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JANUARY 1881.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE SASSARESE DIALECT OF SARDINIA,

AND ON VARIOUS POINTS OF RESEMBLANCE WHICH IT PRESENTS
WITH THE CELTIC LANGUAGES.

By H. I. H. PRINCE LOUIS LUCIEN BONAPARTE.¹

HAVING made a prolonged study of the singular pronunciation of this important dialect, I venture to assert that it involves at least thirty-seven simple sounds. In the orthography followed by Canon Spano, in his version of St. Matthew's Gospel, these are represented by thirty-five characters, whether simple, as *c*, *d*, etc., or compound,—genuine digrams—such as *ch*, *gli*, *gn*, and the like.

In entering on a discussion of these characters, I must say at the outset that they are, unfortunately, by no means in harmony with the number of the sounds; or even, in some instances, with their nature. Thus *dd*, by way of example, seems but ill-adapted to give us a clear idea either of the palatal *d*, unknown to classical Italian, or of the strong *d*, which is incorrectly spoken of as a double letter, in the same

¹ The following observations were printed in Italian in the year 1866, accompanying a version of St. Matthew's Gospel into Sassarese by the Rev. Canon Spano. The present translation has been made from a revised copy of the original issue, at the instance of the illustrious author, by Dr. Isambard Owen.

way as that term is improperly applied to the other digrams of the Italian language, *bb*, *ff*, *ll*, etc.

That our ears perceive no reduplication in the case of these so-called double letters when they are spoken correctly, was said, and not merely said, but proved, by that acute author, Lionardo Salviati,⁽¹⁾ nearly three centuries ago. Such sounds should accordingly be regarded as additional modifications, strong, but nevertheless simple, of the other sounds usually ⁽²⁾ represented by single consonants, and thus augment their number.

The thirty-five characters are the following:—*a*, *b*, *c*, *ch*, *ci*, *d*, *dd*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *gh*, *gi*, *gl*, *gli*, *gn*, *h*, *i*, *j*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *q*, *r*, *s*, *sc*, *sci*, *sg*, *sgi*, *t*, *u*, *v*, *z*, *zz*; and the thirty-seven sounds:—

1. <i>a</i>	14. <i>i</i>	27. <i>p</i>
2. <i>b</i>	15. <i>j</i>	28. <i>r</i>
3. <i>c</i> hard.	16. <i>l</i>	29. <i>s</i> voiceless.
4. <i>c</i> sibilant	17. <i>l</i> voiceless guttural.	30. <i>s</i> voiced.
5. <i>d</i>	18. <i>l</i> voiced guttural.	31. <i>sc</i> sibilant.
6. <i>d</i> palatal.	19. <i>l</i> voiceless dental.	32. <i>sg</i> (French <i>j</i>).
7. <i>e</i> open.	20. <i>l</i> voiced dental.	33. <i>t</i>
8. <i>e</i> closed.	21. <i>l</i> sibilant.	34. <i>u</i>
9. <i>f</i>	22. <i>m</i>	35. <i>v</i>
10. <i>g</i> hard.	23. <i>n</i>	36. <i>z</i> voiceless.
11. <i>g</i> sibilant.	24. <i>n</i> guttural.	37. <i>z</i> voiced.
12. <i>gl</i> liquid.	25. <i>o</i> open.	
13. <i>gn</i>	26. <i>o</i> closed.	

EXAMINATION OF THE CHARACTERS AND OF THE SOUNDS
REPRESENTED BY THEM.

1. *a*.—Is pronounced as in Italian.

2. *b*.—When, as in Italian, it should take the sound of *bb* (see Note 2), it is pronounced precisely as in that language; but when the weak modification is required, the Sassarese pronunciation of this letter seems to me of a Spanish character; that is to say, less labial than the Tuscan *b*, the lips being approximated without actually touching. Thus

when I got a native of Sassari to repeat several times over the words "bozi", *vocce*, "a bozi manna", *ad alta voce*, "la bozi", *la voce*, "dabboi", *dipoi*, I invariably heard in the first, second and fourth examples, the strong *b*, incorrectly called double, of the Italian language, while in the third the sound of the Spanish *b* appeared to me most manifest.

The same may be said of initial *v*, when by the influence of the preceding word it has to be pronounced as *b*. In this case also, it is the Spanish *b* that is heard. Thus, *cun vinu*; *lu vinu*;—the former is pronounced with the Italian *v*, the latter with a weak *b*, but a *b* of Spanish sound. (See under letter *v*).

In the Logudorese dialect, as the Rev. Canon Spano observes in his Grammar, initial *b*, in circumstances which should call for its weak sound (the sound that is of *b* single) is generally absorbed. Thus, "unu boe", *un bue*, "su bentu", *il vento*, are pronounced *unu oe*, *su entu*, while "sos boes" "sos ventos", *i buoi*, *i venti*, are sounded with the strong *b*.

In the languages of the Gaelic and Welsh families, suppression of the initial consonants by the influence of the preceding word holds a very frequent place, as will be seen further on.

3. *e*.—This letter is pronounced with the hard sound when standing before the vowels *a*, *o*, or *u*, or before any consonant, or as a terminal in proper names. "Cabà", *cavare*, "cori", *cuore*, "Crittù" *Cristo*, "Sadoc", are pronounced, as far as regards *e*, precisely as in Italian, as long as the strong form of that letter is required in Sassarese. If, on the other hand, its sound is weakened, Sassarese follows the practice of Celtic tongues, and changes the hard *e* into an equally hard *g*. Thus the word *cori*, and its Welsh equivalent *calon*, pronounced, if isolated, with *e*, are transformed into *gori* in spoken Sassarese, and *galon*, in both spoken and written Welsh, when the preceding words possess the property of

producing the initial change of *c* into *g*, as, for instance, in “lu do’ gori”, *dy galon*.

It will be useful to note here, that the Latin or Italian hard *c*, which is mostly found in the middle of a word between two vowels, is very often rendered in Sassarese (never in Tempiese) by *gg*; *i.e.*, by a hard strong *g*, as in the words *poco*, *dico*, *fuoco*, which in Sassarese are written and spoken *poggu*, *diggu*, *foggu*, in Tempiese *pocu*, *dicu*, *focu*. The same exchange of the voiceless sound for the voiced occurs in the case of *p* and *t*, as can be observed in the Sassarese words, “cabbu”, “daddu”, corresponding to the Italian *capo*, *dato*, and the Tempiese *capu*, *datu*.

C takes the Italian sibilant sound before *e* and *i*, as in “ceggu” *cicco*. In the Cagliariitan dialect only this sound is susceptible of initial mutation in pronunciation. *Celu*, in fact, is spoken in Cagliariitan with the Italian *c* aspirate when the sound of that letter should be strong, while in “su celu” *il cielo*, though unseen by the eye, the ear distinctly perceives *sgelu*, with the French *j*, or Cagliariitan *x*.

The Italian *c* sibilant is very often rendered in Sassarese by *z*, as well in pronunciation as in the orthography followed in the version of St. Matthew. The Italian words *cielo*, *il ciclo*, *pace*, *croce*, *luce*, corresponding to the Tempiese *celi*, *lu celi*, *paci*, *gruci*, *luci*, appear in Sassarese as *zclu*, *lu zclu*, *pazi*, *crozi*, *luzi*, a strong sound being given to the *z* in the first instance, a weak one in the four last. (See under letter *z*.)

The letter *c*, of hard sound, when preceded by *l*, enjoys the singular property of transforming both that sound and its own into the German guttural *ch*;—otherwise the Spanish *j*, or, if preferred, the modern Greek *χ*; as heard in *nacht*, *hijo*, and *χαλκός*, but not as in *nicht* and *χώρα*, which have the *ch* and *χ* palatalized. Thus the word “balca” *barca*, will be pronounced as if it were written *baχχα*. (See under letter *l*.)

4. *ch*.—This digram in Italian represents two sounds. The first is that of hard *c* before *e* and *i*, and the second the palatalized sound, as heard in the plural *occhi*, written by many *occhj* and even *occhii*. This sound, which the French would call “*un son mouillé*,” and which modern phoneticism represents by “*k*”, is expressed in Italian, before any other vowel than *i*, by *chi*, as in *occhio*, *vecchia*, *vecchie*, *orecchiuto*. In these words, contrary to what is seen in the plural *occhi*, the *i* exists only as a phonetic sign forming part of a trigram. Neither Sassarese nor Tempiese possesses the sound alluded to. In the former it is replaced by *c* sibilant, and in the latter by the peculiar sound *sui generis*, which is treated of in the remarks prefixed to the Tempiese version of St. Matthew. Thus the Italian *occhi* gives place to the Sassarese *occi* and the Tempiese *okci*.

In the Sassarese dialect *ch* may take not only the sound of hard *c*, but even those of hard *g* and χ , in the circumstances which require *c* to assume them, provided the vowels *e* and *i* follow. Thus “chedda” (*chita* in Tempiese) *settimana*, “la chedda”, “alchi” *archi*, “molchi”, *mosche*, are sounded *chedda*, *la ghedda*, *o $\chi\chi$ i*, *mo $\chi\chi$ i*.

5. *ci*.—To represent the *c* sibilant sound before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*, in Italian is adopted the digram *ci*, in which the *i* has no proper sound of its own, but merely serves, as an inseparable part of the digram, to express, in union with the *c*, the sounds heard in the words *braccia*, *caccia*, *cucio*, for which in *cnere* and *ciglio* the *c* alone suffices. The same use is made of this digram in Sassarese and Tempiese, as may be readily perceived in the words “faccia” and “cucciuciu”, *cagnolino*, of the former, and in “cioccia”, *chioccia*, of the latter. In Tempiese the peculiar *kci* sound often corresponds with the Italian sibilant *cc* and *cci*, and sometimes in Sassarese the rough *z*; though in the latter dialect *cc* generally survives unchanged. Thus *buccia*, Italian and Sassarese, is *bukcia* in

Tempiese; and *zozza* in Sassarese corresponds to the Italian *chioccia*.

6. *d*.—Has always the Italian pronunciation in Sassarese, at least unless it be reduplicated or preceded by *l*. In the latter case it has the property of transforming the ordinary *l*, and itself at the same time, into the voiced dental *l*, which will be treated of further on. Supposing therefore that we employ the underdotted character “*ḷ*” as the equivalent of the sound alluded to in all places where it is to be heard, the words found written “*caldu*” *caldo*, “*laldu*” *lardo*, “*ildintiggaddu*” *sdentato*, will have to be pronounced “*callu*”, “*lallu*”, “*illintiggaddu*”. This sound, a recognised one in the Gaelic dialect of the Isle of Man, is known neither to Tempiese, nor to Cagliaritan, nor even to Logudorese, except, as Spano tells us, in some varieties of this last bordering on Sassarese and not admitted into the common literary dialect of Logudoro. (See under letter *l*.)

Although in the Sassarese dialect, the single *d* not preceded by *l* never has other than the Italian pronunciation, it will be well to recall what Spano tells us of the pronunciation of the single *d* preceded by *n* in such Logudorese words as “*nde*” *ne*, “*ando*” *vado*, “*cumandu*” *comando*, “*mundu*” *mondo*, and all the gerunds, “*mandigande*” *mandigando*, “*factende*” or “*faghinde*” *facendo*, etc. In all these words *d* has a palatal sound, as though it were written *dd*. (See just below under *dd*.) The three other dialects of Sardinia never give the palatal pronunciation to the single *d*.

In the Logudorese dialect (see Spano’s *Grammar*, vol. i, p. 15) initial *d* is susceptible of absorption, *i.e.*, of being suppressed in the Celtic fashion, by the influence of the preceding word; but this actually occurs only in the single word “*dinari*” *denaro*. *Meda dinari* will be pronounced *meda inari*; as opposed to *quantos dinaris*, where the *d* not only asserts itself but demands the strong sound of the double *d* for the reasons already explained in note 2.

7. *dd*.—This digram may convey two sounds, that of the strong or double Italian *d*, and the special palatal sound of the Cagliariitan, Logudorese, Sassarese, Sicilian, and in part of the Corsican dialects also. The latter sound I have already spoken of in the remarks prefixed to the Sicilian Version of St. Matthew; and I shall confine myself here to reminding my readers that it almost always corresponds to an Italian or Latin double *l*, “calteddu” *castello*, “beddu” *bello*, “eddu” *egli, ille*, “chiddu” *quello*.

The former sound, that of double *d* Italian, has an entirely different origin, since it corresponds nearly always to an Italian or Latin weak *t*, as may be perceived in “andaddu” *andato*, “daddu” *dato*, “rizzibiddu” *ricevuto*, “laddru” *ladro, latro*. The word “fraddeddu” *fratello*, presents both sounds; first the strong dental, and then the strong palatal; the one derived from *t*, the other from *ll*. The palatal sound may be indicated phonetically by “*dd̄*”, when strong, and by “*d̄*” when weak, as in the Logudorese *nde*, pronounced “*nd̄e*”.

8. *e*.—The Sassarese *e*, like the Italian, is sometimes open and sometimes closed. In this particular, the Sassarese dialect follows the Logudorese pronunciation, in preference to the Italian; while the Tempiese more often agrees with the latter. Thus *mela*, in Italian and Tempiese, is spoken with *e* closed, while the open *e* is heard in the same word, both in Sassarese and in Logudorese. (See Spano’s *Grammar*, vol. i, p. 7.) When *e* loses the tonic accent, by reason of inflexion or other etymological change, it is, as a rule, converted into *i* in Sassarese, in Tempiese, and in other southern dialects. Thus “*vèni*” *viene*, gives “*vinùddu*” *venuto*, in speaking as well as in writing; and “*fabèdda*” *parla*, “*vèlti*” *veste*, “*vèdi*” *vede*, give *fabiddàddu*, *viltiri*, and *vidèndi*.

9. *f*.—The strong pronunciation of this letter in no respect differs from that known in Italian; but when the weak sound is required, it is no longer spoken as *f*, but as *v*. The

words "figliolu" *figliuolo*, "figga" *fico*, "faccia", which, when isolated, are pronounced as written, viz., with *f*, are expressed in speech, though never in writing, as *lu vigliolu*, *la viggia*, *la vaccia*.

The initial mutation of *f* into *v* occurs also in the Celtic tongues, but only in Irish and Manx of the Gaelic group, and Cornish among the Cymric. The Scottish Gaelic among the former class, and Welsh and Armorican of the latter, are without it. Thus, exactly in the same way as the Sassarese, *figliolu* may be converted into *vigliolu* in speaking, the Irish "fuil" (*blood*), may become *vuil* (written *bhfuil*), the Manx "feanish" (*witness*) *veanish*, and the Cornish "for" (*road*), *vor*.

10. *g*.—This letter takes the hard Italian sound before the vowels *a*, *o*, or *u*; or any consonant not forming part of the digrams *gl*, and *gn*, of which a word presently; and the hard sound also, as the terminal of a proper name: *e.g.*, "gudimentu" *godimento*, "gràbidda" *gravida*, "Magog".

Before the vowels *e* and *i*, it has the sibilant pronunciation that Italian gives to it in the syllables *ge*, *gi*, as long as these are pronounced strong;—as if written double, that is; but if the influence of the preceding word weakens its sound, initial mutation occurs. This mutation, peculiar to Sassarese, consists in the transformation of the sibilant sound of *g* into that of a *j*, pronounced as a true consonant with a palatalized sound; not, namely, as we hear it in correct Tuscan speech in the words *aio*, *baio*, etc.; but just as it is (improperly) pronounced by the Romans, and the majority of Italians, viz., *ajo*, *bajo*, etc. Thus the word "gesgia" *chiesa*, will be sounded *jesia*, if a word capable of producing the initial mutation precede, as it does in the case of *la gesgia*. This is pronounced *la jesgia*, though never written so.

The Manx and Scottish Gaelic also change the sound of *g*

aspirate into that of *j*. Thus, in the former Jee, *God* (pronounced as Italian *Gi*) is converted into Yee (pronounced as Roman *Ji*) in dty Yee, *Thy God*.

The hard *g*, preceded by *l*, is converted, in pronunciation, into the hard guttural Greek γ , as heard in $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$, not as in $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, while the antecedent *l* undergoes the same transformation. Thus, the words “alga” *spazzatura*, “lalgū” *largo*, “ilgabbaddu” *sgarbato*, are spoken as $\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha$, $\lambda\alpha\gamma\gamma\mu$, $i\gamma\gamma\alpha\text{baddu}$. (See under letter *l*.)

11. *gh*.—Receives no other sounds in Sassarese than those of which the hard *g* is susceptible. Thus, “alghi”, *spazzature*, “lalghi”, *larghi*, “inghirià”, *andare in giro*, are pronounced, the last as written, the two first as $\lambda\alpha\gamma\gamma i$, $\alpha\gamma\gamma i$.

Gh, in Italian, serves to express a sound called “schiacciato”, (palatalized) which is wanting in Sassarese and Tempiese, and which would be termed *mouillé* in French. It is, in fact, nothing else than the voiced sound corresponding to the *ch* in *occhi*, which modern phoneticism usually represents by “g”. It is indicated in Italian, sometimes by the digram *gh*, and sometimes by the trigram *ghi*, as in *ragghi* and *ghiunda*. In the latter word it is easy to see that the three letters *g*, *h*, *i*, all concur to form the single palatalized sound, the *i* having no existence apart; while, in the former, the same effect is produced by *gh* alone, and the *i* pronounced separately.

12. *gi*.—*Gi* represents the sound of *g* sibilant before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*, in Sassarese as in Italian, in all cases where the initial mutation into *j* does not take place. “Giaddu” *gallo*, is spoken with the Italian *gi*, while “lu giaddu” *il gallo*, sounds as *lu jaddu*.

To the Italian and Sassarese aspirate *g*, *gg*, *gi*, *ggi*, corresponds in Tempiese a sound, *sui generis*, which is treated of in the remarks prefixed to the version of the Gospel in that dialect. This sound in the middle of a word is always represented by *gh*, or *ghi*, in the beginning sometimes by one of these

characters, sometimes, rather illogically (as is shown) by *g* alone. The following words, however they are found printed, receive the said peculiar sound, for which it might be well to employ a phonetic sign “*ġ*”, or the like; “*oggi*” *oggi*, “*ghiaddu*” *gallo*, “*ghittà*” *gettare*, “*viagghiu*” *viaggio*, “*già*” *già*, “*Gesu*” *Gesù*, “*Gerusalemmi*” *Gerusalemme*, “*Giuseppa*” *Giuseppe*, etc. In all these words, Sassarese presents to the ear the Italian sibilant *g* or *gi*, and it writes them *oggi*, *giaddu*, *gittà*, *viaggin*, *già*, *Gesu*, *Gerusalemmi*, *Giuseppi*, etc. Some simple phonetic sign or other should in the same way be substituted for the *kei* sound, which in the Tempiese version referred to, is always represented by *ech* or *echi*.

13. *gl*.—Before an *i* which is not succeeded by another vowel, *gl* is a true digram, and represents the sound called by the French “*l mouillé*”. Before all the other vowels, the *g* has its hard sound, as in Italian in the words *glaciale*, *gleba*, *gloria*, *glutine*, and in the few in which *gli* occurs followed by another consonant, as *negligenza*. In this particular, Sassarese follows the Italian pronunciation, sounding *figliolu* with liquid *gl*, and *gloria* with hard *g*.

In Tempiese, this liquid sound, as well as the Italian double *l*, is often rendered by a palatal *d*, written as *dd*. This is not the case in Sassarese. Thus, while the latter says “*vogliu*” *voglio*, “*megliu*” *meglio*, “*figliolu*” *figliuolo*, the former both writes and pronounces, *meddu*, *fiddolu* and *voddu*.

15. *gn* is pronounced as in Italian.

16. *h*.—The same use is made of this letter as in the Italian language, where, as well as in Sassarese, it has no proper value.

17. *i*.—Italian pronunciation.

18. *j*.—A true palatalized consonant; as already said under letter *g*. Under Spanish rule, this sound was expressed by *y*, according to Spanish practice. Thus, *Deju* for *Deju*.

k.—In the Logudorese dialect this letter is made use of, as

in French, by those who like an orthography half etymological and half not.

19. *l*.—This letter in Sassarese bears at least six quite distinct sounds, which I will call the natural, the voiceless guttural, the voiced guttural, the voiceless dental, the voiced dental, and the sibilant.

The natural sound, that, namely, of the Italian *l*, obtains when this letter comes between two vowels, or occurs as an initial; with the strong form if the letter be doubled, the weak modification in contrary case. Thus, “*lu*”, *il*, *lo*, “*milli*” *mille*, “*solu*” *solo*, “*laddru*” *ladro*, are pronounced with the Italian *l* or *ll*. It obtains, equally as in Italian, before *z*, whether the *z* correspond to the *z*, the *c* aspirate, or the *s*, and whether the *l* represent the *l* or the *r* of that tongue. Thus “*alzà*” *alzare*, “*calzina*” *calce*, “*salza*” *salsa*, “*malzu*”, *marzo*.

The voiceless guttural χ sound, spoken of above under letter *c*, is given to *l* whenever a hard *c* sound follows in the Italian form of the word; and the latter, too, is converted into χ , whatever be the origin of the *l* in question, or the character by which the sound of hard *c* is expressed. “*Solcu*” *solco*, “*solchi*” *solchi*, “*alcu*” *arco*, “*molca*” *mosca*, “*molchi*” *mosche*, “*palca*” *pasqua*, are all pronounced with $\chi\chi$; *so\chi\chi*^u, *so\chi\chi*ⁱ, *a\chi\chi*ⁱ, *mo\chi\chi*^a, *mo\chi\chi*ⁱ, *pa\chi\chi*^a.

The voiced guttural sound, which I will represent by γ , obtains in analogous cases, namely, when *l*, be it derived from *r* or from *s*, is found followed by any character whatever meant to represent hard *g*, while the latter undergoes the same metamorphosis, and becomes γ likewise. “*Alga*” *spazzatura*, “*alghi*” *spazzature*, “*lalgo*” *largo*, “*lalghi*” *larghi*, “*ilgabbaddu*” *sgarbato*, are all spoken with $\gamma\gamma$ (strong γ) *a\gamma\gamma*^a, *a\gamma\gamma*ⁱ, *lu\gamma\gamma*^o, *lu\gamma\gamma*ⁱ, *i\gamma\gamma*^{abbaddu}.

The voiceless dental sound occurs when *l*, be it derived from *r* or from *s*, is found preceding *t*, which latter also submits to

a transformation into a voiceless dental *l*. For the sake of clearness, I will indicate this sound by an over-dotted “*l̇*”. The words “*altu*” *alto*, “*palti*”, *parte*, “*baltoni*”, *bastone*, will accordingly be pronounced with a double “*l̇*” (“*l̇*” strong) “*allu*”, “*palli*”, “*balloni*” (3). The sound of this “*l̇*” though decidedly dental, differs hardly, if at all, from that of the letter *ll*, belonging to the Welsh alone among the Celtic tongues; the sound that occurs twice in the name *Llangollen*, and is heard in every word in that language in which the character *ll* is found. And true though it is, that the Welsh produce this sound by striking the upper jaw with the tongue to the right of the middle line, it is no less true that this is done simply as a matter of choice, and that they can produce with very little effort the selfsame sound, by striking the jaw either to the left, or, just as the Sassarese do, at the insertion of the incisor teeth.

The voiced dental, which might be called the Manx pronunciation, appears in *l* followed by *d*, the latter being itself changed at the same time into “*l̇*” (*i.e.*, *l̇* underdotted, a character employed here phonetically). “*Caldu*” *caldo*, “*laldu*” *lardo*, “*ildintiggaddu*” *sdentato*, are all pronounced with double “*l̇*”; “*callu*”, “*lallu*”, “*illintiggaddu*.”

This sound I call Manx, because in Irish and Scottish Gaelic it is heard in a much more lingual and exaggerated form than in the Isle of Man. In those dialects it seems to me that a greater part of the tongue is concerned in its production, while in the latter attractive island I have always heard it enunciated in such a manner as to leave no doubt in my mind of its conformity with the Sassarese soft dental *l*. Nor had Sig. Cauglia, a Sassarese gentleman introduced to me by the Rev. Canon Spano, any more doubt of this conformity, when he heard the Rev. Mr. Drury, a Manx clergyman, pronounce the said Sassarese words *caldu*, *laldu*, etc., in my house in London. This “*l̇*” sound appears also

when an *n* follows, but the *n* is not itself changed into “ì”. Thus, *ìlnaturaddu* is spoken “ìḅnaturaddu”, not “ìḅḅaturaddu”.

The sound of *l* sibilant, which I will represent by a Greek λ, cannot be better defined linguistically than as a Welsh *ll* palatalized or “*mouillée*”. Welsh itself does not possess such a modification of its peculiar *ll*, which belongs specially to Sassarese. Such a connection at least appears to me to be that which exists between the Welsh *ll* sound (voiceless dental *l* of Sassarese, or “ì”) and this sibilant *l* or λ, though less decisively so than that which is apparent between the *ll* in *Filli* and the *gl* in *figli*. This sound, more sibilant than that of “ì”, though it originate also from *r*, or from *s*, is noticed when the labials *p*, *b*, *m*, or the semi-labials *f*, *v*, immediately follow. Be it noted, however, that in this case the said consonants are not themselves transformed, as we saw happen with χ, with γ, with ì, and with ḅ, into the sound that precedes them, but are properly pronounced after that sound. The words “palpà” *palpare*, “colpu” *corpo*, “ilpina” *spina*, “sulfaru” *solfo*, “fulfaru” *cruseca*, “ilfattu” *sfatto*, “alburu” *albero*, “balba” *barba*, “ilbirru” *birro*, “malvasia”, “zelvu” *cervo*, “ilviaddu” *sviato*, “calmà” *calmare*, “velmu” *verme*, “ilmuzzaddu” *smozzato*, are all pronounced with λ: *palpà colpu, ilpina, sulfaru, fulfaru, ilfattu, alburu, balba, ilbirru, malvasia, zelvù, ilviaddu, calmà, velmu, ilmuzzaddu.*

When the preceding word ends with *l*, the initial consonant of that which follows determines the sound to be given to such final *l*. So the words “pal basgià” *per baciare*, “pal cadì” *per cadere*, “pal ceggu” *per cieco*, “pal chiltu” *per questo*, “pal ciamà” *per chiamare*, “pal dà” *per dare*, “pal fà” *per fare*, “pal gudi” *per godere*, “pal gittà” *per gettare*, “pal ghettu” *per ghetto*, “pal giaddu” *per gallo*, “pal magnà” *per mangiare*, “pal pudè” *per potere*, “pal quattoldizi” *per quat-*

tordici, “pal te” *per te*, “pal vidè” *per vedere*, “pal zilcà” *per cercare*, “pal zurradda” *per giornata*, are pronounced, some with *l* Italian, some with χ (voiceless guttural), some with γ (voiced guttural), some with “ĭ” (voiceless dental *l*), some with “l̄” (voiced dental *l*), and finally, some with λ (sibilant *l*), as phonetically expressed here: *palbasgià*, *paχχadì*, *palceggù*, *paχχillu*, *palciamà*, *pullà*, *puλfà*, *paγγudì*, *palgittà*, *paγγettu*, *palgiaiddu*, *palmagrà*, *puλpudé*, *paχχuatoldizi*, *palìe*, *palvidé*, *palziχχà*, *palzurradda*.

It would seem to me, after mature reflection on these various forms of the Sassarese *l*, that the sound of the voiced sibilant *l* should also be admitted, as I have included the two dental and the two guttural sounds, of which one is voiceless and the other voiced.

A somewhat delicate and attentive ear may by chance notice a slight difference between the sound of *l* before the voiceless consonants *p* and *f*, in the words *palrà*, *colpu*, *ilpina*, *sulfaru*, *fulfaru*, *ilfattu*, and that which the same letter takes when followed by a voiced consonant, as in *alburu*, *balba*, *ilbirru*, *malvasia*, *zelvu*, *ilviaddu*, *calmà*, *velmu*, *ilmuzzaiddu*. Another very slight difference the Rev. Canon Spano points out between the sound of *l* derived from *s* and that of *l* originating from *r*, or corresponding to *l* in Italian, it being more prolonged in the former case than in the latter. These last distinctions must not be denied, but as they are not such as are generally perceived even by a fairly acute ear, I do not think I ought to admit either a phonetic representation or an increase in the number of the thirty-seven sounds. Enough that I have noticed them, confining myself to the sole remark that if such minute differences of sound are to be treated as of importance, the Sassarese *l* would be capable of expressing, not six, but thirteen more or less different sounds, and that these might be methodically arranged thus—

SOUNDS CORRESPONDING TO *l* AND *r*. SOUNDS CORRESPONDING TO *s*.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>l</i> Italian; <i>solu</i> , <i>laddru</i> , <i>milli</i> . | |
| 2. <i>l</i> voiceless guttural; <i>solcu</i> , <i>alcu</i> . | 8. <i>molca</i> . |
| 3. <i>l</i> voiced guttural; <i>alga</i> , <i>lalgu</i> . | 9. <i>ilgabbaddu</i> . |
| 4. <i>l</i> voiceless dental; <i>altu</i> , <i>palti</i> . | 10. <i>baltoni</i> . |
| 5. <i>l</i> voiced dental; <i>caldu</i> , <i>laldu</i> . | 11. <i>ildintiggaddu</i> . |
| 6. <i>l</i> voiceless sibilant; <i>palpà</i> , <i>fulfaru</i> . | 12. <i>ilpina</i> , <i>ilfattu</i> . |
| 7. <i>l</i> voiced sibilant; <i>alburu</i> , <i>zelvu</i> , <i>velmu</i> . | 13. <i>ilbirru</i> , <i>ilviaddu</i> , <i>ilmuzzaddu</i> . |

Be it noted that neither the Tempiese dialect, nor the Cagliariitan, nor even the Logudorese, in its literary form at least, is capable of any but the first of all these *l*'s; and that in them the character *l*, whenever it occurs, is invariably so pronounced.

In Tempiese, indeed, the conversion of *r* (never that of *s*) into *l* takes place before gutturals, dentals, and labials, as in the words "balca" *barca*, "molti" *morte*, "colpu" *corpo*, etc.; but such words are spoken as written, with *l* Italian, and not as βαχχα, molli, colpu.

20. *m*.—Italian pronunciation.

21. *n*.—Italian pronunciation; *i.e.*, as dental *n*, when it is not followed by *b* or *p*, or by hard *g* or *c*; as *m*, when *b* or *p* follows; and as guttural *n* ("n" of the linguists) when a hard *c* or *g* succeeds. Thus *pane*, *pan bianco*, *vengo*, are pronounced "pane", "panbianco", "veŋgo".

22. *o*.—Italian pronunciation; *i.e.*, sometimes open, sometimes closed. In this particular Sassarese follows rather the Logudorese practice, while Tempiese agrees more with the Italian. (See Spano's *Grammar*, vol. i, p. 7). Thus *amòri* in Sassarese, and *amòri* in Tempiese.

O is very often converted into *u* by the agency of inflexion or other etymological change, when it has lost the tonic accent; as is observed in Tempiese, and other southern dialects. Thus, while we write and say "mòri" *muore*, "pòni", *pone*, "dròmmi", *dorme*, we have to speak and write: "muri" *morire*, "punarà" *porrà*, "drummi" *dormire*.

23. *p*.—This letter, though it is always written as *p*, represents two sounds, that of *p*, and that of *b*. The initial change of *p* into *b* takes place in Sassarese as in the Celtic tongues, but only when the weak pronunciation should obtain, as has been observed already under letter *c*. Thus, “pobbulu” *popolo*, “lu pobbulu” *il popolo*:—the former is pronounced *pobbulu*, the latter *lu bobbulu*, exactly as happens in Welsh in this very same word “pobl” *people*, “y bobl” *the people*.

P is often transformed into double *b*, both in writing and speaking, as the same word *pobbulu* shows us.

24. *q*.—Has the same force as in Italian, save in those cases in which the sound of hard *c* is susceptible of change, after the Celtic fashion, into that of hard *g*; or by the assimilative influence of *l*, into that of χ .

Thus, in “quattoldizi” *quattordici*, it has the Italian pronunciation; in *li quattoldizi*, *li quattoldizi* is heard, and in *pal quattoldizi* the pronunciation is as *pa $\chi\chi$ quattoldizi*.

25. *r*.—This letter is given with the sound of *rr* when the strong pronunciation is required, and as single *r* when the weak. “Rezza” *rete*, “la rezza” *la rete*. In Welsh, the aspirated *rh* is converted into *r*, in an analogous manner: “rhwyd” *net*, “dy rwyd” *thy net*. *R*, moreover, as we have seen under letter *l*, is very often converted into *l*, χ , γ , “ \dot{l} ”, “ \dot{l} ”, or λ , according to the letter that follows. It will be well to add, that in speaking as well as in writing, it frequently undergoes still other changes. *Rn* is generally rendered by *rr*, as in “carri” *carne*, “inferru” *inferno*, “zur-radda”, *giornata* (4). *R* preceding *p*, though, as a rule, transformed into sibilant *l* (λ), becomes in “ilcappi” *scarpe*, a *p*, by assimilation. Followed by *s*, it is itself transformed by the same assimilative process into an *s* also (5), as in “pessu” *perduto*, *perso*; and whenever it is found in Italian, with an *l* succeeding, their union, seemingly little in accord with

Sassarese notions, is ruthlessly severed. "Tarulu" *tarlo*, "perula" *perla*, etc.

