be traced in the *Anumeret* of the version of this pedigree given on f. 35a of *MS. Jesus Coll.* 20 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 85, vi).

<sup>2</sup> Menapii, Atrebatæ, Parisii.

<sup>3</sup> = *Amm(fh)ereth*. Here again the changes are perfectly regular, the final *t* becoming *th*, and the *v* becoming *fh*, which was silent and is, therefore, omitted in the spelling.

MS. *Jesus Coll.* 20, has Prydein, which might be a Kymric form of Qritanios = Coritanian. The Coritāni (= Cruithni) were an East Midland tattooed tribe, speaking Goidelic (*Keltic Researches*, 17). *Eugein* is not Graeco-Latin Eugenius (unknown in the West at that period), but the later Welsh form (cf. Eu-tegirn and like names) of an earlier Avigenios, 'of noble birth'. *Aballac*<sup>1</sup> (Aballacos) means 'Rich in apples' or 'Applelander'.

The Latin passage giving Aballac Beli the Great as a father, and Anna, the Virgin's *consobrina*, as a mother, is added by a later hand, and is utterly false, except for the bare possibility that Anna may be a feminine of the Keltic name Andus, with *nd* assimilated into *nn*.

Beli the Great appears in middle Welsh story as the son of Mynogan, and father of Cassivellaunus. He was manufactured in this way. Suetonius (Cal. 44) refers to 'Adminio Cynobellini Britannorum regis filio'. In Orosius (7,5.5), a fifth century writer, blundering ignorance has tortured out of this 'Mynocybelinum Britannorum regis filium', and in the eighth century *Historia Brittonum* (c. 19) we find evolved 'regi Britannico, qui et ipse Bellinus vocabatur, et filius erat Minocanni' (or Minocani). Hence, Beli son of Mynogan—the real persons being Cynobelinus and his son Adminius.<sup>2</sup> The further designation of Beli as father of Cassivellaunus is due to a misreading of the name Heli, ascribed by Geoffrey of Monmouth to Cassivellaunus's father. As all three of my editions of Geoffrey give Heli, or Hely; as I have seen Heli myself both in MS. Rawlinson C. 152 and in the Bern MS.; and as Geoffrey gives Heli a father whose name is totally unlike Minocan(n)us, I cannot doubt that Heli is the correct reading.

<sup>1</sup> *Amalech* looks like a Goidelic genitive.

<sup>2</sup> I learn from Sir J. Rhys in *The Welsh People* (p. 41), that Zimmer found out these things long ago. I rediscovered them by Holder.



The names of the other three Beli's in these tables are quite genuine, and possibly indicate that their mothers were of the Belgic tribes of Britain. Belg- would pass very early into Beli in Welsh, just as *boly*, 'a bag', and later *bol*, 'a bag' or 'Belgian' (*Keltic Researches*, 11), are from a lost *bolg*, which is only a variant of *belg-*.

We are now in a position to make one or two plausible guesses at the history of this family—if family it was. Early in the first century its members lived in an apple-growing region, and three generations later one of them is called a Dobunian. So that their original home was probably in the apple-growing counties on the west side of the Severn valley, where they would have the Dobunians for neighbours on the east. A generation later they intermarry with the Ambivariti, whose habitat is unknown, but who on the Continent were inland dwellers. In the first half of the third century they began assuming regnal names of Roman origin, and, if we may adopt the form Docil, there arises a strong suspicion that their doing so coincided with the Caledonian expedition of Severus, that the emperor found the son of Dumn a 'teachable' lieutenant, and that, when (after reconstructing the Northern wall) he retired south, 'Docilis' was left to occupy as a dependent chief that part of the neighbouring country known to the Welsh as Manaw Guotodin ('Sub-Otadine Menapia').

There is, however, one fact which suggests that even in the third and fourth centuries the family (if, as I say, family it was) may have had some connexion with the more southern region. The sheet of water called by the English 'Lake Bala', is called by the Welsh 'Tegid's Lake' (*Llyn Tegid*), and Tegid is only a later form of Tacit. I think it likely that the person commemorated is not Tacit himself, but the early sixth century Tegid: that prince's

own name, however, can only be rationally explained, it seems to me, as recording his descent from Tacit. Tegid's father, Catell Durnluc,<sup>1</sup> was founder of the line of kings of Powis, and, if Cunedag attacked the Goidels in North Wales because they were injuriously pressing on the tribes of Powis,<sup>2</sup> it is permissible to wonder whether his intervention was not due to ancestral connexions. On the other hand, it is possible that Tegid's *mother* was of the Cunedag family, and that he had no more distant connexion with it.

It might, however, be pointed out to me that there is also a Llyn Padarn, 'Patern's Lake', and I might be asked if this also did not indicate that Cunedag's ancestors were settled in North Wales. Unless Cunedag's 'grandfather' was a Goidel, this is very unlikely: I feel certain that, in his time, the shores of Llyn Padarn were occupied by Goidels. I am confident that the lake owes its name to the neighbouring Dolbadarn, 'meadow of Paternus', and that Dolbadarn in turn was named from property belonging to a neighbouring church of St. Paternus,<sup>3</sup> I suspect that of Old Llanberis. For the evidence of the existence of any St. Peris seems to me exceedingly doubtful, and the name of the village and its lake (Llyn Peris) may have been derived from the ancient *Caer Peris*, *i.e.*, the fort of the Parisians,<sup>4</sup> or the fort of the Parisian.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Historia Brittonum* tells us (c. 35), that Catell was a servant in the court of Vortigern, whose own kingdom was in East Wales, to the south of Powis.

<sup>2</sup> I have seen this stated or suggested, but have failed to discover where.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dolwyddelan, 'meadow of Gwyddelan'. Gwyddelan means 'descendant of Goidels' or 'little Goidel', and—as Sir J. Rhys told me—there was a *Sf.* Gwyddelan, to whom I doubt not the neighbouring church was dedicated.

<sup>4</sup> Otherwise only found in Britain about the Humber estuary.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, a chief of half Parisian blood—cf. Cunedag's 'ancestors',

So much for the ‘ancestors’ of Cunedag, if ancestors they really were and not merely dynastic precursors. But Ætern probably *was* Cunedag’s father, since Cunedag had a son of that name, and Ætern’s own name has the look of being chosen for its assonance with that of his precursor Patern—which makes relationship probable. Whether Patern was Ætern’s father or his elder brother is rendered doubtful by the closeness of their dates, but that closeness does not, of course, preclude the former belief.

Here ends the subject proper of this study, but I venture to add such observations as have occurred to me, or may occur, with regard to the remainder of the ‘genealogies’.

As Table I professed to be a pedigree, not of Hywel, but of his son Ouein, so Table II professes to be the same man’s pedigree on his mother’s side, beginning ‘[O]uein. map. elen.’ It is natural to suspect that here also ‘[O]uein. map.’ are insertions, and that the table originally began with ‘[E]len’ or ‘[H]elen’. Elen, however, died in 943, Hywel not till 950, and the table may have been prepared between those years—in which case it might very well be headed by her son’s name.

The name of Elen’s great-grandmother should be not Tancoyslt, but Tancoystl. This and other transpositions indicate to me that the tables were copied from an exemplar in narrow lines, and that for want of room final letters were sometimes written above the end of names—with the result that they are brought down into the wrong place in the Harleian MS. The following are my cases :

‘the Dobunian’ and ‘the Ambivaretan’. The chiefs of the Llanberis district are not very likely to have intermarried with those of the Humber, but there may have been Parisian colonies in Wales, as well as on the east coast. There is also a Hafod Peris, ‘summer-residence of Peris’, in the shire of Cardigan—where the name is clearly that of a person.

Table.	Name.	Representing	
1	'Catgualart	Catgualat <sup>r</sup> <sub>l</sub>	i.e. Catgualatr
2	Tancoyslt	Tancoyst	,, Tancoystl
18	Gueinoth	Gueith <sup>no</sup>	,, Gueithno
,,	Glitnoth	Glitth <sup>no</sup>	,, Glitthno ( <i>sic</i> )
,,	'Gatgulart	Gatgulat <sup>r</sup>	,, Gatgulatr ( <i>sic</i> )

The name of Tancoystl's great-grandfather, Teudos, represents 'Theodosius', and is found four generations earlier in this line, collaterally (see xv), being borne by a prince of the seventh century. It is most probably derived from that of the great general who came in 369 to the rescue of the Roman power in Britain; less probably from his son Theodosius I, from Theodosius II, in whose reign the Theodosian code was issued, or from Theodosius, son of the emperor Maurice, who was associated with his father in the empire of the East from 590 to 602.

The name of Teudos's father, Regin, is the Keltic name Regīnus (and Regnus), borne also by a few Romans (of Cisalpine Gallic descent?): it doubtless comes from the *reig-* stem and means 'of royal ancestry'. The name of Regin's grandfather Cathen (= Holder's Catuenus) shows Irish phonetics: the Welsh form would have been Caten, Caden.

Further back, Guortepir is, of course, Votepori,<sup>2</sup> and Aircol has been derived by Zimmer from 'Agricola': note that the stress must have been placed on the first syllable, Ágricol(a), to produce the contraction (it must be remembered that this family was Irish). Presumably Triphun is simply the Roman military title *tribunus* borne by the

<sup>1</sup> Yet the *Grammatica Celtica* quotes four Breton instances of -walart or -gualart.

<sup>2</sup> On the derivation and proper form of whose name see my paper in *Arch. Camb.*, 6th Ser., vi, pp. 78-80.

commander of one of the divisions of a legion: the mutation of intervocalic *b* to *ph* is Irish (see *Gram. Celt.*), as one would expect in this family.

Mr. Phillimore says that 'Gloitguin' is 'Clydwyn, the son of Brychan Brycheiniog, whose reputed conquest of Demetia has caused him to be foisted into this Dimetian pedigree. *Nimet* was his son, not his father, and appears as *Neufedd* in the Breconshire pedigrees'. Whether *this* Clydwyn is the son of Brychan or not I do not know, but do not think *Nimet* has anything to do with any real *Neufedd*. I take it for nothing more than a misread doublet of the next name, *dimet*, a capital D with the bottom stroke partly obliterated having been misread as D, *i.e.*, N; and, as it merely means 'Demetian', I suspect it to be expressly meant to differentiate him from Clydwyn Brycheiniog. We have two other instances of such mere doublets in the neighbouring names *Protec* and *Protector*, *Ebiud* and *Eliud*. In fact, it is clear to me that the early part of this pedigree (like that of No. I) was originally not a family-tree but a table of succession, which may have run thus:

Before Clotri, Cloitguin Dimet  
 Before (Cloitguin) Dimet, Protector  
 Before Protector, Eliud.

When the *guor*'s were dropped and the *map*'s substituted, 'Maxim guletic' would be seen to be a doublet and be omitted, while *Nimet*, *Protec*, and *Ebiud* might be mistaken for distinct names owing to the corruptions they had undergone. The loss of final *tor* in *Protec* might have been due to its coming on the margin, but for the fact that *Protec* is found in the *Book of Llan Dáv* as the name of a sixth century witness: I suggest that, as this line was Irish, the stress was altered from *Protéctor* to *Prótector*, whence an abbreviated form, *Prótec*. As to

Ebiud for Eliud,<sup>1</sup> the confusion of *l* and *b* was very easy, and the *Book of Ilan Dáv* contains no name at all resembling Ebiud.

Protector, again, is simply a Latin official title—given to Votepori on his tombstone, and meaning either that he was an honorary member of the Emperor's bodyguard (as hitherto supposed) or (as I now suspect) that he was a Protector of the population within his rule—perhaps of Romano-Britons against his own Goidelic rivals. It can hardly be a mere epithet, however, of Maxim(us), who was a Roman general, of Spanish birth, and a claimant for the imperial throne; and the examples of Votepori and Triphun show us that in this particular line official titles were used as independent personal names.

The end of the table is in a terrible state. Less than half a century separated Maxim from Constans, yet four names come between them, and two of these are very curious indeed. In the really fabulous part of Geoffrey of Monmouth's book, names are borrowed<sup>2</sup> freely from these or similar 'genealogies' to bestow on his prehistoric kings; and, as he gives 'Staterius rex Albanie' and 'Pinnerem regem Loegriæ' consecutively within a couple of lines (ii, 17), it is pretty certain that he read not the impossible Pincer but Piner. *Stater* reminds one of *stator*, a magistrate's marshal; *Pincer* of *pincerna*, cup-mixer, cup-bearer; while *misser* resembles various Latin words, and might even represent a Keltic corruption of a lost *mistor*, 'mixer', and so be a gloss on *pincerna*. Was *Stator* a *pincerna* of Constans, and did the table originally so end? And have we any reasonable certainty that Maxim himself was not a

<sup>1</sup> The name means 'Of many battles', and implies that he was the head of a tribe or a military leader.

<sup>2</sup> Thus he has a Cunedag about 600 B.C. The real Cunedag he does not mention at all.



later interpolation for the purpose of deriving the modern heads of the line from a Roman emperor?

As a matter of fact, there has been handed down to us an Irish pedigree of the Triphun family (see Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, 87-8), which gives Triphun entirely different ancestors, and I can only suppose that the list of them in the table before us, if not a mere concoction, simply represents his precursors in the overlordship of Demetia, or else that a leaf in the archetype was lost<sup>1</sup> or misplaced and that we have the tail of one pedigree accidentally tacked on to the body of another.

In Table III Cinglas = Cuneglasus, presumably the king harangued by Gildas.

Anaraut in Table IV is, I am told by Prof. Anwyl, Lat. Honoratus: I may note the form Anarauht in Nennius as showing a confused recollection that the name ought to have an *h* somewhere in it. Prof. Anwyl has also told me that Aneurin = Honorinus, so that I may pretty safely add that Eueuris in the *Annales Cambriae* and the *Book of Llan Dáv* = Honorius.

Run and Neithon in the same table are royal Pictish names, indicating an intermarriage either with the Piets direct or with a line which *had* intermarried with them—*e.g.*, the kings of Gwynedd (i), the Strathclyde kings (v), or the descendants of Caratacus (xvi).

And Anthun represents Antonius, perhaps as a corrupt or abbreviated form of Antoninus—for so we have it in xvi, and the *Book of Llan Dáv* has ‘antonię’ (p. 26) and ‘antonie’ (p. 289) for Antonini.

Table V is a semi-Pictish line containing three Donalds (Dunnagual), a Ron (Run), a Necton (Neithon), an Alpin (Elfin), and *perhaps* a Kenneth (Cinuit)—not to lay stress

<sup>1</sup> There is reason to suspect this also in Table xvi.

on two Eugeins—while the two Beli's suggest two inter-marriages with the Belgic Menapians of Manau Guotodin (see my *Keltic Researches*). In it we find the name Teudebur, modern Tudor, of which I shall here state what I confidently believe to be the origin.

It is borrowed from Teutonic Theodoberht (Theodobertus, Theodebert, Theudebert, Θεοδ(ί)βερος), and the particular person from whom its use originates was apparently Theodobert I of Austrasia, a great sixth century king who invaded Italy, struck a large gold coinage, and, when sending an embassy to Justinian, professed to be overlord of Britain, or, at any rate, of the Angles inhabiting it (Procopius, *Bell. Goth.*, iv, 20).