26. *s*.—Is pronounced with a strong voiceless sound in all cases in which other consonants receive a strong pronunciation, and with a weak voiced sound in contrary cases. Thus, between two vowels, or at the beginning of a word preceded by another that demands the initial mutation from voiceless to voiced (in "casa", "cosa", "lu santu" *il santo*, for instance), the Sassarese *s* will be voiced, as in the word *sposa* in Italian; and not as it is given in the first three examples in correct Tuscan speech, viz., voiceless. In the isolated word, *santu*, on the other hand, or in *a santu, e santu, cun santu*, the *s* is voiceless in Sassarese also. *S* reduplicated, further, bears not merely the ordinary voiceless sound, but one still more forcible, as in the Italian *cassa*;—"fossu" *fosso*, "cussì" *così*. The Armorican alone among the Celtic languages (perhaps the Cornish also), offers us this initial mutation of the voiceless into the voiced *s* by the influence of the word preceding. Thus, giving to the *z* the sound, which that character bears in Armorican, of the Italian voiced *s*, "sac'h" *sack* is written and pronounced "zac'h" in "da zac'h" *thy sack*, exactly as, in Sassarese, the strong *s* of the word *saccu* is converted into the voiced form in *lu to' saccu; lu do' zaccu*, with the French or Armorican *z*, being the pronunciation required.

S, as has been seen already under letter *l*, may give place to the sounds χ , γ , "P", "l", and λ , always represented in writing by *l*. Be it added here that this letter is regularly converted into *l* Italian before another *l*, as in "illoggià" *sloggiare*, which is written and pronounced with two *l*'s. It is converted also into *r* before another *r*, as in *irradizina' sradicare* ⁽⁶⁾, and is written so as well as pronounced. In the word "eddis" *cgliño* or *elleno*, a synonym of *eddi*, the *s*, when it comes at the end of a period or phrase, presents to the ear,

after the Logudorese fashion, a very faint subsequent repetition of the preceding *i*; as it were *eddisi*. This word *eddis*, and *lis*, in the sense of *a eddis*, are, I believe, the only ones in Sassarese that end in *s*.

27. *sc*.—These two letters do not, either more or less than in Italian, form a digram, or, in other words, represent a simple sound, unless followed by *e* or *i*. Before the remaining vowels they are expressed separately; the *s*, that is, is converted into χ (voiceless guttural), and the *c* assumes that sound likewise. Thus “cunniscì” *conoscere*, “molca” *mosea*, pronounced *mo χ χ a*.

28. *sci*.—This is a trigram; since the *i* is not pronounced as such (7), but only co-operates with the *s* and *c* in the formation of the conventional character by which in Italian and Sassarese orthography it has been chosen to represent the “*s*” sound of the linguists before the vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, as in “asciuttu” *asciutto*.

29. *sg*.—The sound of the French *j*, known by the linguists under the form “*z*”, is in Sassarese expressed by this digram before *e* and *i*. The Cagliarians make use of *x* or else of *c*, as in *su eclu*, which they pronounce *su xelu*, the *x* having the force of the Sassarese *sg*: “basgi” *baci*. Before the other vowels the *s* is changed, as was seen under letter *l*, into γ (voiced guttural), and the *g* takes that sound as well. This occurs in “ilgabbaddu” *sgarbato*, which will be pronounced *i γ γ abbaddu*.

30. *sgi*.—Represents the preceding sound, the *i* having no proper force, when the vowels *a*, *o*, *u* follow: “basgia” *bacia*, “basgiu” *bacio*.

31. *t*.—Sounds as in Italian when the strong form is demanded, but when the pronunciation has to be weak it is converted into *d*. Thus *terra* is given with *t* Italian, and so are *a terra*, *e terra*, *cun terra*, while *la terra*, *la noltra terra*, are heard as *la derra*, *la noltra derra*. The same thing occurs

in the Celtic tongues, except in the Scottish Gaelic, which never admits the initial mutation of a voiceless into a voiced consonant. Thus in Irish, "tír" *country*, gives "ár dír" *our country*; though it is written *ár d-tír*, by force of the rule called *eclipsis*, which requires, in Irish orthography, the consonant sounded to be succeeded by the one which is no longer heard in the pronunciation, but retained for etymological reasons.

So also the Welsh, which, preferring phonetic to etymological orthography, of "tad" *father*, makes "dy dad" *thy father*, and writes it with *t* or with *d*, according to the pronunciation.

The Sassarese *t* is susceptible of a third sound yet, viz., of becoming a voiceless dental *l* in pronunciation, when it is preceded by "l" a sound of like character. (See under letter *l*.)

This letter, finally, may be converted into a non-palatal *dd*, as has been said already in the section relating to *dd*.

32. *u*.—Italian pronunciation.

33. *v*.—Is pronounced as in Italian when of strong sound; but when corresponding to the weak pronunciation of other consonants, is converted into a soft *b* of Spanish character. (See under letter *b*.) Thus in *vinu*, *avvizina*, *lu vinu*; the two first have the Italian *v*, as in *vino*, *avvicina*, but the third is pronounced *lu binu*, with, however, a Spanish *b*, less labial than the Italian.

In the Celtic tongues, *v* does not undergo initial change; but even here, the Tempiese dialect, which knows nothing of the other mutations which occur in Sassarese, Cagliari, Logudorese, and the Celtic languages—the Tempiese dialect, I repeat, offers the linguist a point of encounter with the last named, in the elimination to which the letter in question is here subject. This suppression takes place in every case in which Sassarese transforms it into *b*, and Logudorese into *h* aspirate; as in *su vinu*, *pro vendere*, which, in the latter

dialect, as Spano shows us (*Grammar*, vol. i, p. 12), are pronounced, though never written, "su hinu" *il vino*, "prohendere" *per vendere*. Though *v*, in the Celtic tongues, is never subject to such elimination, it is no less true that this process is observed in the case of the Welsh and Armorican hard *g*; "gwr" *man*, and "gwerzid" *spindle*, being reduced to *wr* (8), and *wertzid*, by the force of the preceding word (9); precisely as occurs in Tempiese in the word *vinu*, which, isolated, or in *a vinu, e vinu*, etc., is spoken with a *v*; while *lu vinu, chistu vinu*, on the other hand, are heard, though not written, as *lu inu, chistu inu*.

In the three Gaelic dialects, too, the letter *f*, which bears so close a relation to *v*, is similarly affected. "Fuill" *blood*, is converted into *uill* in "dty uill" *thy blood*, in the Manx dialect; and though the word in Irish and Scottish Gaelic is written *fuil* when the *f* is to be sounded; and *fhuil* when it is to be suppressed, its pronunciation is always the same as in Manx.

In Bitti, further (see Spano's *Grammar*, vol. i, p. 12), the *f* in the word *fizu* presents an absolute conformity with the three Gaelic dialects; for, while pronounced *sos fizos* in the plural, in the singular it is heard as *su izu*, and not as *su vizu*, as in Logudorese in general. In Manx, finally, initial suppression of *b*, *d*, and *m*, may take place in words where these consonants are followed by *v*, as in "mwyllar" *millar*, "bwinnican" *yolk*, "dwoaie" *hatred*, which are pronounced and written accordingly, "yn wyllar" *the miller*, "yn winnican" *the yolk*, "e woaie" *his hatred*. Precisely similar is the Logudorese practice (see under *b* and *d*) with regard to the *d* of *dinari*, and the *b* of *boe*, which are transformed in pronunciation, though not in writing, into *su inari, su oe*.

Nor should the similarity be overlooked between the changes that affect the letters *s* and *t* in the three Gaelic dialects and *f* in Cornish alone of the Cambrian group; and the

initial mutation into *h* aspirate to which the Logudorese *v* is subject; for, just as in Logudorese, *vendere* and *vinu* are converted into *hendere* and *hinu*; “*sál*” *heel*, in Irish, and “*flôh*” *boy*, in Cornish give place to “*a shál*” (pron. *a hál*) *his heel*, and “*gen hlô*” *with a boy*. So also, to give an example of the change of *t* into *h* aspirate, I will take the Manx dialect, in which “*towse*” *measure*, becomes “*e howse*” *his measure*.

x.—The letter *x* is not used either in Sassarese or in Tempiese. In Cagliariitan it is pronounced as the French *j*, *i. e.*, as the Sassarese, Logudorese, and Tempiese digram *sg*. In Logudorese it is used, for etymological reasons, with the force of *es*.

y.—The same may be said of *y*, which is used in Logudorese alone, with the force of *i*, for the sake of etymology.

z.—According to the use that has been made of it in the Sassarese version of St. Matthew, a single *z*, as an initial, will have, as in Italian, sometimes a voiceless and sometimes a voiced sound. When of strong voiceless sound, it will become weak voiced in all cases in which the initial changes of voiceless sound into voiced take place. Thus in “*zelu*” *cielo*, it will be voiceless, and in “*lu zelu*” *il cielo*, voiced. In the middle of words it will always be voiced between two vowels, as in “*giultizia*” *giustizia*. After another consonant it will be, as in Italian, sometimes voiced and sometimes voiceless; but I believe that of all the words that occur in the version of St. Matthew the only ones which have a voiced *z* after a consonant are “*franza*” *frangia*, where the *z* corresponds to the Italian sibilant *g*; and “*pazienzia*”, with both the *z*'s voiced.

In “*Franza*” *Francia*, *z* is voiceless, as it corresponds to the Italian sibilant *c*; in “*monza*” *monaca*, it is voiced; but, speaking generally, it will be almost always voiceless after a consonant, as in “*malzu*” *marzo*, “*folza*” *forza*, “*piniddenzia*” *penitenza*, etc.

35. *zz*.—This digram, according to the orthography adopted in the Version of St. Matthew, will have a constantly voiceless sound. Thus, “rizzibi” *ricevere*, “ozziu” *ozio*, “nigozziu” *negozio*; while words such as *rozu*, *muzu*, *profetizà*, etc., having, unlike their Italian correlatives, only a single *z* between two vowels, will be pronounced with that letter of voiced sound. And be it here noted, that the sound of *zz* does not differ from that of single *z* of voiced pronunciation, merely as any strong letter may differ from its weak counterpart; that is to say, as Italian *t* from *tt*, etc. The sounds of *zz*, and of “*đđ*” (*đđ* palatal), are totally distinct from those of the voiced *z*, and of the non-palatal *đđ*; as distinct as *p* and *b*, *t* and *d*, *f* and *v*, voiceless *s* and voiced *s*, are from each other; and as to the Italian *đđ*, it stands to the Sassarese “*đđ*”, as the Italian *l* to the Polish palatal *l*, or almost as the natural *n* of *vano* stands to the guttural *n* of *vango*, in sounding which the point of the tongue does not meet the upper teeth, as it does in pronouncing the former.

NOTES.

1. Degli avvertimenti della lingua sopra'l Decamerone. Venice, 1584. Vol. i, p. 261.

2. "Usually" I say, because in Italian as well as in Sassarese, a single consonant is pronounced as if written double, as it falls under the following general rules:—

a. If, being initial and not followed by a consonant, it stands at the beginning of a sentence, whether commencing a period or clause (long or short) or following a comma.

b. If the preceding word, though ending in a vowel, be an oxytone, or a monosyllable derived from a Latin word which has dropped its final consonant, or final syllable beginning with a consonant, in becoming Italian or Sassarese.

Thus the preposition *a*¹, derived from the Latin *ad*, the conjunction *e*, corresponding to *et*, *sì* derived from *sic*, "nè" *nec*, and truncated words like "amò" *amavit*, "potè" *potuit*, have all the property of giving a strong sound to the initial consonant of the word following; and though one sees written *a Pietro, e voi, sì grande, nè questo nè quello, amò molto, potè poco*, one always hears *appietro, evvoi, siggrande, necquesto necquello, amommolto, poteppoco*.

The weak sound of the consonants, on the other hand, will obtain in every case, other than those noted in the above rules, in which the preceding word ends in a vowel. Thus in each of the following examples:—*di Maria, i doni, la mente, le donne, mi dice, ti lascia, si gode ama molto, pote' poco, molto largo*, the initial consonant of the second word is pronounced as written, weak; for either the Latin form of the preceding word (*de, illi, illa, illæ, me, te, se, potui*) ends in a vowel, or else, as *ama* and *molto* in *ama molto* and *molto largo*, the preceding word has not the tonic accent on its last syllable.

The property which many oxytones and monosyllables possess of giving a strong sound to succeeding initial consonants, does not then depend, as Salviati would have it, on their oxytonic or monosyllabic nature, but as I think I have sufficiently shown, on the final consonant of the original Latin form. This Latin final consonant, though it has disappeared in the derived dialects, retains its effect through the process

¹ In Sassarese this preposition gives the strong sound to the *l* of the article only when the following word commences with a vowel:—*a lu babbu, all'anima, all'ilcribi, a la peddra*.

called assimilation, by virtue of which it is transformed into an Italian or Sassarese initial.

This being admitted, the oxytones and monosyllables which do not enjoy the property of giving a strong sound to initial consonants, and which are cited by Salviati as exceptions, cease to be such, and fall in with my general rules.

3. The word "altru" *altro*, is an exception, being pronounced with *l* Italian.

4. Except in "eternu" *eterno*, "eterniddai" *eternità*, "urna", "ternu" *terno*, "incarnaddu" *incarnato*, "incarnazioni" *incarnazione*, "turnu" (the "turning-box" of a monks' parlour) and some others.

5. Except in "forsi" *forse* (also pronounced vulgarly *fossi*), "cum-parsu" *comparsø*, and some others.

6. Except in *Israeli*.

7. Except in those words in which *i* receives the tonic accent. In these the trigram is resolved into the digram *sc*, and the vowel *i*, which last is given its proper value; as in "pascìa" *pascèva*. The same may be said of any other trigram into which *i* enters as its third element, the Sassarese *sgi* and the Sassarese and Italian *gli* for instance. And just as the trigrams are resolved into digrams and vowels by reason of the tonic accent falling on the latter, the digrams themselves, such as *ci* and *gi*, are, under similar circumstances, split up into simple characters followed by a fully sounded vowel *i*. Thus, while in the Italian *bambagia*, *gi* exists as a digram possessing altogether merely the sound of *g* sibilant; in *albagìa*, the same purpose is served, not by the digram *gi*, but by the single letter *g* preceding the *i*, which latter is distinctly pronounced with its own proper sound.

8. In Cornish, *gwr* gives place to *wur* by mutation of *g* into *w*.

9. I will remark here that one would need to be, if not blind, at least deaf, to be able to deny the identity in some cases, and the strong analogy in some others, between the Sardinian and the Celtic initial mutations, as far as concerns material points; though one should not for all that assume with absolute certainty the identity of the causes which produced these changes.

WELSH BOOKS PRINTED ABROAD IN THE
SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CEN-
TURIES, AND THEIR AUTHORS.¹

By H. W. LLOYD, M.A.

PERSONS of a literary taste, who may have lived long enough to remember Paris as it was in the early part of the present century, will probably not have forgotten M. Marcel, a learned Orientalist, who was sometime Director of the Imperial Printing Office under the first Napoleon. M. Marcel was by profession a publisher, and to his other pursuits, added that of bibliographical research. It was he who first brought to the notice of Prince L. Lucien Bonaparte a curious volume, printed in the year 1568, in a language evidently Celtic, but in a type and orthography exhibiting remarkable peculiarities, unlike those pertaining to any one of the existing families of that class of languages, and supposed by that gentleman to bear the nearest resemblance to the Cornish. Of this book Prince Lucien became the fortunate purchaser, and thus found himself the possessor of an unique copy of the "Athravaeth Gristnogavl", a work which has just been reprinted as nearly as possible in facsimile by the Cymmrodorion Society, and which has contributed largely to the settlement of a curious controversy, as well as to the elucidation of some material facts in connexion with the publication of a larger, and to scholars, and, indeed, to the lovers and students of Celtic literature generally, a more interesting and important work, the Welsh Grammar of Dr. Griffith Roberts. To the Welsh title of this latter book is appended no press-mark ; but simply the date of the year, and,

¹ Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, in London, on the 30th June, 1880.

in Latin, the day of the month;—1567. 1^o Martij. We are told, however, by Dr. John Dafydd Rhŷs, in the preface to his *Welsh Grammar*, that Gruffydd Roberts wrote a Grammar, and “Mediolani excudit”. A late librarian of the British Museum, Sir Antonio Panizzi, was unable to bring himself to believe that by “Mediolani” the city of Milan, in Italy, could be intended, because, as he averred, the peculiarities characteristic of Italian printing were not to be detected in the book. He, therefore, started an extraordinary theory of his own, which was that by “Mediolani” must be understood, not Milan, in Italy, but the place called in the old British Itineraries “Mediolanum”, a Roman military station, the site of which antiquaries have been greatly puzzled to fix with certainty, and has been placed by some in Cheshire, by others in Flintshire, but by others again, and with far greater probability, in Montgomeryshire. The villages in that county which have contended for the glory of it, like the seven cities of old for being the birthplace of Homer, being Llan St. Ffraid, Llanfair, Llanfechan, Llanfyllin, (from Myllin), and Meifod, the two last of which, approach the most nearly in sound at least to Mediolanum. Some months ago an announcement was made by Prince L. L. Bonaparte in the *Academy*, that in the colophon at the end of the preface to the *Athrawaeth*, which had proved to be a small Welsh catechism, printed by Dr. Griffith Roberts, the author of the Welsh Grammar, the words were found, “O dref, Fylen nosuyl S. Nicolas.”, and in that at the end of the book, “Ymylen. 1568. dynguyl. S. Nicolas.”, words which it was declared, on no less an authority than that of the Rev. D. Silvan Evans, could be referred to no other place in the world than Milan in Italy; and thus no further room was left for controversy on the question which had been raised by Sir Antonio Panizzi, as Dr. Roberts must naturally have printed the one work at the place where he printed the other. No serious doubt, indeed, could be entertained on such a matter

in the mind of a Welshman, as otherwise none could have been raised as to the whereabouts of the Roman station of Mediolanum, which would in that case readily have been identified by its very name. But no such place is or has been known either to historians or to the inhabitants in modern times. But if there were still room left for such a doubt after this discovery, still further materials are to be found for its solution in the existence of another work, the *Drych Cristionogawl*, or *Christian Mirror*, in the British Museum, which had been strangely overlooked by Panizzi, of which Dr. Griffith Roberts is unmistakeably the author. This (which, however, was printed, not by the author himself at Milan, but by his friend and fellow-worker, Dr. Roger Smith, at Rouen), contains, in Dr. Smith's introduction to it, a direct reference to a Welsh work printed by Dr. Roberts at Milan. It is also of great value for the light which it throws upon some other very interesting questions which have grown out of the publication of these and other works of a somewhat similar character, printed to all appearance in a sort of series, originating for the most part in a single cause, and culminating in a single object. Why, for example, was the printing of this series commenced in Italy and continued afterwards in France? And secondly, why was the peculiar orthography and punctuation found in them, and in them only, that has chiefly led to these perplexities, adopted in the first instance by Dr. Roberts, and continued, with some variations, by his successor in the work of printing them, Dr. Roger Smith? The answer to these questions, interesting alike to the critic of language and to the bibliographer, is fully supplied in the preface and in some supplemental additions to others of the different works; and, therefore, though somewhat long, I have ventured here to reproduce them.

Of the *Drych Cristionogawl* I am unable of my own knowledge to give the full and precise title, as the title-

page of the British Museum copy (the only one now known) has unhappily been lost. According to the British Museum Catalogue it runs thus, *mutatis mutandis*, to adapt it to the modern orthography: "Y Drych Cristianogawl yn yr hwn y dichon pob Cristion ganfod gwreiddin a dechreuad pob daioni sprydawl, sef, gwybod modd i wasanaethu Duw, drwy ei garu a'i ofni yn fwy na dim, ag i daflu ymaith beth bynnag ar a fo rwystr i hynny. Y rhan gyntaf yn peri gwasanaethu Duw drwy ei garu." "The Christian Mirror, in which every Christian may see the root and beginning of all spiritual goodness, namely, to know how to serve God by loving and fearing Him above all things, and to cast away whatever shall be a hindrance to that. The First Part, causing to serve God by loving Him. Edited by R. S. (*i.e.* Rosier Smith?), B.L. [Apud hæredes I. Favonis, Rhotomagi, 1585.] 12mo. The work is set down by Rowlands under the year 1584, who gives the title correctly as far as the word *dim*, adding, &c., and "There is no author's name to this book", showing that he could not have looked into it as far as the preface. The preface, however, commences as follows: and here I am met, at the outset, by the bi-lingual difficulty, which has asserted itself in so marked a manner in the Principality, and which, I fear, I can meet in no other way than by giving extracts from the respective works in both languages. The original has:—"YR AWDWR NEU R GWR A WNAETH Y LHYFR YMA AT EI GAREDIGION GYMRY YN ERCHI PHYNNIANT A LHWYDHIANT IDHYNT." Wrth fedhwl am fraint a bri 'r Cymry gynt, a' i lhescod ai diystyred yr owran, mae dolur a chlefyd yn magu yn fynghallon." Which may be thus translated:—"The author, or the man who made this book, to his beloved Cymry, beseeching success and prosperity for them. On reflecting on the privilege and honour of the Cymry of old, and their dispirited and despised condition at present, pain and sickness are fostered in my heart."

On page 11 of the Preface, the running title of which is "At Gymry" (To Welshmen) is the following:—"Drych Cristianogawl yr henwais i y l'yr yma am fod pob Cristiawn yn gal'u canfod yndo, os mynn, lun y petheu yssyd ido eu canlyn neu gochel yu y byd yma, megis y cenfyd dyn mywn drych o wydr lun gwrthdrych y peth a fo ar gyfeiryd y drych"; *i. e.*, "I have named this book the *Christian Mirror*, because every Christian may see therein, if he will, the form of the things that he is to follow or to avoid in this world, as a man sees in a glass-mirror the opposite form of the object that is presented to the mirror."

The last three paragraphs run thus:—"Hynn o damchwain o liw beiau a gasclai rhyw fath ar dynion yn y l'yr yma ac erail' ryw eilun beieu o faith aral'; Ond o chaf wybod un bai nag aral', mi a fydaf barod i ymostwng ag i vfudhau i'r sawl bynnag ai daghosso, yn enwedig o dihangawd dim o'm geneu drwy anghof yn y l'yr yma a fo yn anghytuno mywn dyal' a medwl a r Eglwys Catholic fy Mam sprydol.

"Ni cheisiaf na thal na diolch am fy mhoen am hewyl'ys da, ond bod yn gyfrañol o wedi pob Cymro phydlon, or a gapho dim didanwch na l'es yw enaid wrth darl'ain neu glywed y l'yr hynn.

"Duw a Mair gyda a chwi ol', ag a drefno i ni fyw yma ynghorlañ Crist, megis y gal'om i gyd gyt gyfwrdd ym Paradwys nefawl, a theyrnasu gyd a Duw yn dragywydawl. Amen."

I. e., "Some persons may gather faults of one kind in this book, and others some appearance of faults of another kind. But if I get to know one fault or another, I shall be ready to submit myself to and obey anyone, whosoever he may be, that shall point them out, especially if anything has escaped from my lips through forgetfulness, that is discordant in understanding and thought with the Catholic Church, my spiritual mother.

"I shall seek neither pay nor thanks for my trouble and my good-will, save to be partaker of the prayer of every faithful

Welshman, who shall gain any comfort or benefit to his soul by reading or hearing this book.

“God and Mary be with you all, and order us so to live here in the fold of Christ, as that we may be able to meet together in the heavenly Paradise, and reign with God for ever. Amen.”

“O Fulan, yr eidoch,

“G. R.

(“From Milan, Yours, G. R.”) [GRIFFITH ROBERTS.]

Then comes a blank page, the next to which begins as follows:—

“YR ACHOS A'R MODH Y
dodwyd y llyfr yma mywn Print.”

“Y mae blwydhyn bellach a chwaneg er pann dhaeth i m llhaw yn Nhir Phreinc lyfr Cymbraeg o waith yr Athro mawr o Dhinas Fulan yngwlad yr Idal. Ewylhys yr Athro ydoedh dhanfon y llyfr mywn scrifeñlaw i blith y Cymry: Am nad oedh dim modh yw brintio ef yno ac am fod y phord yn rhy bell rhy faith i dhanfon mawr nifer o llyfreu o r Idal i wlad Gymbry: Rhag torri ar ewylhys yr Athro, mi a dhanfonais o Phrainc i yuys Brydain vn copi o'r llyfr mewn yscrifen law, ag a gedwais gopi aral' gyd a mi fy hunan yn Phrainc. Yn y mann ar ol tirio 'r llyfr a dyfod yn hoeth (*sic* for noeth) ac yn anrhefnus wedi ei wlychu gann fordwy a heli, idhwylo Cymbry, cafodh (fal y clywais) wise yn ei gylch ai sychu ai ymgledhu yn ewyl'ysgar ag yn chwannog dhigon. Yna cerdded a wnaeth dros amser o law i law drwy aml faneu odir Cymry, yn cael mawrbarch a chroeso ymhob mann: pawb o r a glywei son amdano yn chwañog i gael cydnabod arno: rhai yn deisyf ei dharlhain: eraill, yrhai nis medrēt dharlain yn damuno clywed ei dharlhein: y drydedd rann yn fodhlon yw gopio ai scrifennu, i gael aml gopïe i fyned ar hyd y wlad. Pann dhoeth y gair o hyn i dir Phrainc

lle yr oedhwn i yn trigo, ef a fu lawen a chynes fynghallon wrth glywed chwant ag awydh y Cymru i wrando cynghor sprydol. Yma y tyfodh gobeith mawr yn fy medhwl, y gellhyd achub llawer o eneidiau yn Ghymry rhag discyn i yphern, pe y baei fod y dhāgos ydhynt eu peryglon sprydol. Wrth fedhwl am hyn ny fedrwn i weled vn modh phrwythlon gymhwys, ony baei gael gossod doddi i maes y llyfr mywn Print. O fywn Deyrnas ny welwn dhim gobaith i gael nag arian, na gweithwyr, na lle cymhwys cyfadhas. Wrth hir fedhwl, a gweled egni y Saeson phydlon yn printio llyfreu Saesneec o'r tu yma ir mor, mywn gwledydh dieithr, mi a ganfuwm mewn rheswm y galhei i Printwyr o Phrainc brintio Cymbraeg yn gystal a Saesneec, gan fod y dlwy iaith yn gyfdhieithr idhynt. Ac ynghyferyd y mawr nifer o llyfreu Saesneec a ossoded alhan er pan lygrwyd Phydth a Chrefydh yn ynys Prydein, drwy boen a thrafael y Saeson Catholic: rhag cywilydh a cholhed i holh Gymry, cymesur a phyrdfferth y gwelwn ossod a doddi alhan vn llyfr Cymraec, gan fod cymeint o eiseu a r Cymbry, mor chwannoc i gael llyfreu, a Duw wedy trefnu Printwyr mywn tref ar fin y mor yn barod er cyflog i brintio Cymraec cystal a Saesneec. Mi a gymerais arnaf (nid heb gyfarch a chennad yr Athro) ossod mewn Print y Rhan gyntaf o'r tair. Canys, megis y gellwch dhealht wrth lythyr yr Athro o r blaen nid yw 'r holh waith onyd vn llyfr yn cynhwys teir Rhann: Ag os Duw a dhenfyn rhwydheb mifi a ossodaf alhan y Rhanneu eraill yn gyntaf a galhwyf, sef yr ail a'r drydydd (*sic.* for drydydd) pob un yn ei hordor ai gradh. Llythrenneu Seisnic a gawson ir gwaith, ag yn lle y D. a r L. dybledigion y rhoesom dh. ag lh. ar ol arfer yr hen gymreigwyr gynt, y peth ysydd wedheidhiach na dybla'r llythrennau. Gan na fedrem gael D. ag L. a nodæ danynt ar ol ordor yr Athrawaeth Gristnogawl a brintied ym Mulan, mewn ymhel' fanneu chwyehwi a geweh D. ag L. wedi eu nodi yn eu penneu: a r rhai hynny i gyd sy n

arwein sain y lheilh ag yn arbed yr H. Ag os cawn yn ol hyn dhigon o honynt wedi nodi yn eu penneu, nyni a beidiwn yn gwbl a chydiaw r H. gyda D. ag L. Y mae r gost a r darul (*sic* by a misprint for draul) a r boen yn fawr iawn ag yn flin : Am hynny i mae pob Cymbro phydhlon gar bron Duw yn rhwymedig i roi help a chanhorthwy i r Gwaith drwy wedhi a modheu eraill, pawb yn ei radh a i alhu. Ag am fod gwyr āghyfarwydh anghyfaeth mywn gwlad diert h eb dhealht yr iaith Gymbraeg yn gelhwg odh dann eu dwylo fagad o feieu drwy gamgymeryd a cham ossod y llythrenneu, a beieu eraill at hynny : rhaid o madheu y fath feieu bychan : Gan na ellid cael petheu mywn modh gwelw o dan dhwylo dieithred anghyfarwydh. Yn olaf peth ydh wyf yn deisyf ar bob Cymro phydhlon fedhwl amdanaf iñeu yn ei wedhi, a chopau hefyd yn i wedhi pob math ar dhyn or a fu o r a fydh yn helpu r gwaith hynn drwy gost, traul, blinder, neu fodhion eraill yn y byd.

“ O DREF ROAN,

“ Eych gwladwr caredig,

R. S.”

TRANSLATION.

“It is now a year and more since there came into my hand, in the land of France, a Welsh book, the work of the great master of the city of Milan, in the country of Italy. It was the master's wish to send the book, in manuscript, among the Welsh : because there were no means to print it there, and because the way was too far and tedious to send a great number of books from Italy into the country of Wales. Not to infringe the master's wish, I sent from France to the Isle of Britain one copy of the book in manuscript, and kept another copy with myself in France. Immediately after travelling, and coming bare and disordered, after being wetted by the salt water, into the hands

of the Welsh, it obtained (as I heard) a cover around it, and was dried, and lovingly and eagerly cared for. Then, for a time, it passed from hand to hand through many places of the land of Wales, receiving everywhere much reverence and welcome: all who heard of it being desirous of gaining a knowledge of it; some desiring to read it; others, who knew not how to read, wishing to hear it read; a third part content to copy it, and write it, so as to get a number of copies to go about the country. When the news of this came to France, where I was residing, my heart was rejoiced and comforted to hear of the zest and eagerness of the Welsh to hear spiritual counsel. Then there grew up in my mind a great hope that many souls in Wales might be saved from falling into Hell, if there were a way to point out to them their spiritual perils. In reflecting on this, I could see no convenient and fruitful way, unless the book could be put into and published in print. Within the kingdom I could see no hope of obtaining either money or workmen, nor a fit and suitable place. By long reflection, and seeing the energy of the English faithful in printing English books on this side of the sea in foreign lands, I conceived it within reason that printers of France might be able to print Welsh as well as English, the two tongues being equally strange to them. And in view of the great number of English books that have been published since Faith and Religion were corrupted in the Island of Britain, through the toil and industry of the Catholic English: on pain of shame and loss to all Welshmen, I saw it expedient and honourable to set forth and publish one Welsh book, whereof there was so much need, and the Welsh so eager to get books, and God having provided printers on the sea-side, ready for hire to print Welsh as well as English. I have taken it upon me (not without the favour and leave of the Master) to put in print the first part of the three. For, as you may under-

stand by the Master's letter, the whole work is but one book containing three parts.¹ And if God shall send liberty, I shall put forth the other parts as soon as I can, viz., the second and third, each in its order and degree. We have got English letters for the work, and instead of the doubled D. and L., we have put dh. and lh., according to the manner of the old Welshifiers, which is a more proper thing than to double the letters. Since we could not get D. and L. with marks under them, according to the order of the 'Athra-vaeth Gristnogav' (Christian Instruction), that was printed at Milan, you will find D. and L. in several places marked above; and these all carry the sound of the rest, and save the H. And if we find, hereafter, enough of them marked above, we shall cease altogether to join the H. with D. and L. The cost, and expense, and trouble, are very great and burdensome. Therefore, every faithful Welshman is bound to give help and assistance to the Work by prayer and other ways, every one to his power and degree. And as unskilled and unlearned men, in a foreign country, who understand not the Welsh language, let slip a heap of errors through mistaking and mis-setting the letters, and other faults besides: since things could not be had in a better way, under the hands of unskilled foreigners, such petty faults must needs be forgiven. Last of all, I desire every faithful Welshman to think of me also in his prayer, and to remember, too, in his prayer, every sort of person that has been or shall be helping this work by expense, trouble, or other means whatsoever.

FROM ROUEN,

Your affectionate countryman,

R. S.

¹ The First Part, which alone is printed, or, as far as is now known, extant, is a short treatise on the Love of God.

Doubtless, by the initials of R. S., is represented Roger Smith, a person whose identity would seem to be enveloped in not a little mystery. In the *Douay Records*, "Rogerius Smithe" appears in a list of "Angli pauperes", matriculated at that University between 1573 and 1612. And, in a State paper, mention is made by a spy of the Government in 1601, of a priest then in England, Dr. Roger Smith, aged about 35. This person has been confounded by Rowlands, the author of the *Cambrian Bibliography*, with George Williams, who, he says, adopted the name of Smith from his mother, was made LL.B. and LL.D. in Padua, in 1567; held several preferments in the diocese of St. Asaph, and afterwards was Chancellor of Llandaff, and died in 1608. But, as has been shown by the Rev. D. Silvan Evans in his annotation on page 91 of that work, it is impossible that he could have been the same person as the Catholic Roger Smith, who, as shown in the same Bibliography, published three works successively, in Welsh, in 1609, 1611, and 1615 (see pp. 84, 86, 88), in the titles of which he is described as of St. Asaph (Llanelwy), and as a Master and Doctor in Theology.

A short description of these works is to be found in the *Cambrian Bibliography* of Rowlands; but, as these are, in some respects, incomplete, and even inaccurate, I propose to give here an account of them, together with such additional particulars as I have been enabled to gather, not only as being interesting in themselves, but also in the hope that it may lead to the discovery of copies of those of the existence of which I have, hitherto, been unable to find a trace. Before doing so, it may, however, be useful to state more particularly, what is the precise nature of the information derived from the Preface to the *Drych Gristionogawl*, by Dr. Roger Smith, and what are the points which had been previously in controversy, which it satisfactorily clears up. In the first

place, as has been already observed, it had been asserted many years ago, by Sir A. Panizzi, the well-known Librarian of the British Museum, that the *Welsh Grammar* of Dr. Griffith Roberts could not have been printed in Italy, chiefly because, in the opinion of Sir A. Panizzi, himself an Italian, the type, and general style of the letter-press, differed essentially from the type and style of printing in that country at the time of its issue. The title of the book runs as follows:—"Dosparth byrr ar y rhann gyntaf i ramadeg cymraeg lle cair llawer o bynciau anhepcor i un a chwennychai na doedyd y gymraeg yn ddilediaith, nai scrifennu 'n iawn. A orchfygo yma, a goronir fry. 1567 Primo Martij." Now, Mediolanum—where, as Dr. John Dafydd Rhys states, in the Preface to his Grammar, that this book was printed—is not only the ancient Latin name of the city whose appellative has been modernised into Milan, but was also that of a Roman city and fortress in Wales, the precise site of which has long been, and still is, a matter of interesting dispute among learned antiquaries. That this was a moot point Sir A. Panizzi, as a foreigner, would naturally have been ignorant at the time that he raised the hypothesis; which, had it been correct, would have sufficed to establish not only the locality whence Dr. Roberts' Grammar would have issued, but also that of the Roman station, since it would have shown that a place in Wales had been known, to scholars at least, by the Latin appellation of Mediolanum, as late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth! The place, too, would have been of sufficient importance to have rejoiced in the possession of a printing-press. Unfortunately for Sir A. Panizzi, no printing-press is known to have existed in Wales for upwards of a century after the publication of the Grammar: and

¹ Mr. Richard Williams (in *Montgomeryshire Collections*, v. 393) has given it as his opinion that the earliest document printed in Wales was that entitled "News from Pembroke and Montgomery; or, Oxford

secondly, no town in Wales is known to have been found in legal or historical documents under the name of Mediolanum in that country in modern times. Sir A. Panizzi, however, may be entitled to excuse for his mistake as to the locality in the fact of his being a foreigner, though scarcely so much so, perhaps, for his somewhat extraordinary persistency in maintaining it in the face of the opposition of those who were not merely well acquainted with, but actually natives of the Principality. It seems strange, also, that he should have been unacquainted with Dr. Gr. Roberts' other work, the *Drych Gristnogawl*, edited by Dr. R. Smith, which must have been, at that very time, in the museum of which he was librarian; or if he was, that he should have found no one to translate for him so much as the Preface, in which he would have found at once the key to the solution of the whole of his difficulties, in the plain, categorical statement that it was printed at Milan. And there he would not only have found full confirmation of the fact which he, to do him justice, rightly suspected, as to the foreign characteristics of the letterpress, but the variation also accounted for in a simple and natural manner. He would have found that, to meet the unexampled difficulties of the case, recourse was to be had to the invention of new expedients. The Italian type-foundries produced no such a letter as *w*, which was unknown to the language. The letter *h* would also probably have been scarce in type, being in Italian less frequently in use. Dr. Roberts hit upon a remedy by recourse to the method of Hebrew, and of Welsh orthography, which he had seen, probably, in some MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In those it had been usual to distinguish certain changes of sounds

Manchester'd by Michael Oldsworth and his Lord, who swore he was Chancellor of Oxford, and proved it in a Speech made to the new Visitors in their new Convocation. Printed at Mountgomery, 1648." A writer in the "Byegones" column of the *Oswestry Advertiser* of January 1877, has suggested that the imprint may be fictitious.

by a dot placed underneath the simple form of the letter. Thus, he conceived that the aspirate, or *h* sound, of *ll*, would be well expressed by a single *l* dotted below; and similarly *th*, or *dd*, the derived sounds of *t*, or *d*, by a simple dotted *t* or *d*. The Welsh *w* was to be represented by an under-dotted *u*, or *o*; and the ordinary sound of *ff* by *ph*. Hereby a double advantage was secured: the necessity for the use of the type representing *h* was done away with, and space was economised by the reduction of the book to a smaller compass. It is proper, however, to mention that Dr. Roberts appears also to have been actuated by a further motive, less admissible, perhaps, than that of necessity. He appears to have been desirous of falling back upon the old lines, and substituting the general use of the orthography of older MSS. for that which had become familiar to his countrymen in his own day. In that it may safely be asserted he was in error. History does not retrace her steps, although, from another point of view, it has been rightly said that she "repeats herself". The orthography of every pure and un-mixed language represents the pronunciation of that language in the stage of advancement in knowledge and refinement which it has actually reached at the period of its adoption, and the attempt to fall back upon it is as impracticable as to make the widened waters of the Thames or the Dee to flow back to their source from their estuaries below London or Chester, as to induce the English or Cymric peoples to return to the uncouth forms which were in use during the periods of the gradual progress of transition of their respective languages towards the perfection of their final development. If such were the case, it would be equally proper for the pronunciation to fall back in parallel lines with the orthography, and to pronounce words now written with *th* and *dh*, as though they were spelt with a *t* and a *d*; and with a *v*, as though they were written with an

f. Instances of signal failure of such attempts are to be found in that of Drs. Hare and Thirlwall, to revive old English spelling in their translation of Niebuhr's *History of Rome*, in which, among other solecisms, the final syllable of the past tense of verbs was spelt with *t*, instead of *ed*; and, again, in the well-known example of the orthography adopted by Dr. Owen Pughe, in his first edition of the *Welsh Dictionary*, in which we are puzzled to recognise syllables written with a *z* as those to which we had become familiarized from our childhood as spelt with a *dd*, pronounced by us naturally as *dh*; and again, in the reversion to the *v* of the MSS. of the fifteenth century, in Tegid's edition of the *Works of Lewis Glyneothi*, for the single *f* of the sixteenth century, to which the national eye and ear had become irrevocably and irrecoverably accustomed by the nineteenth. These learned and indefatigable writers, to whom we of this generation must feel ourselves so deeply indebted for the enlargement of our knowledge in Celtic literature, would seem to have failed adequately to have imbued their minds with the conception of the fact that many of the words which they found in the ancient MSS. written with a single *f*, were originally pronounced with the hard sound of that letter, and that the necessity for the double *ff* was created by the gradual softening of some words so written to the pronunciation of *v*, in order to distinguish the latter from those in which the original hard sound was retained. If to this view it be objected that the orthography of the double *ff* for *f* is to be found in English books and writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that in writing English, the single *f* has gradually, but at length totally (with, perhaps, the solitary exception of the word *of*), been substituted for the double *ff*, while in Welsh the double *ff* has been retained to this day, in order to distinguish it from the single *f*; the use of which, in that language only, is con-

fined to representing the sound of *v*; the answer seems to be that the unsightliness, approaching often to the grotesque, when the *v* form is employed at the end of a word, has rendered its use too unpalatable for general acceptance, however plausible, and even scientific, may be deemed the reasons for its adoption from a different point of view. A more striking example, however, of the sheer impracticability of maintaining such a system of orthography can scarcely be furnished than by the fact that the system adopted by Dr. Griffith Roberts himself was, perforce, partially abandoned by his immediate successor in the printing of Welsh works abroad, not to say his own devoted friend and admirer, Dr. Roger Smith, in the edition of the very next publication to the *Athrawaeth*, the *Drych Cristionogawl*, and in the apology which, as we have seen, he has offered for it in his Preface. There he tells us that he has substituted a dot *over*, for the dot *under*, the letters *d* and *l*; because, having been at the pains to procure English type, he was unable to obtain a sufficient quantity of the latter. And, moreover, where his supply fell so far short that he was unable to carry out his own system of over-dotting the letters in its entirety, he was fain to introduce an *h* after *d* and *l*; and that not only for the reason already given, but also because to his own judgment, this method appeared preferable to that of doubling those consonants, which was then coming into use, being more agreeable to the practice of the ancient Welsh writers: “yr hen Gymreigwyr gynt.” Despite his well-meant efforts, however, to counteract it, the system of doubling the consonants so “mightily grew and prevailed”, that it quickly superseded every other, and spread so widely, that in our own day we find it adopted everywhere; and the other—save in the cognate dialect of Gaelic, and in the method of orthography introduced with equal failure of success into Edward Lhwyd’s *Archæologia Britannica*—nowhere:

yet, doubtless, the soft sound of *th*, as in the English word *the*, is more naturally, as well as scientifically, represented by the use of the true symbol of the aspirate *h* after *d*, as *dh*. The whole story reminds us of the protest made by classical scholars against the introduction of the use of the word 'telegram' for a message by electric wire; whereas, the true classical usage would have required 'telegraphem', as, in fact, was abundantly proved by very learned letters, published in the *Times* and elsewhere. The principle of utilitarianism and expediency prevailed over that of grammatical correctness, to the triumph of 'telegram' over 'telegraphem', unless, indeed, we ought to call in Professor Rhys to assist us, who might possibly refer us, for the true explanation of the seeming incongruity, to the principle of 'phonetic decay'."

To revert, however, to Dr. Roger Smith's Preface, from which we gather information on another important point, namely the original scope of the "Drych". Of this he tells us that the MS. sent him by its author, Dr. G. Roberts, consisted of three parts, the two latter of which he purposed to bring out as soon as he could; a purpose, however, which, as far as we know, he never was able to effect, as nothing whatever, up to this time at least, appears to be known of their existence. The first part consists of about seventy pages, and is a treatise, as far as I have been able hitherto to ascertain from a cursory examination, on the Love of God. It is still possible, but scarcely it is to be feared probable, that the other two should be brought to light at this distance of time, unless, indeed, copies may have providentially been preserved in MS. in the public or other library in Milan.

Of the author, Dr. Griffith Roberts, it is disappointing to find that so little information is forthcoming. Canon Williams, in his *Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*, tells us that he was "a learned grammarian, of whom nothing further is

known than that he was educated at the university of Sienna in Italy, under the patronage of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke," but gives no authority for the statement. Rowlands, in the *Cambrian Bibliography*, following apparently Moses Williams, calls him, "Griffith Roberts, Esq., M.D., *i. e.* Doctor of Medicine; but this is clearly apocryphal. Rowlands' editor, the Rev. D. Silvan Evans, annotating this, has succeeded in eliciting a ray of light to throw on this dark subject from a paper in the *Harleian Miscellany* (vii, 132), where it is said that he was Confessor to Cardinal (St. Charles) Borromeo at Milan; and Dr. R. Smith confirms this by calling him in his Preface, "yr Athro mawr o Dhinas Fulan yngwlad yr Idal", the great Master of the City of Milan in the land of Italy, proving the high estimation he was held in for his learning, and also, perhaps, for his piety. On reference to the *Miscellany*, the statement appears in a tract printed in London in 1590, with a very long title, headed "The English Romaine Life", etc., "Written by A. M., sometime the Pope's Scholler in the Seminary among them." A. M. was a person named Antony Munday, one of those disreputable spies, in which capacity he must have been a scholar, if at all, in the pay of Elizabeth's ministers, employed to ferret out information respecting the Catholics abroad in exile for their religion, with the view to found evidence against them upon it in the event of their return to England, and described, as stated in a note by an opponent of his, as having been "first a stage-player, after an apprentice, which time he wel served with deceaving of his master; then wandering towards Italy, by his own report became a cosener in his journey. Coming to Rome, in his short abode there, was charitably relieved, but never admitted in the seminary (as he pleaseth to lye in the title of his book)." His narrative contains (to say the least) monstrous and incredible exaggerations, of a character similar to those proved in the case of

others of his class to have been invented by them for the purpose of pleasing their employers, such as we may well believe that which he relates of Dr. Griffith Roberts, to the effect that he spoke to him of plots and treasons against the Queen of England, in language which might "move a heart of adamant". His statement, therefore, that Dr. Roberts was St. Charles' confessor, and lodged in his palace, perhaps may require confirmation, but there is nothing improbable in the short account, at least, which he gives of his reception at Milan in these words:—"From thence (viz., Lyons) we went to Millaine; where, in the Cardinall Borromeo's palace, we found the lodging of a Welshman, named doctor Robert Griffin; a man there had in good account, and confessor to the afore-said cardinall. By him we were very courteously entertained, and sent to the house of an English priest in the city named Maister Harries, who likewise bestowed on us very gentle acceptaunce; as also three English gentlemen who lay in his house." In the prefatory notice of another work by Dr. Roger Smith, which will be referred to presently, he states that Dr. Griffith Roberts was Canon Theologian in the Cathedral Church at Milan, which so far is corroborative of the probability of Munday's assertion.

Now, with regard to the *Athrawach*, it will have been naturally supposed that, because Dr. Roger Smith refers to the work as having been printed and published at Milan, where Dr. Gr. Roberts resided, Dr. Roberts is therefore to be also accredited with its authorship. This would, however, be an entirely erroneous supposition; for, in the first place, Dr. Smith has himself abstained from making any such assertion; and, secondly, the authorship is expressly disclaimed in his preface to that work, by Dr. Roberts himself. It commences with an address to Dr. Morris Clynog, in these words:—"Gruphyd fab Rhobert yn annerch yr hyparch brelad, ai dibal (*for ddiball*) gynheiliad M. Morys Clynoc: ag

yn erchi ido gan duu, gymyd, ras a deduduch enaid, a chorph.” —“Griffith, son of Robert, greeting the Right Reverend Prelate, and his unfailing supporter, Master Morys Clynog: and beseeching for him from God increase, grace, and happiness of soul and body.” And he proceeds as follows, in words of which it will be necessary to give a translation only:—“After I had read your book of *Christian Instruction*, and seen therein, as it were, the germ of every point that might be serviceable to a Christian, for the saving of his soul, made by God after His own image and likeness, which Christ has purchased with His precious Blood: my heart was rejoiced to see so precious a treasure in the Welsh language; the need being so great of direction in the way of Christ generally among our countrymen and the children crying for bread (as the prophet cries out), with no one that will break and give it to them, except it be poisoned. Wherefore, since you have gathered together, and arranged so methodically and clearly so many flowers, and saving points of doctrine, to direct one who should desire to know the office and duty of a perfectly faithful (perpheithgred) Christian, to learn what will gain Heaven, what will cast a man into hell, what will please God, and what will anger Him: the filthiness of sin, and the excellence of virtue; I had no heart to do otherwise than to cause it to be printed: that others, who stand in need of such spiritual sustenance, may be partakers of the banquet which you have prepared for them. I hope that, when it comes into the hands of religious Welshmen, it will do them much benefit, by directing them to Paradise, and turning them from the road to Hell. My heart is filled with pity when I think how many children throughout the land of Wales, of excellent ability, and disposition for being excellent men, failing, and taking an ungodly path for want of being directed in learning from their childhood, and being brought up in the practice of

morality. The greatest cause of this is the want of books that treat of the like knowledge. But now you have given them, in a few pages, assistance and help against this need. For in this book of yours they will be taught easily, in a little time, and with little help, and at less cost, the things that are necessary both for old and young to know. For who is he that shall be able to say that he is a Christian, unless he knows how he is to believe in Christ, what he is to hope from Him, and what He has commanded him to keep; what He has forbidden him to do, what will gain reward, and what will deserve punishment? So that when the Welshmen who love their souls consider how indispensable these things are, and how easy to learn, by reading this treatise, they will abandon their slothful sitting at ease, and their embittering obscenity, and their light carousing (unless they are drowned in the filthiness of sin), and will devote themselves to learn spiritual things, profitable to the soul. And this they will find in no other spot in the world, so short, so orderly, so clear to be understood, as in this book of yours. For it was impossible to be comprised in fewer words, and arranged more lucidly, and to have so many points more appropriately presented, or of so deep a signification; so that the children and the women may understand them happily throughout Wales, if they continue in every church attending the service, hearing the Mass; at home, amidst the family, to divert the time, and in every assembly to comfort the people, to read these or the like sentences, and put away old idle tales, and lying, flattering poems. But freely will the Holy Ghost give grace to them to receive instruction, as He gave it to you to write to them. I will send this among them, beseeching God, in every prayer that I make, to prepare their hearts to receive instruction, and to give you also strength to write more for profit to Christians, and glory to God.

(From the town of Milan, Eve of St. Nicholas.)"

The date of the year appears in another colophon at the end of the book, "Ymylen. 1568. dyuguyl. S. Nicolas." At Milan, 1568, Feast of S. Nicholas.

The author, Dr. Morris Clynog, was, for a short time, the Rector of the English College at Rome. About the year 1576, Pope Gregory XIII had designed to combine the ancient English hospital for pilgrims, which had been founded by Ethelwolf, one of our Anglo-Saxon kings, and father of Alfred the Great, with a new college or seminary for students, destined to work and suffer for the preservation of the ancient Catholic faith in England; and in the course of three years, twenty-two students had been sent to it from the University at Douai, by Cardinal Allen. In 1578, Dr. Maurice Clynog was elected warden of the English hospital, and appointed by the Pope rector of the seminary. Canon Williams, in his *Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*, quoting the *Athenæ Oxonienses* of Anthony A. Wood, tells us that he had been admitted B.C.L. of the University of Oxford in 1548; "he obtained the sinecure rectory of Corwen, in Merionethshire, in 1556; and was made prebendary of York, and an officer in the Prerogative Court, under Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury. Not long after the death of Dr. William Glynn, Bishop of Bangor, who died in May 1558, Queen Mary nominated him to succeed in this See; but she dying before he was consecrated thereto, he, with Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, fled beyond the sea". From the "Historical Introduction", by Dr. Thomas Francis Knox, of the London Oratory, to the *Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws*, published in London in 1878, "chiefly from the Archives of the See of Westminster", we learn that at Christmas, 1578, the Pope issued a brief, commanding all the old chaplains to depart within fifteen days, and assigning all the rents of the hospital to the new college. On February 18, 1579, it contained forty-two students.

“ But (proceeds Dr. Knox) the prosperity of these early days was soon interrupted by internal dissensions, and the new foundation was in great danger of perishing in its infancy. The cause of this was the national rivalry and jealousy of the English and Welsh students. To govern a college, which contained members of these two nations, required the greatest prudence and impartiality. Unfortunately, the rector, Dr. Maurice Clenock, was deficient in both these qualities. He was, according to Allen, a very honest and friendly man, and a great advancer of the students' and seminary's cause. But he was a Welshman, and the English students considered that he showed undue favour to his own countrymen. ‘He had admitted there’, Allen says (in a letter to Dr. Owen Lewis, another Welshman) ‘sent for and called for two up to the seminary some of his own country folks and friends, for age, quality and institution, unfit for the study and the seminary. The English in the college were thirty-three, or more, to seven Welshmen. Murmurs and complaints were heard among them, until, at last, they broke out in open mutiny, and declared to the Cardinal, their protector, and the Pope, that they would leave Rome in a body, and beg their way home, if necessary, unless some other rector were appointed in Dr. Clenock's place.’”

On April 23rd of that year his successor was appointed. We are not concerned here to enter into the merits of the question raised by the English students of the College, which certainly bears very much the appearance of a “tempest in a teapot”, or a molehill exaggerated to the dimensions of a mountain. It may, however, be observed that Dr. Maurice would appear to have met with but scant justice, and this view of the matter would seem to be borne out by that of the Pope, and the Cardinal Protector of the College, who at first did all in their power to repress the movement, and

finally yielded only when to give way seemed necessary to prevent its total disruption, for the sole reason that the Rector had exhibited a by no means unnatural feeling of kindness towards a few of his poor countrymen, who were in a small minority, and would scarcely have felt themselves at home among so many strangers. The Records of the Colleges at Douay, Rheims, and elsewhere, exhibit the names of a very large proportion of Welshmen, many of whom encountered bravely the fierce persecution with which they were met on their return to their country, and endured the martyrdom of the rack, the cord, and the disembowelling knife, in a spirit of no less unflinching courage and constancy than their English brethren. The composition of the *Athrawaeth* belongs to a date some ten years prior to the incident in question, and is therefore historically important as proving the zeal and capacity of its author for the important post for which he was selected. The two incidents taken together tend to show how naturally it would have occurred to him to forward the little work to Dr. Roberts from his residence at Rome, where its publication would be obviously less easy than at Milan, where the Grammar most likely had been printed already. The circumstances point as naturally to the suggestion to the mind of Dr. Roberts of the composition of the *Drych Cristionogawl*, or *Christian Mirror*, as a sequel to the *Athrawaeth*, or *Catechism*. The one is elementary and catechetical, the other spiritual and contemplative: the one lays the foundation in the doctrines of the Faith; the other builds up the superstructure as an incentive to piety and devotion.

Dr. Roberts then set himself cheerfully to the task; it was a labour of love—of Christian charity, and of patriotism; and, so far as the composition went, it was speedily and successfully accomplished. But a difficulty—and that the greatest one, remained—how was the book to be printed?

and when printed, how to be circulated among those for whose good it was designed? The labour and cost of printing in Italy had proved an over-match for the author's resources, in the case of comparatively so small a work as the *Athrawaeth*: they would surely prove incommensurate with the larger proportions of the *Drych*. In his extremity, Dr. Roberts would appear to have resigned himself to what he deemed to be inevitable; and to have applied to one who afterwards showed himself a most able, zealous, and persevering coadjutor, in the work of supplying books of religious instruction to their suffering countrymen. This was Dr. Roger Smith, a priest, and Doctor in Divinity, then in France. His first idea seems to have been to provide for the transmission of his work, in MS., across the Channel, and its being thus providentially preserved for the benefit of his poor countrymen in Wales. This was accordingly done; and the volume became so much prized among them, that it was at length absolutely worn away by the friction it had to undergo in passing from hand to hand. A multiplication of copies was, therefore, of urgent necessity. "Necessity is the mother of invention"; and Dr. Smith hit upon the expedient—not, indeed, of setting up a printing-press for himself, but of availing himself of the services of men skilled in the art nearer home. From the manner in which he refers to this, there can be little doubt he must have had the help of one, to whom he seems to allude indirectly when he speaks of Englishmen abroad who had English books printed for their countrymen, and whose energy and devotion to the work would have equalled, if not exceeded, his own. A printing-press had been established at Rouen, specially for this purpose, by the celebrated Father Parsons, whose famous work, *The Book of the Resolution*, or *The Christian Directory*, was printed there, possibly in 1583 or 1584, but certainly not later than 1591; and has gone through at

least eleven editions in English down to the year 1842, of which five were printed in fifteen years, from 1583 to 1598. And here I regret that truth, and the nature of my subject, compel me to advert to a proceeding on the part of the learned author of the *Lexicon Lingux Cambro-Britannicæ*, Dr. Davies of Mallwyd, which appears scarcely defensible in respect of either justice or ingenuousness, or becoming to the character for piety and learning, with which he has been commonly, and to a great extent, doubtless justly credited. It is now more than thirty years ago that, having seen in the catalogue of a London Welsh bookseller, among other rare volumes, one entitled *Llyfr y Resolusion*, I rushed to the conclusion that this could be no other than the work of Father Parsons in a Welsh dress, and I hastened to possess myself, at considerable cost, of the volume. But great was my disappointment to discover, on comparing this Welsh translation with the original, that, although the titles were partly identical,¹ at least in substance, the form and matter of the body of the work were essentially different: containing a certain groundwork of the original, of which it is to a certain extent a compendium and a paraphrase, but on the whole a very different composition from that to which its first conception was entirely due. Nor does it contain the slightest reference to, or acknowledgment of its original

¹ The title of the Welsh (so-called Translation) is, when done into English, "The Book of the Resolution, which teaches us all to do our best, and to give our whole minds and thoughts to the being true Christians, that is, on forsaking our evil life, and turning to goodness and godliness. Translated into Welsh by J. D., for the benefit of his parishioners. And printed in London at the house of John Beale, for the same J. D., 1632". The title of the original work is "The Christian Directory, Guiding Men to their Eternal Salvation. In Two Parts: The First whereof appertains to Resolution: The Second treating of the Obstacles and Impediments which hinder it, and How they may be removed. To which is prefixed a brief method for its use. By the Rev. Robert Parsons, Priest of the Society of Jesus."

author. The writer merely says, in his Preface addressed to his dear parishioners, "Although I have been absent from you but seldom, and this most frequently on business pertaining to the salvation of yourselves and others of God's people; still, in order to make you some compensation for this neglect, I have translated for you into Welsh this book that follows, which, in my opinion, is one of the best books to teach men to abandon their evil life, and turn to God". "One of the best books", he says, and yet he gives not the honour to whom honour is due, but hides from them the name of the real author. He did not thus treat Dr. Thomas Williams, to whom he candidly acknowledges himself indebted for the principal part of his *Dictionary*, printed in the very same year: to what, then, are we to attribute the difference? It seems difficult to escape the conclusion that he intended thereby to conceal the Catholic authorship of this "excellent" work from those of his countrymen who were ignorant of its existence; while, by adopting a part of the title of the original, he hoped to induce those Catholics who might be already acquainted with it, to accept the book in the ready confidence that it emanated from one of their own faith. This, it seems to me, is the only inference to be drawn from the foot-note to the learned annotation to the notice of the work in the *Cambrian Bibliography*, by Mr. Silvan Evans, who says, "There is no disputing that Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd was the translator. It appears that he took the edition of Edmund Buny to translate from, who was a Protestant, and who made many alterations in the original work of Parsons, in order to accommodate it to Protestant use. There is now before me an impression of the original work, published after the appearance of the altered impression of Buny, in the preface to which the author (Father Parsons) rates this man in a very extraordinary manner for his audacity in altering, and, as he says,

injuring his work." Why Mr. Evans should call F. Parsons' rating "extraordinary" does not very readily appear, as from his description of the work, a more impudent fabrication than this (which was dedicated to Sandys, the Protestant Archbishop of York) seems never to have been concocted by any man, notwithstanding that was by no means an uncommon method in those days, as it unhappily is still, and by those who should know better, of dealing with catholic books. F. Parsons says, "I found the booke so much altered and mangled, both in wordes, phrase, sentence, and substance, as scarcely could I know it to be mine". He then goes on to show "how poore and barren these new doctors are of all spirituall doctrine, tending to good life and reformation of manners, seeing they are content to use and pervert our bookes for some shew thereof". Then he exposes Luther, and Zuinglius, and Beza, who charged each other with "the wicked fraud", as Luther himself terms it, "of corrupting other men's books"; and also the many wretched devices used by Buny to falsify the text of his books, by mistranslating the Fathers, by skipping, inserting, misrepresenting, all of which occupies several pages of the preface; ending with a commentary of the "pacification" tacked on by Buny to the *Resolution*, which he complains of as being the reverse of "pacificatory", as did Dr. Newman of Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*, that his olive-branch was "shot from a catapult".

"The Welsh translation does not at all accord," says Mr. Evans, "with this Popish impression. It is probable that Dr. Davies saw this book through the press when he was in London for the purpose of printing the *Dictionary*; for it is seen that the two works appeared within the same year."

But it appears further from Rowlands' Annotation (and this constitutes my main reason for alluding here to the subject) that the work of F. Parsons had been previously

translated into Welsh, and that by a Catholic. "It appears", he says, "to have been translated also in 1591 by one Robert Gwinn, or Gwyn, of whom it is said that he was a native, or a friar, of Wales, and that he was educated at Oxford, where he graduated as B.A. in 1568; and on leaving the University he went to Douay, and was admitted a member of the college there, distinguishing himself in divinity. After this he came to Wales, and settled as a monkish priest, and wrote several Welsh books. It is possible that an old translation of this man's work may have come into Dr. Davies' hands, and that he, according to his own fancy, made such improvements and alterations in it, that, as in the case of the Dictionary, he thought he might call it a new translation of his own." This priest, the Rev. Robert Gwyn, is not to be confounded with the Robert Gwyn, or White, as he is more commonly called, who was born at Llanidloes, in Montgomeryshire, and was afterwards a schoolmaster, and on false testimony, after a long imprisonment at Ruthin, was condemned and cruelly executed at Wrexham, in 1586, for his constancy in maintaining the Catholic faith. On turning to the *Douai Records*, I find that, in the year 1571, were immediately admitted into this college, on coming from England, two graduates of Oxford, sprung from the nation of ancient Britons, who devoted themselves here to the study of sacred theology. "Statim in hoc Collegium admissi sunt ex Angliâ venientes alii duo gradnati Oxonienses ex antiquorum Britonum natione oriundi, qui hic S. Theologiæ studio se dederunt:—Thomas Crotherus Herefordensis (he afterwards died in prison); Robertus Gwinus, Bangorensis." In 1575 he was ordained priest, and sent "to the English harvest" (in messem Anglicanum) in England on January 16th, 1576; in July of which year we have the following interesting notice of him in Latin:—"It has been signified to us that in Wales many most religious and devout women, who had been

reconciled to the Catholic faith by the Rev. R. Gwin, a priest and bachelor in sacred theology,¹ sent to England from hence by us, were so greatly inflamed with an admirable zeal for the Catholic piety and religion that were known to them already, that when their heresiarch and false bishop had come himself to rout out their priest from those parts, he was straightway put to flight by the terror he conceived from the threats of those most religious women." And in the appendix of *Inedited Documents* in that collection (p. 288), it is said of him that "he rendered the greatest assistance, both by his labours and writings, to his most afflicted country; and that is all that we know of him". Now what it concerns us to learn in reference to our particular subject is not so much what afterwards became of the Rev. Robert Gwyn—though that would be extremely interesting in itself—as what has become of his writings. Mr. Rowlands has omitted to tell us the source of his information, and so we are left at a loss. He seems wrong, however, in saying that he was, as he contemptuously expresses it, "a monkish priest", as the *Douai Records*, which clearly imply a knowledge in the chronicler of his later life, know nothing of his being a monk. Perhaps his authority may have mentioned the titles of others of his writings, besides the *Resolution*; also, whether they were printed, or circulated only in manuscript. If the former, they were probably printed abroad, as clearly no means existed at that time for printing them in Wales; and if so, no place presents itself as a more likely locality for their publication, especially the *Resolution*, than Rouen, with its printing-press, established by the zealous forethought of F. Parsons, for the express purpose of providing for the want of such works. I feel the more disposed

¹ He made his first act in this degree on the 19th February, 1575, under the presidency of Cardinal, then Dr. Allen. His third and last act on 23rd December in that year.—*D. R.*, p. 273.

to dwell upon this point, in the hope of inducing all who may have opportunity to make every enquiry possible in continental libraries, and of foreign booksellers, in whose possession some of these precious remains may yet be mouldering away, unvalued and forgotten.