The Teudebur before us appears in the continuator of Bede as Theodor; the MS. containing this form is of the year 1420, but the work itself is apparently not later than about 766. The *Th* is also preserved in the pedigree of Fernmail, in c. 49 of the *Historia Brittonum*, by various MSS., *C D G L* giving Theudubr, *P* Theudurb, while *H* has Teudubir and *M N* Teudor. The Theudub(i)r in question is obviously referred to as still living ('ipse est rex Buelitiae regionis'), is 10th in descent from Vortigern, and has a son, Ferumail, who rules in Buelt and Guorthigirniann, and whose regnal *floruit* is calculated by Zimmer (*Nennius Vindicatus*, 71), at 'ca. 785 bis ca. 815': the pedigree is also anterior to the Nennian revision of 796.

The *Book of Llan Dáv*, in which the form is Teudur, yields, in the names Freudubur and Freudur, a close parallel to the change from Theudub(i)r. Moreover, these names—which from their initial F could not be Welsh—are clearly borrowed from a form of the Anglo-Saxon Frithubeorht (also written 'Friudbertus' and 'Fridebertus'), and thus confirm the derivation of Theudub(i)r from Theodoberht.

Prof. Oman suggests that the 'Ceritic guletie' of this table is St. Patrick's Alelyde king Coroticus, pointing out the correspondence in date.<sup>1</sup> This suggestion becomes almost a certainty when we note among his successors a Beli († 720-2) who was undoubtedly king of Alelyde. Marriages with Pictish princesses were bound to take place among the Alelyde kings, and the offspring would, naturally, receive Pictish names with a view to their possible future claims to the Pictish throne: indeed, we know that the Beli just mentioned had a son, bearing the Pictish name Brude, who did become king of the Picts. Hence the Pictish names Run, Neithon,<sup>2</sup> and Elfin. Neithon is probably the Nwython of Haneirin's poems on the battle of Raith, possibly also the Nectan who succeeded to the Pictish throne about 597.

The name of Ceritic's father, Cynloyp, is a later form of the ogamic Cunalipos, apparently a Goidelic name containing Indo-European *p*,<sup>3</sup> and the name of his 'grandfather', Cinhil, is apparently adapted from Quintillus, that of a Roman emperor who reigned in 270—and suggests his having had an earlier ancestor of the same name.

Fer should be Goidelic, from its initial *f*, but in that case it should either mean 'Man'—a not very likely name—or be borrowed from the Roman name Verus—which Fer's date makes equally improbable. I suggest that the

<sup>1</sup> My idea that he was the Careticus of Geoffrey of Monmouth, an over-king of the sixth century, must be given up: the number of 'generations' between him and Beli II would be much too large.

<sup>2</sup> Kymricized from Rôn and Necton. The name of Mailcun's son Run in I is due to Mailcun's having married a Pictish princess—see my *Keltic Researches*, 83, and a forthcoming paper on 'Taliessin and his Contemporaries'.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Keltic Researches*, p. 153, on Andelipa. Sir J. Rhÿs has noted Cynloyp and several other names as having been borrowed into Welsh from Goidelic before the latter had lost Ind.-Eur. *p*.

original had *ſfer*, *i.e.*, Confer, that the *ſ* was on the margin, got rubbed away, and was not copied, and that *map* was then wrongly inserted (as it has been many times in these tables): this conjecture is supported by the absence of a stop between 'Confer' and 'ipse'. If it is correct, we have seven consecutive 'generations' whose names begin with C.

Confer itself is a funny name. If it is Goidelic, it should mean 'True hound'—but the *f* would have been silent long before the 'Genealogies' were compiled. If it is Welsh, it apparently stands for Confor, *i.e.*, the Convor (mutated from Con-mor, 'Great hound') of the *Book of Llan Dáv*.

As for the curious statement that 'Confer ipse est uero olitauc. dimor meton. uendituf. est.', I take it that he was 'sold to (the) Middle Sea', and that *olitauc* is a lost word, meaning 'much travelled', derived from the well-known *ol*, 'much', and Stokes's stem *itáó*, 'I go'.

He may have been captured by Saxon pirates (like Patrick), been sold into slavery in Gaul, and so have reached the Mediterranean—to escape afterwards or to receive his freedom from a Christian master.

In VII, the final *h* of Clinoch is Goidelic, and in VIII I regard [*C*]linog eitín as another Clinoc (who would be a nephew of the former), and not as a mistake for *Clitnoy eitín*, as Mr. Phillimore would have it. It is doubtless true that Clynog 'never could have been spelt with a final *g* in the tenth to twelfth centuries', but it is equally true that capital G is thrice miswritten for capital C in these tables, in Gloitguin (ii) for Cloitguin, Gatgulart (xviii) for Catgualatr, Gyl (xix) for Coyl, and it is quite possible that in an earlier MS. of these genealogies the names were written entirely in capitals.

In VIII note the Roman names Urbigena and Marcianus, converted into '[U]rbgen' and 'Merchianum', with

Gurgust either parallel to or metamorphosed from Pictish Vergust (Fergus) and Vurgust.

In IX, Mr. Phillimore (p. 176) says that ‘*Masguic clop* (= “M. the lame”)’ has apparently formed one of the elements of a name, *Masgoit cloflaut*, found in some MSS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth (ix, 12), the other element being the *Cinis scaplaut* of our xvi. The latter name I shall explain in due course. As to the former, Geoffrey undoubtedly borrowed from *some* MS. of our ‘genealogies’, and I suspect that Table IX should have read ‘Masguic clofaut’. In the later middle ages *c* and *t* are incessantly confused, owing to the way in which *t* was written. As to *clop*, it *might* arise from *cloflaut*, the final letters of which might have been written above the line for want of space, and so overlooked by a copyist, while a subsequent scribe would naturally read *clof* into *clop*, ‘lame’. *Cloflaut* might represent<sup>1</sup> the Latin stems *clāv-* and *lāt-*, and mean one who wore the ‘clavus latus’ or ‘broad stripe’ of a senator: compare the epithet ‘Pesrut’, ‘red-cloaked’, of Cunedag’s ‘grandfather’. But I prefer *clofaut* = *clavātus* (with the same meaning), which is in all three of my editions, in the Bern MS., and in MS. Laud misc. 720.<sup>2</sup> And I suggest that Masguit = Mascuit from a Goidelic Mascēt = Macsēt = Maxentius, and that his grandfather Coyl = Lat. Caelius.

In X, note Morcant the *Belgian* (‘bule’<sup>3</sup>), which suggests that his mother was a Menapiian; Garbaniaún, Vrban, and Grat, equaling Lat. Germanianus (Prof. Anwyl), Urbanus, and Gratus; and the many Eu-, Ou-, Iu- names, including one, Oudecant, which has the stem of the tribal name Decanti.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Latin *ā* becoming *au* and *o* in Welsh, and Welsh *f* being English *v*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Rawlinson C. 152 unluckily misses both names.

<sup>3</sup> This form is Goidelic.

<sup>4</sup> On which see my *Keltic Researches*, 28.

I cannot doubt that Ebiud should be Eliud. We have already had the two together as a doublet in II, and the *Book of Llan Dáv* contains no such name as Ebiud.

Teuhant and Tecmant are a mere doublet. Teuhant, Sir John Rhŷs has shown (*The Welsh People*, 90), is a degenerate form of Tasciovant, the *s* becoming *h*, and vowel-changes and droppings producing Tehevant, modern Tegfan. Teuhant is a blundered transcript of an earlier Tĕnant, *i.e.* Tehvant, while Tecmant represents Tecvant—the *m* standing (as in 'Oumun' and 'Amalech') for the *v* sound.

In XII, Elidir is doctored into Eleuther, after a Pope supposed to have sent missionaries to Britain. The first occurrence of this erroneous statement (on which see below, p. 95) is in the recension of the Roman Pontifical known as the *Catalogus Felicianus*, and made in 530. Elidir really answers to a Goidelic Ailithir or (*Martyrology of Donegal*) Elithir, *i.e.* 'foreigner', 'exile', or 'pilgrim'. See Baring-Gould and Fisher's *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 445, and Professor Kuno Meyer's *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*.

Table XVI is of exceptional interest, being obviously a line of descendants of the kings Tasciovant, Cunobelinus, and Caratacus.

This family were of the Goidelic-speaking Belgian conquerors of South England, and the names of most of them have been Kymricized (like Guortepir in II for Votecori). 'Teuhant' is followed by Cinbelin, Caratauc, and 'Guidgen'. The name of Guidgen (for Goidelic Vid(o)gen) means 'Wood-born'; he was probably born 'on the march' in the wars with the Romans. Then Louhen should be Lou Hen, on whose name see Sir John Rhŷs at p. 6 of this volume. 'Cinis scaplaut', who comes next, has a Roman name and



cognomen, which make it practically certain that he served in the Roman army. For *Civis* = *Canis*, 'Hound' (with *i* umlaut), doubtless the mere Latin translation of a Goidelic Cu(o)—while *scaplaut* is simply the Welsh transcript (with regular *au* for *ā*) of *scapulātus*, 'broad-shouldered,' found hitherto only in Low Latin, but shown by this nickname to be at least as old as the middle of the second century. His successors, Decion and Catel, represent Decianus and Catellus, the latter just possibly a Latin translation of Cunagnos (later Conan). But their successor Catleú (for Goidelic Cat(u)léo) has a Keltic name, 'War-lion', and the following name Letan is Goidelic. Adamnan, in his *Life of Columba*, writes 'de Cormaco nepote Lethani', and Letenn is the name of one of the earliest mythical Cruithni: Leitagnos is the earlier form postulated by Holder. Then comes Serguan, apparently for Servandus, another Latin name: he would seem to have been born about 260. He is succeeded by Caurtam, a name of which a later form is Caurdaf, 'dusky hero' or 'dusky giant'—*caur* being Irish *caur*, 'hero', Welsh *cawr*, 'giant' or 'mighty man', and *tām*, an adjective from Stokes's '\*teme dunkeln', which became obsolete very early, but is preserved in the names Cunatamos, Cunotamus, Condaf, Cyndaf, meaning 'dusky hound', and in various river-names, e.g., Tam (later Tâv, modern Taff) and Tamēsa, Tamēsis ('dark stream' or 'darkly flowing'). Then follow Caten, Neithon (for Goidelic Necton), and Run (for Goidelic Rōn). Ron and Necton are Pictish royal names, and the latter almost certainly implies Christian parentage.<sup>1</sup> The birth of this particular Necton should be about 350: the first of the name in the royal

<sup>1</sup> It appears to mean 'born of a baptized one': see *Keltic Researches*, 60.

Pictish succession probably came to the throne about 460, and may have derived his name from the Necton before us. With this Necton's son 'Run' the table ends, apparently in the early fifth century, and never comes into visible connexion with the Cunedag and allied lines. Yet the Tehvant of X must almost certainly have had an ancestress descended from the Tehvant of *this* table, and the fact that Dumnigual Hen had two grandsons<sup>1</sup> named Caurdaf (a later form of Caurtam) and Serfan (an earlier form of Serguan) puts an alliance with line V beyond doubt. This Caurdaf and Serfan had different fathers, and I suspect that their grandfather, Dumnigual, had married a daughter of the Caurtam, and granddaughter of the Serguan, of XVI.

But there was also certainly an alliance between this line and the house of Gwynedd: probably king Cadvan married a daughter of it. For he had a son named Kynvelyn, who died before his father, killed at 'Catraeth'<sup>2</sup> in 596, and who left a son Tecvann. See, for the text, Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 93-6, and, for the translation, i, 412-414.

The explanation of the Pictish ending of Table XVI is very simple. The Pictish royal succession was matriarchal, the king reigning by right of his mother; his father might be a foreigner, and indeed so often was one that exogamy may have been a compulsory condition. But the heir apparent always bore, or took, a Pictish name: thus, the son of the Northumbrian Anfrid reigned as 'Brude'. No change of language was involved in an alliance between the descendants of Caratacus and the Pictish royal family: both would speak Goidelic. Probably the former had gone

<sup>1</sup> See the *Bonhed Gwyr o Gogled* (Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 454-5).

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, the battle of Raeth=Raith, in Fife (the Cath Ratha of Irish chronicles). All the writers about the name have failed to see this!

North, like the Cunedag family, in Roman military service against the Picts, and the marriage (if it were so<sup>1</sup>), of which Necton was the offspring, was contracted during a time of peace.

At the back of Tehvant (who was coeval with the Christian era) comes what Mr. Phillimore justly calls a ‘marvellous list of the Roman emperors’ (beginning in the fourth century), all connected with each other and with Tehvant by the inevitable *map*, ‘son’! Yet this apparently ignorant and vainglorious forgery turns out to have a quite different and innocent origin, to reveal the source of this particular table, and to furnish an almost certain inference as to that of the remaining ones.

It has been said at the beginning of this paper that the ‘Genealogies’ occur only in the oldest MS. of the *Annales Cambriae*, in which they immediately follow those *Annales*. It has been said also that I have elsewhere shown the *Annales* to have been originally copies of the marginal entries on a 532-year paschal cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine contained in a book belonging to the church of Meneu (St. David’s). It now turns out that Table XVI was copied from marginal entries on another paschal cycle belonging to the same church—but, instead of being the obsolete cycle of Victorius, it was the current cycle of Dionysius. And this is how the proof is obtained.

(i.) The list of emperors, as it stands, is not complete, but only a liberal selection. As far back as Gallus, the names are put in the genitive after *map*, but before him up to Octavianus in the nominative—an indication that they were originally in the nominative, had no *map* before

<sup>1</sup> See the anecdote in Dion Cassius, lxxvi, 16, 5, from which we find that the great Pictish ladies were polyandrous as late, at least, as 211.

them,<sup>1</sup> and were tacked on to the pedigree of Tehvant in two instalments, by two different scribes.

Between 'Constantini' and 'Galerii' an & has been lost: it may have been on the edge of the parchment and have got rubbed away. Caroci should be either Carini or Cari, and Titti is corrupted from Taciti. Between Auriliani and Valeriani has been inserted 'map Antun. du & cleopatre', doubtless by the same late editor—anxious to show his knowledge of Roman history—who has added 'mus' after the name of Decius! That Antun is not part of the original list is shown by the two Antonines, Caracalla and Pius, being called not Antun but Antonius. Alaximus, as Mr. Phillimore conjectured, is miscopied from Maximus, and Commodus is called Commodius—but, apart from these later corruptions and from its omissions, the list is practically correct, *except for the addition of three names which do not occur in Roman history and which give the clew as to what it really was.*

(ii.) Those three names are 'map Mapmau cannuj' inserted between Aurelian and Caracalla, 'Moebuf' between Severus and Commodus, and 'Adiuuanduf' between Antonius and Trajan. None of these are Roman names at all, but Adiuuandus is Latin, and is obviously (like Adiutus, another part of the same verb) a name of Christian invention, meaning one whom God would aid. The presumption is that the other two are Christian also, and this is strengthened by the fact that four of the Roman emperors have notes of Christian events put against them, and that no other events whatever are recorded. Under Diocletian is mentioned his persecution of the Christians, and the fact that in his time suffered

<sup>1</sup> The *map*'s, indeed, were so recklessly put in that they were originally inserted also in various places before the words *magni, est, (per)secutus, xp'ia nos, passi, (bea)ti, and ih'u!*

the blessed martyrs Alban, Iulian, and 'Aron', with very many others: these names are the only ones given by Gildas, and indicate that the paragraph was written after his time, while the spelling Aron<sup>1</sup> is ground for believing that the name in question was not the biblical Aaron (as given in the existing late MSS. of Gildas), but the South Welsh name Araun (*Book of Llan Dáv*, 75, 172) or Arawn (in the *Mabinogi* of Pwyll, prince of Dyfed), representing Arānius—a name found in Algerian and Spanish inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> Under Nero is mentioned the passion of Peter and Paul, under Tiberius that of Jesus himself, and under Octavian the birth of Jesus.