It has been said that no evidence appears to exist that Dr. Roger Smith ever carried out his purpose of printing the second and third parts of Dr. Gr. Roberts' *Drych Christianogawl, or Christian Mirror*. It does not, however, follow from this that he may not actually have done so. The existence even of his edition of the first part was unknown to the author of the *Cambrian Bibliography*, nor, though duly entered on the British Museum catalogue, does its value appear to have been recognised by Welsh bibliographers until, by a happy accident, it was unearthed in the course of the researches made there in connection with the *Welsh Grammar*, for the complete edition of which we are now so greatly indebted to the labours and scholarship of Mr. Silvan Evans. It certainly does seem to me that Dr. Smith must either have accomplished his purpose of printing these works, or that it must have been forestalled by the destruction of the MSS. by some untoward accident, such as very possibly their being intercepted, on their being landed at some seaport in England, by officers of the Government, whose vigilance in the search for suspected persons, and objects introduced for the purpose of preserving to their countrymen their ancient faith, was constant and unflagging. And I have been led to this conclusion by reflecting on the great improbability that he would have undertaken any other work of the kind before he had completed this one. If, as is probable (and, in default of a date in the body of the work itself, we are on this point left to conjecture), the first part of the *Drych* was printed before the close of the sixteenth century, his design may have been frustrated by the abrupt termination

of his residence at Rouen. For about that time he was certainly absent in England, since mention is made in a State paper by a spy of the Government of "a priest in England", Dr. Roger Smith, aged about thirty-five, a Welshman, in 1601. Between that year and 1611 appears, in the *Cambrian Bibliography*, another work from his pen, entitled, "Crynhodeb o addysg Cristionogawl, a Dosparth Catholic ar ddeuddeg pwnc y Phydd a elwir y Gredo, hefyd ar weddi yr Arglwydd, sef y Pater ar Gyfarchiad yr Angel, a elwir Ave Maria, yn ddiweddaf ar y Deg gair Deddf a elwir y deg gorchymyn. Gwedi ei gyfieithu o'r Lladin i'r Gymeraeg, drwy ddyfal astudiaeth a llafur D. Rosier Smith o dref Llan Elwy, Athraw o Theologyddiaeth, megis ymddiddan ne ddialogiaeth rhwng y discibil a'r athraw"; *i.e.*, "A Compendium of Christian Doctrine and Catholic Disquisition on the twelve articles of the Faith that is called the Creed; also on the Lord's Prayer, or Pater, and the Angelical Salutation, called the Ave Maria; lastly on the ten words of the Law, called the Ten Commandments. Translated from the Latin into the Welsh by the earnest study and labour of Master Roger Smith, of St. Asaph, Master in Theology, as a conversation or dialogue between the disciple and his master." The date of this work is fixed by Rowlands to 1609, but, as far as appears, from no other authority than his own conjecture; and as to the place of publication also, and whether he had seen a copy of the book, or had derived his information regarding it elsewhere, its size, and the number of pages, we are left entirely in the dark. I can, therefore, do no more than offer a conjecture at hap-hazard respecting it, which is, that as it was translated from the Latin, it may have been a compendium, or a first edition, of the next book published by him in 1611, respecting which we are happily left in no uncertainty whatever, there being a copy to be seen in the library of the British Museum. There is also a third hypo-

thesis open to us, which, upon fuller consideration, I think most likely to be the true one. It is that the work which he describes as of 1609 is in reality identical with that of 1611, and that, by some accident, Rowlands has divided the title into two parts. I am led to this belief by the consideration that Rowlands is in more than one instance inaccurate in his titles, and that his version of this one differs greatly from that of the original, as we see it in the British Museum copy. The title, as he gives it, is "Catechism Petrus Canisius, yr hwn a gyfieithiwyd yn Gymraeg gan D. Rosier Smyth, S. Th. D. o Dref Lanelweu, 1611, ac a brintiwyd yn ninas Paris"; "The Catechism of Peter Canisius, which was translated into Welsh by D. Roger Smith, Doctor in Sacred Theology, of St. Asaph, 1611, and was printed in the city of Paris." Now, the true title runs thus:—"Opus Catechisticum D. Petri Canisii Theologi ex Societate Jesu. Sef yu: Svm ne grynoded o adysec Gristionogawl, a dosparth Catholic, ar hol bunciaur Phyd hun a yscrifenod yr hy barchus a'r arderchawg athrau uchod yn gynta yn ladin ag a gyfiaithuyd o'r ladin i'r gymeraeg drwy dyfal lafur ag astudiaeth D. Rosier Smyth o dref lanelwy ath[r]au o Theologydiaeth, megis dialogiaeth ne 'mdidan rhwng y discibl a'r athrau un yn holi a'r lal yn ateb, ag a breintiwyd yn ninas PARIS." The Catechetical Work of Dominus Peter Canisius of the Society of Jesus. That is to say: A Sum or Compendium of Christian Doctrine, and a Catholic Disquisition on all the points of Faith. This the above very reverend and distinguished Master wrote first in Latin, and was translated from the Latin into Welsh through the earnest labour and study of D. Roger Smith, of S. Asaph, Master in Theology, as a dialogue or conversation between the disciple and his master, the one questioning and the other answering, and was printed in the city of Paris. It will be readily seen that there is so little variation in the substance of the titles

of the two works, as given by Rowlands, as to leave but little difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that they were really one and the same. On the title-page is a monogram, consisting of the Crucifix drawn within a circle, and below it the Three Nails, encircled by the Crown of Thorns and a circle surrounded by a Glory within a shaded circle. On one side of this is the name of the printer, "Joanis Laquehay", and on the other the words "Ex Officinâ Tupographicâ", followed by an epigram in verse on the use of the crucifix.

Yr Anniol Phol a Phy (*i e.*, ffy)
 Poen alaeth Pen welo Jessy
 Linied os gueloed hyny
 Lun diaul ymhol le yn i dÿ.

which may be thus paraphrased—

The godless fool feels it no loss,
 To fly from Christ's pains on the Cross :
 Let him fill then, he'll think it less evil,
 His house with foul forms of the devil.

The title-page is slightly cut off at the foot by the binder. The work consists of 585 pages, and is prefaced by an elegant Latin letter addressed "Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Domino Jacobo David, S.R.E. Cardinali Perronio, Archipræsuli Senouensi, Galliarum et Germaniæ Primate, necnon Christianissimi Regis Eleemosynario, Mæcenati suo munificentissimo", and ending "D. V. Illustrissimæ et Reverendissimæ observantissimus, Rogerus Smithæus, Cambro-Britannus". This letter, which occupies nearly six pages, solves the question which naturally presents itself—why Dr. Smith should have transferred the scene of his labours in printing books for the use of his suffering fellow-countrymen from Rouen to Paris. He intimates in his preface that the work was brought out at the expense of Cardinal Perron, whom, as we have seen, he calls his "Mæcenas", and we may well believe that he would enjoy

facilities for its execution under the eye of his patron, who probably resided there, which would have been wanting at Rouen.

Then follows a Welsh Address to the Reader: "Anherchion at y Darleu'r haudgar dedfawl", beginning "Gwedi mi ys-tyrio cyflur ag ystad egluys duu y dyd hediū, a gweled yr aneirif o sectau heretigaidd a gau athrauyaeth a oyscarod ag a danod y gelyn", etc., which ends on page 6, with "O Dinas Paris y dyd cyntaf o fis Maurth. Sef yn dyd guyl Deui Sant, 1611. Dy gyduladur a 'th gar, Rosier Smyth. Heb duu heb dim".

In his annotation on Rowlands' notice of this book in the *Cambrian Bibliography*, Mr. Silvan Evans remarks on the fact that it is printed in the same character as Dr. Gr. Roberts' *Grammar*; and he is puzzled to know whether the latter may not also have been printed at Paris rather than at Milan. His difficulty was undoubtedly caused by the incompleteness of an extract sent him by the late Rev. John Jones, Precentor of Christchurch (better known in the Principality by his Bardic appellation of "Tegid"), from a "Caution to the Reader" (rybid i'r darleu'r), which, by an afterthought, as it would seem, appears at the end of the book, instead of its more appropriate place at the commencement. It begins, "Na ryfeda dim (darleu'r haudgar) diainge lauer o faiau urth brintio y lyfryma". As it is too long for quotation in the original as well as in English, yet remarkable for the curious and valuable information it supplies, as to the reasons for the adoption of the singular orthography and punctuation of the several works, I may, perhaps, be pardoned if I venture to offer a translation of it.

"Wonder not (charitable reader) that many errors have escaped in the printing of this book, for the printer understood neither the language nor the letters, nor the characters. He was also so stubborn and obstinate, nay, so pig-headed

(benchuiban), after the nature of his country, that he would endure neither rebuke nor correction of his faults. Moreover, considering that there are several modes of orthography customary among us, especially as to doubling the consonants, some using *dd*, *ll*, some too often avoiding their use, joining *h* to each one of these, instead of doubling them: and because, to my thinking, the above custom is ugly and unseemly, I have seen good to follow the very Reverend and eminent Master, Gryffyth Robert, Canon Theologian of the mother-church of the city of Milan ("Canon theologaid o fam-Eglwys Dinas Mylen"), a man who deserves eternal praise and fame, not only because of his many virtues, but also for his learning and knowledge, and particularly (yn bendifadeu) in the Welsh language. He, in his book on correct writing (yn ei lyfr o iawn ysgrifenyddiaeth) teaches, instead of doubling the letters, to put a prick, or tittle, under each, in this manner, *d dd*, *l ll*, *u uu*, *ph* instead of *ff*, by following the Hebrews, who use the same prick, instead of doubling the letters, which they call *dages*. And wonder not, besides, that I do not double the *n*, as in these words, *tyn*, *hyn*, *gwyn*, and the like, for it seemed better (to my judgment) to put an accent (acen) over it, when it might be necessary to lengthen, or double it. Lastly, wonder not that I sometimes borrow words (when they are wanted) from the Latin, for the old Welsh were wont to do the same thing, as it may be easily seen that the greater part of our language has been derived from the Latin (tynu'r rhan o'n iaith ni alan o'r ladin) which the above master shows in his book of Etymology (*cyfiachyddiaeth*)."

As this last reference is to the second Part of Dr. Gryffyth Roberts' *Grammar*, of which Rowlands speaks as consisting of 112 pages, it follows that the "*Llyfr o iawn ysgrifenyddiaeth*", above referred to, is the First Part, with the title

abbreviated. A second edition of this work was supposed to have been printed in 1657, under the title of *Y Disgybl ar Athraw o newydd*. Of this I have a copy, printed with other works by Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd in 1765, in a note to Rowlands' Notice of which it is stated, however, that he, and not Roger Smith, was the author. And a third, in 1683, under that of *Dosparth Catholic ar holl bynciau'r ffydd, megis dialogaeth rhwng y Discibel a'i Athraw*. If this be so, and the title be printed correctly, the orthography and punctuation of the original must have been abandoned, and with it the system of Welsh writing, adopted by Dr. Gr. Roberts and his pupil, departed for ever!

The labours of Dr. Roger Smith did not end here, for it appears from the *Cambrian Bibliography*, that he printed at Paris, in 1615, another book, in 24mo, containing about 300 pages, as conjectured by Rowlands, who had in his hands a copy reaching only to p. 276. The title is "Theater du Mond sef iw Gorsedd y Byd, lle i gellir gweled trueni a Llaseni Dyn o ran y Corph ai Odidawgrwydd o ran yr Enaid; a Scrifenwyd gynt yn y Frangaeg, ag a gyfieithwyd ir Gymraeg drwy lafyr Rosier Smyth o Dref Lan Elwy Athraw o Theologyddiaeth. Psal. 48. Homo cum in honore esset, non intellexit, Comparatus est iumentis insipientibus & similis factus est iis. Dyn pan oedd mewn anrhydedd heb ddeall a gyflybwyd ir anifeiliaid di wybodus, ag a gwnaeth i hun yn debyg iddynt hwy".

Then follows a monogram, in a sort of stanza of four lines, arranged in a square:—

Dymchwel yma, Mae yma Ddelw Darluniad
Dymchwel yna Nid oes or Byd
Ond Dymchwelyd.

Rowlands tells us that the work is divided into three books, and that the book was translated into English twenty-eight years after its publication in Welsh, but with a dif-

ferent title-page. It professed to be "translated out of French into Spanish by ye Master Baltazar Peres del Castillo, & lastly translated out of Castilian into English by Francis Favrer, Merchant. London, 1663."

My search in the British Museum has failed to discover either of these translations, but I came upon one by John Alday, printed in 1574 and 1582, in octavo. The title-page has on it:—"Theatrum Mundi, the theatre or rule of the world, wherein may be sene the running race and course of every man's life as touching miserie and felicitie, wherin be contained wonderfull examples and learned devises to the overthrow of vice, and exalting of virtue. Whereunto is added a learned and pithie work of the excellence of mankynd. Written in the French and Latin tongues by Peter Boaystuan, Englished by John Alday. Imprinted at London by Henry Bynneman, for Thomas Hacket: and are to be solde at his shop at the Royal Exchange, at the signe of the Greene Dragon. Anno 1574 (16mo, 287 pp.), in black letter. The "Table" is in Roman characters. I also found the French work, entitled "Le Théâtre du Monde, où il est fait un ample discours des misères humaines co[m]posé en Latin par P. (Pierre) Boaystuan surnommé Launay, natif de Bretagne, par luy-mesme, puis traduit en François." The book, it must be confessed, would seem scarcely worthy, in the present day at least, of the reputation it must have attained, or of the pains taken in turning it into so many languages. The author, a good and religious man, was greatly addicted to the collection of marvellous stories, as appears from the titles of several other works of his, which he delighted to interweave with "wise saws and modern instances". The book, however, is a great curiosity in its way. The remarkable point, as to the Welsh translation, is that, if Rowlands has correctly printed the long extract he has given from the Welsh translation, it will follow that

Dr. Smyth had already, in 1615, abandoned his punctuated and abbreviated orthography: for here we find the ls and ds doubled in ordinary modern fashion; and nothing peculiar about it, save the printing of the *w* with two separate *v*'s. If so, we can but exclaim, *Sic transit gloria mundi!* But its verification is still a desideratum, on better authority than that of the not always accurate Rowlands, from a sight of the work itself. Nor can I feel that these remarks will have been without their use, if the fact of their having been made should bring to light the existence of a copy.

Two other works still remain to be noticed, respecting which, curious and interesting as they are, the space necessarily devoted to the foregoing compels me to be brief. The title of the former of these is correctly given by Rowlands, as far as it goes, as follows:—"Eglurhad Helaethlawn o'r Athrawiaeth Gristnogawl, a gyfansodhwyd y tro cyntaf yn Italaeg, trwy waith yr Ardderchoccaf a'r Hybarchaf Gardinal Rhobert Bellarmin, o Gymdeithas yr Jesv. Ag o'r Italaeg a gymreigwyd er budh Ysprydol i'r Cymru, drwy ddiwydrwyd y dyfal gymmorth y pendefig canmoladwy V.R." "A full and copious exposition of the Christian doctrine, which was composed first in Italian, being the work of the most eminent and most Reverend Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, of the Society of Jesus. And was done into Welsh, from the Italian, for the spiritual benefit of the Cymry, through the assiduity and zealous assistance of the praiseworthy nobleman, V.R." Then follows the monogram, found on the title-page of many of the publications of the Society, viz., the letters I.H.S., surmounted by a Latin cross with three crosslets, the three nails of the Crucifixion below, all within a square of four lines, surrounded by a dotted border. After which are the words, "Permissu Superiorum", and the date in Roman numerals, M.D.CXVIII. On the top of the title-page, in MS., are the abbreviated words, "Bibl. Coll,

Anglorum, S. J. Andomari", in the copy in the King's Library at Brussels, where I first met with the work about eight years ago, showing that it once belonged to the library of the Jesuits' College at St. Omer. It is only a few months ago that I found a perfect copy of the work in the library of the British Museum. It is in 16mo, and consists of 348 pages, but is wrongly described in the catalogue as printed at Louvain in 1618. It ends thus: "Moliant i'r Jesu, ag i'w Fam Fendigedig Mair bur-forwyn; ar Gyfar-chiad yr hon, y gorphenned hyn o gyfieithiad o'r Italaeg. 25 Martii, 1618. Finis." "Praise be to Jesus, and to His Blessed Mother, the pure Virgin Mary: with the Salutation to whom this translation was finished from the Italian, on the 25th March 1618. The end." It concludes with a table of errata of three pages. The whole, excepting the foregoing, is printed in italic, each page within double lines, of about an inch apart. The letters *ll* and *dd* are not doubled in this work, but are printed, like the Scotch Gaelic, with *lh*, and *dh*. The work exists also in Latin, with the title "Card. Roberti Bellarmini, S. J. Ueberior Explicatio doctrinæ Christianæ." The Welsh translation was made in the Cardinal's life-time, for he died in 1620. A learned member of the Society, to whom we are greatly indebted for his share in the recent publication of the *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, in six vols., has kindly furnished me with the following information respecting the author. He states that "Father John Salisbury translated Card. Bellarmine's larger *Catechism* into Welsh in 1618. He was a native of Merionethshire, born 1575, educated abroad, and, having been ordained priest, was sent upon the English Mission. After labouring in it for a long time, and successfully, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1605, and was professed of the four solemn vows in London in 1618. Upon the death of Father Robert

Jones, the Superior of the North and South District, S. J., in 1615, F. John Salisbury succeeded him in that office, residing at Raglan Castle, where he was Chaplain to the Lady Florence Somerset, a convert of F. Robert Jones. F. John Salisbury was the founder of the college or district of the English province S. J. called the College of S. Francis Xavier, and the North and South Wales Mission in 1622, and he died Superior of it in 1625. His translation of Card. Bellarmine's larger *Catechism* into Welsh was printed at the press of the English province, at their College of St. Omer, in 1618, *tacito nomine*. He also composed some other smaller works of piety." The statement that he was a native of Merionethshire seems to point to his being one of the Rug branch of the Salisburys of Bachynbyd and Lleweni. The only one I have been able to find of the name belonging to that family is John, second son of William Salisbury of Rug, who died in 1677, and whose elder brother Owain Salisbury, is said to have married an English lady, and joined the Catholic Church (*Arch. Camb.* for 1878, p. 289). The statement that he died without issue is, *pro tanto*, in favour of his identity with Father John Salisbury, who, it is natural to suppose, may have been instrumental in his brother's conversion.

I have now come to the last work on my list, and one which, perhaps, may be felt to have a peculiar interest for us, inasmuch as a perfect—if I mistake not, the only perfect copy known was in the possession of the late lamented founder of the resuscitated Cymmrodorion Society, the Rev. Robert Jones, of Rotherhithe. The title, as given by Rowlands, is "Allwydd neu Agoriad Paradwys i'r Cymrv. Hynny yw Gweddiau, Devotionau, Cynghorion, ac Athrawiaethau tra duwiol ac angenrheidiol i bob Christian yn mynnu agoryd y Porth a myned i mewn i'r Nef. Wedi eu cynnull o amryw lyfrau duwiol, a'i cyfieithu yn Gymraeg: neu wedi eu

cyfansoddi, gan J. H. Yn Lvyck. Imprintiwyd yn y Flwyddyn MDCLXX. [12 plyg bychan.]” “A Key, or Opening of Paradise to the Cymry. That is, prayers, devotions, counsels, and instructions, very godly and necessary for every Christian desiring to open the gate and enter into Heaven. Gathered out of several godly books, and translated into Welsh, or composed by J. H. at Lvyck. Printed in the year 1670. [Small 12mo.]” The character of the work is thus described by Rowlands: “This is a Book of Devotions, or Popish Missal, in parallel Welsh and Latin, in 478 pp. 12mo., and written in clear and good language. The top lines and first words are in red letters. It is probable that the compiler was a South Wales man, for he addresses it, ‘To my Brothers and Sisters, and other Faithful Relatives in Gwent and Brecheinoc’. And from the initials of his name, J. H., it is likely that he was one of the Havards, of Defynog, as there have been families of that surname there for ages, and, moreover, adhering to the Popish religion, and one of them has ever been in the priesthood. His salutation of his relatives in ‘Gwent and Brecheinoc’ is a corroborative proof of this. The place called ‘Lvyck’, where the book is said to have been printed, is said by the Rev. D. S. Evans to be ‘Liège’, in the present kingdom of Belgium”, with more to the same purpose. And in a letter from Mr. Evans, quoted in a note, it is added, “There is no disputing that this book was printed in the town called in Flemish (Isdiraeg) ‘Luik’ or ‘Luyk’, in German Lüttich, and in French ‘Liège’.” But, alas for conjecture, which, however learned, reasonable, or inherently or extrinsically probable, till fact comes forth to prove or disprove it, is finally still but conjecture. Rowlands, in the first place, has missed the mark in calling the book a Catholic Missal. It is rather a volume of miscellaneous and general instructions and devotions for the use of the laity at church

and elsewhere. At the end is a little treatise, partly in English and partly in Welsh, intended to teach the Welsh that, if they pronounce Latin like their own language, they will certainly pronounce it aright; and that Englishmen will do well to take a lesson from the Welsh if they wish to pronounce Latin so as to be understood on the Continent. The book commences with a calendar, and is followed by a chapter entitled "Athrawaeth Cristionogawl", not, however, as one might be led to conjecture, the identical "Athrawaeth", reprinted, of Dr. Maurice Clynog.

And again, both Mr. Rowlands and his editor, Mr. Silvan Evans, though rightly identifying Lvyck with Liége, have missed the mark together in ascribing, on grounds however apparently well-founded, the composition of this work to a Havard. Having been informed by Arthur W. K. Miller, Esq., of the British Museum, to whom I feel gratefully indebted for much valuable assistance in the prosecution of this enquiry, that it appears from *Cotton's Topographical Gazetteer* that "At Liége, a college of English Jesuits was founded, in 1616, by George Talbot, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury, which was destroyed in 1794", I applied yet again to the same kind informant as before respecting the translation of *Bellarmino's Catechism*, from whom I have been gratified to obtain the solution of this long-hidden mystery. The Key (Allwydd) was published in London in 1670, but must have been "imprinted" at Liége. The author was Father John Hugh Owen, who usually passed by the name of John Hughes. He was born in Anglesey in 1615, and died at Holywell, December 28th, 1686. The *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* contain the following notice of this pious and learned Welshman:—"The diary of the English College, Rome, says that he was admitted, under the name of John Hughes, an *alumnus* of that college, December 25th, 1636, æt. twenty-one

years, and left Rome for England, September 28th, 1643. *Vir patientiæ singularis egregie se gessit* is the character written of him in the Diary. He entered the English Province in 1648, while a missionary priest in England. In a Catalogue for 1655, he is mentioned as then serving in the College or District of S. Francis Xavier and the Welsh Mission. It appears that some months previously to his death he had fallen off his horse on returning from Mr. Salisbury's, a recent convert to the Catholic Faith, whither he had gone to administer the Sacraments to his family. Besides the ordinary fast every Friday, when he took a moderate collation at night, he used to abstain from all food until Sunday at noon. He never went from home for the purpose of recreation, and never played at cards, or similar games. He had practised fasting from his youth. He was the author of a MS. Report in Welsh, dated July 6th, 1668, describing the cure of Roger Whetstone, then about sixty years of age, from inveterate lameness, on August 20th, 1667, by drinking the water of St. Winifred's Well. This poor man came from Bromsgrove, in Worcestershire, and after being a Quaker and an Anabaptist, became a good Catholic. His son, about eleven years of age, was christened in the Catholic Church, after full instruction, unto whom the greatest personages (says a MS. at Stonyhurst College) were pleased to be patrons.

“Father Owen published some treatises, *tacito nomine*, ‘On the grievousness of mortal sin, especially of heresy’, London, 1668; also a Catechism in Welsh, London, 1668, and the Prayer Book called ‘The Key of Heaven.’”

It is to be regretted that the information here given respecting the last work, which appears to be identical with the object of our inquiry, is incomplete, inasmuch as the title is given in English, as if the Prayer Book were composed in that language. This is probably the case, and the

Welsh work a translation or paraphrase of the former, intended by the learned Father to be adapted to the special needs of his own countrymen. The former may have been printed in London, and the latter at Liége; while the destruction of the College in 1794 may account for the ignorance that has existed relative to this work and its author.

There is another work, which, from its title, was clearly written by a Catholic, and as it appears to have the name of neither place nor author on the title-page, was probably printed abroad. It appears in the *Cambrian Bibliography* as No. 2 of the year 1661, with this title: "Drych Cydwybod, sef modd cynmwys a ffrwythlawn i ddwyn pob math ar ddyn i gael gwybodaeth o'i bechodau, a megis ei gweled ger bron ei lygaid, gan ddangos iddo pa fodd i gwneiff ei Cyffes (sic) i'w Dad enaid, a'r modd i gael meddyginiaeth am danynt. 12 plyg." "A Mirror of Conscience, or a suitable and fruitful method of bringing every sort of person to a knowledge of his sins, and to see them as it were before his eyes, showing him how he shall make his Confession to his spiritual Father, and the way to get a cure for them. 12mo."

There was, to my knowledge, a copy of this work in the possession of a poor person in Caernarvonshire in 1848. Whether it is still in existence, I am unable at present to ascertain.

WELSH ANTHROPOLOGY.

BY F. W. RUDLER.

WHEN it was decided that the British Association for the Advancement of Science should hold its Fiftieth Annual Meeting in Wales, those members of the Association who are interested in the Principality trusted that the occasion would be used for the discussion of many scientific questions of local interest. Upwards of thirty years had passed since the previous visit of this scientific body to Wales, and during that period—a period which represents the lifetime of a generation—many branches of science had undergone unparalleled development. Take, for example, the science of Anthropology. When the Association met at Swansea in 1848, the term “anthropology”, in its modern biological sense, was scarcely known to men of science. Such papers as might be written on anthropological subjects were, in those days, sent to the geographical section, where they were received by the “sub-section of ethnology”. But *ethnology*, the study of races, is a much narrower and less appropriate term than *anthropology*, the study of Man in his entirety. Moreover, the relations of anthropology lie obviously in the direction of biology, the science of life, rather than in that of geography. The British Association has, therefore, since 1871, recognised anthropology as an important department of the great science of biology.

Having acted for seven years as Secretary to the Anthropological Department, I had undertaken to continue the duties of this office at Swansea. But as the time of meeting approached, the Council desired me to act as Vice-President

of the Section, with charge of the Anthropological Department. It thus became my duty to open the proceedings of the Department with an address. Naturally anxious to give local colour to these proceedings, I felt bound to deal with the question of Welsh anthropology—a question which bristles with such formidable difficulties that I approached it with diffidence, and handled it but lightly. Notwithstanding the crudeness and the defects of the address, the editors of *Y Cymmrodor* have been so courteous as to suggest its reproduction in these pages.

On looking at the essay, it became evident that in order to fit it for its new setting it would require some modification. I have, therefore, with the editors' permission, abridged it in one place and expanded it in another, so as to make it more appropriate to its present position. The early part has been altogether omitted, since it dealt with questions of purely local interest. The discourse was opened, in fact, by a reference to the difficulties which have been imported into the ethnology of Glamorganshire by the influx, of late years, of English and Irish immigrants, and formerly of Flemings, Norsemen, and yet earlier colonists. But if we could strip off all extraneous elements which have been introduced by the modern settler and the mediæval Fleming, possibly also by the Norman baron, and even the Roman soldier, we might eventually lay bare for anthropological study the deep-lying stratum of the population—the original Welsh element. What, then, are the ethnical relations of the typical man of South Wales?

Nine people out of every ten to whom this question might be addressed would unhesitatingly answer that the true Welsh are Celts or Kelts.¹ And they would seek to justify

¹ Whether this word should be written *Celt* or *Kelt* seems to be a matter of scientific indifference. Probably the balance of opinion among ethnologists is in the direction of the former rendering. Never-

their answer by a confident appeal to the Welsh language. No philologist has any doubt about the position of this language as a member of the Keltic family. The Welsh and the Breton fall naturally together as living members of a group of languages, to which Professor Rhys applies the term *Brythonic*, a group which also includes such dead tongues as the old Cornish, the speech of the Strathelyde Britons, and possibly the language of the Picts and of the Gauls. On the other hand, the Gaelic of Scotland, the Irish, and the Manx, arrange themselves as naturally in another group, which Professor Rhys distinguishes as the *Goidelic* branch of the Keltic stock.¹ But does it necessarily

theless it must be borne in mind that the word "celt" is so commonly used now-a-days by writers on prehistoric anthropology to designate an axe-head, or some such weapon, whether of metal or of stone, that it is obviously desirable to make the difference between the archaeological word and the ethnological term as clear as possible. If ethnologists persist in writing "Celt", the two words differ only in the magnitude of an initial, and when spoken are absolutely indistinguishable. I shall therefore write, as a matter of expediency, "Kelt". It is curious to note how the word *celt* originally came to be used as the name of a weapon or instrument. The popular notion that it was because such weapons were used by the people called Celts is, I need hardly say, wholly baseless. The sole written warranty for using such a word appears to be a passage in the Vulgate version of Job, where the patriarch says (xix, 24) that he wishes his words to be graven on the rock with a chisel—*celte*. Hence it has been supposed that there was a Low Latin word, *celtis* or *celtes*, signifying a chisel, and connected with *calo*, to engrave. But Mr. Knight Watson has pointed out that the word *celte*, in the Latin MSS., is a blunder for *certe*. All the MSS. earlier than the twelfth century give the latter reading. The words of Job are therefore to be graven on the rock for surety—*certe*. It thus appears that the word *celt*, as the name of a sharp-edged tool, has been founded on an entirely false reading. But even if all this be true, if we admit that there was originally no justification for the use of the term, it is much too late in the day to attempt to oust so deeply-rooted a word from the vocabulary of the archaeologists.

¹ *Lectures on Welsh Philology*. By John Rhys, M.A., 2nd edition, 1878, p. 15.

follow that all the peoples who are closely linked together by speaking, or by having at some time spoken, these Keltic languages, are as closely linked together by ties of blood? Great as the value of language unquestionably is as an aid to ethnological classification, are we quite safe in concluding that all the Keltic-speaking peoples are one in race—that they are true Kelts?

The answer to such a question must needs depend upon the sense in which the anthropologist uses the word Kelt. History and tradition, philology and ethnology, archæology and craniology, have at different times given widely divergent definitions of the term. Sometimes the word has been used with such elasticity as to cover a multitude of peoples, who differ so widely one from another in physical characteristics, that if the hereditary persistence of such qualities counts for anything, they cannot possibly be referred to a common stock. Sometimes, on the other hand, the word has been so restricted in its definition, that it has actually excluded the most typical of all Kelts—the Gaulish Kelts of Cæsar. According to one authority, the Kelt is short; according to another, tall: one ethnologist defines him as being dark, another as fair; this craniologist finds that he has a long skull, while that one declares that his skull is short. It was no doubt this ambiguity that led so keen an observer as Dr. Beddoe to remark, nearly fifteen years ago, that “Kelt and Keltic are terms which were useful in their day, but which have ceased to convey a distinct idea to the minds of modern students.”¹

No anthropologist has laboured more persistently in endeavouring to evoke order out of this Keltic chaos than the late Dr. Paul Broca. This distinguished anthropologist

¹ *Mem. Anthropol. Soc. Lon.*, vol. ii, 1866, p. 348.

² The following are Broca's principal contributions to this vexed question:—“*Qu'est-ce que les Celtes?*” *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie*

always held that the name of Kelt should be strictly limited to the Kelt of positive history—to the people, or rather confederation of peoples, actually seen by Cæsar in Keltic Gaul—and, of course, to their descendants in the same area. Every schoolboy is familiar with the epitome of Gaulish ethnology given by Julius in his opening chapter. Nothing can be clearer than his description of the tripartite division of Gaul, and of the separation between the three peoples who inhabited the country—the Belgæ, the Aquitani, and the Celtæ. Of these three peoples the most important were those whom the Romans called *Galli*, but who called themselves, as the historian tells us, *Celtæ*. The country occupied by the Keltic population stretched from the Alps to the Atlantic in one direction, and from the Seine to the Garonne in another; but it is difficult to find any direct evidence that the Kelts of this area ever crossed into Britain. Broca refused to apply the name of Kelt to the old inhabitants of Belgic Gaul, and, as a matter of course, he denied it to any of the inhabitants of the British Isles. Writing as late as 1877, in full view of all the arguments which had been adduced against his opinions, he still said: “Je continue à soutenir, jusqu’à preuve du contraire, ce que j’ai avancé il y a douze ans, dans notre première discussion sur les Celtes, savoir, qu’il n’existe aucune preuve, qu’on ait constaté dans les Iles-Britanniques l’existence d’un peuple portant le nom de Celtes.”¹

Nevertheless, in discussing the Keltic question with M. Henri Martin, he admitted the convenience, almost the pro-

de Paris, t. v. p. 457; “Le Nom des Celtes”, *ibid.* 2 sér. t. ix, p. 662; “Sur les Textes relatifs aux Celtes dans le Grande-Bretagne”, *ibid.* 2 sér. t. xii, p. 509; “La Race Celtique, ancienne et moderne”, *Revue d’Anthropologie*, t. ii, p. 578; and “Recherches sur l’Ethnologie de la France”, *Mém. de la Soc. Anthropol.*, t. i. p. 1.

¹ *Bulletins de la Société d’Anthropologie de Paris*, 2 sér. t. xii, 1878, p. 511.

priety, of referring to all who spoke Keltic languages as *Keltic* peoples, though of course he would not hear of their being called Kelts. "On peut très-bien les nommer les peuples celtiques. Mais il est entièrement faux de les appeler les *Celtes*, comme on le fait si souvent."¹

Whether we use the word Kelt in its wide linguistic sense, or in the narrower sense to which it has been reduced by the French anthropologists, it is important to remember that the Welsh do not designate, and never have designated themselves by this term or by any similar word. Their national name is *Cymry*, the plural of *Cymro*. My former colleague, the Rev. Professor Silvan Evans, kindly informs me that the most probable derivation of this word is from *cyd-* and *bro*, "country", the old form of which is *brog*, as found in *Allo-brogæ*, and some other ancient names. The meaning of *Cymry* is therefore "fellow-countrymen", or compatriots. Such a meaning naturally suggests that the name must have been assumed in consequence of some foreign invasion—possibly when the Welsh were banded together against either the Romans or the English. If this assumption be correct it must be a word of comparatively late origin, and helps us but little in our enquiry into the early relations of the Welsh.²

¹ *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, t. ix, 1874, p. 662.

² It is scarcely necessary to add that the term *Welsh* was given by the Teutonic invaders to any people whom they found to be aliens in blood and in speech. On the Continent the same word is seen in the name of the *Walloons*; so, too, we find it in such place-names as *Wälschland* (Italy), *Wallachia* and *Val-lais*. In this country, the English called the Britons *Wealas*, or foreigners, and their country *Weal-cymre*. What we now call Wales they termed *North Wales*, because they recognised another Wales, and other Welsh, in the promontory of Cornwall and Devon. That promontory they termed *West Wales*, and a relic of this nomenclature still lingers in our modern *Cornwall*—the *cornu*, or horn of Wales. Nor should it be forgotten that there is also a French *Cornwall*—the narrow peninsula between Brest and Quimper, in Finistère, being known as *Cornouaille*, or *Cornu Gallix*. In the north of England the great kingdom of Strathclyde was inhabited by Welsh.

All the evidence which the ethnologist is able to glean from classical writers with respect to the physical characters and ethnical relations of the ancient inhabitants of this country, may be put into a nutshell, with room to spare. The exceeding meagreness of our data from this source will be admitted by anyone who glances over the passages relating to Britain, which are collected in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. As to the people in the south, there is the well-known statement in Cæsar that the maritime parts of Britain, the southern parts which he personally visited, were peopled by those who had crossed over from the Belgæ, for what purpose we need not enquire. Of the Britons of the interior, whom he never saw, he merely repeats a popular tradition which represented them as aborigines.¹ They may, therefore, have been Keltic tribes, akin to the Celti of Gaul, though there is nothing in Cæsar's words to support such a view.

Tacitus, in writing the life of his father-in-law, Agricola, says that the Britons nearest to Gaul resembled the Gauls.² If he refers here to the sea-coast tribes in the south-east of Britain, the comparison must be with the Belgic and not with the Keltic Gauls. But his subsequent reference to the resemblance between the sacred rites of the Britons and these of the Gauls suggests that his remarks may be fairly extended to the inland tribes beyond the limits of the Belgic Britons, in which case the resemblance may be rather with the Gaulish Kelts. Indeed, this inference, apart from the testimony of language, is the chief evidence upon which ethnologists have based their conclusion as to the Keltic origin of the Britons.

¹ "Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insula ipsi memoria proditum dicunt: maritima pars ab iis, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierant."—*De Bello Gallico*, lib. v, c. 12.

² "Proximi Gallis et similes sunt."—*Agricola*, c. xi.

Our data for restoring the anthropological characteristics of the ancient Britons are but few and small. It is true that a description of Bunduica, or Boadicea, has been left to us by Xiphiline, of Trebizond; but then it will be objected that he did not write until the twelfth century. Yet it must be remembered that he merely abridged the works of Dion Cassius, the historian, who wrote a thousand years earlier, and consequently we have grounds for believing that what Xiphiline describes is simply a description taken from the lost books of an early historian who is supposed to have drawn his information from original sources. Now Boadicea is described in these terms: "She was of the largest size, most terrible of aspect, most savage of countenance and harsh of voice, having a profusion of yellow hair which fell down to her hips."¹ Making due allowance for rhetorical exaggeration, making allowance, too, for the fact that in consequence of her royal descent she is likely to have been above the average stature, and even admitting that she dyed her hair—a practice not uncommon among many ancient tribes—it is yet clear that this British queen must be regarded as belonging to the xanthous type—tall and fair. The tribe of the Iceni, over which this blonde amazon ruled, is generally placed beyond the limits of the Belgic Britons; though some authorities have argued in favour of its Belgic origin. If the latter view be correct, we should expect the queen to be tall, light-haired, and blue-eyed; for, from what we know of the Belgæ, such were their features. Caesar asserts that the majority of the Belgæ were derived from the Germans.² But notwithstanding this assertion, most ethnologists are inclined to ally them with the Celti, without, of course, denying a strong Teutonic admixture. Strabo

¹ *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, Excerpta, p. lvi.

² "Plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis."—*De Bello Gall.*, lib. ii, c. 4.

says¹ that the Belgæ and Celti had the same Gaulish form, though both differed widely in physical characters from the Aquitanians. As to language, Cæsar's statement that the Belgic and Keltic differed, probably refers only to dialectical differences.² If a close ethnical relationship can be established between the Celti and the Belgæ, British ethnology clearly gains in simplification. To what extent the Belgic settlers in this country resembled the neighbouring British tribes must remain a moot point. According to Strabo,³ the Britons were taller than the Celti, with hair less yellow, and they were slighter in build. By the French school of ethnologists the Belgæ are identified with the Cymry, and are described as a tall fair people, similar to the Cimbri already mentioned; and Dr. Prichard, the founder of English anthropology, was led long ago to describe the Keltic type in similar terms.⁴

Yet, as we pass across Britain westwards, and advance towards those parts which are reputed to be predominantly Keltic, the proportion of tall fair folk, speaking in general terms, diminishes, while the short and dark element in the population increases, until it probably attains its maximum somewhere in South Wales. As popular impressions are apt to lead us astray, let us turn for accuracy to the valuable mass of statistics collected in Dr. Beddoe's well-known paper "On the Stature and Bulk of Man in the British Isles",⁵ a paper to which every student refers with unfailing confidence, and which will probably remain our

¹ Lib. iv, c. i.

² "Quand César dit: *Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus, inter se differunt*, il faut traduire ici le mot *lingua* par *dialecte*."—*Les Derniers Bretons*. Par Emile Souvestre, vol. i, p. 141.

³ Lib. iv, c. 5.

⁴ *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*. By J. C. Prichard, M.D., F.R.S., vol. iii, p. 189.

⁵ *Mem. Anthropol. Soc. Lond.*, vol. iii, 1870, p. 384.

standard authority until the labours of our Anthropometric Committee are sufficiently matured for publication. Dr. Beddoe, summing up his observations on the physical characters of the Welsh as a whole, defines them as of "short stature, with good weight, and a tendency to darkness of eyes, hair, and skin". Dr. Beddoe, in another paper,¹ indicated the tendency to darkness by a numerical expression which he termed the *index of nigrescence*. "In the coast-districts and low-lands of Monmouthshire and Glamorgan, the ancient seats of Saxon, Norman, and Flemish colonisation, I find", says this observer, "the indices of hair and eyes so low as 33.5 and 63; while in the interior, excluding the children of English and Irish immigrants, the figures rise to 57.3 and 109.5—this last ratio indicating a prevalence of dark eyes surpassing what I have met with in any other part of Britain" (p. 43).

Many years ago, Mr. Matthew Moggridge furnished the authors of the *Crania Britannica* with notes of the physical characteristics of the Welsh of Glamorganshire. He defined the people as having "eyes (long) bright, of dark or hazel colour, hair generally black, or a very dark brown, lank, generally late in turning grey."²

There can be no question, then, as to the prevalence of melanism in this district. Nor does it seem possible to account for this tendency, as some anthropologists have suggested, by the influence of the surrounding media. Even those who believe most firmly in the potency of the environment will hardly be inclined to accept the opinion seriously entertained some years ago by the Rev. T. Price, that the black eyes of Glamorganshire are due to the pre-

¹ "On the Testimony of Local Phenomena in the West of England to the Permanence of Anthropological Types."—*Ibid.*, vol. ii, 1866, p. 37.

² *Cran. Brit.*, vol. i, p. 53.

valence of coal fires.¹ Long before coal came into use there was the same tendency to nigrescence among the Welsh. This may be seen, as Dr. Nicholas has pointed out, in the bardic names preserved in ancient Welsh records, where the cognomen of *du*, or "black", very frequently occurs. Thus, in the *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, between A.D. 1280 and 1330, there are registered four "blacks" to one "red" and one "grey"—namely, Gwilym *Ddu*, Llywelyn *Ddu*, Goronwy *Ddu*, and Dafydd *Ddu*.²

The origin of this dark element in the Welsh is to be explained, as everyone will have anticipated, by reference to the famous passage in Tacitus, which has been worn threadbare by ethnologists. Tacitus tells us that the ancient British tribe of Silures—a tribe inhabiting what is now Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire, Herefordshire, and parts at least of Brecknockshire and Radnor—had a swarthy complexion, mostly with curly hair, and that from their situation opposite to Spain there was reason to believe that the Iberians had passed over the sea and gained possession of the country.³ It will be observed that although Tacitus speaks of their dark complexion, he does not definitely state that the hair was dark; but this omission has, curiously enough, been supplied by Jornandes, a Goth, who, in the sixth century, wrote a work which professes to be an extract from the lost history of Cassiodorus, wherein the very words of Tacitus are reproduced with the necessary addition.⁴

¹ *Essay on the Physiognomy and Physiology of the Present Inhabitants of Britain*, 1829.

² *The Pedigree of the English People*, fifth edition, 1878, p. 467.

³ "Silurum colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt."—*Agricola*, c. xi.

⁴ "Sylorum (=Silurum) colorati vultus, torto plerique crine, et nigro nascuntur."—*De Rebus Geticis*, c. ii; quoted in *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, Excerpta, p. lxxxiii. It is conjectured that the classical word *Silures* is

With these passages before us, can we reasonably doubt that the swart blood in the Welsh of the present day is a direct legacy from their Silurian ancestors ?

Setting what Tacitus here says about the Silures against what he says in the next sentence about the Britons nearest to Gaul (p. 76), it is clear that we must recognise a duality of type in the population of Southern Britain in his day. This fact has been clearly pointed out by Professor Huxley as one of the few "fixed points in British ethnology".¹ At the dawn of history in this country, eighteen centuries ago, the population was not homogeneous, but contained representatives both of Professor Huxley's *Melanochroi* and of his *Xanthochroi*. If we have any regard whatever for the persistence of anthropological types, we should hesitate to refer both of these to one and the same elementary stock. We are led, then, to ask which of these two types, if either, is to be regarded as Keltic ?

It is because both of these types, in turn, have been called Keltic that so much confusion has been imported into ethnological nomenclature. The common-sense conclusion, therefore, seems to be that neither type can strictly be termed Keltic, and that such a term had better be used only in linguistic anthropology. The Kelt is merely a person who speaks a Keltic language, quite regardless of his race, though it necessarily follows that all persons who speak similar languages, if not actually of one blood, must have been at some period of their history in close social contact. In this sense, all the inhabitants of Britain at the period of the Roman invasion, notwithstanding the distinction between Xanthro-

derived from the British name *Essyllwyr*, the people of *Essyllwg*. See Nicholas's *History of Glamorganshire*, 1874, p. 1. It is difficult to determine how far and in what respects the Silures resembled, or differed from, the other inland tribes. Of the Caledonians and of the Belgæ we know something, but of the other inhabitants we are quite ignorant.

¹ *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 166.

chroi and Melanochroi, were probably to be styled Kelts. There can be little doubt that the xanthous Britons always spoke a Keltic tongue; but it is not so easy to decide what was the original speech of their melanochroic neighbours.

The existence of two types of population, dark and fair, side by side, is a phenomenon which was repeated in ancient Gaul. As the Silures were to Britain, so were the Aquitani to Gaul—they were the dark Iberian element. Strabo states that while the natives of Keltic and Belgic Gaul resembled each other, the Aquitanians differed in their physical characters from both of these peoples, and resembled the Iberians. But Tacitus has left on record the opinion that the Silures also resembled the Iberians; hence the conclusion that the Silures and the Aquitanians were more or less alike. Now it is generally believed that the relics of the old Aquitanian population are still to be found lingering in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, being represented at the present day by the Basques. A popular notion has thus got abroad that the ancient Silures must have been remotely affined to the Basque populations of France and Spain. Nevertheless, the modern Basques are so mixed a race that, although retaining their ancient language, their physical characters have been so modified that we can hardly expect to find in them the features of the old Silurians. Thus, according to the Rev. Wentworth Webster, the average colour of the Basque hair at the present day is not darker than chestnut.¹

Neither does language render us any aid towards solving the Basque problem. If the Silures were in this country prior to the advent of the Cynry, and if they were cognate with the Basques, it seems only reasonable to suppose that some spoor of their Iberian speech, however scant, might still be lingering amongst us. Yet philologists have sought

¹ "The Basque and the Kelt."—*Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. v, 1876, p. 5.

in vain for the traces of any Euskarian element in the Cymraeg. Our distinguished member, H.I.H. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, perhaps the only philologist in this country who has a right to speak with authority on such a subject, has obligingly informed me that he knows of no connexion whatever between the two languages. Still, it must be remembered that the Iberian affinity of the Silures, suggested by the remark of Tacitus, does not necessarily mean Basque affinity. Some philologists have even denied that the Basques are Iberians.¹ All that we seek at present to establish is this—that the dark Britons, represented by the tribe of Silures, although they came to be a Keltic-speaking people, were distinct in race from the fair Britons, and, therefore, in all likelihood were originally distinct in speech. Nor should it be forgotten that relics of a pre-Keltic non-Aryan people have been detected in a few place-names in Wales. Thus, Professor Rhŷs is inclined to refer to this category such names as Menapia, Mona, and Mynwy²—the last-named being a place (Monmouth) within the territory of the old Silures. On the whole, it seems to me safer to follow Professor Rolleston in speaking of the dark pre-Keltic element as *Silurian* rather than as Basque or as Iberian.³

There is, however, quite another quarter to which the anthropologist who is engaged in this investigation may turn with fair promise of reward. The late Dr. Thurnam, more than fifteen years ago, wrote a singularly suggestive paper "On the Two Principal Forms of Ancient British and Gaulish Skulls".⁴ The long-continued researches of this

¹ "La Langue Ibérienne et la Langue Basque." Par M. Van Eys. *Revue de Linguistique*. July 1874.

² "Lectures on Welsh Philology," 2nd ed., p. 181.

³ *British Barrows*, by Canon Greenwell and Professor Rolleston, p. 630.

⁴ *Memoirs of the Anthropol. Soc. Lond.*, vol. i, 1865, p. 120; vol. iii, 1870, p. 41.

eminent archæological anatomist led him to the conclusion that the oldest sepulchres of this country—the chambered and other long barrows which he explored in Wilts and Gloucestershire — invariably contained the remains of a dolichocephalic people, who were of short stature, and apparently were unacquainted with the use of metals. The absence of metal would alone raise a suspicion that these elongated tumuli were older than the round, conoidal, or bell-shaped barrows, which contain objects of bronze, if not of iron, with or without weapons of stone, and commonly associated with the remains of a taller brachycephalic people.¹

Even before Dr. Thurnam forcibly pointed attention to this distinction, it had been independently observed by so experienced a barrow-opener as the late Mr. Bateman,² whose researches were conducted in quite another part of the country—the district of the ancient Cornavii. Moreover, Professor Daniel Wilson's studies in Scotland had led him to conclude that the earliest population of Britain were dolichocephalic, and possessed, in fact, a form of skull which, from its boat-like shape, he termed *kumbecephalic*.³ Nor should it be forgotten that as far back as 1844 the late Sir W. R. Wilde expressed his belief that in Ireland the

¹ It may be useful to remark that anthropologists speak of people as *dolichocephalic*, or long-headed, if the breadth of their skull bears to its length a ratio of less than 80 to 100. On the other hand, people are *brachycephalic*, or short-headed, when measurement shows that length : breadth :: 80 (or more) : 100. In spite of the pleonasm, we occasionally speak of brachycephalic and dolichocephalic skulls. The terms "long-headed" and "short-headed" are, of course, always used to designate long-skulled and short-skulled people—never to designate a long or short face. It may seem puerile to add such a remark, yet non-anthropological people have occasionally described a man as long-headed when they merely meant long-visaged.

² *Ten Years' Diggings*, 1861, p. 146.

³ *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 1851.

most ancient type of skull is a long skull, which he held to belong to a dark-complexioned people, probably aboriginal, who were succeeded by a fair, round-headed race.¹

But while this succession of races was recognised by several observers, it remained for Dr. Thurnam to formulate the relation between the shape of the skull and that of the barrow, in a neat aphorism, which has become a standing dictum in anthropology: "Long barrows, long skulls; round barrows, round skulls; dolichotaphic barrows, dolichocephalic crania; brachytaphic barrows, brachy-cephalic crania." No doubt exceptional cases may occur in which round skulls have been found in long barrows, but these have generally been explained as being due to secondary interments. On the other hand, the occasional presence of long skulls in round barrows presents no difficulty, since no one supposes that the early dolichocephali were exterminated by the brachycephali, and it is, therefore, probable that during the bronze-using period, when round tumuli were in general use, the two peoples may have dwelt side by side, the older race being, perhaps, in a state of subjugation.

It is not pretended that Thurnam's apophthegm has more than a local application. "This axiom", its author admitted, "is evidently not applicable, unless with considerable limitations, to France." Although it is here called an "axiom", it is by no means a self-evident proposition, the relation between the shape of the skull and the shape of the burial-mound being purely arbitrary. The proposition which connects the two is simply the expression of the results of accumulated observations, and it is, of course, open to doubt whether the number of observations was sufficiently great to warrant the generalisation. But the only test of the validity of any induction lies in its verification when applied to fresh instances, and it is remarkable that when long barrows and

¹ *On the Ethnology of the Ancient Irish.*

chambered tumuli have since been opened in this country the evidence has tended in the main to confirm Dr. Thurnam's proposition; still, we must regard it only as the expression of a local custom, and not of a general truth.

It is commonly believed that the brachycephali of the round barrows came in contact with the dolichocephali as an invading, and ultimately as a conquering, race. Not only were they armed with superior weapons—superior in so far as a metal axe is a better weapon than a stone axe—but they were a taller and more powerful people. Thurnam's measurements of femora led to the conclusion that the average height of the brachycephali was 5 feet 8.4 inches, while that of the long-headed men was only 5 feet 5.4 inches.¹ Not only were they taller, but they were probably a fiercer and more warlike race. In the skulls from the round barrows the superciliary ridges are more prominent, the nasals diverge at a more abrupt angle, the cheek-bones are high, and the lower jaw projects, giving the face an aspect of ferocity, which contrasts unfavourably with the mild features of the earlier stone-using people.

On the whole, then, the researches of archæological anatomists tend to prove that this country was tenanted in ante-historic or pre-Roman times by two peoples, who were ethnically distinct from each other. It is difficult to resist the temptation of applying this to the ethnogeny of Wales. Does it not seem probable that the early short race of long-skulled, mild-featured, stone-using people may have been the ancestors of the swarthy Silurians of Tacitus; while the later tall race of round-skulled, rugged-featured, bronze-using men may have represented the broad-headed, Keltic-speaking folk of history? At any rate, the evidence of craniology does not run counter to this hypothesis. For Dr. Beddoe's observations on head-forms in the West of

¹ *Mem. Anthropol. Soc. Lond.*, vol. iii, 1870, p. 73.

England have shown that "heads which are ordinarily called brachycephalic belonged for the most part to individuals with light hair", while the short dark-haired people whom he examined were markedly dolichocephalic.¹ At the same time, it must be admitted that his observations lend "no support to the view that the Keltic skull has been, or would be narrowed by an admixture of the Iberian type". It should not, however, be forgotten that the same observer, in referring to a collection of crania from the Basque country, preserved in Paris, says "the form of M. Broca's Basque crania was very much that of some modern Silurian heads".²

According to the view advocated by Thurnam we have a right to anticipate that the oldest skulls found in this country would be of dolichocephalous type; and such I believe to be actually the case. Dr. Barnard Davis, it is true, has stated in the *Crania Britannica* that the ancient British skull must be referred to the brachycephalic type; and such an induction was perfectly legitimate so long as the craniologist dealt only with skulls from the round barrows or from similar interments. But the long-barrow skulls examined by Professor Rolleston,³ and the Cissbury skulls recently studied by the same anatomist,⁴ are decidedly dolichocephalic, as also are all the early prehistoric skulls which have been found of late years in France.

It may naturally be asked whether the researches of archæologists in Wales lend any support to Thurnam's hypothesis. Nothing, I conceive, would be easier than to show that very material support has come from this quarter; but I have abstained, of set purpose, from introducing into this paper any remarks on the prehistoric archæology of

¹ *Mem. Anthropol. Soc. Lond.*, vol. ii, 1866, p. 350.

² *Ibid.*, p. 356.

³ "On the People of the Long Barrow Period," *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. v, 1876, p. 120.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. vi, 1877, p. 20; vol. viii, 1879, p. 377.

Wales. For I had an opportunity, only a few months ago, of lecturing before this Society upon this very subject, and I then submitted to my fellow-members such evidence as seemed to me to support the conclusions enunciated above. In connexion with this subject, I may, however, especially refer to the valuable researches of my friend, Professor Boyd Dawkins, more particularly to his discovery of platycnemic, or flat-shinned, skeletons in chambered graves in Denbighshire, which may be referred to the neolithic or later stone-age.¹

But, setting aside any archæological evidence derived from the bone-caves, barrows, or other sepulchres in Wales, we may finally look at the outcome of our inquiry into Welsh ethnogeny. If we admit, as it seems to me we are bound to admit, the existence of two distinct ethnical elements in the Welsh population, one of which is short, dark, and dolichocephalic—call it Silurian, Atlantean, Iberian, Basque, or what you will; and the other of which is tall, fair, and brachycephalic, such as some term Cymric, and others Ligurian; then it follows that by the crossing of these two races we may obtain not only individuals of intermediate character, but occasionally more complex combinations; for example, an individual may have the short stature and long head of the one race, associated with the lighter hair of the other; or again, the tall stature of one may be found in association with the melanism and dolichocephalism of the other race. It is, therefore, no objection to the views herein expressed if we can point to a living Welshman who happens to be at once tall and dark, or to another who is short and fair.

At the same time, I am by no means disposed to admit

¹ For Prof. Boyd Dawkins' contributions to the subject see his interesting works on *Cave-hunting*, 1874, and on *Early Man in Britain*, 1880.

that when we have recognised the union of the xanthous and melanic elements in Wales, with a predominance of the latter in the south, we have approached to anything like the exhausting limit of the subject. Still earlier races may have dwelt in the land, and have contributed something to the composition of the Welsh. In fact, the anthropologist may say of a Welshman, as a character in "Cymbeline" says of Posthumus, when doubtful about his pedigree,

"I cannot delve him to the root."

It is possible that the roots of the Welsh may reach far down into some hidden primitive stock, older mayhap than the Neolithic ancestors of the Silurians ; but of such pristine people we have no direct evidence. So far, however, as positive investigation has gone, we may safely conclude that the Welsh are the representatives, in large proportion, of a very ancient race or races ; and that they are a composite people who may perhaps be best defined as *Siluro-Cymric*.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF WALES.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED TO THE CYMMRODORION SECTION OF THE
NATIONAL EISTEDDFOD OF 1880.

BY LEWIS MORRIS, M.A., Honorary Fellow of Jesus College,
Oxford; President of the Section.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—We are met here this evening to re-establish, if possible, the Social Science Section of the National Eisteddfod, which, commencing, I think, in the year 1862, under the patronage of the Council of the Eisteddfod, was discontinued when that Council ceased to exist, some ten or more years afterwards. From that time to the National Eisteddfod held at Birkenhead, in 1878, there was nothing to answer to the former Social Science Section. In the last-named year, an attempt was again made to revive the institution, under the excellent presidency of my friend Professor Hughes, and papers of great ability and interest were read by various distinguished men. But whether it was that the subjects chosen for the papers were not sufficiently interesting to Welshmen as such, or that the hour and place of meeting were not well chosen, or that at Birkenhead people only care to be amused, the fact undoubtedly is, that the attendance was lamentably small—so small, indeed, that the experiment collapsed before the Eisteddfod meeting came to an end. I think it quite possible that if that attempt had been made at Carnarvon, or in any other real national centre, the result might have been very different: and I am inclined to deprecate the repetition of the experience of an Eisteddfod held out of Wales, and attended by a motley assemblage of

people, chiefly attracted by a vague curiosity. But the real lesson of these repeated attempts and failures is to me a very instructive one. I do think they point to a conviction, on the part of the most thoughtful Welshmen, that the Eisteddfod as it at present is constituted, interesting and creditable as it undoubtedly is to the tastes and the refinement of the people, is not wholly satisfying, and that many of us, while recognising with pleasure the large number of valuable prizes which it has recently become the practice—and especially on the present occasion—to offer for subjects bearing upon the moral and physical condition of the people and their amelioration, for essays on health, food, the condition of dwellings, the earnings of the labourer and artizan, thrift, morals, and last, but not least, education (all of which were treated, as I am informed, by the former Social Science Section), are yet of opinion that more may be fairly done in this direction by the Eisteddfod than has been done yet. I do not, nor, as far as I know, does any one wish to, dethrone from their supremacy the sister arts of poetry and music, which now bear rule at the Eisteddfod meetings, but I think in the future it may well be a matter for consideration whether one day of the four, or, possibly, two afternoon sittings, might not be devoted to discussions proceeding on the lines of the economical or social subjects for which prizes are given. I hope no one will suspect me of not liking music. On the contrary, I think, and have often said, that the musical taste, which is so characteristic of the Welsh nation, should be cultivated to the fullest possible extent. Music speaks with a common and universal language, vague indeed, but infinitely tender and solemn, mighty beyond the power of words, full of yearning, full of the mystery of this wonderful life of ours, full of sublime echoes, which are to many instead of a complete theology, of the mighty voice without us, whose sound is in the sea, and

in the sky, and in the hills, and in the inmost recesses of the human heart. As to poetry, no one, I am sure, considering whose descendant I am, will suspect me of disloyalty to that delightful art. There are some things of which it is impossible to speak satisfactorily, and of which it is best, therefore, to be silent. I believe myself that to every one, in his or her degree, glimpses of an ineffable and supreme beauty and goodness are vouchsafed from time to time, to some very rarely, to others more frequently, and that it is only the gift of expression, granted or denied, which distinguishes the poet from his fellow-men. But then it unfortunately happens that there are few who can speak this divine language with effect, and even those who can are filled with a consciousness that what they are privileged to say might well have been said better and more fully.

The conclusion to which I would come is that, to some of us, who would like to be frequent attendants at Eisteddfodic meetings, it would be no diminution of the interest and pleasure which they excite if we felt that we were not merely amusing ourselves—undoubtedly, in a very creditable way, but, still, amusing ourselves—but were doing something which might leave our fellow-countrymen happier and better. And this is the real meaning of the revival of our Social Science Section under a new name—not a better name, by any means, as it seems to me, but still, one which has not to struggle against memories of former failure.

As to the good which has been done by the Social Science Association of England during the twenty or more years of its existence, I believe it would be very difficult to exaggerate it. Almost all the reforms in the law during that time have taken their rise in, and are the direct or indirect result of the deliberations of the Association. The great practical difficulties of punishment and of prevention of crime, the treatment of the pitiful race of young criminals, the ques-

tions of prison discipline, the mechanics of legislation, the relations between landlord and tenant, the questions as to the employment and social functions of women, the great problems of education, the laws of health and sanitation; all these, and many others, are matters which have been ventilated year after year at the annual meetings of the Association, by men and women who, like the late Miss Carpenter, have devoted their lives to the service of their fellow creatures, and through them to the service of God. Surely, we too in Wales, with our strange contrasts of busy and crowded industries, and sparse agricultural populations; of dense and smoky manufacturing towns and lonely mountain sides; must have questions relating to the happiness of the people, some common to all the dwellers in these islands, others peculiar to ourselves as Welshmen, which it would be well to discuss from time to time. Does anyone seriously think that the question of Welsh Sunday closing, for instance, on which such a striking unanimity of opinion has been evinced, or the Burial Bill, or any other measure which has come very near to the hearts of Welshmen, would not have attracted attention long ago, if, year by year, as the National Eisteddfod came round, they had been discussed and debated on a common and unsectarian platform, by local men acquainted with the special needs of their own particular neighbourhoods. And no one who knows how peculiar, and I may add, how defective is the educational condition of Wales, how poor and how ill-distributed are her endowments, and how noble have been the efforts of the people to provide themselves with the means of obtaining, wholly without the State assistance, which is freely bestowed upon Scotland and Ireland, the blessings of the higher education, can doubt that this matter of education alone would afford good and congenial work for good men and women, who could never, in our present divided religious condition, meet

together elsewhere. I say nothing of the pressing need for sanitary discussions connected with the growth of our great manufacturing towns, and the many questions touched by the Employers' Liability Bill, as suggested by the dreadful calamities of the Rhouda Valley, of Abercarne, and of Risca, though they are probably at once full of social interest, and of features peculiar to our own country. I am afraid that a Repression of Crime Section, or a Prisons' Section, if one were started among us, would hardly be a success, for the simple reason that Welsh criminals are almost like the snakes in Iceland—there are none of them; and that we are busily engaged in disestablishing and dis-endowing our Welsh prisons. But I am sure that we might deal with advantage with those faults of morals, which are undoubtedly ours; which all the zeal of all our ministers has failed to touch in any appreciable degree; and which, among a people the most devout, and the most God-fearing in these islands, confront us with the spectacle, not unhappily a paradox, of an amount of illegitimacy hardly exceeded in any part of Great Britain.

Nor, of course, would it be necessary, or in any way desirable, that we should confine ourselves exclusively to matters specially bearing upon the condition of Wales. I certainly think that such questions have distinctly the first claim upon our attention. But, after all, our country is a small one; we are not only Welshmen, but citizens, interested in every great question which affects any part of, or any class of people in, the great England, and the still greater Empire, of which we form part. I do not, for my own part, knowing, as I do, how great are the differences which separate us from our neighbours, think that the stream of Welsh reforms is, after centuries of neglect and stagnation, likely to run dry very soon. But I am sure we should welcome any distinguished stranger who would

honour us by reading a paper on any matter of which he might have special knowledge, whether economical, social, scientific, or I suppose I must add archæological, as this is the Cymmrodorion section.

I do trust, however, that in future years, we shall not devote an undue measure of our time to looking back towards the irrevocable Past. With all, except the very young, and often with them, the temptation to look backwards, instead of forwards, is overwhelming, and we in Wales are, as it seems to me, especially liable to it. Every year that passes takes with it something of hope from our lives; raises a new tomb-stone over buried longings and aspirations that breathe no longer the air of earth; adds something to the sum of losses which make the familiar streets, or the well-remembered fields, show like a place of graves. I cannot help admiring the tendency which makes Welshmen look back with affectionate exaggeration to heroes and to bards who have been dead for centuries. I myself owe too much to the affection with which the name which I bear is still regarded, not to feel it difficult to say what I believe I am bound to say, in duty. But to me, no time is so full of fascination as the present, unless it be indeed the hidden future. But it is in the present, and with a view to prepare the future, which we believe shall, in the good pleasure of the Creator, be greater than the present, that we who are here to-day must live and work, and we have not indeed a moment to lose. "Time is short, and opportunity fleeting," as was said of old, and dreams of the past certainly, and of the future probably, are nothing else but a waste of invaluable time. I believe that the extraordinary and most calamitous self-effacement, by which, up to a very recent period, Welshmen were content to stand aloof from practical politics, sending to Parliament, for centuries, for reasons of feudal attachment, or through entire carelessness, men

wholly unfit for their duties, was largely due to this habit of mind, which has long diverted the national energies into channels in which they have practically run to waste. I cheerfully recognise the great improvement which of late has taken place in this respect, wholly irrespective of political considerations. I have long ago expressed my belief, that the first thing which Wales had to do was to find her tongue, as she has since done, indeed, to some extent, and might yet do more thoroughly with advantage. The nation is evidently awaking to a sense of its responsibilities, which gives promise of even better things in future. For my own part, while the voice of Wales is still insufficiently heard, I resent, on behalf of my country, the local intrigues by which it still too often happens that an unfit Welshman, or an Englishman with no interest in us, is allowed to supplant a Welshman who could speak for Wales. And depend upon it, if good men of every religious denomination would consent to meet upon the free and unsectarian platform, which the Eisteddfod alone furnishes, there would be very little danger of its missing its true end, or of its ever allowing the people of Wales to relapse into the stagnation and indifference of old.

And I think, indeed, that some such meeting-place, where party politics might be laid aside, where those religious and dogmatic differences which enter so largely (not, as I think, without advantage) into our national life, might for a time be left behind, if not forgotten, would be in itself, quite apart from other good results, a distinct and permanent gain. Think how seldom it can happen that patriotic Welshmen belonging to the Church of England, or to the Methodist, Baptist, or Congregational denominations (and we should not have far to go from this place to find such persons), can meet together with a view to the advancement of the good of their common country. Think how few are the

opportunities which North Welshmen and South Welshmen have of comparing notes and experiences. They go into England by different routes, they gravitate towards different provincial centres—the North to Liverpool, the South to Bristol—and it takes about twice as long to go from the good town of Carmarthen to the good town of Carnarvon as it does to go from either to London. We want to obliterate, as far as may be, all these purely local and mischievous divisions, and it would be a very worthy office for the Eisteddfod if it enabled those of us who are not musicians, who are not bards, nay, who are hardly Welsh-speaking men, but have not the less Welsh hearts, to meet together under the shadow of so venerable and mysterious an institution, and take counsel together for the good of Wales.

There are certain matters on which I could have wished to say something, especially those with which I am most conversant—questions of law, of politics, and of education. But those questions of law, which are burning questions, run insensibly into politics, and politics, so far as they are interesting, are apt to assume a character of party which would be quite foreign to the traditions of an institution whose motto is "Peace". In politics there neither can nor should be peace, but an earnest though a generous strife. On the subject of education, I should have had a good deal to say, and was prepared to say it, but for an honour which has come to me within the last few days—that of being nominated to serve on the Commission which will immediately be issued to inquire into the condition of Higher and Intermediate Education in Wales. I anticipate the greatest good results from that Commission, and I am very proud to belong to it; but I think it clear that for the present my mouth must be closed on all Welsh educational questions, because it would be improper to express opinions on views which the evidence which will come before the

Commission may tend to modify or reverse. Otherwise, I should have liked to say something of the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth, of which I believe the country is justly proud, and of its future development. I should have liked to say something of the scheme of your excellent townsman and my revered friend, Mr. Hugh Owen, who has for nearly forty years been connected with Welsh education, for the establishment of County Scholarships, which shall so unite the primary with the higher grade schools as to provide for the support of deserving boys and girls, and elicit, by judicious aid, the immense supply of talent which in Wales, as I firmly believe, more than elsewhere, has somehow been repressed and lost through poverty and unfavourable surroundings. But the subject will not remain without discussion, and papers on various aspects of the educational question among us will be read during our sittings. And I believe we have the promise of an able paper on the important question of Eisteddfod reform. I trust that the Cymmrodorion Council will be able in future to exercise a supervision over as well the subjects of the papers as their treatment, and that the length of all contributions may be limited to a reasonable time—a good deal shorter, for instance, than the present address—and that due provision may be made for those who prefer to express themselves in English or Welsh, as the case may be. And when I have said this, I have said almost all.