The name 'Mapmaucannus', however, has a most remarkable tale to tell. The Map must almost certainly go out, for no one else in these tables bears a patronymic instead of a personal name, and doubtless in 'map Mapmaucannus' the first *map* was prefixed to an antecedent name, which a later copyist omitted because he was unable to read it.

Now Maucannus<sup>3</sup> is St. Mawgan, to whom there are two dedications in Cornwall,<sup>4</sup> but of whose life and date no tradition seems to be known. The original form of his name we shall arrive at later. But in the earliest life of St. David a monastery of Maucannus is mentioned, and in such a way as to bring it into the closest connexion with

<sup>1</sup> Baring-Gould and Fisher's *British Saints* (i, 103) mentions a Cae Aron near Caerleon, and a Cwm Aron in the parish of Llanfrechfa in the neighbourhood. Prof. Anwyl adds a Cwm A. in Radnorshire and (N)Antaron near Aberystwyth.

<sup>2</sup> For Algeria (Renier, 346), see the *Onomasticon* to Forcellini: for Spain, Holder under Arania and Aranus (*real* Aranius?).

<sup>3</sup> The same name is found in xxii, miswritten Maucanu, and in xxvii written Maucant.

<sup>4</sup> I do not add St. Maughan's in Monmouthshire, because, in his edition of the *Book of Llan Dáv*, Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans identifies that with a Lann Mocha and church of St. Machutus.

the Menevian saint. We are there told that (apparently at least thirty years) before David was born his father was informed by an angel in a dream that when he went hunting next day he would find near the river Theibi 'tria munera . . . que<sup>1</sup> custodienda filio ex te nascituro transmittite ad Maucanni monasterium quod nunc usque Depositi Monasterium vocatur'. Presumably this monastery was somewhere near the Teifi in South Cardigan, on the border of Pembrokeshire; but no one seems to have identified it, and even as early as the twelfth century it appears to have passed out of knowledge, since Giraldus Cambrensis, while copying the legend, leaves out the name.

Here then we have a monastery named after Maucannus in existence at so early a date (about 430) as to amply justify the belief that St. Mawgan belonged to that primitive period of British Christianity of which almost all records have perished; that, in fact, he lived when this table suggests, in the early third century. And the connexion of his monastery with the legend of David, taken with the Menevian origin of the immediately preceding *Annales Cambriae*, is presumptive evidence that the 'Genealogies' are copied from a St. David's book.

It is clear to me that the names of the Roman emperors were originally written on the margin of a double Dionysian paschal cycle of 1,064 years. Dionysius dated his cycles from the Annunciation, and this list begins with the Nativity. Its defective state between Tiberius and Antoninus Pius, with the displacement of Nero, may be due to the loss of one or more leaves, and the misbinding of another. After Constans the Tehvant genealogy was also copied on the same margins, or, at any

<sup>1</sup> *I.e., quae.* In Rees's *Cambro-British Saints* it is mistaken for the conjunction.



rate, on those of the leaves following. As a result, the transcriber of the genealogies found the list of emperors down to Constans immediately at the back of Tehvant, and mistook them for that king's ancestors.

As regards the book in which this double Dionysian cycle was contained, it might have been a Kalendar and book of paschal and other chronological calculations—like the Winchester MS. of the year 867 in the Bodleian (*MS. Digby 63*), which contains a similar double cycle defective at the beginning. Or it might have been a Psalter—like *MS. Douce 296*, in the Bodleian, executed about 1023 *for* Peterborough, but not improbably *at* Winchester (and certainly a product of the Winchester school)—which contains a paschal table calculated from 836. Or it might have been a Sacramentary. But the probability seems to be that it would be the same book whence the *Annales Cambriae* are transcribed, and the copy of Victorius's cycle upon which these *Annales* were *first* written was apparently made in 509. We have no examples of paschal cycles so early as that, and I do not know in what books they were then written. The Dionysian cycle would not have been added till after 767,<sup>1</sup> and, if it was written in the 509 book, additional leaves were doubtless inserted—a process the more easy since it was common for manuscripts to be merely stitched together without any 'binding', the place of which was served by leaving the outside pages of parchment blank.

And now for the personalities of Maucannus, Moebus, and Aduvandus.

Moebus I cannot identify, and can only say that the form is that of the endless names of saints with the honorific Irish prefix Mo or M' ('My'), or the corresponding

<sup>1</sup> The Dionysian rule was not adopted in Wales before 768.

Welsh prefix My or M', as Mochua for St. Cua, Maedoc for St. Aedoc. I fully expect to find eventually that it is corrupted from a Latin base.

Maucannus and Adiuvandus, however, are the early missionaries whose names by the twelfth century had become Faganus and Diuvanus.<sup>1</sup> They were then associated with the mission from Pope Eleutherus to King Lucius—who reigned not in Britain but in Edessa!<sup>2</sup> They are, all the same, no part of the early story of that mission as told in the Roman Pontifical, or later in Bede, or later still in the *Historia Brittonum* and Nennius, but were simply foisted into it because, as the earliest British missionaries known, they were supposed to belong to it.

As a matter of fact, they were not even contemporaries—Adiuvandus flourishing<sup>3</sup> before 139 and Maucannus (properly Pacandus<sup>?</sup>) after 210.

Let me now explain how Adiuvandus became Diuvanus, and Pacandus became Maucannus.

<sup>1</sup> There being no distinguishing stroke over *i* before the eleventh century, *diuvandus* admits of many corruptions. Diuvanus is one of the forms given by Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Ant.*, 54): the best Bodleian MS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth has *diuianū* for the accusative. Forms with an *r* at beginning, like Diruvianus (!) are due to *i* having been accidentally omitted, and then inserted above the line—supra-linear *i* being a recognised abbreviation for *ir* or *ri*.

<sup>2</sup> I owe the knowledge of this to Sir J. Rhÿs—see Harnack in *Sitzungsberichte d. k. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 19 Mai, 1904: he shows that the mission must have been from Eleutherus to Britium of the Edessenes, between 174 and 179, when Lucius Aelius Septimius Megas Abgarus IX was king at Britium.

<sup>3</sup> We do not know the exact chronological meaning of the insertions—whether they indicate the obits of these saints, or their arrival as missionaries, or their founding particular monasteries. But on the latest possible interpretations the dates cannot be after those stated. As to that of Maucannus, owing to the apparent loss of a leaf of the cycle at this point, we do not know if he belonged to the reign of Trajan or to that of Antoninus Pius.

The *A* in *Adiuvandus* was dropped either because it was an unstressed syllable at the beginning of a word (as, in popular Welsh, *Dolig*, 'Christmas', = *Nadolig*, *Natalicium*), or because in the ablative *Adiuando* it was mistaken for the Latin preposition *a*.<sup>1</sup> And *-nd*<sup>2</sup> regularly becomes in Welsh *-nn*, and then *n*—e.g., *land-* passed through *lann* into *lan*, *Llan*. Hence the stem *diuvand* would become *diuvan* in Welsh, from which twelfth century writers would assume Latin *Diuvanus*.

The lost original form of *Fagan*, *Maucannus*, or *Mawgan*'s name was apparently *Pacandus*.<sup>3</sup> This would regularly produce (P)*aucann*, (P)*awgan*, but the long *ā* of the Latin, being unstressed, might be shortened in common use and so give (P)*agan* (cf. *Nadolig* for *Nātalicium*). The *M-* forms are due to the addition of the honorific prefix (Goidelic) *Mo*, (Kymric) *My* (obsolete) and *Fy*. The *F-* or *Ph-* forms (*Phaganus*) apparently arise from the syntactic mutation of *P-* before the latter was dropped.

In Table XVII [C]uhelm, as Mr. Phillimore proposes, should be *Cuhelin*. The *h* is apparently used only to separate the vowels, as it is not found in the instances of this name in the *Book of Llan Dāv*. Is *Llyn Cwellin*, in Caernarvonshire, named from this particular person? Prof. Anwyl thinks the *ll* for *l* not very probable.

<sup>1</sup> Till at least the end of the eleventh century it was common to write prepositions as parts of the nouns they governed, so that we might have 'brittones conversi sunt apacando et adiuando' taken as = b. c. s a *Pacando et a Diuando*.

<sup>2</sup> A remnant of the final dental, though degraded to *t*, is preserved in the *Maucant* of xxvii, if that is not derived from a Lat. *Pacantius*. And Prof. Anwyl equates *Mengant*—the name of a much later saint. Geoffrey of Monmouth has the name *Mangantius* (vi, 18).

<sup>3</sup> I once thought *Facundus*, and had so explained it in proof: but I do not at all like the fact that no form gives a trace of the first *u*. *Pacandus* (= 'easy to be appeased') would be a quite intelligible name, and there are several instances of *Pacatus* as such.

Iouanaul (Lat. Iuvenalis) is, apparently, twelve generations later than Cunedag. A Iovenali was buried at Penprŷs in the Lleyn peninsula, but his tombstone (now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford) can hardly be later than the sixth century. Very likely both were of the same family.

In Tables XX and XXXI, note the Goidelic Ædan, also found as Aidan in the *Book of Llan Dáv*.

In Table XXII I cannot agree with Mr. Phillimore that *this* Cattegirn is described by Nennius as a son of Vortigern. That Catell's son should be named Cattegirn, and his grandson Pascent, is quite consistent with the fact that these were the names of two sons of Catell's former master, Vortigern. Cattegirn is again given as Catell's son at the end of XXIII.

In XXIV I suspected Ecrin, father of Ermic—no such name as Ecrin being found in the *Book of Llan Dáv*, though there is an Erbic (only another form of Ermic) who was son of *Elfin*. But Prof. Anwyl pointed to Egryn in place-names, and Baring-Gould and Fisher's *British Saints* (ii, 415) has an Egryn descended from Catell Durnluc (xxvii) and Catman (i).

At the end of XXV Glast<sup>1</sup> is the man from whom, ultimately, the name of Glastonbury is derived. Our Glaston-bury is corrupted from the A.S. Glastinga-burh (dat. Glastinga-byrig), the fort of the descendants of

<sup>1</sup> Glast itself is an older form of Welsh and Irish *glas*, O. Ir. *glass*—a colour-name, like Gwyn and Lloyd. It is very singular that the two Irish ogam-inscriptions which contain the gen. Glasiconas 'Gray hound', should have Glasi-, not Glasti-, or even Glassi-. Both are in Goidelic. There is ground for reading *is* = earlier *ist*, 'is', in the Goidelic calendar of Coligny (first century)—see *Keltic Researches*, 124-5—so that *-st* may have become *-s* in one dialect much sooner than in others. Or the language of the inscriptions in question may be an imperfect attempt at reproducing archaic forms.

Glast. In Latin Glastonia the *-onia* is a mere conventional abbreviation, as in Oxonia for Oxenafurda, Exonia for Exanceaster, and Seftonia for Scaftesburh.

The oldest recorded Welsh names of Glastonbury, or, perhaps, one should say the monastery of Glastonbury, are Yneswitrin and Yneswitherim, in Hearne's text (pp. 48, 97) of the twelfth century writer William of Malmesbury's treatise on the antiquity of Glastonbury.<sup>1</sup> Witherim, of course, can equally be written Witherī = Witherin, and, when I mentioned this form to Sir John Rhŷs, he at once said that it might represent Victorinus. Yneswitrin and Yneswitherin, in fact, are equivalent to Insula Victorini, though *-witrin* is doctored to suit the 'glass' derivation. 'Insula', I think, probably means not an isle in the geographical sense, but an isolated dwelling (see what I have said in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, vi, 449), and I take Insula Victorini to = Monastery of Victorinus.

Not only is Victorinus a common ecclesiastical name in early times, but there were at least two Welsh churches bearing its Welsh form. One is mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dŵv* (320, 7) as Lanwytheryn or Ecclesia Gueithirin (228): it is Llan Vetherin in Monmouthshire. The other is the church of Gwytherin in Denbighshire, said to have been founded by Gwytherin ab Dingad (Rice Rees, *Essay*

<sup>1</sup> See the very elaborate and valuable paper by W. W. Newell in *Publications of the Modern Language Assoc. of America*, xviii (N.S. xi), no. 4, pp. 459-512. Mr. Newell has unluckily been misled by an artificial appearance of identity of meaning in *glas-* and *witrin*, into saying that 'it cannot be doubted that the British name is in reality a translation . . . of the Saxon appellation' (p. 493). Philology has its snares of coincidence: the Port of so many Hampshire names was probably a real man, and not invented out of *port*: while the *Wihtgar* (a good Jutish name) from whom *Wiltgāresburh* (our Carisbrooke) is called has been quite erroneously regarded as mythical because he invaded the Isle of *Wight* (Vectis, Wilt).

on the Welsh Saints, 275). If that Dingad be the Dinacat of Table XVII (of which name it is only another form) then the Gwytherin in question was the great-grandson of a man who came into North Wales at the end of the fourth century, and he himself may be put late in the fifth.

Glast's name points to his being either of earlier date than 547 or else a Goidel. For Gildas, writing about 548,<sup>1</sup> addresses one of the kings as Cuneglase—not Cune-glaste or even Cune-glasse—so that in Welsh the *-st* had already become *-s*. On the other hand, the modern Fergus retained its original *-st* as late as the ninth century in Pictish Vurgust.<sup>2</sup>

Sir J. Rhys has, indeed, noted (*Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, 333) that the name Glast is found in the Redon cartulary, as that of a benefactor of the period 990-992. I do not hesitate to say that that is a mere antiquarian revival, intended to recall the founder of Glastonbury; as if an Englishman, nowadays, wishing to recall the great king of Wessex, were to name his son not Alfred but Ælfred. We have only to look at the time when this Glast lived. If he was a man of about 35 to 45 he was born when the monastery of Glastonbury was in its chief pride under Dunstan. If he was about 55 to 60, he was born when a crowd of Bretons were actually living in Wessex during the occupation of their own country by Norman invaders, and when Glastonbury would be their natural Mecca: he may even have been born there!

The note following Glast's name and containing the names of *Glastenic* and *loyt coyt* is, of course, corrupt, but

<sup>1</sup> See my letter in *The Academy* of Nov. 2, 1895. The *Annales Cambriae* do not say that Mailcun died in 547, but they put against that year a plague in which they say he died—a plague which may very well have lasted a year or two.

<sup>2</sup> The *-st* also lingers to this day in 'Llanrwst'.



clearly shows that either Glast or some one or more of his descendants came to or from Letocetum, our Lichfield. And here we find a parallel account in William of Malmesbury which must be summarized.

William mentions all the persons in this table, but mistakes them for brothers—an evidence that here also the *map's* are not original. He says that Cunedag was their *proavus*, which should strictly mean 'great-grandfather', but also = merely 'ancestor'. He calls the first *Iudnerth*, but, although the initial has not been painted in in the Harleian MS., Iudnerth is certain: see for this name the *Red Book of Hergest*, ii, 261. For Catmor he has *Cuthmor* (where the *th*, if correct, would be Goidelic), for Moriutned *Morvined*, for Morhen *Morehel*, for Botan *Boten*, for Morgen *Morgent*, for Mormayl *Mortineil*, and for Glast *Glasteing*—which is obviously only a variant of the *glastenic* in the note attached to Glast's name in the Harleian MS.