But before I conclude, I will ask you to think for a moment on the lot of the great majority of our countrymen, whose fate it is to eat the bread of carefulness through the whole of their laborious lives. Think of them on a hundred hill-sides, where the mountain sheep, straying among the heather, are the only living things visible; or in close and sunless valleys, under the brooding shadow of great mountains; or on wind-swept farms, where nothing but sea-bitten

grass will grow, on the coasts of Anglesey or of Pembroke ; living from the cradle to the grave lonely lives of healthy but wearing toil, with no opportunity of meeting with their fellows except occasionally at the little market-town or village, or at the little chapel, which is set often enough far away from town or village, in the recesses of the untrodden hills. Think of them in the dense atmosphere of the great industrial centres, at Merthyr Tydfil or at Aberdare, at Ruabon or Landore ; breathing coal dust, or iron dust, or copper smoke, day and night, in cottages reared upon the cinder-tips or slag-heaps, of which they seem an excrescence ; spending the long days or nights in the airless depths of the coal mine, with inevitable death within a stroke of the pickaxe ; or perched high up on the perpendicular face of the quarry, with enormous masses of slate impending, and the thunder of the blasting-charge resounding and reverberating around. I know of nothing in all the world around us so pathetic as the lives of the poor. From much that makes life seem precious to us they are cut off altogether. All the pleasures of travel and change of scene, the delight of foreign manners, the wonder of strange islands, or capes, rising vine-clad out of the azure sea, the marvel of old minsters filled with the devout thoughts of painters or sculptors who have been dead for centuries—thoughts which, we may hope, have aided many a heavy-laden soul on the road to heaven—the wonder of great Alps, many times higher than our own Eryri, rising clothed in their everlasting mantles of snow ; the quickening of the moral and intellectual powers, which comes almost in spite of themselves to the cultivated dwellers in a great metropolis, in which the business of an illimitable Empire is transacted, and is matter of common talk—from all these sources of interest and pleasure our poorer countrymen and countrywomen are debarred. Let us be thankful that they have in their own tongue the blessing of a pure

and healthy periodical literature, and that they have the taste, which is denied to the stronger Saxon, to appreciate the highest achievements of music and of poetry. While Handel and Mozart are sung by them habitually, while Milton and Goronwy are read, there can be little fear for the intellectual future of Wales. The more reason, as it seems to me, that those of us who can do so, in however small a degree, should contribute their share to hasten the good time coming; and by making the Eisteddfod a really educational and social influence, try to lighten somewhat of the burden of those lowly and over-laden lives.

MERCHED Y TŶ TALWYN.

THE following curious and interesting account is taken from one of the unpublished *Iolo Morganwg MSS.*, now in the possession of the Right Hon. Lady Llanover, by whose kind permission it is copied. It is written in the spoken dialect of Glamorgan, which was often used by Iolo, and no attempt has been made to alter it. Perhaps some of the readers of the *Cymmrodor* may be able to add to the information here given about these poetesses, and to supply other verses ascribed to them.

W. WATKINS.

October 1880.

“ I heard an old man at Langynwyd sing a curious kind of song. It consisted of the names of all the rivers in Glamorgan and their fountain-heads, said to have been written by one of the *Ty Talwyn* poetesses, one stanza of which is as follows :

“ Blaen Gwrych, Blaen Gwrach, Blaen Gwranon,
 Blaen Ffrydwyllt, Blaen Cynharvon,
 Blaen Afan sy, Blaen Llyfni syw,
 Blaen Garw yw'r Blaen creulon.”

Dywedir am y Brydyddes iddeu Chariad wneuthur rhywbeth ansyber yn ei herbyn a'i digio, ac nis ymgymmodai ag ef er un cyflwr eithr hynn, sef iddo ymweled a holl afonydd Morganwg a'u Blaenau a'u doddi ar gân a'i dangos iddi o'i waith ei hunan. Fe gymmerth hynn arno, ag a dreulwys lawer mis yn ymdeithio ar hyd yr afonydd hyd eu Blaenau, onid oedd wedi myned mor wasgedig yn ei gnawd fel nad oedd braidd dim o hono ond y croen a'r esgyrn. 'Dd oedd

rhywfaint, bydded a fynno, o dynerweli ynghalon y Gantores, a hi a dosturiwys wrth ei chariad; a pheth a wnaeth hi ond ymweled a'r holl afonydd yn ddiarwybod iddei Chariad, a'u doddi ar gân yn mesur Triban Morganwg. Yr oedd hi yr holl amser hynn mewn gwisg Bachgen. Hi a wyddai yn ddigon da am dŷ Car iddo, lle 'dd oedd ar droion aml yn llettya. Myned yno a gofyn am letty noswaith.

“Chwi a gewch hanner gwely, os gwna hynny'r tro”, ebe gwraig y tŷ; “nid oes gennyf ond hynny, am fod gwr ifanc o ddynglan i fod yma heno 'n cysgu yn yr hanner arall”.

“Fe wna hynny o'r goreu”, ebe'r Bachgen ifanc diarth, a myned i mewn.

Ymhen yehydig fe ofynodd ai celai ef fyned i'r gwely, am ei fod yn flinderus iawn, wedi cerdded ymhell y diwarnod hynny. “Cewch,” ebe gwraig y tŷ; a hynny a fu. Ymhen tro dyna'r Carwr truan yn dyfod iddei letty; goleuwyd ef i'r gwely gan wedyd wrtho fod yno lencyn glan iawn i gysgu gydag ef, ag iddo fyned i'r gwely yn ebrwydd, achos ei fod wedi blino 'n fawr, wedi cerdded o bell hyd yno.

“Duw a'i bendithio”, ebe'r Carwr, “a gorphwys da iddo. Gwyn fyd na ddelai awr gorphwys i minnau.”

Myned i'r gwely heb gael nemmor iawn o gysgu. Gyda'r goleu dyma'r Bachgen ifanc diarth yn cwmmu, yn doddi bendith Duw ar y tŷ a'r tylwyth a'i llettywys, ac yn myned i bant. Ond fe adawys bapur ar y gobennydd a'r gân yn ysgrifenedic arno yn cynnwys enwau holl afonydd Morganwg a'u Blaenau, ag uwch ben y gân y geirau hynn, y cyfan mewn llaw diarth iddo: *Cymmer gynhorthwy gan a'th gâr.*

Cymmeryd y papur a'i ddarllain, a'i ddarllain, a'i ddarllain a wna'r Carwr. Un ennyd yn neidio yn wyllt gan lawenydd, ennyd arall yn tawlu ei hunan ar y gwely dan lefain ag wyllo; ond o'r diwedd ymdawelu a myned blaid y traed gwyllt at dŷ'r ferch y dioddefasai gymmaint er ei hennill.

Cael myned atti; ond nis cai gusan cynmod nes dangos y gân. Wrth glywed hynny tynnu 'r gân o'i fynwes a'i gosod o'i blaen.

"Yn awr, ar dy wir", ebe hi, "gwed wrthof ai ti a wnaeth y gan hon?"

Ebe fe 'n ateb, "Mi dreiglais hyd bob afon ym Morganwg o'r pen isaf iddei blaen, ond afiechyd a ddaeth arnaf o fod gymmaint ag y buof i maes yn y tywydd, gwlyb a sych, rhew ag eira, gwres ag oerfel. Ond er gwneuthur hyd eitha 'n gallu corph ag enaid i ddodi enwau'r cyfan ar gân, ni ellais etto foddloni 'm hunan mewn un gair bychan. A thyna itti 'r gwir fal yth atebwyf o flaen Duw. Edrych ar fy ngwedd a'm lliw llwyd. Wedi rhoi 'r cyfan i fynydd o'm gobaith dan dorr calon, fawr lai na gwallgof, daeth Bachgen ifanc glan ar dro i'r ty lle 'dd oeddw'n yn llettfa, ac a edewis ar y gobennydd lle (bu) ef yn gorwedd noswaith yn yr un gwely a mi y papur a ddodes o'th flaen. Ni chredaf lai nad angel o'r nef oedd hwnnw. Gwna er ei fwyn ef y peth nis gwnai er fy mwyn i. Tosturia bellach wrthof. Gwna hynn er mwyn yr angel ag er mwyn y Duw a'i danfonwys."

"Gan itti erchi er mwyn Duw a'i angel", ebe hi, "mi ymgymmodaf a thi."

Ag felly y bu, a phriodi a wnaethant maes o law wedyn, ac a fuont fyw yn hir mewn cariad ac happusrwydd, yn dad a mam llawer o blant, ac yn Adda ag yn Efa i holl Brydyddion y wlad, ond y rhai sy'n dywad o'r chworiydd ereill, canys nid oes Brydydd yn y sir nad yw 'n dyfod o un o ferched y Ty Talwyn (meddir); ag o hynn y daeth y ddiareb gyffredin ym Morganwg hyd heddy.

Beth na wna merch er mwyn ei chariad? Ni ellais hyd yn hyn gael un clyw na gwybod.

Digon (*sic*) amlwg pa bryd neu amser o'r byd ydd oedd Merched y Ty Talwyn yn byw; ond y mae rhywfaint o le i gredu taw ynghylch deucant o flynyddau 'n ychydig fwy neu

lai ydd oedden nhw 'n byw. Wrth Bemillion y *Llwyn blodauwg*, a wedir taw gwaith y merched hynny ydyn nhw, gallai rhai feddwl taw ynghylch pump neu chwechant o flynyddau 'n ol ydd oedden nhw 'n byw. Ond gwyddys o'r goreu i'r ffordd hynny o gamu, sef ar gynhanedd unodl heb gynghanedd o gytsain, barhau ym Morganwg hyd yn ddiweddar iawn :

Y Ferch gyntaf.

Doeco lwyn yn fwyn ei drwsiad
 Glasliw glwyslon dirion dyfiad
 Yn ochr y maes ai laes gynghenau
 Tew gofleidiog teg ei flodau.

Yr ail Ferch

Doeco lwyn yn fwyn wedi'i drwsio
 Gwyn ei fyd a gai fyned dauo
 Dail mor loyw llwyn hoyw a hyfryd
 Gwn fod wrthaw llaw f' anwylyd.

Y drydedd Ferch

Llwyn nyllynog deiliog dulas
 Hardd 'i gampau gwyrdd oi gwmpas
 Plethiad gwead gwiall irion
 Tew gwyn gliad torriad tirion.

Dymma sydd genni o'r saith gair canu a fu ryng y chwech hwaer a'u brawd i'r llwyn 'spyddaden. Gwyddwn un arall lawer blwyddyn yn ol, ond y mae wedi myned yn angof. Ydd wyf yn meddwl ei bod ar gof traddodiad y wlad idd eu cael etto, a bod dyn ymagocco yn eu gwybod. Ond lled ryfedd yw un peth genni, hynny yw, er cymmaint o son traddodiadol y sydd ym Morganwg am Ferched y Ty Talwyn ni welais i air hyd yn hynn am danyn nhwy mewn ysgrifen erioed. A pheth iawn dda hynod yw hynn, a chymmaint o ysgrifenedau Prydyddion ag Areithwyr o bob rhyw y sy gan y ni ym Morganwg yn anad un sir yn neheubarth Cymru, ag ni wn ni lai n'allwn i wedyd yn anad un sir yn holl Gymru, Gwynedd a Deheubarth, ag er amled y pethau hynn, ni chyrdais erioed a ga'r bach yn ysgrifenedig am Ferched y Ty Talwyn, oddi wrth rhyw beth bach gan Sion

Bradford o'i gof'had ei hunan. Bu'r brawd farw yn wr iefanc heb fod erioed yn briod. Priodwys bob un o'r merched, ag, medd y wlad, y mae mwy neu lai o awen Prydyddaidd ymhob un o'n heppil yn parhau hyd heddyw. Mynych y clywais wedyd yn ddiarheb fal hyn, "Nid rhyfedd ei fod e'n brydydd; y mae'n dyfod o Ferched y Ty Talwyn". Y mae'r Ty Talwyn yn Nhu deau Plwyf Llangynwyd yng nghwmwd Tir Iarll ag am y ffin a Phlwyf Margam, yn dŷ Ffermwr lled dda, sef da ymhlith tai Morganwg, y tai goreu yng Nghymru tu hwnt i bob cymmhariaeth."

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.

THE following article is taken from the Cotton MS. *Titus* D. xxii, in the British Museum, which contains eight other articles in Welsh and Latin, and among them the Welsh Lives of Saints David, Catharine, and Margaret, published in Rees' *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 102-116, and 211-231. In the Catalogue of Cotton MSS., p. 566, the volume is incorrectly represented to include a chronicle of the Church of Llandaff, which, however, it does not contain. A corrected table of contents is now prefixed to the volume from the pen, and bearing the signature, of "T. Price, Carnhuanawe, November 4, 1839."

The extract here printed is the first article in the MS., extending from folio 1 to folio 19, and containing thirty-six pages and seven lines. Each page contains fifteen lines. It is very well written, but the writing has become illegible in one or two places.

The MS. dates from the early part of the fifteenth century,

[1] LLynma gyfr6ythyth achouyon a geir nyr yscriptur lan o i6rth y trabluthe gouudyon a dolureu adiskynnant kynn6ll kyn teruin byd achos anwir ac angret yrei aossodes yr vehelargl6yd o neef kyn kymryt kana6d or blayn hyt ytraythir herwyth dysk y yspryd ef o giudode y prof6ydi a gwedy kymryd kna6d y dangosses crist argl6yth yr eilweith yr vni6b pynkeu ny gyfreitheu ef yrei aydys yn vynyeh ny traythu my6n gwasnaythe yr egl6ys.¹ ¶ ytrabluthe hyn adoant

¹ In the MS. these paragraph marks are in red ink.

but the article itself is probably older. Its style is not very attractive, being marked by some awkward sentences and uncouth forms. The constant use of adjectives in the plural, such as "aruthredigyon", "llithredigyon", etc., is quite a marked feature in the composition. The writer was a South-Walian, and apparently a native of the southern part of Cardiganshire, or North Pembrokeshire. Such forms as the following may be observed, among many others, as characteristic of the dialect of this district: *lleisse* : *gnuthyr* (3²) *coranu* (ib), *agilant* (ib), *hebllyth* (ib), *geire* (6), *neucilieid gwyllton* (6²), *wethel* (7), *weched* (9), and *wimmwth* (15), which are still *wheddel*, *weched*, and *whimmwth* : *ymhoylant* (8), and *ymhoylyd* (15), *llysewyn*, *ciswys* (10), *dehuach* (11), *ouan* (11²), *iste* (ib), *eluste* (ib), *milioyth* (12), *tayred vo yr heul* (ib), *drein* (13), *gwabre*, etc. The dropping of the final dental in *trws* (6) "trwst", *trydly* and *pedwery*, point in the same direction. It is possible that the writer may have been one of the patriotic monks of the great Abbey of Ystrad Fflur.

The orthography of the MS. has been scrupulously followed, even in its blunders. It will be observed that the scribe occasionally uses the peculiar "6" for "u", as, for example, in *gall6*, *he6l*, *lle6at*, i.e., "gallu", "heul", "lleuat".

HERE follow the instruction and records which are found in the Holy Scripture concerning the troubles, afflictions, and sufferings which will happen for a season before the end of the world on account of iniquity and unbelief, and which the high Lord of Heaven set forth in times past before He took flesh, as far as they are related through the teaching of His spirit by the bands of the prophets; and, after He took flesh, Christ, the Lord, revealed the same things a second time in His laws, which are frequently rehearsed in the services of the

gyntaf o angheredigyrŷyth kynvigen athra trŷy geissaŷ pob vn [1²] ragori ar yllall myŷn tragrymder gallŷ bydaŷl. medeant a maŷreth. pandiskynnant o achos sythter kalonneu a aghytundeb y trablutheu maŷr yrei aedewis crist arglŷyth genym ynyscriuenedic dan y henwi ny gyssegredic euegil ef. nyd amgen trabluthe nog y pleid kyuod ynerbyn pleid. tarnas yn erbyn tarnas. braŷd yn erbyn braŷd. taad yn erbyn ymab. ymab yn erbyn ytaad ac aruthredigyon arŷythton adiskynnant o neef. ac ereill aymdangossant nyr heŷl. ny syyr. ny llebat. trŷy gymmyse marŷwalaytheu. crynmant dayar. anewy-[2] neu. ac aruthredigyon arŷythton myŷn tonneu a lleisseu ymroyth. ar llifdyuyreth. agŷybythed paŷb med crist pan diskynnant bod tarnas nef ynagos nyd amgen no dyd braŷ a teruyn byd. ¶ Bellach gwedy pandaruythant yr arŷythton hyn hŷylaŷ ny teruynau y ymdagossant ereill o newyth. yrei auythant ynŷy o dolureu a galareu. hyd na bo haŷd ydyn yn vyŷ ydŷyn nay diothef. ¶ y goundyon hyn herwyth daroganneu a diskynnant nyr amser ydel melltigedic angerist yr hŷn y syd Reid agotheuus gan dew y dyuod [2²] y ŷybod gwastadrŷyth a fyrŷder a gaffer myŷn dyn ny fyth ŷrth y bronu. ¶ Angerist bellach herwyd deall rei or doythton ac athraŷon ykyluethdoden aymdegis nyr amser y bo crist yn vyl pedwarcant atheir blyneth o oydran. ar hŷn awetto geni agricrist o gyd aunyan gŷr agŷreic nyrdŷyllŷyd. achos herwyth yr ysriptur lan ac ymmadraŷd Ieuan abostol ny lyuir a elwyr apocalipsis nyr amser hymny y datrŷymir y kuthreul penaf yny messur ybu datrŷymedic yn amser yr ymmeraŷdyr ffrederic pan wnayth llaŷer o ouudyon ar yr [3] escob

Church. These troubles will first come from uncharitableness, envy, and presumption, through each one seeking to surpass the other in excellence of worldly power, possession, and greatness, when, through hardness of heart and disagreement, there will happen the great troubles which Christ the Lord has left to us written, mentioning them by name, in His sacred gospel: such troubles, to wit, as the rising of faction against faction, kingdom against kingdom, brother against brother, father against the son, the son against the father; and amazing signs will appear from heaven, and others will appear in the sun, in the stars, and in the moon, accompanied with deaths, earthquakes, and famines, and amazing signs in waves and voices of the seas and the floods. And let all know, says Christ, when these happen, that the kingdom of heaven is at hand, that is, the day of judgment and the end of the world. Now, when these signs have proceeded in their course to an end, others again will appear, which will be (the cause of) greater sufferings and sorrows, so that it shall not be easy for living man to bear or endure them. These afflictions, according to predictions, will happen at the time when the accursed Antichrist shall come, who must, and is permitted by God to, come in order to know the constancy and firmness that may be found in man's faith when he is tried.¹ Now Antichrist, according to the understanding of some of the wise men and masters of the arts, will appear at the time when Christ shall be 1403 years old. And whoever says that Antichrist is born of the natural union of man and woman is deceived. For, according to the Holy Scripture and the statement of John the Apostle in his book, which is entitled *Apocalipsis*, at that time Satan² will be unbound in the manner he was unbound in the time of the Emperor Frederic, when he caused many afflictions to the

¹ *Lit.*, in man in his faith at his testing.

² *Lit.*, the chief devil.

ma6r ay dy6olyon bobloyth ac ymdegys ef yg carusalem ac nyr ardaloyth y tram6ya6th crist dan pregethu yua6r en6 ef. ac yn tystolaithu may ef y6 gwir crist. ac ef uyd ac auu ac asyth.

¶ Nyr amser hynny y datcloant d6y anfythedolyon genethlaeid nyd amgen no Gog a magog yrrei a ydewis yr ymmer-a6dyr Elisaunder yn gloedigyon my6n ynyssoyth ar ystlysseu y moroyth hyd ar yramser ydoe Angerist. yrei hyn adoant ac aymdangossant yr g6rhau ythau credu a gwethu ythau. ac yr kydarnhau. kyn6rthau a ma6rhau yuchel[3²]en6 ef my6n dy6olyayth. ¶ yr agerist h6n tr6y vod dy6 yngothef aymd6gys yngybelled my6n ma6reth a methyant. aruthter a creulonder hyd pan varno ef na bo dyn ynvy6 a allo rodi kyuerbyu ytha6. ¶ Ef bellach tr6y vot dy6 yngothef awna ac adengys yn rith gwyrthen llawer o anreuthodeu ma6r tr6y d6yll hudolyayth yrei ni welsit gynt arei herwyth tyb dyn my6n gwangred na allei neb ygnuthyr onyd gwir dy6 ehun. ¶ Bellachyrynreuthodeu hyn achymmyse gwangred adall-[4] ant synh6yreu ydynnyon hyd pan diskynnant anirif o bobyl ydayar yr credu a gwethu ytha6. ¶ Ar sa6l adrigant my6n fyrfder yered tr6y rothi kyuerbyn ytha6 herwyth ygallu adrewenir ochlethyfeu aedewir my6n ammarch ma6r hyd heblyth a messyth. at yrrei yhemyn y gwir dy6 yr ymbarch ac vynt anglyon yth ykyrehu ay coranu yn verthyryon kyssegredigyon ny neef kyn ori ygwayd. ¶ Ac ereill a ouyn-nokahant y greulonder ef agilant yogoueu yerei[4²]gyth ar tarrenni ac yna yochuahant ygeni dan dywedud y geireu hyn ychwi greigyth ar tarrenni k6yth6ch arnym yr yndiuyrru. ¶ y gouudyon hyn agerthant ac aymdangossant yn dolurus dros 6yneb ydayar dan gynnythu aphaarau hyd teir

great bishop¹ and his godly people, and he will appear in Jerusalem, and in the districts which Christ traversed, preaching his great name and testifying that he is very Christ, and that he will be, and was, and is.

At that time will be unbound two unbelieving nations, namely Gog and Magog, whom the Emperor Alexander left locked up in (certain) islands, on the confines of the seas, until the time when Antichrist should come: these will come and will appear in order to do homage to him, to believe in and submit to him, and in order to strengthen, support, and magnify his high name by deification. This Antichrist, through the permission of God, will appear in greatness, authority, awfulness, and cruelty, to such a degree that he will think that there will be no man living who shall be able to make opposition to him. He, moreover, by permission of God, will, through the deception of illusion, perform and show forth, in the guise of miracles, many great wonders which had not been seen before, and which man, in his feeble faith, will think no one could do but the true God himself. And now these wonders, combined with weak faith, will blind the senses of men, so that numberless hosts of the people of the earth shall fall down to acknowledge and submit to him.

And those who shall continue in the firmness of their faith, opposing him according to their power, will be pierced with swords, and will be left in great dishonour in the streets and the fields; to whom the true God, in order to do honour to them, will send angels to take them and crown them as holy martyrs in heaven before their blood is cold. And others, who shall fear his cruelty, will retire into the caves of the rocks and the cliffs; and there they will lament that they have been born, saying these words: Ye rocks and cliffs, fall upon us to destroy us. These afflictions will go on and make themselves grievously felt over the face of the earth, increas-

¹ *I.e.*, the Pope.

blyneth a hanner yrei nyd ha6th ygothef. gan auethant o trablutheu. ryueleu. new6neu, a llathuaeu. nyr amser hynny ha6th vyd gwelet dagreu llithredigyon hyd gruthyeu y gwyr ar g6rageth ar meiboneu disyn6yryon. ha6th vyd gwelet dyn yngarthu d6yla6 a lleis tuchan ganta6. ha6th vyd [5] clybod dyn ynwynmychu y ageu heb ydyuod y tha6. ¶ Bellach ar diweth yteir blyned a hanner y kyffroant deu or prof6ydi gynt megys Enoc ac heli yrei yr pan anet ysynt vy6edigyon arei agyuodassant yr anglyon tr6y w6rtheu dy6 nyr hen oyssoyth ac aydugassant yparad6ys dayra6l ny lle ymaynt yngyrf ac yn eneideu ynymaros ar amser ydel ygelyn agerist. acyna ydoant ac y ymdangossant ytha6 ef ar he6lyth kay-russalem dan ymlid ac ymgyuethli6 ac ef ygreulonder yan [5²] gred ayd6yll hudolyayth tr6y yrei yt6yllassei ef pridwerth ygwir dy6 yr ycolli. ¶ ynteu tr6y gymryd ynsor arabu arna6 ef d6yn ruthur ythunt awna my6n ynuydr6yth ygythreulayth ay llath dan ado ykyrf yn ammarchus hyd yrhe6lyth tri dieu atheirnos dan drayd ygelynyon. ac ar diweth ytridiwarnot tr6y w6rtheu ygwir dy6 ykyuodant o vyir6 yvy6 yg6r nyt ymedy ay wasnaythgar kywir ar ynerthu my6n gouudyon. ¶ Agwedy pan darfo yr angerist h6n tr6y dy6 yngothef yn hyd y teir blyneth [6] a hanner tr6y y arsageu ef achreulonder yglethyf caffel y hynt ar d6ylla6 prydwerth dy6 tr6y

ing and continuing during three years and a half, which it will not be easy to endure, for the troubles, wars, famines, and slaughters they will bring. During that time it will be easy to see streaming tears on the cheeks of men and women and the unconscious infants: it will be easy to see a man wringing his hands with the voice of lamentation; it will be easy to hear a man wishing for death, while it shall not come to him.

Now, at the end of the three years and a half, two of the prophets of old will be aroused, namely, Enoch and Elijah, who, ever since they were born, are still living, and whom the angels took up through the miraculous power of God in the old ages, and bore to an earthly paradise, where they are, body and soul, awaiting the time when the enemy Antichrist shall come. And then they shall come and appear to him in the streets of Jerusalem, expostulating with him and reproaching him for his cruelty, his unbelief, and false enchantment, whereby he had deceived the ransomed people of the true God to their destruction. But he, indignant at being rebuked, will make an assault upon them in the frenzy of his devilish nature, and will kill them, leaving their bodies in dishonour in the streets for three days and three nights, under the feet of the enemy. And at the end of the three days they will rise from death to life, through the miraculous working of the true God, who will not forsake his faithful servants so as not to support¹ them in afflictions. Now, when this Antichrist, by the permission of God during the three-and-a-half years, shall have, by his spells² and the cruelty of his sword, had free³ course in deceiving the redeemed of God

¹ Lit., upon supporting them; will not forsake them upon the point of, in the matter of, supporting them.

² *Arsageu*, i.e., *arsangau*, fr. *ar* and *sang*, rt. of *sangu*, to tread, trample. Perhaps it means here "oppression". Davies has "Arsang, *oppressio*. *Alijs idem quod Swyn*".

³ Lit., had his course.

yharwein y agreed. ¶ yna ardiwed yteruin kyffroi awna yr arglŷyd oneef dan dangos y vaŕr allu athan trugarau ny dyŕbolyayth 6rth ygwan sucledic annyan myŕn dyn 6rth ybroui diskyn awna oy eistethua ef ny neef dan rodi kyuerbyn yr gelyn ar doy veltigedic genethlaet megys gog a magog ar vynyth oliffer. ne lle ydŕg yr arglŷyd rurthur yr pryf gormyn myŕn kydernid ylit dan ydaraŕ dyrnaŕd aruthur o yspryd [6²] y ene hyd pan syrtho ytŕyllaŕdyr yn drylle hyd y llaŕr megys trŕs pren maŕr yn garthu 6rth ygŕympo ar eil dyrnaŕd ary yr dŕy genethlaed hyd pan syrthant 6nteu yngadeu meirŕ hyd ymynyth dan yhadaŕ yno yn ammarehus ynuŕdeu y gŕn ac y neueilieid gwyllton. ¶ A gŕybythent pob rei narannŕyd bod gwastad hethŕch ny thayar herwyth y daroganneu na gwastad kyredigrŕyd na chydbŕybod glan myŕn calonneu ydynnyon ynhyd yr amser y bo yr angerist heb dyuod. ac ambellach vyd nyr amser y bo ef ynma[7]ystroli hyd pan gwedy yteruynner ef y ageu. ¶ A gwedy y copleir ydiuyrru ef ny messur ydywespŕyd vehod a mynet y geir a messur ywethel dros 6ynebeu ynissoyth ybyd. yna yhanabythant holl cryaduryeid ydayar daruod myŕn hir amser o oysseu ytŕyllaŕ ay trossi o iar forth y iaŕn gred dan ymmadaŕ ay geudyŕbeu trŕy yrei y buasseint laŕer o amseroyd myŕn kethiweth kythreuleid. ¶ yna y ymhoylant holl bobloyth y byd at vndyŕ ac y vngred nyd amgen noc y gred yeristynogyon dan reol y gwir dyŕ yr hŕn ysyth [7²] dechre a gorfen creaŕ dyr yreadurieid taad maab ac yspryd glan. yn vn riŕ dyŕ daad yn riŕ dyŕ vaab yn riŕ dyŕ yspryd glan. teir personyeid ny drindaŕd. ¶ Ac gwedy pan darfo yr holl vyd athnabod y

by leading them to unbelief; then, at the end of the period, the Lord of Heaven will rouse Himself, showing forth His great might and taking pity in His divine nature upon the weak, shaken nature in man when tried. He will come down from His throne in Heaven, setting an array against the enemy and the two accursed nations, namely, Gog and Magog, on the mount of Olives, where the Lord will attack the chief oppressor in the might of His wrath, smiting him a great stroke with the breath of His mouth, so that the deceiver shall fall broken to the ground, like the sound of a great tree crashing in its fall. And the second stroke He will give to the two nations, so that they, too, shall fall dead in hosts upon the hill, leaving them there in dishonour, food for dogs and wild animals. And let all men know that it was not decreed, according to the predictions, that there should be constant peace on the earth, or constant benevolence, charity, or clear conscience in men's hearts during the time¹ preceding the coming of Antichrist; and it will be rarer during the time when he shall be here exercising mastery, until he has been appointed to death. And when his destruction has been completed in the manner described above, and the word and the whole² tale has passed over the isles of the world, then will all the creatures of the earth know that through a long period of ages they had been deceived and turned from the way of the true faith, and they will forsake their false gods, through which they had been for many ages in the bondage of devils. Then all the peoples of the world will turn to one god and one faith, namely, to the faith of the Christians, under the rule of the true God, who is the beginning and the end, Creator of the creatures, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God the Father, one God the Son, one God the Holy Ghost, three persons in the Trinity. And when the whole world has known its

¹ Lit., in the time when Antichrist shall not have come.

² Lit., the measure of the tale.

arglŷyd athroi gwethu a gŵrhau ythaŵ or amser hynny y parahant myŵn diwadlŷyd dan reol ygwir dyŵ myŵn fyrfder y iaŵn fyth hyd diwed byd ac hyd na bo raellaŵ dros ŵynebeu ynessoyd y dayar onyd vn bugeil ac vn buarth. ¶ Nyr amser y byth hir hethŵch a llonythŵch kyredigrŷyd achytundeb gwirioned [8] a chydŵybod glan myŵn calonneu y dynnyon ar bob gweithred. Ar pynkeu hyn abarhaant hyd ar pymthee diwarnodeu kyn dyd braŵ ny rei herwyth deall agauas sant Jerom myŵn llyfer ieith ebreŵ y dengis ybraŵdŵr aruthredigyon arŵython kyn diskynno y varnu. ¶ Nydamgen noe yn ydyd kyntaf y kyffroant ymoroyth ar llifdyuyreth ac ykyuodant deugeint cupit o vchter o iar ŵynebeu yr holl creigyth. ¶ yr eil dyd ygostygant oy huchter dan drio agostŵng ved ar dyuynder hyd pan allo orbreith drem y lly[8²]gad yharganuod. ¶ y trydy dyyd y ymdangossant yr holl dyuyreth ar ymessur ybua-sseint yr pan furuŵyd gyntaf. ¶ y pedwry dyd y ymdan-gossant y pyscaŵd ac holl cryaduryeid o naturayth ymoroyth ar hyd a lled ŵynebeu y dyuyreth dan doddi garmeu ac aruth-redigyon wicheisseu hyd pan ouynocahant ynuabr ysaŵl auythant ynrodi gostek vthunt ac ystyr ylleiseu hynny nyd athnabythir o neb onyd orgwir dyŵ. ¶ y pymmed dyyd dyuereth yrholl vyd yrei ysynt dan rygedua yrheul yndig-ylehwymu y dayar adiflan[9]nant ac aymdoant yndir sych heb ygweled mŵy. ¶ y weched dyd nybyd pren coyd na llyssewyn adyffo o annyan ydayar nyd ymrotho ohanaŵ glŵbŵr megys gwlyth alliaŵ gwayd arnaŵ. ¶ y seithued dyd ydinustrir seil yr holl vyd megys kestyl. tei. athreni dan yhadaŵ yndrylledigyon hyd ymessyth.

¶ yr ŵythued dyyd ykyffroant y kerrie o bob ardal yr byd ac y ymlathant trŵy rodi dyrnodeu yssie pobun yth ygilyth ynerbyn annyan. ¶ y naŵued dyyd ybyd crynuau dayar yn

Lord, and has turned, submitted, and done homage to Him, from that time they will continue in steadfastness under the rule of the true God in the strength of the true faith unto the end of the world, and so that there shall be henceforth over the isles of the earth but one shepherd and one fold. At the time there will be long peace and quietness, charity and unity, truth, and a clear conscience in men's hearts in regard to every act. And these things will continue until fifteen days before the day of judgment, during which, according to the understanding which St. Jerome found in a book in the Hebrew language, the Judge will show forth astonishing signs before he shall come down to judge. That is to say, on the first day the seas and the floods will be agitated, and will rise forty cubits in height above the tops of all the rocks. On the second day they will subside, ebbing and falling to the depth, so that the gaze of the eye can scarcely perceive them. On the third day all the waters will appear such as they had been since they were first created. On the fourth day, the fishes, and all the creatures of the nature of the seas, will appear far and wide, on the surface of the waters, uttering cries and astonishing squeaking voices, so that those who shall be listening to them shall fear greatly; and the import of those voices will not be known to any but the true God. On the fifth day the waters of the whole world, which are under the course of the sun encompassing the earth, will vanish and turn to dry land, being seen no more. On the sixth day there will be neither tree, wood, nor herb out of which shall not issue moisture like dew, having the colour of blood. On the seventh day will be destroyed the structures of the whole world, namely, castles, houses, and towns, leaving them shattered over the lands. On the eighth day the stones of every region of the world will be stirred up and will fight, giving each other crushing blows, contrary to nature. On the ninth day earthquakes will be general, so

gyffredin hyd nachaffer myŕn couyon bod ygyffelyb yr pan furuŕyd byd. [9²] ¶ y decued dyd ysyrthant ycreigyth ar tarrenni y dyuynder ydyffrynnoyth trŕy yrei ykyuucheteir yrholl dayar yn claŕr gwastad. ¶ yr vnued dyd ardec ydoant gwethillyon ycryaduryeid oy gygoueŕ dan rodi rydecuae o le yn lle megys ynuydyon na gallu or vn rodi atdeb yr llall. ¶ Y deudecued dyyd y ymdangossant aruthredigyon arŕydon or neefar syyr or furuauen agŕythant. ¶ Y trydy dyd ardec ykyffroant eskyrn y meirŕ ac ykyuodant odyuynder yprith hyd ar ŕyneben ypylleŕ. ¶ Y pedwery dyyd ardec ygwethillyon aydewir o natu[10]ryayth dyn ynuyŕ anythant veirŕ. ¶ Y pymtheued dyyd ydaŕ taan o arch dyŕ ay allu yr hŕn alysk yr holl dayar hyd ar dyuynder vffern ac ar diwed hyn y diskyn dyŕ y varnu.

¶ Teruyn dyyd braŕ bellach nys gŕyr dyn nybyd nae agel ny neef ac ny ŕybythir ved ar yr amser y dangosser o gendod ygwir dyŕ yhun. eisŕys ymay athraŕon y kyluethdoden bes metrent yn iaŕn yn bŕrŕ tyb y teruynna byd ar diwed yseithued mil o vlynythoyd yr dechre byd. Llymma bellach ystyr ytyb herwyth yr creaŕdyr ar ydechre furuyaŕ an[10²]riŕ o pynkeu ar yseyth. megys seith diwarnod ynryoli pob ŕythnos ved ar diwed byd. seith planede yfuruauen o allu dyŕ yndigylchunu ac yngoluhau byd heb orŕŕwys. ¶ ynaturyayth athodes dyŕ yndunhŕy yssyd ynrodi yr moroyth gyuod agostŕng. ac yn parannu y frŕytheu ydayar kynnuthu ac aythuedu. ¶ Ac gwedy y grist gymryd knaŕd ygnayth yreilweith amriŕ pynkeu ar yseith. megys seith rinwethe yr eeglŕys trŕy yrei y ymglymmaŕd dyŕ adyn yr

that it shall not be found on record that the like have happened since the world was formed. On the tenth day the rocks and the cliffs will fall to the depths of the valleys, whereby the whole earth shall be raised up to a level surface. On the eleventh day the remains of the creatures will come forth from their caves, running from place to place, madly, without any being able to answer another. On the twelfth day there will appear astonishing signs from heaven, and the stars will fall from the firmament. On the thirteenth day the bones of the dead will be stirred up, and will arise from the depth of the earth to the surface of the graves.¹ On the fourteenth day the remnant of human kind left alive will die. On the fifteenth day, by the command and power of God, there will come a fire which will burn the whole earth, even to the depth of hell, and at the end of this God will come down to judge.

Now, the appointed time of the day of judgment no man in the world knows nor angel in heaven; and it will not be known until the time it shall be shown from the heart of the true God himself; yet the masters of the arts, did they rightly know² how, conjecture that the world will end at the end of the seventh thousand years from the beginning of the world. This now is the reason for this opinion, that the Creator at the beginning formed several things in sevens, namely, seven days regularly forming every week unto the end of the world; the seven planets of the firmament, by God's power encompassing and enlightening the world without ceasing: the nature that God implanted in them gives to the seas the rise and fall (of the tide) and causes the fruits of the earth to increase and ripen. And after Christ became incarnate, he again made several things by sevens, as the seven Sacraments of the Church, whereby God bound himself to man to strengthen him and keep him

¹ Lit., pits. ² Lit., could they hit the mark.

ygydyrnau ay gad6 my6n dy6olyayth. yfyth. seith gwethieu ypader yr di[11]fr6ytha6 pechodeu. Seith gwithredoyd ydru-gareth tr6y yrei 6rth ygnuthur y gobr6ir neef gwedy ageu.

¶ Bellach bybeth bynnac adamweino am dyb yr athra6on ar dyyd bra6 yuod velly ac na bo velly herwyth na mynna6d dy6 y dyn nac y agel y6ybod ac herwyth na ellir b6r6 tyb ar hyspysr6yd. delhuach ydyu kydymaros a dy6 hyd pan dangosso ef yn aml6c yrin yssyd cloedic ny ascre. ¶ Dyyd bra6 bellach nyr amser y gossodes ygwir dy6 ydyuod. dyuod awna yr h6n auyd pan del ouyna6c a dolurus [11²] herwyth yr ymmadra6d aydewis sant austin gennym ynyscriuenedic. ¶ A llymma ystyr yr ymmadra6d bybethbynnac awnelof I heb ef. ekysku. egwyla6. ekyuod. eiste. egorf6wys. ekerthed. rac meint vy ouan vrth pan del ydyyd dolurus tybyo awnaf bod lleisseu kynhirieid dyyd bra6 heb orfo6wys ym cluste ymkyffroi ac ymgwyssa6 dan dywedud y geir h6n dabre yr varn. ¶ y varn bellach pan del arodes yruchel taad yd yuaab herwyth yr maab diskyn ac ymgymysku ac annyan dyn adros [12] yr annyan hynny ymroi awnayth y boyneu. collet oy wayd ac ageu yr yprynu or kethi6ed. ac or achos hynny yrodes yr uchel taad holl varneu ybyd yth yuab yr yreoli 6rth y ewyllus. ¶ Nyr amser bellach y diskynno crist vn maab dy6 y varnu ymdangos gyntaf awna ar er6ybren wen nyr awyr a milioyth o seint ac agylyon gyda ac ef. nyr amser hynny yr tayred vo yr heul ny naturyayth yn tywynnu ny dywynykka hynnu ynuoy noc nyr vn ansod ygwelir yr heul ynrodi glemd6yll tr6y [12²] y er6ybyr ymblayn kabad orgla6 o iorth ytrama6rder goluer

in the godliness of faith; the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer to overcome sins; the seven deeds of mercy, whereby, through the doing of them, heaven is gained as a reward after death. Now, whatever may happen as to the opinion of the doctors about the day of judgment, whether it may be so or may not be so, since God has not willed that man or angel should know it, and since no opinion can be formed upon certain knowledge, it is more becoming to wait patiently upon God until He shall show clearly that which is locked up in His heart. The day of judgment, then, will come in the time in which God appointed it should come; and it will be, when it comes, full of fear and anguish, in accordance with the saying which St. Augustine has left us in his writings.¹

And this is the import of the saying: "Whatsoever I do," says he, "whether (it be) to sleep or to watch, to rise or to sit down, to rest or to walk, by reason of the greatness of my fear of the coming of the grievous day, I imagine that the dreadful voices of the day of judgment are ceaselessly in my ears, to rouse and summon me, saying this word, 'Come to judgment.'" Now, the judgment, when it shall come, has the High Father given to His Son, because the Son came down and united Himself with the nature of man, and on behalf of that nature He gave Himself up to sufferings, the loss of His blood, and death, in order to redeem them from the captivity; and on account of this, the High Father gave all the judgment of the world to His Son, to direct it at His will. Now, in the time when Christ, God's only Son, shall come down to judge, He will first appear on a white cloud in the air, and thousands of saints and angels with Him. At that time, however ardently the sun may be shining in its nature, that will give no brighter light than when the sun is seen casting a feeble ray through the clouds before a shower

¹ Lit., left with us written.

aymdengys o gorf yr argl6yd 6rth edrych arna6. ¶ yna yhenu-
 yn y bra6d6r pedwar or agylyon vn y bob kogyl or byd yr
 gwyssa6 6rth lleisseu ykyn hirreid holl creaduryeid neef
 dayar ac vfern. ac ystyr y lleisseu vyd h6n de6ch yr varn.
 de6ch yr varn. yna 6rth aruthter llef ygeir alleisseu y kyn
 y kyffroant holl cryaduryeid ac ydoant ar ylla6n duth o bob
 ardal hyd pan ymdangossant rac bron y bra6d6r llin plant
 adaf. agen adoant yn gyrf ac eneideu. [13] aphob dyn ynuy-
 chan ac ynua6r nyr oydran ybu crist ac yn hyd a lled ydel6
 ef pan diodeua6d yrageu. ¶ yna o arch ybra6d6r ykywynnant
 yragylyon ac ydyholant yrei daa oblith yrei dr6g megys y
 deholant ybugelyth ydeueid oblith ygeiuyr ac ygossodant
 yrei daa ar yr ystlys dehe yr argl6yth a rei dr6g ar
 yrystlys asseu ¶ Bellach gwedy pan darfo gossod pob peth
 ny lee y ymdengys crist vnmab dy6 yn annyan ni yr
 creaduryeid ny del6 ybuassei ef ny byd yngothef lleas yr
 yprynu. dan dangos y [13²] archolleu ae welieu ar holl
 denynmytheu auuasseint ny derynnu megys croys gway6
 hoylon ar goran drein. ¶ yna kyffroi awna ny dy6olyayth dan
 v6r6 golygyon ar y cryaduryeid auythant ar yr ystlys deheu
 ytha6 agween la6wen ganta6 dan dywedyd ygeire hyn. De6ch
 vendigedigyon veibon ym taad I or neef ymarthel6ch achym-
 mer6ch yeh ran or darnas abaratoed ychwi o dechre byd.
 cad6 vygheureitheu awnaythochwi. crymmu ac vthuthau
 ydysk vyeegl6ys I ay gwasnaythu oy gouynnyon. trugar [14]
 hau awnaythoch 6rth leucin ytylodyon ny agenocid tr6y rodi
 b6yd yrnewyna6c. diod yr sychedic. ran duthed yr kuthya6

of rain, by reason of the excess of light that shall appear from the body of the Lord when He is gazed upon. Then the Judge will send four of the angels, one to each corner of the world, to summon, by the voices of their long trumpets, all the creatures of heaven, earth, and hell; and the import of the voices will be this, "Come to judgment, come to judgment." Then, at the dread nature of the voice, and the sound of the trumpets, all creatures will be aroused, and will come with great speed¹ from every region, until they present themselves before the Judge. The race of Adam's children, moreover, will come in body and soul, every man, both small and great (appearing) of the age and stature of Christ when He suffered death.

Then, at the command of the Judge, the angels will arise and separate the good from among the evil ones, as the shepherds separate the sheep from among the goats, and will set the good on the right side of the Lord, and the wicked on His left side. Now, when everything has been set in its place, Christ, the only Son of God, will appear to the creatures in our nature in the form in which He had been in the world, suffering death to redeem them, showing His wounds and bruises, and all the implements that had been (instrumental) in causing His end—namely, the cross, the spear, the nails, and the crown of thorns. Then He will be moved in His divine nature, casting glances upon the creatures that shall be upon His right side with a joyous smile, saying these words: "Come, blessed sons of My Father of heaven, claim and take your share of the kingdom that is prepared for you from the beginning of the world. My laws you kept; you bowed and were obedient to the teaching of My Church, and served it in its demands; you pitied the cry of the poor in their want, giving food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to cover their naked bodies;

¹ Lit., at their full trot.

ykyrf noython. kydg6yna6 awnaythoch a dithanu y gweinon cleiuon ar karcharoryon ny gouudyon kyd doluryo awnaythoch ar meir6 dan yhebr6ng y hir orf6wys tr6y wethieu achardodeu. torri ymrissonneu r6g gwyr agwyr yr yd6yn y garyad achytundeb. gothef colli ych gwayd awnaythoch hyd heblyth athomyth o garyad arnaf. I. hyd ybu well genn6ch dothef yr ageu ammar[14²]chus noe ymaythu ami my6n digouaint. ¶ Minneu hethi6 dros awnaythoch o weithredoyth daa achyredigr6yth ymi. ac yrsa6l aymardelweint ami ynbarnu ychwi hethi6 ac ynrodi dragywytha6l istethuae ny neef. ny lle ycaffoch byunyth welet ych argl6yth ny dy6olyayth yn ymborth ac yn uy6yd ychwi. ac ny lle y kaffoch dragywytha6l heth6ch llewenyth. a digriu6ch hyd na allo pen na thauod ydraythu nay amkanu. ¶ yna ardiwed y geir yklywir yeryaduryeid o nerth ypenneu ac aw6ch y callonneu yn [15] doddi ga6r lywenyth ac ync6ytha6 hyd ydayar dan rodi diolch ytha6 dros yua6r rod ay drugared. ¶ Bellach gwedy pan darfo teruyntu barn yr ystlys deheu. yna ymboylud yn wimm6th awna a golygyon arthur ganta6 yr ystlys asseu ny lle y ymdangossant yr holl deuyntytheu a uuasseint 6rth yderuyntu megys ydywesp6yd vch6t yarcholleu agen ay welieu aatkyuorant ac aymdinuant o wayt hyd pan weler y dauyne llithredigyon yn ammal ar hyd ygna6d yna yd6eid ef ygeire hyn ychwi agheredigyon geneth[15²]laed edrychoch ar adiotheueis o poynneu ac ammarch dryssochwi yr ychd6yn ach rythau o gethiwed ykythreuleid rakko. ychwithe dros vvygheredicr6yd I bod ynwell genn6ch yr hyd y buoch ny byd droi ym erbyn tr6y dorri vyghyureitheu am gwaharthon athr6y ymherchi ysa6l aymardelweint ami no g6rhau agwethu yym. or achos hynny llymma vi hethi6 yndyuod yr ymli6 achwi am ych agheredicr6yd ac yr gnuthur dial dros awnathoch oweithredoyd dr6g ¶ ychwi yngyntaf yrei aymroyssoch ych bod yn argl6ythi heb [16] ych bod treissa6

you sympathised with and comforted the feeble sick ones, and the prisoners in their sorrows; you compassionated the dead, accompanying them to their long rest with prayers and alms; you settled strife between men and men, in order to bring them into love and unity; you suffered the loss of your blood in the streets and on dunghills from love to Me, so that you preferred to suffer dishonourable death rather than to leave Me in anger. I, this day, in return for what you did of good deeds and kindness to Me, and to such as acknowledged Me, adjudge and grant you this day eternal thrones in heaven, where you shall ever see your Lord in His Godhead, (to be) food and life to you, and where you shall enjoy eternal peace, joy, and delight, so that neither mouth nor tongue can declare or conceive it." Then, when these words are ended, the creatures will be heard, with loud voice and ardent heart, uttering a shout of joy, and falling to the earth, giving thanks to Him for His great grace and mercy. Now, when the judgment of (those on) the right side is ended, then He will quickly turn with a dreadful look to the left side, where shall be shown all the instruments of His death, as was stated above. His wounds, moreover, and His bruises will flow afresh with blood, until the drops are seen thickly trickling down His body. Then He will say these words: "Ye uncharitable race, behold what pains and dishonour I suffered for you, to bring and free you from the slavery of the devils yonder. But you, in return for My love, preferred, while you were in the world, to turn against Me, by breaking My laws and prohibitions, and by insulting those who acknowledged Me, rather than do homage and submit to Me. On account of that, lo! I this day am coming to expostulate with you for your unkindness, and to take vengeance for what evil deeds you did. You, first, who strove to be lords, while you were none, you oppressed and

ac yspeila6 ykyffredin bobyl awnaythoch oy gallu tr6y yeh kydernid ach ma6reth heb y ia6nhau. ¶ yehwitheu auuoch vra6dwyr dr6g tr6y droi ykyfreith daa ar ygorth6yneb yr gwerthe a gwabreu. ¶ yehwitheu auuoch s6ythogyon dr6g ynyspeilo y kyffredin bobyl yr d6yn daa anwir yr argl6-ythi. ar eil yspeilo y6 tr6y ykymmell y rodi gwabre yeh-witheu racyeh ouan. ¶ yehwitheu a dorrassoeh yeh ll6e my6n kyffreitheu tr6y d6yn tiir. dayar adaa yn anwir dros werthe a gwabre. ¶ yeh[16²]witheu adreissassoeh vyeel6ys oy ia6n ay dyled megys oy degemmen offryngeu. renteu aychyfreitheu. ¶ yehwitheu yregl6yswyr arothassoeh kyflebaythe dr6g tr6y ybu ha6s gan y bobloyth gyffredin ymroi y pechod ac yweithredoyth dr6g. ¶ yehwitheu goganu ydynnyon awn aythoch ay llysenwi my6n kynuigen tr6y gelwytheu a dechmygyon dr6g hyd pan baraoth hynny byth vthunt6y yngy-wilyth ac ammareh. ¶ yehwitheu adreissassoeh ygweinon oy tiir ay dayar tr6y ykad6 my6n kamweth hyd ageu heb y edryd. ¶ yehwitheu [17] adreulassoeh yeh einoy's my6n godineb torri yeh priodasse ymgymmaru ach kydwayd ac ymgalein ach gortherchade my6n ambechr6yd dros waharthon vyeel6ys. ¶ yehwitheu arodassoeh yeh daa ar okkyr yr kaffel yr ennill ma6r oiar y benthie kyuan. ¶ yehwitheu kynll6ynwyr vuoch yndienyidio vym pridwerth yr bychydig o achossyon. ¶ yehwitheu lladron kyffredin vuoch dan d6yn daa y kywiryon dr6y dreis achydernid yeh clethyueu. ¶ yehwitheu creftwyr a masnachwyr feilst vuoch ynt6ylla6 ykyffredin [17²] bobyl ar yeh masnache tr6y li6 ll6 p6ys a messur.

plundered the common people of their property¹ by your power and greatness without rendering them right. You, too, were wicked judges, perverting² righteous laws for bribes and rewards. And you were unjust officials, robbing the common people in order to bring unrightful gain to your lords; and the second (mode of) robbing is by compelling them to give you bribes through fear of you. And you violated your oaths in law-suits, taking land, ground, and goods unjustly for bribes and rewards. And you robbed My Church of its right and due—that is, of its tithes, its offerings, rents, and legal rights. And you, ecclesiastics, set evil examples, whereby the common people were more ready to yield themselves to sin and to evil deeds. And you slandered men, and called them evil names, in malice, through lies and wicked inventions, so that the same continued ever a shame and a dishonour to them. And you plundered the weak of their lands and grounds, keeping them wrongfully until death, without restoring them. And you spent your life in fornication, adultery, marrying with your blood-relations, and following your concubines in depravity, contrary to the prohibitions of My Church. And you put out your wealth on usury, in order to secure great income from your capital loan. And you were liars in wait in order to assassinate my redeemed for little cause. And you were common thieves, taking the property of the innocent by violence and the might of your swords. And you were false craftsmen and tradesmen, deceiving the common people

¹ Strictly *gallu* is “power”; but does it not here mean “property”? One may compare *cyfoeth*, which now means simply “wealth”, but originally meant “might, power”, as is seen by the Irish *cumhacht*, and by the old signification of *Holl-gyfoethog*, “almighty”, Ir., *uile-clumhachtach*.

² Lit., turning good laws to the contrary, or inside out. *Troi ar y gwrthwneb* is a familiar phrase in modern colloquial Welsh for “turning a thing (as a garment) inside out”; lit., to turn upon the opposite face: *Gwrth-* = anti.

¶ Ychwithheu setwyr aghewiryon vuoch 6rth ymado ar meir6 treul6 y daa 6rth gardode a gwasnaythe dy6a6l ychwithheu tr6y d6yllodrayth nydroi yn reid ac yn wassaneth ychwyhunein. ¶ Achyda hynny anrugaroc vuoch ynkyffredin 6rth leuein ynewynoc ynerchi b6yd yr karyad arnaf. 6rth y sychedic yn erchi dia6d. 6rth ynoyth yn erchi peth yguthya6 ygywilyth ac agharedigyon vuoch 6rth yeh kydwayd ny cleuydeu ay carchareu heb y hedrych yr y [18] dithanu ny gouudyon. hyd y bu well gennoch bob amser ymroi y weithredoyth dr6g tr6y ryuic y kythreuleid racko hyd angeu noc ymroi ymkyfreitheu yr dysk a rebuth y6ch y ouynokau y diwarnod hethi6. ac yr disk6 a rebuth ychwi y benydyo ac yttiuaru ac yr ia6nhau ykamweth hyn kyn ageu.

¶ Bellach gwedy pan darfo ymgeuethli6 apha6b ny rath megys y dywesp6yd vehot ny byth yr vn a allo rodi gwad dros yran na dihurdeb. ¶ Yna yd6eid ybra6d6r my6n kydernid ylid ygeire hyn [18²] e6chwi velltigidigyon genethlaed yr taan poenedic paraus yrh6n a baratoed yrkythreul pennaf ay ygylyon yr dechre byd. ¶ Ar diweth ygeire hyn yelywir ycolledigyon. my6n crynuan yn rodi garmeu aruthredigyon o nerth ypenneu dan oll6ng dagre ynammyl hyd ygruthie athan ochuanu yr amser yganned heb orf6wys. ¶ yna heb oir gwedy rodi yuafn y ymgyffroant y kythreuleid heb 6ybot y rif ac yymgymyscant ar colledigyon truein dan ytnnu ayllusko ynammarchus ved ar ogu6ch [19] ylle y poenir ac

in your dealings by means of oath, weight, and measure. And you were false executors, departing from the will of the dead that their wealth should be spent in charities and divine services, you deceitfully turning it to your own need and service. And, beside that, you were generally unmerciful to the cry of the hungry when asking food for love to me, to the thirsty when asking drink, to the naked when asking something to hide his shame; and you were unkind to your blood-relations in their sicknesses and imprisonments, not visiting them to comfort them in their sorrows; so that you always preferred to give yourselves up to evil deeds, through the presumption of the devils yonder, even until death, rather than submit yourselves to My laws (set) for instruction and warning to you to fear this day, and for instruction and warning to you to do penance and repent, and to rectify this iniquity before death."

Now, when He shall have ended expostulating with all in their degree, as was said above, there will be no one that shall be able to give denial or excuse on his part. Then the Judge, in the might of His wrath, will utter these words: "Go ye, accursed race, to the perpetual penal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels from the beginning of the world." When these words are ended, the lost will be heard tremblingly to utter dreadful cries in a loud voice,¹ shedding frequent tears down their cheeks, and ceaselessly bewailing the time they were born. Then, without delay, when the judgment has been given, the devils in unknown numbers will rouse themselves, and will mingle with the wretched lost ones, drawing and haling them in dishonour over the place where they will be tormented, and thence

¹ Lit., with the strength of their heads. The expression is common in the South: it is often said of one that he cries or shouts *nerth 'i ben*, *nerth asgwrn 'i ben*, or *nerth 'i geg* (the strength of his head, of his throat). The preposition is generally omitted, the noun being used absolutely.

othyno ytauylu awnahant yn wimmôth ac yndiarbed ydyu-
 nder vffern or lle ny byth eil brynu nac eil ymhoylyd nac
 amgen obeith no thrigo yno dan reol kythreuleid myôn
 taan tywyllôch a brynti. *Sine fine.*

NOTES.

F. 1. *Cyfrôythyt=cyfarwyddyd*: not the compd. of *cyf* and *rhwydd*, meaning "expedition", "facility".

Diskynnant: *discyn* (to descend, to fall) here seems to mean "happen"; cf. *dygwydd* (happen), fr. *cwyddo* (to fall); the Lat. *accidere*, with the same rad. meaning; Eng. *befall*; Ger. *fall, fallen, zufall*, &c.

Kynnôll is rendered by Davies "*sudum et translaticie opportunitas*".

Ciudode: *ciwdod* (L. *civitat.*) usually means "a tribe, a clan".

Myôn gwasnaythe, etc. The modern rule that *mewn* can only be used with nouns which are not "distributed", and that *yn* must be used when the noun has the definite article expressed or implied, is not observed in the older language. The present example may mean, "In the services of the Church", or, strictly, "In (certain) services", etc. So the following may be translated either way: *myôn ynuydrôyth ygythreulayth* (5²); *m. kydernid ylit* (6); *m. fyrfder y iaôn fyth* (7²). But *m. katonneu ydyynyon* (6²) can only be rendered "In the hearts of the men", and would now require *yn*.

1². *Tragrymder*, extreme force (fr. *tra*, "over, very, extreme"; *grym*, "force"; and *-der*, termination of abstract nouns) is not found in the dictionaries.

Sythter strictly means "stiffness"; cf. *gwarsyth*, "stiff-necked".

Aruthredigyon: *aruthredig* here is active, "amazing", "astounding", though in accordance with mod. usage it would mean "amazed, astounded"—*-edig* forming generally a kind of passive participle. But the two meanings run into one another: thus *caedig* now means "loving, kind", more commonly than "loved, beloved", its strict meaning. Cf. *lithredigyon* (trickling) in 4²: *lybedigyon* (5)="loving". But *clocdigyon* (3) and *drylledigyon* (9) are passive.

Trôy gymmyse marôwalaythe, lit., "with mingled deaths". This is an instance of what in classical grammars is called hypallage, the meaning being "signs in the moon, combined, accompanied with deaths", etc. It is similarly used in 3², *yrnreuehodeu hyn achymmyse gwangred* (lit., these wonders and commingled weak-faith)="These wonders combined with weak faith".

Crynnant, a form not in the dictionaries.

they will quickly and unsparingly hurl them to the depth of hell, whence there will be no redemption, nor return, nor other hope than to remain there, under the rule of the devils, in fire, darkness, and filth. *Sine fine.*

2. *Llifdyuyreth*, the uncontracted pl. of *dwyfur*; so in *S² dyuyreth* and *dyuereth*; Zeuss notices *dyfred* (*Gram. Celt.*², p. 291).

Bra6=*braed* (judgment), Ir. *brath*, etc. In this word the writer regularly drops the final *d*.

H6y1a6 ny teruyneu seems to mean "run-their-course to their termination". If so, *yn* here has the meaning of Lat. *in* with accus. "into", which in the modern language is *i*; so *o le yn lle* (*9²*)="from place to place". This force of *yn* survives in the Biblical phrases *yn tan* (*a defir yn tan*, "shall be cast into the fire", Matth. iii, 10), *yn oes oesoedd* (unto the age of ages), *in sæcula sæculorum*. The same, perhaps, is its original force in the common expressions *torri yn yfflon*, "to break into fragments" (so *torri yn ddarnau*, *yn ddrylliau*); *llosgi yn lludw*, "to burn to ashes", etc.

Y ymdagossant. The writer seems to have had no objection to hiatus, as this phrase, several times repeated, shows. Witness also *yochuahant* (*4²*), *y ymhoylant* (*7*), *y ymlathant* (*9*), *y ymglymma6d* (*10²*), *y ymgylffroant*, *y ymgymmyscant* (*18²*).

2². *Kyluethdodeu* (arts), *hodie*, *celfyddydau*; not found in the dictionaries.

Awetto geni crist. This construction is that called in classical grammars the accus. with the infinitive. It is not natural to modern Welsh, being practically confined to *bod* and its compounds *darfod*, *dyfod*, etc. In the case of other verbs the subject takes a preposition,—*o* if it follows the verb, *i* if it precedes; or the verb must be resolved into *bod*, with one of the participles of the verb itself: e.g., *Nyni a wyddom lefaru o Dduw wrth Moses* (we know that God spake unto M.—John ix, 39); or, *i Dduw lefaru wrth M.*; or, less elegantly, *fod Duw wedi llefaru wrth Moses*. Rarely the accus. with infin. is found with other verbs than *bod*, e.g., in 1 Thess. iv, 14, *Os ydym yn credu farw Iesu* (if we believe that Jesus died). Other examples in the present article are *tr6y geissa6 pob vn ragori* (*1*); *cyn ori ygwayd* (*4*); and *gwedy mynet y geir* (*7*).

2². *Yn y messur*, lit. means "in the measure", but is here used of manner rather than of degree being equivalent to "as"; so also *ny messur y dyncespbyd rhod* (*7*).

Wnayth llaber o ouudyon ar yr escob, etc. Mod. Welsh would require *i* instead of *ar*.

3. *Yr ardaloyth y trambya6th crist* is elliptical, and in the mod. language would be written *yr ard. y tr. cr. trwyddynt*, or *yr ard. trwy y rhai y tram. cr. Anfythedoloyon genethlaeid* (unbelieving nations). Two forms not given in the dictionaries.

Hyd ar yr amser. *Hyd* would now be used without *ar*.

Ydoe is still the common form for *y deuai*.

Kynbrthau. Not given in the dictionaries.

3². *Dy6oloyyth.* Another unregistered form.

Yngyhbelled. *Yn* would not now be used with *cybelled*.

Aruthter (fr. *aruth* = *aruthr*) *i.g.*, *a uthredd.* An unregistered form.

Cyuerbyn (opposition). The use of the word as a noun is not noted in the dictionaries.

Anreuthodeu (great wonders; *an* being here intensive). In the third edition of Dr. Pugh's *Dictionary* this word is rendered simply by "a being not a wonder. Anrhyfeddodau Alecsander—the Not-wonders of Alexander".

4. *Ochleddyfeu* (with swords), so *o yspryd y ene* (6). Cf. also *nyd athuabythir o neb onyd orywir dy6* (8²). *O* is commonly used in the Glamorgan dialect to denote the instrument. Cf. the Gk. $\epsilon\kappa$.

He6lyth: *hewl*, and *hewlydd*, in the colloquial Dimetian, are the regular representatives of the literary *heol* and *heolydd*.

Messyth = *meusydd*, pl. of *macs* (field).

Ymbarch ae rynt. Pugh (third edition) gives *ymbarchu* = respect one's self, but does not specify the present use of the Reflexive to denote mutuality.

Verthryron. The writer generally leaves out the *i* in the pl. endings (*e.g.*, *dolureu* for *doluriau*), but in this word inserts it in opposition to the modern usage.

Ori (= *oei*). So the S. Wallian form of *oer* is *6r*.

Ouynnokahant (fr. *ofynocau*), of which the dictionaries give only the contracted form of *ofnocau*.

4². *Tarrenni* means here, as the context pretty clearly shows, "cliffs, precipices". The dictionaries assign to *taren* the various meanings—"a spot; a tump, knoll; a brake". It appears in the place-name *Pendarren* or *Pen y Darren*, and is the same as the Ir. *tairean*, "a descent". Another form of the word is *te yn*, not recorded by the lexicographers, but found in the equivalent place-name *Penderyn*, and paralleled again by the Ir. *teirin*, "a descent".

Ochuhant. *Ochfau*, "to cry *och*", Gk. $\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\zeta\epsilon\upsilon$, is not in the dictionaries.

K6yth6ch. *Cwyddo* (to fall), Bret. *koueza*, is now used only in its compounds *dy-gwydd* (happen, befall), *go-gwydd* (incline), etc.

Diuyrru in this sense is not recorded in the dictionaries, though *difyrru* (to divert) and *dyfyrru* (to shorten) are given.

Ryueu. The usual pl. is *rhyfeloedd*.

Meiboneu. Probably the pl. of *mabon*, which the dictionaries render by "a youth, a young hero"; here the epithet "disyn6ryron" fixes the meaning as "young children, infants".

Disynbyryon, usually signifying "senseless", here = "simple, innocent, unconscious".

Garthu. The dictionaries give no help in fixing the meaning of this word, which occurs again on p. 6². It is possibly connected with Ir. *gartha*, "a shout, cry, noise". On this assumption it would mean here "beating the hands with a loud noise", and on 6³, "crashing in its fall".

5. *Ynwynnychu* = *whennychu*, dialectic for *chwennychu*.

Meyys here signifies "namely", as also on f. 6.

Ysynt. Apparently a form compounded of *ys* and *ynt*. It does not seem to be noticed by Zeuss, who, however, gives and illustrates *ysydynt* (*Gram. Celt.*, 553).

Yybedigyon : *byw-edig* (living) is not in the dictionaries.

Ymlid ac ymgyuethli6. One might conjecture *ymlid* to be a clerical error for *ymliw* (expostulate), but that *ymlidio ac ymgyfethl* are found together elsewhere, e.g., in the extract under *ymgyfethl* in Pugh³.

5². *Arabu*. Here again the dictionaries fail us, giving under *arab* and its derivatives only "witty, droll", etc. But the peculiar Breton form *arabad* in Le Gonidec seems to be connected with this, and to throw light upon it. There we read: "Je ne connais ce mot employé que dans cette phrase: *arabad co, il ne faut pas, il est défendu, il n'est pas permis*."

O vyir6. *Yi* is, perhaps, on the whole, a more accurate representation of this diphthongal sound than the common *ci*.

Wasnaythgar. This word now means "serviceable", but here the adj. is used as a noun in the related sense of "servants".