But Glast actually was great-grandson to Cunedag according to *MS. Jesus Coll.* 20 (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 90), which gives [M]euruc as son of Elaed, son of Elud, son of Glas, son of Elnu, son of Docuael, son of Cunedag wledic. And I have no serious doubt that this legend of the sow only slightly veils a most interesting piece of history, which I will now unveil.

Cunedag swooped down from the North 146 years before the reign of Maileun (*Historia Brittonum*, § 62), who died about 548 (see my note on p. 99), and, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth's data, was (before he became over-king) reigning in Gwynedd at least as early as one of the years 542-4. So that Cunedag may safely be said to have arrived in the Midland zone *circa* 390-400. He was then a middle-aged man, to say the least, for he had with him the son of his dead eldest son. Of the nine sons of Cunedag, Docmail was youngest but one, and, if we suppose

that Cunedag died in 410, we cannot place Docmail's death less than forty or Glast's less than one hundred years later—say *circa* 510. Now Arthur did not fight the battle of the Badon hill till 516 (*Annales Cambriae*), and it was his twelfth against the Saxons. According to the Breton tradition of Geoffrey, it was preceded immediately by the battle of the wood of Caledon, and that by a battle at Kaerluidcoit, *i.e.*, Letocetum, Lichfield, which the Saxons were then besieging. According to the eighth century *Historia Brittonum*, there were four battles between that of the Badon hill and that of the wood of Celidon, and the latter was immediately preceded by one on the river Bassas, which again was preceded by one in Lincolnshire (*in regione Linnuis*); Kaerluidcoit is not mentioned, but Bassas may have been the name of Hammerwich Water, which runs below Lichfield, and no fewer than three Staffordshire Basford's testify to the existence of the stem of the Welsh *bas* (= 'shallow') in ancient river-names in that county. So that we have definite reason for believing that within the limits reasonably assignable to Glast's life the city of his habitation was attacked by the Saxons. He and his family may have resolved to migrate to securer regions, or he may have inherited a principality in the South-West by marriage, or have been invited thither. He would follow the Iknield or Ryknield way from Letocetum till it joined the Foss, follow the Foss to Bath, and thence take the right-hand road to Wells and Glastonbury.

The mythical character of the sow part of the story is obvious.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Newell observes (p. 476): 'The pursuit of

<sup>1</sup> That a sow with a young litter, or about to litter, should travel the distance between Lichfield and Glastonbury *at all*; that she should, as she presumably would, pass through the cities of Cirencester and Bath without being stopped; and that her owner should be unable to

a lost sow, attended by wonderful adventures, was a commonplace of Old-Welsh literature. The pigs and apple-tree are introduced after Virgil, who makes Aeneas determine the site of Alba Longa in a similar manner.' I may add that in the case of Glastonbury the legend may have arisen out of a wish to explain the name of Sow<sup>1</sup> (whence Leland's Sowe Water), a possession of Glastonbury, which, I suppose, must be represented by the modern Southway on the Wells road. But in the rest of the story there is absolutely nothing incredible—nor do I see what ground there could have been to *invent* it, or out of what mythical elements it could have been developed, if untrue.

A striking feature in this table is that seven out of its twelve personal names contain the word *mor*, 'great'. Morhen, if rightly spelt, must be Mor Hen, 'Mor the Old'. But William of Malmesbury has Morehel, and *b* with an imperfectly-closed loop is so easily mistaken for *l* that I suspect Morheb, a name found in the *Book of Llan Dav*.

According to William, Glasteing followed his sow 'per mediterraneos Anglos, secus villam quæ dicitur Escebtiorne' to Wellis, and from Wellis through the wayless and watery way (*sic*) which is called *Sugewege*, that is, *Sow's way*, till he found the sow suckling its young under an apple-tree by the church at Glastonbury. 'Escebtiorne' has not been identified, nor can I find any Anglo-Saxon derivation for it. Consequently, I cannot doubt that the

overtake her till she had got to Glastonbury—all these things are beyond reasonable belief. That Glast and his family might have determined to settle wherever the sow littered is not so incredible, but I prefer to account for this part of the legend as I have done above.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot get any very early form of this name, the forms in the earliest alleged Glastonbury charters being clearly modernized. But I take Sow<sup>y</sup> to mean an isle formed by a stream called the Sow(e)—a name borne by two English rivers, one in Staffordshire, one in Warwickshire, while (Prof. Anwyl) a *Hueh* flows through Llanberis.

first half of it represents the Welsh *escob*, 'bishop', and the second half a derivative of that *tigerno-* stem which gives the name Tierney in Irish, and *teyrn*, 'lord', in Welsh. I take it to mean 'bishop's lordship'. And, as Lichfield was the seat of a bishopric, and so well fits the starting-place of a journey 'per mediterraneos Anglos', I regard 'Escebtiorne' as either a gloss on the name 'loyt coyt' or a misunderstood extract from some Welsh account.

William's 'Glasteing' is quite clearly from a misunderstood text. I agree with Mr. Phillimore's suggestion—which occurred to me independently—that the impossible 'unum funt' is corrupted from 'unde est', and I believe that the original ran 'Glast (unde est Glastenig) qui venit [ab urbe] quae uocatur Loytcoyt'. *Glastenig* I take to be simply Anglo-Saxon for 'Glast's isle', represented in charters by *Glasteneia*. Hearne's text, 56-8, also has *Glasteia*.

William's statement that the supposed twelve brothers were descendants of Cunedda may, perhaps, be due to the fact that the following table actually is one of Cunedag's descendants. He, or the authority he followed, may have had before them a copy of these 'genealogies' in which they mistook the two tables for a single one.

Roman names are represented in XXVI by Seissil (Goidelic for Sextillus? now Cecil!)<sup>1</sup> and Serguil (Servilius); and in XXVII by Pascent(ius). In this last the son and grandson of Catell obviously receive their names from the sons, Cattedgirn and Pascent, of his former master Vortigern (see *Historia Brittonum*, § 35).

In XXVIII Fernmail is Goidelic: in Welsh the *F'* would have been *Gu*. Teudubric is to be compared with Teudebur in V, and looks as if borrowed from a Teutonic Theode-

<sup>1</sup> I owe Cecil to Sir J. Rhys: the founder of the Cecil family was a favourite of Henry VII, and, being named David, was probably from *South Wales*. Prof. Anwyl suggests Saxillus.

bricht: but *-bricht*-forms are not as early as the date required, nor is the name found in the *Book of Llan Dáv*. I believe it to be a scribal error for Teudiric, due to a confusion between that name and Teuduber: Teudiric and Teudric are found in the *Book of Llan Dáv*, and I believe them to represent the Teutonic Theoderic.

In XXX Grippi[ud], modern Gruffydd, Griffith, is interesting, because the *Grammatica Celtica*, after citing instances of TT and CC, ‘infectae aspiratione’, says ‘Combinacionis PP transgressae in aspirationem exemplum ignoro’ (Z<sup>2</sup>, 151).

I have now to preface my chart with a few words of caution. First, that I have assumed that those who want to use it have access to Mr. Phillimore’s text, and that, therefore, it is needless to reproduce that in extreme minutiae—such as *loudogu* for *Loudogu* and *Guid gen* for *Guidgen*. Second, that my added dates are taken either from the *Annales Cambriae* or from the *Brut y Tywysogion*. Third, that I have made a few slight additions in italics from other sources in order to show connexions which would not otherwise be visible. Fourth, that some of the names may be corrupt: I have not had the time to investigate all those with which I was unacquainted, and of which I did not perceive the derivation. Fifth, that nothing approaching a satisfactory final chart is possible until not only all other Welsh genealogies relating to the same period have been collated, but until<sup>1</sup> all the person-names in the *Book of Llan Dáv* have been independently tabulated, and, as far as possible, dated. But what has been here done will be better than nothing, and will materially aid future workers in the same field.

<sup>1</sup> I have urged this work on a young Welsh student who, I hope, will carry it through.









IOLO GOCH'S

# “I Owain Glyndwr ar ddifancoll.”

BY W. J. GRUFFYDD, M.A.

AMONG the *cywyddau* dealing with contemporary events on which the fame of Iolo Goch rests, not the least interesting are the famous lines written to “Owain Glyndwr in hiding” (“I Owain Glyndwr ar ddifancoll”). Hitherto, no proper criticism of Iolo Goch’s poetry has been attempted. The late Charles Ashton’s edition is so uncritical, that many pieces are attributed to Iolo Goch which cannot possibly, from internal evidence, have been written as early as 1400. The most conspicuous among these is the *cywydd* under notice. We will proceed to state our reasons for thinking that this *cywydd* was not written to Owen Glyndwr, but to another Welsh hero who lived eighty years after him, and that, therefore, it could not have been composed by Iolo Goch.

After the first outburst of love poetry, which we find exemplified in the works of Dafydd ab Gwilym, some of the Welsh poets began to turn their attention to more serious matters, to the hopes and the sufferings, the virtues and the follies, of the Welsh nation. The first among these poets were Iolo Goch and Sion Cent, and they were followed by a long succession of minor bards such as Dafydd Llwyd o Fathafarn and Rhys Goch Eryri. The favourite medium for expressing their thoughts on these subjects was the *Cywydd Brud*—the *cywydd* of prophecy—often, it is to be feared, written wisely after the event. As these *cywyddau* were written in the pseudo-mystical

manner of the *darogan*, the later scribes, who were at a loss to know to which of the Welsh heroes it applied, often ascribed them to the wrong authors. As a general rule, these compositions were ascribed to Dafydd Llwyd, and occasionally, *cywyddau brud*, which were undoubtedly written by Dafydd Llwyd, were ascribed to others, including Iolo Goch. One has only to read some of the incoherent verse in Ashton's edition of *Iolo Goch* to realize this.

The *cywydd* to Owen Glyndwr, which we have under notice, is undoubtedly of this number. Even at first sight, it is evident that, with the exception of the first line, there is in it no reference whatever to Owen Glyndwr. It is supposed to have been written when Owen was in hiding, after his power had waned—but, surely, the *cywydd* is addressed to a young hero, who, as yet, had not tasted victory, who looked to the future for all his glory. If it was written to Glyndwr, where are the references to his past victories? Where are those pæans of victories gained, and of work accomplished which we are to expect in such poems? There is not a single reference which the most ingenious can possibly twist to bear such a meaning. This *cywydd* is full of hope for the future, written to an idol of the Welsh nation, not yet proved in battle, who remained in hiding, biding his time, and there is only one such hero whom the description will fit, and he is by far the commonest subject of the *cywyddau brud*, a man to whom all the Welsh poets of the period turned—and that man is Henry Tudor, afterwards Henry VII of England.

The oldest manuscript which Ashton, in his collection, has consulted is the *Glanyrafon MS. K.*, and in this manuscript the *cywydd* is *not* ascribed to Iolo Goch. No author is mentioned, and Ashton has to admit in his introduction (*q.v.*) that it must have been the last *cywydd* which Iolo

wrote. We see, then, that the manuscript authority for ascribing it to Iolo is not as strong as it might be. Besides, the *cywydd* is by no means in Iolo's style. Here we have a plain straightforward composition written in simple language, very unlike the epic and archaic style of Iolo Goch. It has none of the inversions, and none of the words borrowed from the vocabulary of the *gogynfeirdd* which distinguish the compositions of Iolo. But literary criticism of this kind is notoriously unsafe, and we have to turn to internal evidence of a different sort to establish our case.

The first line, "Y gŵr hir ni'th gâr Harri", does certainly seem to point to Owen Glyndwr; but here also, if we turn to the *Glanrafon MS.*, we find the reading "Y gŵr hir a gar Harri", and it is perfectly incredible that the dullest of scribes would have made such a mistake in the very first line if he knew that the *cywydd* was addressed to Glyndwr. The probability is, that the first line, as we should expect, contains the name of the hero, that is, *Harri*, and that the line should read "Y gŵr hir, *hygar* Harri", or something similar. When, however, we leave the first line, there is no necessity for conjecture of any kind. The poet asks, "Art thou alive?" and adds, "if thou art show thy shield, and from the land of Rome bring arms. Come from the east, thou mighty bull, and cast down the towers", etc.

The poet does not know where his hero may be in hiding, but encourages him to come at last "*and show his shield*"—which would be much more applicable to a young untried hero than to a veteran like Glyndwr. The time of the poem is undoubtedly between 1471 and 1485, that is after the time when Edward IV regained his throne, when Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, had to take his nephew from England to Brittany for protection. Further on in

the poem, the author calls him "ŵr a draeturiwyd", "thou who hast been betrayed". This reference, again, will not fit Owen Glyndwr, but can be easily connected with two incidents in the life of Henry Tudor—either when he was taken prisoner by the Yorkists in Harlech Castle in 1468, or when Edward IV applied to the Duke of Brittany to hand over to him his *protégé*. The Duke had actually delivered Henry, who was then a dangerous rival to Edward IV, being the head of the House of Lancaster, to the embassy sent by the English King, but the order was revoked at the last moment. The reference is probably to this event.

After the twelfth line of the *cywydd*, Ashton's copy reads:—

"Eyr glwys, dos, iór o'r Glyn,  
Iarll awchlaif i dir Llychlyn."

"Go, lord, thou beloved eagle, go from the Glyn, thou  
Earl of the keen sword, to the land of Norway."

Now, these lines are inexplicable, if we suppose that they are written to Owen in hiding, because in the rest of the poem he calls on him to come *from* the distant places of the earth *to* his country to deliver it. These lines, if genuine, would be the strongest argument against the old belief as to the authorship of the piece, but as a matter of fact they are evident interpolations, as they are not found at all in the *Glanvrafon MS.* Two other lines—

"Dwg feddiant Pedr Sant dan sêl  
Drwy iawnswydd Duw a'r insel—"

which seem to refer to a papal sanction, are not found in this MS.

In the tenth line, the author calls his hero "Darw mawr". Now *y tarw*, "the bull", was the name always given to Henry VII by the Welsh poets, *e.g.*, Dafydd

Llwyd in his *cywydd brud* beginning "Y gigfran a gân fel gwydd", refers to him as—

"Y *tarw* aergryf o'r teigradd  
Ynghroen llew egr yn lladd."<sup>1</sup>

When we come to the description of the arms in lines 15-16, we are on absolutely certain ground :—

"Y gŵr a ddug arwydd iach  
Yn ei darian bedeirach,  
Y tri llew glas fel asur,  
Trwy wyllt dan a'r tair rhwyll dur."

"The man who bore a sturdy device on his shield for four generations (*or* representing four families), the three lions azure, amid wild fire, and the three iron *rhwyll*."

Now *rhwyll* in the Laws of Hywel means a "cresset"; otherwise, it may mean "fretwork", that is, in heraldic language, a *portcullis*. Now the arms of Owen Glyndwr were, a shield charged with, quarterly, *four* lions rampant,<sup>2</sup> with no reference to the portcullis, that is to say, they were the ordinary arms of the Princes of Gwynedd. We have been unable to find the arms which Henry bore when Earl of Richmond, but we believe that the *portcullis* figured in the arms of the Earl of Pembroke, and the arms of Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry, were three lions.<sup>3</sup> But the following passage from Dafydd Nanmor, a contemporary of Henry, may throw some light on the subject. The poet says that the arms of Cynan, prince of Gwynedd, ought to be placed on Henry's banner :—

"Llun y tri llew o' wyn  
Yn sengl yn y sangwyn,  
Ar faner rhodder y rhain,  
Llewod ieirll o Owain—"

<sup>1</sup> This and the following quotations are taken from the MS. called *Llyfr Elis Gruffydd* in the Cardiff collection, and are given in Elis Gruffydd's orthography.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Powis Fadog*, vol. ii, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iv, Second Series (1853), p. 193.



*i.e.*, the lions of earls descended from Owen Tudur. However, it is certain that these arms were not those of Owen Glyndwr.

In lines 19-20, *Add. MS.* 14,970, reads—

"Rhown ni ar y paun diwarth  
Rhowch rwyf ar yr hwch a'r arth—"

and the *Glanyrafon MS.* more accurately reads—

"Rhown rif ar y paun diwarth."

which is an evident blunder for *rhown ri* as the *cynghanedd* demands—"we will place a master over the shameless peacock; set a king over the hog and the bear."

Now, anyone who has a slight knowledge of the poetry of the period knows that Richard III was always called "the hog" in English poetry and the "baedd" or "hwch" in Welsh poetry:—

"A *baedd* a dry medd y byd  
Ar i war, aur i wryd—"

says Dafydd Llwyd in his *cywydd* beginning "Breuddwydion beirdd", and in the French contemporary verse, *Les douze triomphes de Henry VII*, Richard III is called the "hog". The "*arth*", "the bear", was the badge of the Warwick family, which continually figures in these poems:—

"Mae Kadnaw a ddaw yn ddi  
Wrth ieir Ierwerth o Wa[r]ic."

*D. Llwyd.*

It is difficult to determine who is meant by "y wadd", but we find the word occurring in a poem of Dafydd Llwyd:—

"Mae pryder ar gyw yr eryr  
Maer *wadd* he[b] nemor o wyr."

The most significant reference, however, in the poem is the constant allusion to the hero as the hope of Môn:—

"Dyred wrth ddymuned Môn,  
O Nordd hyd yn Iwerddon."

“Cynneu dân, cyn oed unawr,  
I oror Môn, eryr mawr.”

“Cur a lladd y wadd a'i wŷr,  
Cyrn aur Môn, cur Normanwyr.”

“Aerllew Môn, iôr lle mynnoch.”

How these lines could ever have been twisted to refer to anyone but to a warrior descended from Anglesey stock it is difficult to imagine. In other poems addressed to Glyndwr, Môn is not mentioned, for the obvious reason that there is no special connection between him and that island, but these references are, of course, most appropriate in a poem written to Henry VII. Moreover, the saint and king of Môn is mentioned here, as he is always mentioned in connection with the Tudors:—

“Deigr *Gadwaladr* fendigaid,  
Dyred a dwg dir dy daid.”

Compare with this the following lines of Dafydd Nanmor:—

“Iarll Ritsmwnt, iemwnt oniaith  
*Gadwaladyr* ac oi dalaith.”

“Owain ai blant yn un blaid  
Etewynion frutaniaid,  
Iesu y gadw yn gadyr  
I gadw aylwyd *gyadwaladyr*.”

As a matter of fact, in all contemporary compositions of the time of Henry, Cadwaladr was regarded as the great founder of the family of Tudur. Take, for instance, this sentence from his Latin biography:—

“Atque, ut sui genitoris ab antiquis Britannis regibus descensum breve attingam, *Sancti Cadwaladri*, cui post longa temporum intervalla idem Henricus legitime successit.”

The author calls on his hero to bring with him substantial aid from Ireland. This is by no means without parallel in other poems of the period, celebrating the praise of Henry, *e.g.*—

"A gwyddyl a wna gweiddi,  
Nesaf a wnan in nassiwn ni."

*D. Llwyd.*

And again, when the poet calls on him to come from the Isle of Man, where he may be in hiding ("o Fanaw dir"), we find an analogy in the same poem of Dafydd Llwyd:—

"Llynges gwiber a gerir  
I *fanaw* y daw i dir."

The poem ends with the four lines:—

"Deigr Gadwaladr Fendigaid,  
Dyred a dwg dir dy daid,  
Dyga ran dy garennnydd,  
Dwg ni on rhwymn dygn yn rhydd."

"Come thou, and claim thy grandfather's share (*i.e.*, John of Gaunt). Claim thy kinsman's share, and deliver us from our cruel bondage."

The above are a few of our reasons for insisting that the poem is not addressed to Glyndwr. There are many others, but the facts already given appear to us to be overwhelming.

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# Welsh Folk-Lore of the Seventeenth Century

(APPARITIONS, KNOCKERS, CORPSE CANDLES),

As illustrated by Letters of John Lewis (Glaskeirig), the Rev. John Davies (Glenerglyn), Colonel W. Rogers (Hereford), Rev. Samuel Jones (Coedreken), Rev. Maurice Bedwell (Swansea), Daniel Higgs, Captain Samuel Foley, and the Rev. Richard Baxter.

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON, LL.D.

(*Manccinion.*)

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SHORTLY before Baxter's death he published his book on the *Certainty of the World of Spirits*.<sup>1</sup> The subject was not a new one with Baxter, whose piety, learning, and native ability was mingled with a good share of superstition. He shared the general belief of his age as to the reality of witchcraft and apparitions, but his references to such matters in *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*, and in other parts of his writings, are in the main derived from books. Thus when he alludes to the story of the Pied Piper it is to say that "most credible and godly writers tell us that on June 20, 1484, at a town called Hamel, in Germany, the

<sup>1</sup> "The Certainty of the World of Spirits. Fully evinced by the unquestionable histories of apparitions and witchcrafts, operations, voices, etc., proving the immortality of souls, the malice and misery of the devils and the damned, and the blessedness of the justified. Written for the conviction of Sadduces and Infidels. By Richard Baxter. London: 1691." The first edition is excessively rare, and even the cheap and mutilated edition issued in 1834 is not easy to procure. In the spelling of the Welsh place-names the original has been followed.

devil took away one hundred and thirty children, that were never seen again".<sup>1</sup>

But in relation to the folk-lore of Wales he presents some evidence of a different character. It may not be more credible than the quotations Baxter gives from "godly writers", but at least it is testimony that comes at first hand. Baxter prints letters from Mr. John Lewis, a magistrate of Glaskerigg, and from Rev. John Davis of Generglyn. He promises, but does not give, the testimony of Dr. Ellis. A small part of the letter from Mr. Davis is quoted by Aubrey, and has often been repeated, but the whole letter, full as it is of curious matter, has not been reprinted.

Another section of the book contains particulars as to a house at Llanellin, in Gowersland, where an apparition and other supernatural disturbances were alleged.

MR. JO LEWIS, A LEARNED JUSTICE OF PEACE IN CARDIGANSHIRE,  
WITH THE TESTIMONY OF DR. ELLIS, AND MR. JOHN DAVIS  
ABOUT THE DEAD MENS LIGHTS THE KNOCKERS AND APPARITIONS.

Mr. J. Lewis being a Justice of Peace and a man of learning, at the time, when, under Cromwell and Harrison, the Reading and weak parsons were cast out, and itinerant preachers set up, that turned four or five parishes into one of their circuits, and did little but preach, and shut up the doors where they came not, and by ignorant deerying superstition, forms, and ceremonies, set up error, anabaptistry and unjust separations. He being greatly grieved for these confusions, wrote largely to me about them, whereupon, and on more such instances, I wrote my five disputations of church government, liturgy, and ceremonies,<sup>2</sup> And Mr. Lewis joined with me in a design to have begg'd money in pity to Wales, to have set up a Welch colledge at Shrewsbury, and his notices about Apparitions came in but on the by, at my request: But tho' I dismember his letters with regret, by casting away the main part that was well worth the reading

<sup>1</sup> *Saints Rest*, chap. vii, sec. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This appeared in 1659, and was dedicated "To his Highness, Richard, Lord Protector",

(and all my answers to them), yet it would be so unsuitable to insert such matters in a history of spirits, that if any of his acquaintance blame me for it, they must accept of this excuse. He is known by published books of his own.<sup>1</sup>

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PART OF MR. JOHN LEWIS'S FIRST LETTER RELATING TO SPIRITS  
AND WITCHES.

Most Worthy Sir,

I have now another motion to you, as to that passage in your *Unreasonableness of Infidelity*, where you show the meaning of the spirit, as to humane learning, &c., and those twenty-nine considerations (for the page I cannot cite, because I have not the book at this very instant) because it is in the midst of the book, and not so discernable to all readers: I could humbly beg to you to get your printer and stationer to print them apart in a few small leaves, for there is nothing, generally, that is more mistaken among us than that, and I see the publishing here but so much of them in this kind, would do infinite good here; and I would myself be at charge of buying and dispersing many scores of them.<sup>2</sup> And because of that copious satisfaction you give of Spirits, than which there cannot be greater convincements against infidelity and Atheism. I could afford you several strange instances from these parts, but I shall trouble you

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<sup>1</sup> Baxter no doubt alludes to two publications of which there are copies in the British Museum. The catalogue entries read:

Lewis (John, Esquire).

Contemplations upon these times or the Parliament explained to Wales.

London 1646. 4°

E 349 19

102 a 77

Evangelio-grafa, or, some seasonable and modest thoughts in order to the furtherance and promoting the affaires of religion and the Gospel, especially in Wales. By J(ohn) L(ewis) Esquire.

London 1656. 4°

4175b

<sup>2</sup> Lewis here refers to the *Unreasonableness of Infidelity*, which appeared in 1655. In Section xxiii there are "twenty [not twenty-nine] considerations evincing the necessity of common knowledge, called human learning, notwithstanding the witness and helps of the Spirit". It does not appear that the suggestion of reprinting these considerations separately was adopted. No such reprints are to be found recorded in Grosart's Bibliography of Baxter.



only with two. Since the time I received your letter, there happened in my neighbourhood this following:—A man and his family being all in bed, about after midnight, awake in bed, he could perceive a light entring a little room, where he lay, and one after another of some a dozen in the shape of men. and two or three women, with small children in their arms, entring in, and they seemed to dance, and the room to be far lighter and wider than formerly: they did seem to eat bread and cheese all about a kind of a tick upon the ground; they offered him meat, and would smile upon him: he could perceive no voice, but he once calling to God to bless him, he could perceive the whisper of a voice in Welch, bidding him hold his peace, being about four hours thus, he did what he could to wake his wife, and could not; they went out into another room and after some dancing departed, and then he arose; yet being but a very small room he could not find the door, nor the way into bed, until crying out, his wife and family awaked. Being within about two miles of me, I sent for the man, who is an honest poor husbandman, and of good report: and I made him believe I would put him to his oath for the truth of this relation, who was very ready to take it. The second (if you have not formerly heard) the strange and usual appearance of lights (called in Welch, *dead men's candles*) before mortality, this is ordinary in most of our counties, that I never scarce heard of any sort, young or old, but this is seen before death and often observed to part from the very bodies of the persons, all along the way to the place of burial, and infallibly death will ensue. Now, Sir, it is worth your resolution, whether this may proceed from God or no; it is commonly imputed to the igneous air of the counties: But that evil spirits can come by so much knowledge, as to be always so infallible (though herein I confess them very vast) and be so favourable and officious unto man, as to be such seasonable monitors of his dissolution, and to give so much discovery of spiritual essences, and the immortality; I doubt whether they mind us so much good as this: Some wiles I confess they may have by such appearances, but it carries the benefits mentioned with it; whereas their disappearance makes more for infidelity and atheism; but this I leave to your judgment, begging pardon for this boldness in diverting you from your far better thoughts; and seeing it is my happiness to have this little invisible acquaintance with you, I shall omit no opportunity of troubling you with such poor thoughts as the Lord shall give unto me of the best things, humbly wishing (as for the making up the sad differences of religion among us) the Lord would give those in authority to weigh that pious and wise course you have proposed, as to those four great parties in the Dedication of your

“Saints Rest”, with my unfeigned prayers for your health and happiness,

Sir,

Your very thankful Friend

*Glaskerigg near*

and Servant, in Christ,

*Llanbadarnvour or*

JOHN LEWIS.

*Aberystwith in Cardiganshire,*

*Oct. 20th 1656.*

MR. JOHN LEWIS'S SECOND LETTER.

As for Apparitions, I am stored with so many instances, that require rather a volume: There is that evidence for the candles, that scarce I know any of age, but hath seen them, and will depose it. There is here a talk, whereof yet I have not certainty, that a daughter of the man mentioned in the last, fetching water at a well, had a blow given her, and a boy coming toward her, she charged him, with the blow, who denyed he was so near her; but bid her look upon her father, that stood not far off, and with that, he could see her father fling a stone at her, which passed with a mighty violence by her face, and the stone was found with prints of fingers in it: but no such thing as the father there, neither was he at home since the night before; but certain it is, that living men's ghosts are ordinarily seen in these parts, and unawares to the parties. We have in this County, several silver and leaden mines, and nothing more ordinary than some subterranean spirits called knockers (where a good vein is), both heard, and after seen, little statured, about half a yard long; this very instant, there are miners upon a discovery of a vein upon my own lands, upon this score, and two offered oath, they heard them in the day-time. Lieutenant Colonel Bowen, I hear, is upon discovery, that what you heard was witchcraft; but he holds canting tenents; all which minds us the more to admire the King of Spirits, our Lord God Almighty, and that our eyes behold but the least part of his secrets, and marvels: to whose arms and blessings, I commit and leave you.

Sir

I pray pardon this trouble of

Your very thankful Servant

*Glaskerigg the*

JOHN LEWIS.

*28 of November, 1656.*

MR. JOHN LEWIS'S THIRD LETTER.

As for the Candles, all the parts I know of Wales, as our neighbouring counties (as I hear) have experience of them; but whether so frequently as here, I will learn. I scarce know any Gentleman or

Minister of any standing, but hath seen them ; and a neighbour of mine, will shortly be at Worcester abiding (who hath seen them often and I will direct some to acquaint you, and upon Oath, if need be) a very credible aged person : For my part, I never saw the candles ; but those of my house have, and on a time, some years past, it was told me by them that two Candles was seen, one little, and a great one passing the Church way, under my house, my wife was then great with child, and near her time, and she feared of it, and it begot some fear in us about her : but just about a week after, herself first came to me (as something joyed that the fear might be over) and said (as true it was) an old man, and a child of the neighbourhood passed that same way to be buried : This she and I can depose, and truly myself especially, heard some uncouth warning, before my first child's Death, new Born, which is too large to relate : Such warnings and noises, are also here very common. and I do think there is scarce any (and I know it by myself) but before some remarkable occurrences of Life, will have some warnings, at least by Dreams ; of which there is a kind that may be ranked with these Apparitions, and it was not for nought, that the Stoicks of old held Sleep, *familiare & domesticum oraculum* : You shall learn more of me hereafter about the certainty of Candles and the Knockers.

Sir, I put you to your penance, by these under Lines, they show I can hardly part with you, I pray God continue, and grant you Health and Happiness answerable to the use you are of, for his glory among us.

Sir

Your very Thankful Servant

JOHN LEWIS.

*The 14 of February 1656.*

MR. DAVIS'S LETTER CONCERNING THE CORPS-CANDLES IN WALES.

Venerable Sir,

For your worth, hath purchased you that stile. With all due respects, you shall hereby understand that I am one, who sincerely blesseth himself, to have been much edified by you, as being confirm'd in some points, and informed in others by a piece of your learned and judicious works, termed by yourself a supplement, which proved to me a complement, and which you communicated to me by my worthy friend and special encourager John Lewis Esq. at whose request, I am to give you the best satisfaction I can, touching those fiery apparitions which do as it were, mark out the way for corpses to their *κοιμητηρια*, and that sometimes before the parties themselves fall sick, and sometimes in their sickness. Of these I could never

hear in England : they are common in these three counties, Cardigan, Caermarthen and Pembroke, and as I hear, in some other parts of Wales.<sup>1</sup> These *φαντασματα* in our language, we call Canhwyllan Cyrph (*i.e.* corps-candles), and candles we call them, not that we do see anything else besides the light, but because that light doth as much resemble a material candle-light as eggs do eggs, saving that in their journey the candles be *modo apparentes, modo disparentes*, especially when one comes near them ; and if one come on the way against them, unto him they vanish, but presently appear behind him and hold on their course. If it be a little candle, pale or blewish, then follows the corps either of an abortive, or some infant ; if a big one, then the corps of some one come to age ; if there be seen two or three, or more, some big, some small, together, then so many and such corps together. If two candles come from diverse places, and be seen to meet, the corpses will the like ; if any of these candles be seen to turn sometimes a little out of the way, or path, that leadeth unto the church, the following corps will be found to turn in that very place, for the avoiding of some dirty lane, or plash etc. Now let us fall to evidence ; Being about the age of fifteen, dwelling at Lanylar, late at night, some neighbours saw one of these candles, hovering up and down along the river bank, until they were weary of beholding ; at last they left it so, and went to bed : a few weeks after came a proper damsel from Montgomeryshire to see her friends, who dwelleth on the other side of that river Istwyth, and thought to ford the river at that very place where that light was seen : but being dissuaded by some lookers on (some, it's most like, of those that saw the light) to adventure upon the water, which was high, by reason of a flood, she walked up and down along the river bank, even where, and even as the aforesaid candle did, waiting for the falling of the water, which at last she took : but too soon for her, for she was drown'd therein. Of late, my Sextons Wife, an aged Understanding Woman, saw from her bed, a little blewish Candle, upon her tables end : Within two or three days after, comes a fellow in, enquiring for her Husband, and taking something from under his Cloak, claps it down directly upon the Table's end, where she had seen the candle, and what was it, but a dead-born Child ? Another time, the same woman, saw such another Candle up on the other end of the self same Table, within few days after, a weak Child, by myself newly Christned, was brought into the Sextons House where presently he died : And when the Sextons Wife, who was then Abroad, came

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<sup>1</sup> Aubrey, when quoting a part of this letter, adds Radnor as another habitat of the corpse candle.

home, she found the woman shrouding of the Child, on that other end of the Table, where she had seen the Candle. On a time myself, and a kinsman coming from our School in England and being three or four hours benighted, ere we could reach home, were first of all Saluted by such a Light, or Candle, which coming from a House, which we well knew, held his course (but not directly) the Highway to Church; shortly after, the Eldest Son in that House Deceased, and Steered the same course. Myself and my Wife in an evening, saw such a Light, or Candle coming to the Church from her Mid-Wifes House, and within a month, she herself did follow: At which time, my wife did tell me a Story of her own mother, Mrs. Catherine Wyatt, an Eminent Woman in the Town of Tenby, that in an evening, being in her Bed-Chamber, she saw two little lights just upon her Belly, which she essayed to strike off with her Hand, but could not, within a while they vanished of themselves. Not long after, she was Delivered of two Dead-born Children: Long sithence there happened, the like in mine own House; but to a Neighbours Wife, whom my wife did sometimes call for, to do some work or other and (as I credibly heard within these three days) to some good Gentlewoman also in this very parish: where also not long since, a neighbours Wife of mine, being great with Child, and coming in at her own Door, met two Candles, a little, and a bigg one, and within a little after, falling in Labour, she and her child both dyed.

Some thirty-four or thirty-five years by-gone, one Jane Wyatt, my wife's sister being nurse to Baronet Rudd's three eldest Children, and (the lady mistress being deceas'd) the lady controuler of that house, going late into a chamber where the maid-servants lay, saw there no less then five of these lights together. It happened a while after, the chamber being newly plaistered, and a great grate of coal-fire therein to hasten the drying up of the plaistering, that five of the maid-servants went there to bed, as they were wont, but (as it fell out) too soon, for in the morning they were all dead, being suffocated (I conceive) in their sleep with the steam of the new tempered lime and coal. This was at Llangathen, in Carmarthenshire.

Some thirty three or thirty four years ago: upon a Tuesday coming towards home from Cardigan where I had been injoynd to Preach the Session Sermon: *Incipiente adhuc crepusculo*, and as Light as Noon, and having as yet, nine long miles to ride, there seemd twice or thrice from behind me, on my Right side, and between my Shoulder and my Hat, to fly a little whitish thing, about the bigness of a Walnut, and that *per intervalla*, once in Seventy or Eighty paces: At first I took no notice of it, thinking it had been but the glimpsing of my little Ruff, for such then I wore; by Degrees it



waxed Reddish, and as the night drew on, redder and redder, at last not *ignis fatuus*, (for that I partly knew) but *purus putis ignis*, both for Light and Colour, At length I turned my Horse twice or thrice, to see from whence it came, and whether it would flash into my face, then nothing I could see; but when I turned homewards, it flashed as before, until I came to a village called Llanristid, where as yet I did not intend to Lodge, though there were four Lodgings and one of them (save one) the next House in my way, which, when I passed by close, being just against the door, my fire did flash again upon, or very near the Threshold, and there I think it lodged: for I saw it no more. Home still I would go, but bethinking myself, that so I might tempt God, and meet a worse Companion than my former: I turned to the furthest Lodging in the Town, and there after a little rest, in a brown Study (because mine host was an understanding man, and Literate, and such as could and had but lately read his Neck-Verse in pure Roman Language) I could not contain, but needs must tell him of the Vision, he the next day to some going to the Sessions, they to others there, at last it came to the Judges Ears insomuch, that the greatest news and wonder at the then Assises was the Preachers Vision. To come at length into the Pitch or Kernel (for I have been too long about the Husk and Shell) at that very Sessions one John William Lloyd, a Gentleman, who dwelt, and whose Son yet dwells within a mile of Glasterig, fell sick and in his coming homewards, was taken with such a violent Paroxism, that he could ride no further than the House, where I left my Fire to entertain him, and there he lighted and Lodged, died about four days after. *Ex abundante*, you shall understand that some Caudles have been seen to come to my Church, within these three weeks, and the Corpse not long after. *Hactenus de Candelis nostris*.

Another kind of apparition we have which commonly we call Tan-we or Tan-wed because it seemeth fiery. This appeareth, to our seeming, in the lower region of the air, straight and long, not so much unlike a glaive, moves or shoots directly, and level (as who would say I'll hit), but far more slowly than *Stellæ cadentes* or star shot, lighteneth all the air and ground where it passeth, lasteth three or four miles, and more, for ought is known, because no man seeth the rising or beginning of it: when it falls to ground it sparkleth, and lighteneth all about. These, before their decease, do fall upon Free-Holders lands, and you shall scarce bury any such with us, be he but a lord of a house and garden. but you shall find some one at his burial, at least wise in his neighbourhood, that had seen this Fire to fall on some part of his lands. Two of these at several times, I have seen myself, since I studied meteors, and since I was a minister, and



narrowly observed, even till they were in the ἀκμῆ and began to fall, but the interposition of grounds marred the conclusion: for where, and how they fell, I saw not; but where I did guess, they fell. There died in the one place an aged gentleman; in the other, a free-holder too, though of a meaner rank. To come nearer home:

My mother's first husband (for my father married her a widow) walking about his ground, saw one of these darts, or piles, aloft, which fell down hard by him, shone far, and sparkled round about his body, he took it for a warning-piece, made his Will, and having lived in good health, some four or five months after, dyed.

A little before the decease of mine own father, aged ninety-six, a son-in-law of his, who dwelled two miles off (but upon higher ground) saw such another fall in a close behind the old man's house, which gave such a light, that by it he did clearly see the house, the hedges, and the oaks in the wood adjoining. Sir, so many of these evidences, as I saw not myself I received from understanding and credible persons and such as would not lye, no, not for a benefice: and yourself may receive the same from me, as from one that was never too credulous, nothing supperstitious, and as little ceremonious. These secrets I dare not father upon Satan: I will not honour him so much, so much as to ascribe to him the knowledge of contingent futures. I presume that of himself, he cannot certainly know whether or when a healthy man shall sicken, nor whether or when he shall dye of his sickness, nor whether he shall dye by sickness, or by fire, or water, &c., nor (in an open country especially) which way, of two, three, or more, the corps shall be brought to Church, whether it shall meet another corps in the way, whether it shall pass a river, by the ford or bridge, how many stops, turnings, and windings it shall make, Satan can have no certain foreknowledge of all such circumstances and more: but this candle maker and director of them too forsees and foreknows them all, and therefore must needs be the Creator, who, as according to the good pleasure of his will, he hath determined and allotted to several nations their several habitations, dispositions, and conditions, even so (as I suppose) hath he vouchsafed to each of them some peculiar signs and tokens, if none to some, which I cannot believe, and if to some more and more wonderful than to other some, for my part, I can give no other reason for it but his will. This, with my hearty prayers for yourself, your pious and learned brethren of the Association.

I rest your Friend in all kind offices  
that lye in my power

JOHN DAVIS.

*Geneglyn the 19 March 1656.*

SEVERAL LETTERS TO MR. RICHARD BAXTER IN RELATION TO AN  
APPARITION IN THE HOUSE OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL BOWEN,  
IN GLAMORGANSHIRE, IN WALES. IN THE YEAR 1655.

COLONEL ROGERS, THE GOVERNOR OF HEREFORD, HIS LETTER : TO-  
GETHER WITH AN ENCLOSED RELATION OF AN APPARITION, &c.

Dear Sir,

By the enclosed you will find something of the Business you expected from me: (It is certain and true I have received it from very good hands), More there was, but they did not think it convenient to put it on paper. My request is, that you will not expose it to public View; it may rather do harm than good. I know that God hath given you Wisdom, and you will make good use of such things: It may harden others. This, with the Enclosed, is all at present from

Your Cordial Friend

and Servant,

W. ROGERS.

*Hereford, Aug. 23rd, 1656.*

THE ENCLOSED RELATION OF THE LATE STRANGE APPARITION IN THE  
COUNTY OF GLAMORGAN.

In the beginning of the late War a Gentleman of that County being oppressed by the King's Party, took Arms under the Earl of Essex, and by his Valour obtained a good Repute in the Army; so that in a short time he got the Command of Lieutenant Colonel. But as soon as the heat of the War was abated, his Ease and Preferment led him to a careless and Sensual Life; insomuch that the Godly Commanders judged him unfit to continue in England, and thereupon sent him to Ireland, where he grew so vain and notional, that he was cashiered the Army; and being then at liberty to sin without any Restraint, he became an absolute Atheist, denying Heaven or Hell, God or Devil, (acknowledging only a Power as the antient Heathens did Fate,) accounting Temporal Pleasures all his expected Heaven: So that at last he became hateful, and hating all civil Society, and his nearest relations. About December last, he being in Ireland, and his Wife (a Godly Gentlewoman, of a good family, and concluded by all the Godly People that knew her, to be one of the most sincere and upright Christians in those parts, as being for many Years under great Afflictions, and always bearing them with Christian-like-Patienee) living in his house in Glamorgan, was very much troubled one Night with a great Noise much like the sound of Whirl-wind, and a violent beating of the Doors or Walls, as if the whole House were falling in pieces: And being in her Chamber, with most of her family, after praying to the Lord, (accounting it

sinful Incredulity to yield to Fear) she went to bed ; and suddenly after, there appeared unto her something like her Husband, and asked her whether he should come to Bed. She sitting up, and praying to the Lord, told him, he was not her Husband, and that he should not. He urged more earnestly : *What ! Not the Husband of thy Bosom ? What ! not the Husband of thy Bosom ?* (Yet had no power to hurt her.) And she together with some Godly People, spent that Night in Prayer, being very often interrupted by this Apparition.

The next Night, Mr. Miles, (a Godly Minister) with four other Godly Men, came to watch and pray in the House for that Night, and so continued in Prayer, and other Duties of Religion, without any interruption or noise at all that Night. But the Night following, the Gentlewoman, with several other Godly Women, being in the House, the noise of Whirl-wind began again, with more violence than formerly, and the Apparition walked in the Chamber, having an insufferable Stench, like that of a Putrified Carcase, filling the Room with a thick Smoak, smelling like Sulphur, darkening the Light of the Fire and Candle, but not quite extinguishing it ; sometimes going down the Stairs, and coming up again with a fearful noise, disturbing them in their prayers, one while with the sound of Words which they could not discern, other while striking them so that the next Morning their faces were black with the Smoak, and their Bodies swollen with Bruises.

Thereupon they left the House, lest they should tempt the Lord by their over-bold staying in such Danger, and sent this Atheist the sad news of this Apparition ; who coming to England about May last, expressed more Love and Respect to his Wife than formerly ; yet telling her, that he could not believe her Relation of what she had seen, as having not a power to believe anything but what himself saw, and yet would not hitherto go to his House to make trial, but probably will e'er long, for that he is naturally of an exceeding rash and desperate Spirit.

*August 1656.*

MR. SAMUEL JONES'S LETTER IN RELATION TO LIEUTENANT COL. BOWEN, TOGETHER. WITH AN INCLOSED LETTER FROM MR. MAUR. BEDWELL ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

Worthy and much Honoured,

You may be pleased to remember, that when I waited upon you, at the Sheriff's House, in Sallop, in August last ; amongst your other Enquiries touching the state of that poor Country where the Lord hath cast my Lot for the present ; you desired me then to impart

what I had received by Relation, concerning the Apparitions in one Col. Bowen's House, and upon my return to procure you some further Intelligence touching that Tremendous Providence. Whether it be by Time, or Familiarity, with the noise hereof, or rather, the (no less to be admired) Blockishness of the Spirits of Men, that the Horror of that terrible Dispensation be allay'd, I know not, but surely the thing itself was very Stupendous, and the remembrance of it carries much Amazement with it still, to them that have anything of Tenderness or Understanding left them. By the inclosed, from an Honest and Godly Hand, not far from the Stage where these things were acted: You may understand the Substance of that matter, the Party, (being a Minister of the Gospel) perfectly knew Colonel Bowen, and hath often conversed with him, both before and since his House was haunted. If you are pleased to command any further Satisfaction herein, I shall take a Journey myself into the place, and endeavour to gratifie your desire, as to any further particular that you desire the knowledge of. If any publick use be made hereof you may conceal my Friends name and mine own, lest any offence should be taken by some of the Parties Relations in Parliament and Council. Of the receipt of this Paper I desire to hear with all convenient speed. At the Throne of Grace vouchsafe to remember your weak and wretched Brother, who yet desires to be found in the number of them that are,

Sir,

Yours in the surest Bonds

to Honour and Serve you

*Coedreken Nov. 28th, 1656.*

SAMUEL JONES.

The Reasons why forbearing Names was desired, being now over (yet Mr. S. Jones still living) I think my self disobligh'd as to that restraint.—R. B.

MR. MAUR. BEDWELL'S INCLOSED LETTER.

Dear Sir,

Glad I am of your safe return, and gladder should I be to be instrumental, according to my weak Capacity, of nayling you to these parts. I hope if my desires are agreeable to the Lord, you will meet with some directing Providences from him, which will answer all Objections.

As to Col. Bowen's House, I can give you some brief particulars, which you may credit as coming from such, who were not so foolish as to be deluded, nor so dishonest as to report an untruth: What I shall write, if need were, would be made good, both by Eye and Ear Witnesses. The Gentleman, Col. Bowen, whose House is called Lanellin in Gowersland, formerly was famous for Profession of

Religion, but this day is the saddest man in his Principles I know living. To me, in particular he hath denied the Being of the Spirit of the Lord: His Argument thus, tither 'tis something or nothing; if something, shew me, tell me what it is &c. and I believe he gives as little credit to other Spirits as the Sadduces. At his House, aforementioned, he being then in Ireland, making Provision for removing thither, these things happened. About December last, his Wife being in bed, a Gracious Understanding Woman, and one whom little things will not affright; one in the likeness of her Husband, and just in his Posture, presented himself to her Bed-side, proffering to come to Bed to her, which she refusing, he gave this answer, What refuse the Husband of thy Bosom: and after some time, she alledging, Christ was her Husband, it disappeared: Strange miserable Howlings and Cries were heard about the House, his Tread, his Posture, Sighing, Humming, were heard frequently in the Parlour; in the Day time often the Shadow of one walking would appear upon the Wall. One night was very remarkable, and had not the Lord stood by the poor Gentlewoman and her two Maids, that night they had been undone; as she was going to Bed, she perceived by the impression on the Bed, as if some Body had been lying there, and opening the Bed, she smelt the smell of a Carcase some-while dead; and being in Bed (for the Gentlewoman was somewhat Courageous) upon the Tester which was of Cloth, she perceived something rolling from side to side, and by and by being forc'd out of her bed, she had not time to dress her self, such Cries and other things almost amazing her, but she (hardly any of her Cloths being on) with her two Maids, got upon their knees at the Bed-side to seek the Lord, but extremely assaulted, oftentimes she would, by somewhat which felt like a Dog under her Knees, be lifted a foot or more high from the Ground: some were heard to talk on the other side of the Bed, which one of the Maids hearkening to, she had a blow upon the Back; Divers assaults would be made by fits; it would come with a cold breath of Wind, the Candles burn blew and almost out; horrible Screamings; Yellings, and Roarings, within and without the House sad smells of Brimstone and Powder, and this continued from some nine at Night to some three the next Morning, so that the Poor Gentlewoman and her Servants were in a sad case; the next Morning smelling of Brimstone and Powder, and as I remember black with it, but the Lord was good; Fires have been seen upon the House, and in the Fields; his Voice hath been heard luring his Haukes, a Game he delights in, as also the Bills of the Hanks. These are the chief things which I dare recommend upon Credit, and I could wish, that they, who question the Existency of Spirits had been but one night



at Lannelin to receive satisfaction to their Objections; This continued so violent, that the Gentlewoman was fain to withdraw to her Mothers House; but her Husband coming over about some four Months since, his Confidence did not serve him to lodge at Lannelin, although we have heard nothing of trouble to the House since his coming over. Sir the Dispensation, as it was exceeding terrible, so very remarkable; and what the voice of God might be in such a thing 'tis not clearly known yet; He is as Atheistical as ever, all his Religion if I may call it so, being comprised in the acknowledging a power, which we, as he saith, may call God, and waiting for some infallible miraculous Business to verifie to him all the rest we own as our Religion. Sure, Sir, if ever a Blasphemer was unworthy to live, this is the Man: and certainly his Sin will find him out: He is now gone to Ireland; let these things be divulged only as to the matter without names. Assure the Gentleman, your Friend, they are very Truths; I have somewhat more than ordinary for what I say. At the first we concluded, the Wretch had been dead, but 'twas otherwise, and therefore the more remarkable.

Your affectionate Brother,  
to Love and Serve you

MAUR. BEDWELL.

*Swansy Octob. 16, 56.*

MR. DANIEL HIGGS HIS LETTER, CONCERNING THE APPARITION IN  
LIEUTENANT COLONEL BOWEN'S HOUSE.

Dear Sir,

As to the Concern you commit to me about Colonel Bowen, accept of this Account.

I have discoursed with Brother Samuel Jones, who gave you the first Narrative, which if you have lost, he hopes he may find the Copy of the Letter, and I shall send it. 'Twas one Mr. Miles, an Anabaptist Minister, that wrote the Letter to one Mr. Bedwell, Minister of Swansy, who sent it Mr. Samuel Jones. This Miles (who spent a night in Prayer in Colonel Bowen's House in the time of the disturbance) is gone for New England. Two Ministers more, with myself, went to spend another Night in the House, but Mrs. Bowen was gone with her family, and we stayed not, but went to give her a Visit, who related strange things, but I cannot remember Circumstances. The two Ministers are also gone, But since I received yours, I have discoursed Mr. Bowen's Maid, who was in the House, and I judge her throughly Godly, who doth attest the truth of these Apparitions, Noises, &c. which I suppose you had fully in your Narrative; but Time hath somewhat obliterated Circumstances with her. I know not well (Sir)



how to get greater light; and I must assure you, I find not anything out to invalidate that Report you have had, but much that confirms it, I shall proceed according to your further Direction in this, or any other Concern of yours, and that with much Chearfulness and Complacency, I commit you, and your huge Labours to our mighty and merciful Lord, by Prayer and all well Wishes. And if you can think of anything farther for me, or gather anything by Discourse with Learned Men, vouchsafe to impart it; and imprint me (poor Worm) on your Soul before our Father. I have somewhat trespassed by Proximity, which becomes me not to such a Person, in such a Sphere: But excuse him who is

Your afflicted

poor Brother

DANIEL HIGGS.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL FOLEY'S LETTER CONCERNING LIEUTENANT COLONEL  
BOWEN.

Worthy Sir,

The best Account I can get of Colonel Bowen is this, viz. That he is little sensible of his sad Condition. He lives in the County of Cork, in a beggarly way, though he hath a fair Estate. Some Months since, he turned his Wife and Children from him, in that sad unkind manner, that they were forced to seek Relief from some Friends in Youghall, to help them in their Return to Wales, where they continue. Not long since, in Discourse with Baronet Ingolsby, and Mr. Gilbert, Minister of Limerick, from whom I have the most part of this Relation, he said, he would give Ten Thousand Pounds to know the Truth about God. 'Tis reported he is haunted with ghastly Ghosts and Apparitions, which frequent him. I have written to the neighbouring Ministers and Gentlemen of my Acquaintance as effectually as I could, enclosing a copy of your Letter; and from them I hope to have a more full Account concerning this poor Man. Your Letters indeed came safe, but not till August though dated in May. Sir, in any thing wherein I may serve you, you may freely command me: But wherein I may serve the Church of God, the best, and utmost of my endeavours, through the Lord's Assistance, shall not be wanting. What farther shall come to my Hands shall carefully be reported to you, by him who begs your Prayers, and subscribes,

Sir

Your very Affectionate  
Servant,

SAMUEL FOLEY.

*Clonmell Octob. 6,*  
1658.

From these letters we may fairly attribute to Richard Baxter the distinction of being the earliest known collector of Welsh folk-lore—a distinction he would not have understood and would not have desired. Now we should be glad to spare many pages of the *Certainty of the World of Spirits* for more testimonies as to their customs and beliefs from Welsh witnesses of the seventeenth century. Baxter in this sense is our earliest modern author, and to the rarity of his book must be attributed the fact that, except for the quotation by John Aubrey—which has often been requoted without verification—he has passed unnoticed by later writers.

The first reference in the first letter appears to be to the fairies, for fourteen or fifteen ghosts—not counting some small children—could not have found space in a little room. The “tick” or sheeting laid on the floor would form a table-cloth for this ghostly banquet. But, as it is expressly stated that the chamber seemed to be “far lighter and wider than formerly”, the visitants may have been of the ordinary size.

In the second letter we hear of the frequency of apparitions, and there is a curious story of the apparition of a living person. There also is casually mentioned a stone with the finger-prints made by the apparition of a living man. Of these simulacra of the quick and not of the dead the most remarkable is that of Colonel Bowen, to be mentioned later.

The second letter likewise refers to the belief in the subterranean “knockers”. These dwarfs have some relationship to Wayland Smith, and are common to all Europe where there are mining operations.<sup>1</sup> There are interesting notes on the *coblynau* in Elias Owen’s *Welsh*

<sup>1</sup> See Grimm’s *Teutonic Mythology*, ed. by Stallybrass, pp. 446, 1410.

*Folk-lore.*<sup>1</sup> He connects them with the ancient traditions of a former race of cave dwellers. There is a reference to them by a divine of the early part of the seventeenth century. Thomas Tynme (d. 1620), in the fourth chapter of his *Silver Watch Bell*, says: "What else can these fearfull fearful flames, horrible smoke burning stones, in such hideous manner blown up, and the terrible roaring within that mountain Ætna import but a certain subterranean part of Hell? As also it may be in like manner thought of the marine rock of Barry, in Glamorganshire, in Wales: by a certain cleft or rift whereof (if a man lay his ear thereon) is heard the worke as it were of a smith's forge: one while the blowing of bellows: another while the sound of hammers, beating on a stithy or anvil: the noise of knives made sharp on a whetstone: and the crackling of fire in a furnace, and such like: very strange and admirable to hear."

The belief in the *canwyll gorff* and in the *drychiolaeth* lingered long and is perhaps not yet extinct. Lewis gives very emphatic testimony as to the universality of the belief in this form of death portent. That it was not confined to the poorer classes is evident from the account he gives of his wife's fears. John Davis is another interesting witness, and gives some very circumstantial accounts, including one in which he played a prominent part. Davis has a remarkable account of a fiery meteor, which, falling upon the ground was supposed to prophesy the death of the owner of the land. Of this particular omen I do not know any other notice.

The account of the apparition and disturbances at the house of Lieut.-Colonel Henry Bowen, of "Lanellin in Gowersland" is a remarkable document. His name appears in the Calendar of State Papers as taking part

<sup>1</sup> P. 112.

in the military arrangements of the Commonwealth authorities in Ireland in 1651, but of his personal history these letters are the only data. It is an ironical circumstance that the house of an agnostic should become the scene of ghostly disturbances. There are many narratives of similar noises elsewhere, but the most remarkable incident is that of the apparition. Colonel Bowen was then alive in Ireland, but something or someone resembling him was seen and heard by his wife. Yet the resemblance was not so complete as to satisfy her of his identity. The narrative is not so lucid as might be desired, but it leaves the impression that the *eidolon* of Bowen was seen by several persons. With all its details the narrative is oddly inconclusive, and did not even effect the conviction of the doubting Cromwellian soldier.

The modern inquirer cannot help regretting that Richard Baxter and his colleagues had no foreglimmerings of the science of folk-lore. What a rich harvest they could have had in the seventeenth century; whilst in the twentieth, scattered ears of corn, to be picked up with painful industry, are all that the modest ardent gleaner can hope to gather.

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# Notes on certain Powysian Poets.

By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER, WREXHAM.

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A FEW desultory notes relating to various Welsh poets of Powys, and of the commote of Oswestry once included therein, may be worth stringing together, however loose may be the tie that binds them.

Madoc Benfras [of Sontley], or rather, "Mad. Penwras", is mentioned under that name in the accounts of the bailiwick or commote of Wrexham, as a complainant with others, on the Tuesday next after the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 14 Edward III, 1340. And on the court, held on the same day, he and his brother Ednyfed, sons of Griffith ap Iorwerth, are also named, as they are again on two subsequent court days in the same year. On Monday in the feast of Michaelmas, 13 Edward III [1339], Gwenhwyfar [their mother, or stepmother], relict of Griffith ap Iorwerth ap Einion, entered into a recognizance. Madoc Benfras is reported to have been buried at Llanuwchllyn, but it is interesting to find him pleading at the local court ["the great turn"] of the commote within which he lived and to get him exactly dated. He is said to have had another brother, Llewelyn ap Griffith, also a bard, commonly called "Llewelyn Llogell", parson of Marchwiel, who is never mentioned in these accounts, but the David ap Llogell, named in 1339, was probably Llewelyn's son.

We come now to speak of another famous Powysian poet, David ap Edmund, one of the family the main stock whereof adopted the surname of "Hanmer". According

to “Llyvyr mawr Griffith Hiraethoc”, he was son of David Fychan ap David Foel ap Philip, which Philip was one of the sons of John de Upton of Macclesfield<sup>1</sup> [and father of Sir David Hanmer, justice of the King’s Bench]. And the genealogy, above indicated, squares with that which is traditional in the Hanmer family. David ap Edmund is said to have been buried in 1490 at Hanmer, where also he was born, and to have lived on one of the banks of the lake there. His son, Edward ap David ap Edmund, sets his name to a deed in 1514 (Lord Hanmer’s *History of the Parish and Family of Hanmer*).

A few remarks concerning Huw Morus (Eos Ceiriog) of Pont y meibion, in the township of Rhiwlas (parish of Llansilin), may here be given. Although the date of his burial, 31 August 1709, is duly recorded in the Llansilin parish registers, those registers begin too late to contain any notice of his baptism. Gwallter Mechain says he was eighty-seven years old at the time of his death, in which case he would be born in 1622. But who his father was has not been ascertained. It is very likely, but not certain, that his parents were the “Moris ap Llein [Llewelyn] of Llanselin and Joneth vergh David”, who were married at Oswestry on 19 Nov. 1598. We may be fairly sure, in any case, that his father was Morus ap ——. There was a Morus ap John ap David ap Edward of Tregeiriog, who entered into an obligation, with another person, on the 17 Feb. 1611/2 (9 Jac. I) in the sum of £100, but I know nothing more about him, and his name is only mentioned as affording a possible clue. Tregeiriog is a township of Llangadwaladr parish, not far distant from Rhiwlas. The names of Morus ap Llewelyn and of Morus ap John ap David may supply hints as to

<sup>1</sup> See *Report on Peniarth MSS.*, by Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, p. 835.



the matter in hand, the parentage of Hugh Morris, but nothing has at present been discovered relating to the children of the two persons named, and it is quite likely that the poet's father may have been another Morus.

The epitaph on both the present and older memorial stone of Hugh Morris, in Llansilin churchyard—"Yn nhelyn Huw, Duw a roes dant"—has always seemed to be peculiarly beautiful. His stone "cadair," now in the garden of Erw garreg, close to Pont y meibion, has been removed thither from its first site, a spot near at hand.

The printing by the Shropshire Parish Register Society of the registers of Oswestry enable us to fix the dates of some poets who lived in the parish just named, and to give certain details respecting them, for which we look vainly in the ordinary biographies.

It may be well, first of all, to copy the entries as they occur in the Oswestry register entries, bringing them together in their proper order, and then to make such observations upon them as may seem fit.

And we will take, to begin with, William Lleyn:—

Will'm Llyn Bardus obijt eod. die [30° Aug 1580].  
Jane vz Will'm Llyn obijt eod. die [4° Maii, 1585].

Now, William Lleyn, under the name of William Owen, is said to have become vicar of Oswestry in 1583, and to have died and been buried there in 1587. But the parish registers afford no trace of his having been vicar of that parish,<sup>1</sup> although he may have been curate there under the vicariate of Chancellor (*prelad*) John Price, who died

<sup>1</sup> Since this paper was sent to the Editor, the mistake of identifying William Lleyn with William Owen, Vicar of Oswestry (quite a distinct person), has been noted by the Rev. J. C. Morrice in his preface to his edition of the *Barddoniaeth William Llŷn*, and by Mr. W. Prichard Williams in his preface to Morris Kyffyn's *Deffyniad Ffydd Eglwys Lloegr*.

15 March 1582/3, and was buried at Oswestry on the 20th of the same month, whose ancestry is attested by his full name “J prys [ap Rhys] ap J. ap To. ap R.” (see Gwenogfryn Evans’ *Catalogue of Peniarth MSS.*, vol. i, pt. II, p. 884).

Next, the following entries concerning Rhÿs Cain may be quoted:—

Ann vz Rees Kain cristned the same daye [22 May 1579].

Roger ap Rees Kain cristned the same daye — Nov. 1589].

Elizabeth vz Rees Kain bapt. the same daye [4 June 1592].

Gwen the wiffe of Rees Kayne buried eodem die [19 Apr. 1603].

John Robert Glover and Anne verch Rees Kaine married the 21st daie [July 1606].

Reece Kain poet buried the 10th daye [May 1614].

Elizabeth daughter of Rice Kaine buried the 26th daie [Dec. 1615].

Elizabeth the base daughter of Edd ap Jon Taylor by the body of Katheringe vz David late wyfe of Rees Kain, bapt. the 15th daye [Apl. 1616].

Thus we see that Gwen, the first wife of Rhÿs Cain, was apparently the mother of all his children, and that his second wife, Katherine verch David, probably a young and flighty creature, added no lustre to the poet’s renown.

Sion Cain, the poet, son of Rhÿs Cain, is believed to have been buried at Oswestry, but the registers of that parish, which are not perfect, do not mention him. It is probable that they do not begin early enough to record his baptism. Sion Cain was living in 1648.

Here follow the entries in Oswestry registers touching Ieuan Llafar:—

Lewes the supposed child of Ieu’n Llafar by the body of Anne verzh John ap David *als.* Witch, buried the 20th daie [Sept. 1597].

Ieuan Llavar sepultus fuit 13<sup>o</sup> die [Septembris 1622].

John ap Evan Llavar weau<sup>r</sup> sepult. eodem die [31 Julii 1623].

Edward ap Ieuan Llavar buried the 5th day [Dec. 1628].

Morfydd ye wife of Evan Llavar buried ye 23rd day [Jan<sup>r</sup> 1631/2].

Ellen vz Evan Llafer buried the 4th day [Oct. 1662].

Ieuan or Jeuan and Evan are, of course, the same, and the derivation of his additional name from "Llafar" (*speech, voice*) is obvious and probable, but the poet may have taken that name from Llafar, a township in Llan-santffraid Dyffryn Ceiriog parish, where, *perhaps*, he was born.

The entries next to be given relate to a certain Tudor Aled, and can hardly refer to the well-known poet, but may be quoted for what they are worth:—

Robert ap Tudor Allet & Elnor vz Tudor Alet cristned the same daye [3 Feb. 156 $\frac{5}{8}$ ].

Elizabeth vz Gruff vx Tydder<sup>e</sup> Allet obijt eod. die [6 Decembris, 1581].

Tudor ap Robert Allet & Gwen vz Roger ma. vndeci<sup>a</sup> die [Feb. 158 $\frac{3}{8}$ ].

Gwen vz Tudor Alett bap. eodem die [Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1587].

Elzabet vz Tudor Alet bapt. the 11th day [Dec. 1591].

The great Tudur Aled is said to have died in or about 1530, and to have been nephew to David ap Edmund, *pencerdd*, of Hanmer.

Wrexham itself seems not to have been a place prolific<sup>1</sup> of Welsh poets (and I exclude persons now or recently living), although Lewis Glyn Cothi commended it "for a man of my language" (*am wr o'm iaith*), contrasting it in this respect with Holt, where English was almost exclusively spoken. Still, there was a John Roberts of Wrexham, a poet who wrote in Welsh, concerning whom

<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, a certain Hwfa Brydydd (Hwfa, the poet) was living in that part of Wrexham, afterwards called "Wrexham Regis", in the year 1391.

nothing is known except that one of his poems is dated 1726. And within *the parish* of Wrexham, outside the town, a few persons who were more than mere dabblers in the intricacies of the Welsh measures, may be named, for example, Owen Brereton, esq., of Burras Hall, who died in 1595, John Puleston, esq., of Llwyn y enottié, Howel ap Sir Mathew (of whom presently), and "John Roberts of Bersham, Welsh poet", who "was buried in woolen the 6th day of June 1679" at Wrexham. There were three John Pulestons, of Llwyn y enottié, the second and third of whom were buried at Wrexham on 25th Jan. 162 $\frac{2}{3}$ , and 14 March 167 $\frac{7}{8}$ , respectively.

A separate paragraph may be devoted to Howel ap Sir Mathew, *pencerdd*, who almost certainly belonged to the family of Croesfoel, in the hamlet of Hafod y bwch, township of Esclusham Below, and parish of Wrexham. "Sir Mathew", whose honorific prefix proclaims him to have been a clergyman, can hardly be any other than Mathew, younger son of David ap Griffith ap David ap Bady, of Croesfoel. His elder brother, Robert ap David, was living on 10 July 1527. On 30 August, 9 Eliz. [1567] "John Wynne ap S<sup>r</sup> Mathewe" surrendered a copyhold estate in Dinhinlle (Ruabon parish) to the use of William ap John Wynne, his son, who surrendered it again, 15 March, 16 Eliz. [1573], to the use of Edward Jones, his brother. He appears to have been living and in the possession of a free estate in Erbistock so late as 1620. The will of "Angharet vz Sir Mathewe" was dated . . . Dec. 1578, and proved 7 June 1582. Therein she describes herself as "wydowe" and "late wief to Richard Tegyne, Esq., deceased". But she must have been married before, for she speaks of her sons, Edward Bers, John Bers, and Richard Bers, of her son [in law] Owen ap Hugh [of Rhosllan-erchrugog]. Now John Bers, at any rate, and Elizabeth,

wife of Owen ap Hugh, were children of John ap William ap Howel, by his wife, Angharad, daughter of Mathew ap David. We conclude that the testatrix married, firstly, John ap William, of Bersham, by whom she had the children mentioned in her will, and, secondly, Richard Tegyn, serjeant-at-arms, of Esclusham Above and Morton Wallicorum [in the parishes of Wrexham and Ruabon]. In the will of the said Richard Tegyn, dated 13 Dec. 1571, and proved 22 Jan. 1576/7, his wife is mentioned but her name is not given. These particulars may serve to elucidate the family history of Howel ap Sir Mathew, and also approximately to fix his date, which can be determined more exactly by the fact that he wrote in 1557 the first part of a descriptive treatise concerning coat armour (*Llanstephan MSS.*, Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans' Catalogue, p. 515).

Mathew Bromfield (living in 1552), judging by his designation, and by the names of persons mentioned in his poems, must have belonged to the district called in English "Bromfield", and in Welsh "Maelor Gymraeg". By the same token, Edward Maelor (living in 1590) may justly be taken to have been an inhabitant either of Maelor Gymraeg or of the adjoining commote of Maelor Saesneg, but the respective fathers' names of these two poets has not yet been ascertained. Nor has another poet—David Edward, of Erbistock—been hitherto affiliated or exactly dated.

The following remarks concerning Howel Bangor, the poet, may, however, possibly be of interest. In the accounts of Sir Charles Brandon, receiver of Bromfield and Yale, from Michaelmas 1518 to Michaelmas 1519, a certain Howel Bangor is mentioned as bailiff of the manor of Fabrorum.<sup>1</sup> Also, in 1562, "John ap hoell Bangor" is

<sup>1</sup> The nucleus of this manor was the township of Morton Anglicorum in the parish of Ruabon.

described as holding a "gavell" [gafael] of land in the same manor, while the name of William ap Ieuan ap John ap Howel Bangor occurs on 23rd April, 13 Elizabeth [1571].

In the list of bards buried at Ruabon, printed on pages 401-403 of vol. i, *Powys Fadog*, the after-mentioned are found :—Ieuan Tiler, Sion Trefor, William Alaw, and Tomas Gwynedd. But although I have glanced, somewhat hastily it must be allowed, through the Ruabon registers, the names of none of the men so designated have been noticed. John Trevor, the bard, was probably neither John Trevor of Trevalyn, nor John Trevor of Trevor, but John Trevor of Upper Esclus Hall (parish of Wrexham), son of Hugh ap David Trevor, so named because it was at Trevor that he was nursed. I have seen the post-nuptial settlement of John Trevor, *alias* John ap Hugh, made 21 Sept. 1582, after the birth of his son Robert ; his wife was Mary, daughter of Robert Turbridge, esq., and he was still living on 20 Sept. 1608.

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## Reviews, and Short Notices.

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THE TAYLORS CUSSION, by George Owen, Lord of Kemeys (circa 1552-1613). Being a facsimile reproduction by photo-lithography from the original MS. in two volumes. Issued, with a short Biography of the Author, by Emily M. Pritchard (Olwen Powys), author of "Cardigan Priory in the Olden Days". London: Blades, East, and Blades, Publishers, 23, Abchurch Lane, E.C. 1906.

THE HISTORY OF ST. DOGMAEL'S ABBEY, together with her Cells, Pill, Caldey, and Glascarreg, and the Mother Abbey of Tiron, by Emily M. Pritchard. London: Blades, East, and Blades. 1907.

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MRS. PRITCHARD, the indefatigable authoress of *Cardigan Priory in the Olden Days*, has recently enriched Welsh literature by the publication of two books which will be read with interest by all students of the history and antiquities of Wales.

The first is a reproduction by photo-lithography of the *Taylor's Cussion*, the common-place book of George Owen, the Elizabethan historian, the original of which is now in the Cardiff Free Library. To this Mrs. Pritchard has prefaced a sketch of the life and works of the author, and of the Barony of Kemes, of which he was Lord.

The mere list of the contents shows the wonderful versatility of the author's mind. The papers themselves are of unequal value, but we are grateful to Mrs. Pritchard for giving us the exact words of the original. Besides the papers relating to his own county, the more important of which have been published in *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, there are lists of the ancient and modern divisions of Wales, the

fairs and markets therein, and the sheriffs and the castles thereof, with the churches and surveys of several places. There are many papers relating to the Council of the Marches, and to the See of St. David's, while for the general reader there are papers upon agricultural customs, land measures, labourers, farming notes and accounts, muster books, holidays and working days, ordnance, druggist weights, divinity, money, troy weight, moons and tides, knights made by the Earl of Essex, and papers upon subjects connected with England, France, Ireland, the Papacy and the Emperor.

The other work is a *History of St. Dogmael's Abbey in Pembrokeshire*, with an account of its founders, its possessions, and its fortunes after the Dissolution. We have also the story of the mother Abbey of Tiron, and of the daughter houses of Pill and Caldey in Pembrokeshire, and of Glascarreg in County Wexford. Mrs. Pritchard has collected a mass of information upon her subjects; we have copious extracts, some of them of much interest, from various English rolls, from the Cartulary of Tiron, from royal and other charters, and from the Papal registers. The book has been worthily issued by the publishers, and is furnished with an excellent index.

HENRY OWEN.

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**THE BLACK BOOK OF CARMARTHEN.** Reproduced and Edited by J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Hon. M.A., and Hon. D.Litt. Oxon. Pwllheli: Issued to Subscribers only. MDCCCVI.

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DR. Gwenogvryn Evans has placed all students of Early Welsh Literature under a lasting obligation by this most admirable reproduction (the work of his own private press) of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. Ten years or

more ago it was preceded by a ColloTYPE Facsimile which is to day amongst the envied possessions of a few book-lovers. The present text has been reproduced diplomatically page for page, line for line, character for character, space for space, with the exactitude and loving care which have made Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans *facile princeps* amongst all the palæographers. In the result, the book is to all intents and purposes what the Editor claims it to be, "a facsimile in characters which all can read". To the text are added an Introduction dealing with the contents according to the four main divisions of the subject matter, Mythology, Theology, History, and Literature; an important grammatical contribution in the form of a Welsh paradigm of the verb *to be* and its compounds; and a valuable Index to the names of men and places mentioned in the text. Notwithstanding the manifold difficulties of the *Black Book*, Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans affirms that an acquaintance extending over twenty years has taught him to love it for its inspiration, its tender utterances, its many melodies, and he is ready to sing a holy lay,

*I dduw gwyn gwengerdd a ganav.—*

"for this rich legacy of noble poetry reaching far back into the ages when as yet England's muse was uncradled." At the close of his *Apologia*, the Editor points out that Carmarthenshire gave birth to the *Black Book* in the twelfth century, and that one of her sons (Sir John Williams), in the twentieth, has presented it to the nation, for the *Black Book of Carmarthen* is now one of the most cherished treasures of the Welsh National Library. Very appropriately he dedicates it to the First President of that Institution, "the first in personal effort for its establishment, the first in personal sacrifice for its good, and the first in the importance of his contributions to its treasures".

E. VINCENT EVANS.

**STUDIES IN ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.** By Hubert Hall, F.S.A., of H.M. Public Record Office; Reader in Palæography in the University of London. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1908.

**A FORMULA BOOK OF ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.** Part I. Diplomatic Documents, selected and transcribed by a Seminar of the London School of Economics. Edited by Hubert Hall, F.S.A. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1908.

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THE Student of the Historical Records relating to Wales will find extremely useful and suggestive information in Mr. Hubert Hall's far-reaching *Studies in English Historical Documents*, recently published at the Cambridge University Press. These studies deal comprehensively with the many aspects of the National Archives which concern the historian. The author, with the modesty of a great authority on the subject, disclaims in the preface any attempt at completeness, and ascribes the publication of his "desultory studies" to a laudable ambition on the part of certain students to produce a much needed *Formula Book* of Official Documents, and the desirability of setting out the authority for the arrangement and conclusions of that particular work. Nevertheless, the student of history will find in Mr. Hubert Hall's well-inspired pages the exact information which he requires as to the sources of Official Historical Documents, the history, classification, and the analysis of Archives, and the Bibliography, Diplomatics, and Palæography of our early records. In his Introduction to the *Formula Book*, Mr. Hall points out that its chief claim upon the attention of Historical Students and Record Workers will be found in its comprehensive design, and in the further attempt that it makes for the first time to present the several types of official instruments in a connected series. In addition to a

serious diplomatic description of the several documents, their *provenance* has also been broadly indicated, together with their bibliographical relations. Thus the student can, in most cases, ascertain at a glance the position of an original instrument in respect of enrolment or entry, together with its published form, as complete text, abstract, or mere description.

E. VINCENT EVANS.

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**THE STATUTES OF WALES.** Collected, edited and arranged by Ivor Bowen, Barrister-at-Law. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1908.

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MR. IVOR BOWEN has rendered a distinct service by collecting in one volume all the Acts of Parliament and parts thereof which refer to Wales, and thus placing them for the first time within the reach of those who are interested in the constitutional development and history of the Welsh nation. The record commences with the three Clauses of Magna Charta (A.D. 1215) which related to Wales and its people, and ends with the Act of 1902, which made further provision with respect to Education in England and Wales, and the University of Wales Act of the same year. In an Introduction, extending over a hundred pages, Mr. Bowen summarises the provisions and objects of the various statutes, and assists the general readers to an understanding of the scope of legislation as it affected the Principality. The work does not profess to be in any sense a complete investigation of the historical circumstances connected with the various legislative enactments, but it admirably serves its purpose as a guide to the principal statutes relating to the Dominion, Principality, and Country of Wales.

E. VINCENT EVANS.

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