6. *Oliŷŷer*. A form derived either fr. *olivarium* (in *Mons olivarum*) or fr. adj. *olivarius*. The usual name is *mynydd yr Olwydd* (the Mount of Olive trees).

Yngadeu : *cadeu* here = "hosts". The Corn. *cad*, later *cas*, and Arm. *kad* (illustrated by Villemarqué only from his own Barzaz-Breiz) have only the meaning "battle", "conflict". To the Ir. *cath* O'Reilly gives this meaning and also "an Irish battalion of 3000 men; a tribe, descendants".

6². *Ynu6deu*. *Bwdcu*, an unrecorded pl. form of *bwyd*; old Welsh and old Corn., *buit*; Ir., *buadh, biudh*; Arm., *boéd* or *bouéd*, with pl. *boédou*. The usual Welsh pl. is *bwydydd*.

Narannbyd. The meaning here approaches that illustrated in Pugh³: *Duw a ranodd, nef a gafodd* (God did dispense, heaven he did obtain).

Ambellach (rarer). An unrecorded comparative form fr. *ambell* (some, few), which is probably rightly derived from *am* (which strictly means "about, around"; old Gaulish, *ambi*; Lat., *ambi*; Gk., ἀμφι; but is here only intensive as in *amlwg, amgen, amryw*, etc.) and *pell* (far); *ambell* would thus be equivalent to Campbell's "few and far between".

7. *Ywethel*, i.e., *y chwedl*, which still remains in the colloquial speech of Cardiganshire *y wheddel*: e.g., *Y mae hynna yn hen wheddel* (that is an old tale); *Ni wyddwn i o'r wheddel* (I knew nothing of the affair, the story). This idiomatic phrase is particularly used of something that happens unexpectedly—*Ni wyddwn i o'r wheddel nes 'dôdd e wedi myn'd* (before I had realised the fact, he was gone).

7. *Yhanabythant* (will recognise, will know). *Adnabod* usually means "to know a person", and is distinguished from *gwybod* ("to know a fact"), somewhat as Ger. *kennen* fr. *wissen*, or Fr. *connaître* fr. *savoir*. But in colloquial speech, as here, *nabod* or *adnabod*, is often used with a wider signification, e.g., *nabod 'i gamsynied*, "to know, recognise one's mistake".

Kethiweth, i.e., *cethiwedd*. The usual form is *caethiwed*, the final *d* not being aspirated.

72. *Teir personyeid*. This differs from the modern language in using a pl. subst. with the numeral; and in making *person* fem. like the Lat. *persona*. We now say *tri pherson*. The word *person* has now two plurals with distinct meanings, *personau* meaning "persons", while *personiaid* signifies "parsons".

Divadadr6yd = *dywadadrwydd*, fr. *gwadal* (staunch, firm), *di-* or *dy-* being intensive not negative.

Buarth (strictly, "a cow-yard"), here, "sheepfold"; the word *corlan* being used in this passage in the authorised version of the New Testament.

8. *Llyfer*, retaining the *e* of *liber*, now changed to *llyfyr*, *llyfr*.

Cupit fr. *cubitus*, hodie, *cufydd*.

O iar = "above"; in (7) *o iar forth* it = "from".

Ved = older *bet* (v. Zeuss², 691).

82. *Athnabythir*, i.e., *addnabyddir* with the *d* of the prefix aspirated.

Rygedua by transposition for *rhedeffa*, "running, course". It may be only a clerical error, as we have further on, *ryddcuae* (9²).

Dygyllchwynnu. An unrecorded form equivalent to *dygyllchynu* (to surround, encompass).

9. *Ymdoant*. Perhaps a clerical error for *ymdroant*.

Gl6b6r = *gwlybwr* (a liquid) fr. *gwlyb*, *gwlyp* = Ir. *fluch*. The present dialectic form is *glybwr*, the *w* after the initial *g* being rejected in the colloquial language, as in the cognate Corn. *glibor*, Arm. *glëbor*.

Seil properly = "foundations"; but here by meton. for "things founded, structures, buildings".

Yssic is usually passive ("bruised, crushed, shattered"; e.g., *corsen yssig*, "a bruised reed"), but here is used actively, "bruising, crushing".

Crynuau dayar = the modern *dacar-grynfau*. The writer has already used the phrase *crynnant dayar* (1²).

92. *Cyfucheteir*, a verb formed from *cyf-uch-cl* = *cyfuwch*, the equal degree of *uch-cl*. Neither *cyfuched* nor *cyfuchetau* is recorded in the dictionaries, though *cyfuchio* (to make of one height) is given.

Clabr = Ir. *clár* (a table, board, etc.) It now commonly means "a lid, covering" of any vessel, "cover" of a book, etc.; it is also used in phrases: *ar*

glawr, like *ar gael*, "known, extant": e.g., *Dyw e' ddim ar glawr erbyn hyn*, it is no longer to be found; so *i glawr*: e.g., *y mae e' wedi ddod i glawr eto*, it has come to light again.

Na gallu, etc. = *ac heb allu*. *Na* here is something like *L. nec*.

10. *Teruyn* commonly means "bound, limit"; but here has the same force as *Cornu. termyn*, "time, season, appointed time": e.g., *a ver dermyn*, in a short time. V. Williams' *Lex. Cornu-Brit.* s. v. *termyn*.

Ceudol, "cavity, hollow"; here, "bosom".

Eisbys (i.e., *cisoes*, which now commonly = "already"), "however, nevertheless".

B6r6 tyb, lit., *cast* an opinion; the metaphor is the same as in "conjecture".

Ystyr here seems = "reason".

10². *Pynkeu*, pl. of *pwng*, "subject, point, matter".

Ynryoli; *rheoli* strictly = "rule, sway, order".

Goluhau i.q., *goleuhau*; so *goluer* (12²) = *goleufer*. Cf. *dehuach* (11) = *deheuach* and *dihurdeb* (18) = *diheurdeb*.

Parannu = *pariannu*, which in Pugh is explained as meaning "to render causative", but without illustration.

Seith diwernod. The numeral here takes the sing. as in modern Welsh, but subsequent examples have the plural—7 *planede*, 7 *rinwethe*, etc.; so *teir personyeid* (7²).

Gwethieu (petitions); *gweddi*, Ir. *guidhe*, now means "prayer".

11. *Difr6ythab*. Lit., "to render fruitless".

Seith gwithredoyd ydrugareth. In *Athrawaeth Gristnogawl*, p. 57, these are enumerated:—"Saith weithred y drugaredd gorforawl. Rhoi bwyd i'r tlawd newnog. Rhoi diod i'r tylodion sychedig. Dilladu'r noethion. Rhoi letty i'r pellennig. Ydrych cleifion. Gofwyaw cyrchrorion. Cladu'r meirw". In an old MS. in the writer's possession, they are versified as follows:—

"Englyn i saith weithred trugaredd.
Dod fwyd a diod, par dy a dillad,
Diwalla'r carchardy,
Gwilia'r claf yn y gwely,
I'r marw par gael daear dy."

In the same way we find them versified in the *Lay Folks' Catechism* (Early Eng. Text Soc.):—

"The first is to fede tham that er hungry.
That othir, for to gif tham drynk that er thirsty.
The third, for to clethe tham that er clatheless.
The ferthe, is to herber them that er houselesse.
The fite, for to visite them that ligges in sikenesse.
The sext, is to help tham that in prisin cr.
The sevent, to bery dede men that has mister."

It appears the writer has not exhausted "the sevens", as the Welsh *Catechism* quoted gives also "Saith weithred y drugaredd ysprydawl", while the English one adds "the Seven Virtues" and the "Seven Vices".

Gobr6gir. *Gwobrwygo* usually means "to reward, to recompense"; but here = "to give as a reward".

Yuod velly ac na bo velly. Lit. = "its being so, and that it shall not have been so".

Ouyna6c = mod. *ofnog* (timid), but meaning "terrible".

11². *Ekysku*, etc., *e=ai*; *eiste*, i.e., *ai iste*.

Vrth pan del. A peculiar use of *wrth*, which does not seem to be noticed by Zeuss.

Kynhiricid is not given in the dictionaries, but seems to be a compd. of *cyn* and *diriaid*, which Davies renders "improbis, nequam". Now, however, *diriaid* is used vaguely of anything excessive, somewhat corresponding to the slang use of Eng. "awful". *Y mac yna le diried*, it is an "awful" place; *yr oedd yuo beth diried o bobol*, there was an "awful" lot of people there.

Ym cluste, i.e., *yn fy nghlustiau*.

12. *Cr6ybren*. An unregistered form which evidently means "cloud". On the next page (12²) the pl. *crwybyr* occurs. The dictionaries give *erwybr* with the meanings "scum, a honeycomb". In parts of S. Wales it has another meaning—"hoar-frost". The common word is *llwyd-rew* (lit., grey-frost); but *erwybyr* is used of the heavier deposit experienced in mountainous districts, when the vapour forms in long, feathery crystals on trees, plants, etc. The N. W. word is *barug*. Dr. Davies has "Crwybr, *Favus, faex mellis*. *Alijs cwybr*". With the latter coincides the Arm. *koabr, kouabr* (nuage), *koabren, kouabren* (un seul nuage), pl. *koabrenou*. V. Le Gonidec, s. v.

Glemd6yll. This seems to be the form in the MS., but it is somewhat indistinct. The word is unknown to the present writer.

12². *Trama6rder* = exceeding greatness. An unrecorded form, but the equivalent *tramaured* is given in the dictionaries.

Hirreid. Unrecorded. Apparently a longer form from *hir*.

Llin (a race, *line*), L. *linea*, Corn. *linicth, lynneth*.

13. *Bugclyth*, pl. of *bugail*, hodie *bugciliaid*.

Llcas, Lcthum, caedes (Dr. D.) Later dictionaries copy him without illustration.

13². *Vthuthau*, i.q., *ufuddhau*. Possibly this is not to be regarded as a transcriber's blunder: *dd* and *f* or *v* are often interchanged. Thus *hwylfell* (a female salmon) is also written *hwylldell*; so *Caerdydd* and *Caerdyf* (Cardiff).

Ran duthed: *tudded* = covering, vesture.

14. *Y gweinon cleiun* : pl. in both elements of the compound (not given in dictionaries) *gwanuglaf*, which occurs in *Buchedd Beuno Sant* in this same MS. vol. *Af i edrych fyn Tat y sydd yn wannuglaf* (*Cambro-Brit. Saints*, p. 14).

Kyd-doluryo, i.e. *cyd-ddoluryo*. Not in the dictionaries.

Dothef. A shorter form (unrecorded) of *dyoddef*.

14². *Ymaythu ami*. *Ymaythu* is not in the dictionaries, but it seems to be the infinitive of a verb related to *ymaith*, which is now used only as an adverb=away, hence. *Ymaith* itself was also probably originally an infinitive. It is the Ir. *imeacht* ("s.f. walking, going".—O'Reilly), just as *ymdaith* is the Ir. *imtheacht* ("s.f. progress, departure", etc.—O'R.), and *taitth* the Ir. *teacht* (*do theacht*, to come). *Ymaythu ami*, then, would be nearly the same as *ymadael a mi*.

Dros arnaythoch. *Dros*="in return for", a meaning not instanced by Zeuss. So on the next page (15), *diolch ytha6 dros yua6r rod*, etc.; and (15²) *dros vyygheredicr6yd*.

15. *Ymhoylyd* (to turn one's self) is the colloquial form of *ymchwelyd* or *ymchoelyd*. But though a reflexive, this verb is commonly used as a simple transitive verb (see exx. in Pugh³). *Ymhoylyd*, 'mhoylu, are commonly used in Dimetian for "turning over": e.g., 'mhoylu teisen, to turn over a cake; 'mhoylu gwair, llafur, to turn over hay, corn, in harvesting. In Carmarthenshire it is also used of "ploughing": "'Mhoylwr go lew w' i o grwt" ("I am a pretty good ploughman for a lad"), the writer once heard a Carmarthenshire youth modestly remark.

Grth yderuyynu (in putting him to death). This use of *terfynu* (to end) is not noticed in the dictionaries.

Aatkyuorunt. *Atcyforio* or *adgyforio* is an unregistered compound of *ad* (again, re-) and *cyforio* (to fill to the brim, to make to overflow). *Cy-for* seems to be from *cy* and *mor*, i.e., *marg*. the root of L. *margo*, etc. (Fick,³ iv. 187), and so would mean "even with the brim".

Aymdinuant, if correct, is a form which the writer does not understand.

Agheredvyyon. *Angharedig* means, passively, "unloved"; and, actively, "unloving, unkind".

15². *Ychwithe bod ynwel genn6eh*. A somewhat unusual construction, apparently an imitation of the Lat. Historic Infinitive so-called.

Gwaharthon, pl. of *gwahardd* (prohibition) of which Pugh³ gives only the pl. *gwaharddocedd*.

Ymroyssoch ych bod yn argl6ythi. The use of the possessive pron. here before *bod* has some slight analogy to the peculiar Irish construction which uses the poss. pron. with the predicative noun in such sentences as, "He is a good man"—Ir. *Tu se 'nn a dhuine mhaith* (lit. he is in his good man).

16. *Ia6nhau*. An unregistered form=*iawni* or *iawnu*, to render right.

Gwerthe, i.e., *gwerthau*, a pl. of *gwerth*, of which the dictionaries give no example.

Ll6c, i.e. *llwau*, pl. of *llw*; usual pl. *llwon*.

16². *Offryngau*. The common forms are *offrwm*, *offrymau*.

Kyflebaythe is doubtless the same as *cyffelybiacthau* (similitudes). The dictionaries do not notice the present meaning—"examples".

Tr6y y bu hab6s. Perhaps it should be *trwy y rei y bu*, etc.

17. *Ymgalein* (if the right form, the last four letters are indistinct in MS.) is doubtless the same as *ymganlyn*, to follow mutually.

Ambechr6yth is not in the dictionaries. It is a compound of *am* and *pech*, and may here bear its strict meaning—"mutual sinfulness".

Y benthic kyuan (the capital), lit. the entire loan.

Tr6y li6 ll6, etc. (by means of oath, etc.); Cf. *liw dydd*, *liw nos* (by day, by night); Arm. *liou* ("licence, permission, congé").

17². *Setwyr*. Qy. a corruption of "executor"?

6rth ymado, etc. It seems that something has dropped out here.

6rth gardode (in alms). None of the extracts in Zeuss under *wrth* (p. 682) exactly illustrate this meaning.

D6yllodrayth (deceit). An unrecorded abstract noun corresponding to the personal noun *twyllawdr* (deceiver) and the adj. *twyllodrus* (deceitful).

Ychwyhunein. Zeuss gives no example of this form of the second pers. plur., though he has *ny hunein* and *ehunein* (Gr. Celt.², p. 408).

18. *Ymgeuthli6*. The forms of this verb given in Pugh³ are *ymgyfethl*, to be striving together; and *ymgyfethlu*, to struggle mutually. Neither of these meanings suits this passage, which demands rather—"upbraid, expostulate with".

Rodi gwad (give denial). Welsh constantly uses the root form of the verb in this way as a subst., and especially after *ar*, exactly corresponding to the English forms with *a-* (shortened form of *an=on*), as *a-fishing*, etc. So we had (p. 12²) *ar duth* (fr. *tuthio*, to trot), *a-trot*. Similarly, *ar redeg*, *a-running*; *ar wib* (fr. *gwibio*, to rove) *e.g.*, *myn'd heibio ar wib*, to pass *a-flying*, on a flying visit; *ar dan*, *ar daen* (fr. *tánu*, *taenu*, to spread), *e.g.*, *y mae y gwair ar dán*, the hay is scattered, *i.e.*, not in cocks or mows; *y mae e' ar nydd* (fr. *nyddu*, to twist, spin) *i gyd*, it is all *a-twist*; *ar dro*, *awry*: *ar dor* (fr. *tori*, to cut), *e.g.* (a provision dealer says to a customer), *y mae gen 'i gosyn da ar dor ynawr*, I have a good cheese *a-cutting*, in the course of being cut now.

18². *Pocnedig*; here active in force.

Ochuanu. Also an unregistered form of the same force as *ochfaü*, found on p. 4².

Oir, *i.e.*, *ohir*, fr. *gohir*, delay.

THE CELTIC LANGUAGES IN RELATION TO OTHER ARYAN TONGUES.

BY REV. JOHN DAVIES.

As the paper on the Celtic languages, published in the last number of the *Cymmrodor*, has been made the subject of some unfavourable comments, I wish to offer a reply to them (which shall be as brief as possible), that the disputed points may be, at least, more clearly understood.

The main argument of the paper has not been assailed. No reasons have been given, for instance, why the Welsh words *corn* and *llin* should be classed as borrowed words, while the Germ. *horn* and *lein* are treated as unborrowed. But I am asked if I hold that words common to the Sanskrit and Celtic languages may not, in any case, have been borrowed by the latter from the Latin? This I have not undertaken to show. I contend only that such words ought to be regarded as derived from a common Aryan stock, unless the contrary can be proved historically or otherwise. I have been referred to the eminent German philologist, Windisch, and I accept the reference. He notices a derivation of the Irish *caille*, a veil, from the Lat. *pallium*; and, after pointing out that the connection is not probable, he adds, "Why may not the Ir. *caille* be a genuine Irish word?" (Warum soll ir. *caille* nicht ein echt irisches wort sein?—Kuhn's *Beiträge*, etc., viii, 18.) I ask the same question with regard to the words which I have discussed. Why must they be necessarily treated as borrowed words because they bear a resem-

blance, often a very remote one, to Latin forms? Is it sound philology, for instance, to assume that the W. *cwm* and the Bret. *comb* must be borrowed words, and to connect them with the Lat. *concarva* as their source?

The main object of Windisch's paper is, however, to prove that at some undefined period the letter *p* vanished from the Celtic languages, and that when it re-appeared, at a later time, it was used only in borrowed words, or as the representative of an older *k* for *kv* or *qv*. I read his paper when it appeared in Kuhn's *Beiträge*, but was not convinced by his arguments. It is certainly true that a primitive *p* has disappeared from many Celtic words, and that in their modern form this letter often represents an older *k* or *kv*, but it does not follow that an Indo-Germanic *p* has not been retained in any genuine Celtic words. Mr. Whitley Stokes maintains that it has been retained in some instances. I have read the paper in the *Revue Celtique* (vol. ii, p. 337), in which the writer controverts the opinion of Mr. Stokes; but I fail to see that the Ir. Gael. *paillt* (plenteous) can be disposed of by suggesting that it may be borrowed from the Eng. word *plenty*, or that if the root *pak* may be assumed for the Indo-European mother tongue, yet "for the Italo-Celtic branch one must postulate *qvaqv* (kak)". This is assuming as true what has not been proved. The German philologist Fick holds a contrary opinion. I quote from the *Verg. Wört. der Indogerm. Sprachen*, 3rd ed., 1874, "*pak*, kochen, reifen, . . . lat. coquo, sup. coctum, kochen (für poquo durch eine Art Assimilation, wie quinque für pinque. s. pankan)." "Corn. peber, pistor, popei, pistrinum; cymrisch popuryes, pistrix; ksl. peka, kochen. vgl. skr. pac', kochen, pac'a, kochend" (i, 133; ii, 155). Professor Curtius thinks it is doubtful whether *kak* or *pak* is the original form, but he adds, "auf die Form *pak* gehen deutlich die sanskritischen und slawischen Formen zurück, ebenso die ältere

Präsensform $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omega = \pi\epsilon\kappa\jmath\omega$ " (*Grundzuge*,² 409). Professor Ascoli suggests that both forms may have existed simultaneously from the period of original unity (*Corsi di Glottologia*, p. 78). Professor Fr. Müller maintains that the Sans. *pañcān* (five, Lith. *penki*, W. *pump*) is connected with Sans. *pañkti* (series), and was primarily *pañcant*, standing in a row, *i.e.*, the five fingers (*Beiträge*, ii, 398). It must then be the primitive form.

The results of these different theories may be seen in the varying explanations of the Lat. *pars*, W. *parth*. Ascoli connects a primitive *part* with Sans. *paṭ*, to cleave (*Corsi*, etc., p. 80). Fick infers an Aryan *par* as the source of the Lat. *pars*, and refers to the Sans. *par* (*prī*) to spend (*Wört.*³ 1,664). In the *Revue Celtique* (vol. ii, 333) the W. *parth* is assumed to be derived from *spart*, for *sqart*, and to be connected with an Aryan *skard*, to break, and Sans. *khaḍ*. I will not here discuss the question whether Ascoli or Fick has chosen the best Sans. relative, but this may be said, that they have referred to living words, and that the assumed root, *sqart*, is wholly imaginary. It may be noted that the letter *r* is supposed to have fallen from the Sans. words *paṭ* and *khaḍ*, and yet a suggestion of this kind on my part, in another instance, has been treated as an impossibility. Few philological changes are more common (compare E. *speak* and Germ. *sprechen*). Professor Pictet has compared the W. *pallu* and other words with corresponding forms in Irish. For this he has been assailed by Windisch and Ebel (*Beitr.* viii, 25; iii, 278), but until it has been proved that *pallu* is only a modern form, his conclusions cannot justly, I think, be condemned as unsound. Windisch states that the Ir. stem *alla*, in *di-all* (declinatio) is from a root *palla*, which he connects with the Lith. *pulu* (to fall), and Old N., *falla* (to fall, to fail; cadere, deficere, Egillson.—(*Beitr.* viii, 2). This is identical with the W. *pallu* (deficere, Davies).

I can only offer a few remarks on the words *ffoll*, *mal*, and *cocw*, which have been questioned. I am aware that Dr. Owen Pughe is not a very safe guide, but “*ffoll*, a broad squab,” is found in Pryse’s edition of his work and in Spurrell’s dictionary. It is adopted by Whitley Stokes, or his friend Professor Siegfried (*Beitr.*, vii, 398). Davies has “*Ffolen*, clunis”, and this implies a root *ffol* or *ffoll*, with a similar meaning to *butt* in the Eng. *buttock*. *Mal* must have meant originally small. Richards (1759) has “*mal*, the same as *ysmala*, light” (*levis*, *inconstans*, Davies). We may compare the Sans. *laghu*, light (*leger*) and small (*petit*) (*Burnouf*). Fick infers an Aryan *mailu*, small, and refers to the Lith. *mailu-s*, smallness, and to the O. Slav. *malu*, small. *Ysmala* denotes *mal* as its root, and *levis* in the moral, requires the primary sense. *Cocw*. The root here is *coc* or *cocc*, and is found in *cogwrn*, “a little crab or wilding, a sort of sea-snail, a shell, as of a snail, etc.; also a little stack of corn” (*Richards*). Lhuyd has “*kokkos*, a cockle” (*Archæologia*, 285). (Cf. Bret. *kok*, the holly-berry; and Sans. *kucha*, the female breast; both from roundness of form.) *Coc* or *cocc* is a genuine Celtic root, with a meaning that is clearly indicated, and this is all that my argument requires.

 ERRATA.

CYMMRODOR, Vol. III, Part I.

- Page 10, line 4, for — put =.
 Page 12, for *layāme*, read *layāmi*.
 Page 14, for *wrinfan*, read *wringan*.
 Page 14 (note), for *dhuti-m*, read *dhutim*,
 Page 16 (note), for *net*, read *number* or *series*.
 Pages 19 and 20, for *pēsī*, read *pēsī*.
 Pages (note), for *patt-īr-a*, read *pat-īr-a*.
 Page 24, line 10, for *with*, read *to*.
 Page 33, for *karkarī*, read *karkarī*.
 Page 33 (note), for *kashtā*, read *kaśhta*.
 Page 43, for *kalās'ā*, read *kalas'ā*.

THE EISTEDDFODAU OF 1880.

THE year 1880 was a memorable one in the history of Eisteddfodau. The National Eisteddfod was held at Carnarvon on a scale unprecedented for many years, and a second, of no inconsiderable dimensions, was celebrated by South Wales on its own account.

The latter was opened at Swansea, on the 4th of August, under the presidency of the Venerable Archdeacon Griffiths; and continued, on the fifth, under that of Mr. J. Jones Jenkins, the Mayor of Swansea; and, on the sixth, under that of Mr. Gwilym Williams, of Miskin Manor; Mr. Hussey Vivian, M.P., who had been expected to preside on the first day, being detained in London by the sitting of Parliament. Over the Gorsedd ceremonies, which were carried out with due completeness, Gurnos (Rev. J. Gurnos Jones), the Rev. Gwilym Glanffrwd Thomas, and Ioan Arfon (John O. Griffiths, Esq.) presided. The conductors in the Pavilion were Llew Llwyfo, the Rev. E. Edmunds, of Swansea, and the Rev. J. Ossian Davies.

The chair of Glamorgan, with a prize of £20, was offered for the best ode in commemoration of Sir Rowland Hill, and honourably won by Mr. Thomas E. Davies of Pontypridd (Dewi Wyn o Essyllt). The chief choral prize of £100 was not awarded in its entirety, but one of half the amount was conferred on the best of the three competing choirs, that of Hirwaun, under the direction of Gwilym Cynon. A lesser choral prize, of £20 and a gold medal, fell to the choir of the Tabernacle, Morriston, who were led by Mr. D. Franks; and Tredegar, under the leadership of Mr. Tom Hardy, carried off

the prize in the brass-band competition. Eos Dyfed and his party were successful in the contest in quartette singing; Thomas Richards and party in the execution of a trio; the "Maesteg Minstrels" and a party from Ystalyfera gained each a prize of five guineas in part-singing.

Two prizes, of £25 and of £10, were awarded to Mr. Beriah Evans of Gwynfe, Llangadoc, for the two best serial stories, illustrating Welsh life and character. It will be remembered that Mr. Evans was successful in a similar competition at Cardiff in 1879. Mr. Griffith Jones of Glanmenai, Carnarvonshire, gained a prize of £20 for his essay on "Eminent Welshmen of this Century"; Mr. W. T. Rees of Llanelly (Alaw ddu) one of similar amount for an anthem in memory of the late Ambrose Lloyd. A prize of five guineas was conferred on Miss Parry of Blaenporth, Cardigan, for her Welsh essay on the "Advantages of Ready Money"; one of similar value (the Mayor's prize) awarded to Mr. John Howells of Cowbridge for an English essay on the origin and progress of free libraries; and a third, of equal amount, to a competitor whose real name did not appear, for one on the cultivation of the soils of Glamorgan. Gwilym Gwent, who still dates from America, again carried off a prize of five guineas for the composition of a glee; while the well-known composer Mr. R. S. Hughes, of London, gained the three guinea prize offered by Eos Morlais for a tenor song, and the similar one proposed by Mr. Lucas Williams for a *scena* for a bass voice. The successful *scena* was rendered on the spot by Mr. Lucas Williams with much applause.

A prize of five guineas was awarded to Mr. D. C. Harris for an elegiac poem to the late Mrs. Rosser of Pontypridd, and one of three guineas to the Rev. T. J. Morgan for ten Welsh satirical verses, "Diraddwyr y Cymry".

For two important prizes, amongst others, no competitors appeared. The committee had offered £25 for an essay on

“The Etymology of Place-names, in its Relation to Ethnology, in so far as it illustrates the Prehistoric Migrations of the Kelts”, and Mr. Hussey Vivian ten guineas for a “History of the Literature of Monmouthshire and Glamorgan.” We would venture to suggest the desirability of a longer notice being given when subjects which require such wide research for their adequate treatment are proposed. A prize of £10 and a gold medal had also been offered for a Welsh poem to Iolo Morganwg, but the adjudicators declined to make the award. These three competitions, it was announced at the concluding Gorsedd, will be proposed again, at Merthyr Tydfil, in 1881, and it is to be hoped not again in vain.

No Eisteddfod is now complete without an address in Welsh by the Oxford Professor of Celtic. Professor Rhŷs took for his subject on this occasion, the origin of the musical mode of expression. Passing on to discuss the present position of the art in Wales, he earnestly urged the rising poets of the country to turn their attention to the legends of their native land, and, by dressing them in appropriate verse, to afford composers a national basis for their music. For these addresses of the learned professor’s, Wales is much indebted, as well for the originality and suggestiveness of their matter, as for the standard of correct and vigorous Welsh which they embody.

The audience at Swansea had also the pleasure of hearing the animated speech in which the veteran composer, Mr. Brinley Richards, pointed out the advantages which the Eisteddfod had been the means of conferring on the art he represented, and a stirring oration in Welsh by the president of the Gorsedd, besides the excellent presidential addresses.

The attendance at the Eisteddfod left nothing to be desired. On the first day it was reported that nearly 24,000 persons had passed the turnstiles; and the greatest interest pre-

vailed from first to last. The Swansea Orchestral and Choral societies were a prominent feature in the evening concerts. Handel's "Samson" was rendered on the second evening.

The National Eisteddfod was opened in the permanent pavilion lately erected in Carnarvon, on the 24th of August, and continued through the three succeeding days. The courtyard of the castle added impressiveness to the rites of the Gorsedd, which, under Clwydfardd's auspices, was held there each morning, the president of the day being subsequently conducted thence in state to the pavilion. On the opening day, Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, "Prince in Wales", appropriately occupied the president's seat. On the subsequent days it was filled by Major Cornwallis West, by Mr. Watkin Williams (now Sir Watkin Williams), and by Sir Llewellyn Turner. Mr. J. H. Puleston, who had been expected to preside, was unable to attend. Llew Llwyfo and Tanymarian by turns wielded the conductor's *bâton*.

The Bardic Chair, with a prize of £20 attached, proposed for the best *awdl* on "Athrylith," was conferred on the Rev. B. Joseph of Colwyn Bay. In the chief remaining poetical competitions, Mr. H. T. Davies of Brynllaeth gained the prize (£5 and a silver medal) for a *cywydd* on "Health"; the Rev. Mr. Roberts, rector of Llangwm (Elis Wyn o Wyr-fai), £20 and a silver crown, for a poem on "The Triumph of the Cross"; the Rev. J. Ceulanydd Williams of Talysarn, £10 and a silver medal, for a poem, "The Two Patriots", in memory of the late Rev. Robert Jones and the late Rev. T. James, F.S.A.; and the Rev. J. O. Griffith (Ioan Arfon) four guineas and a silver medal for a pastoral poem.

For his glee, "Exile from Cambria", the prize of £5 and a silver medal was awarded to Mr. C. H. Reushaw of Rockferry; and to Prof. O. H. Evans of Tanlan, Newborough, Anglesea, one of seven-and-a-half guineas and a silver medal for his quintett for string instruments.

The great choral prize, of £150 and a gold medal, was carried off by Birkenhead from the two choirs of Llan-gollen and Acrefair, themselves of unexceptionable merit, and highly praised by the adjudicators. The pieces selected for the competition were, "See from his post" (Handel) and "While everlasting ages roll" (Rossini). In pronouncing the award, Dr. Stainer took occasion to express his definite conclusion that abundance of real musical talent existed in Wales, and his hope that opportunities for its full development would soon be provided. Mr. W. Parry was the leader of the successful choir.

In the brass band competition, Llanrug was successful, and gained the prize of £20 and a gold medal. The excellent playing of their leader, Mr. J. R. Tidswell, was much commended. Carnarvon won the ten guineas and silver medal offered for string bands. The triple harp contest derived a sad interest from the fact that the victor, Mr. Owen Jones of Arthog, is blind. Miss Griffith, daughter of Mr. W. Ll. Griffith, won the harmonium offered for pianoforte playing by competitors under twenty years of age, and extra prizes were given by Mr. Love Jones Parry to two other young ladies, Miss Richards and Miss Grace Owen, of Rhyl. Miss Welton, a granddaughter of Owain Gwyrfai, the antiquarian, gained a prize of 3 guineas for a contralto solo. Mr. E. T. Price of Llanidloes bore the palm for harmonium-playing; and Mr. Martin Sullivan of Carnarvon excelled on the cornet.

Some important subjects had been proposed for prose compositions. For a translation of Gwalehmai's poems into English, a prize of £10 and a silver medal was conferred on Mr. Reynolds, son of Nathan Dyfed. Thirty guineas and a silver medal were offered by gentlemen connected with the mining interest for an essay on "The Metalliferous Deposits of Flint and Denbigh", and awarded by the adjudicators to Mr. D. C. Davies, F.G.S., of Oswestry. For a Welsh essay

on the question, "Is the Enthusiasm connected with Music in Wales conducive to the Mental Development of the Nation?" £5 and a silver medal to Mr. W. R. Owen of Liverpool. For one in the same language, on "The Folklore of Carnarvonshire", £10 and a silver medal to Mr. Evan Williams of Carnarvon; and for a Welsh handbook on "The Chemistry of Common Things", a similar prize to Mr. Richard Morgan of Aberystwith. The £20 prize proposed for an essay on "Education in Wales" was not adjudicated, but half that sum, with a medal, awarded to Mr. M. E. Morris of Minffordd.

Mr. W. G. Shrubsole of Bangor gained the prize of fifteen guineas and a silver medal for a water-colour drawing, Mr. R. Lloyd Jones of Pysgah that for architectural drawing, and Miss Doidge of Aberdyfi that for crayon drawing.

In a slate-splitting contest, Mr. J. R. Jones and Mr. R. W. Rowlands, of Llanberis, divided the two first prizes of seven guineas and three guineas.

Besides the able speeches delivered by the presidents in opening each day's proceedings, an interesting address on the triple harp was given by Mr. John Thomas (Pencerdd Gwalia); Mr. Lewis Morris spoke briefly on the merits of the Eisteddfod; and the indefatigable Professor Rhys, on the legends and mythology of Carnarvonshire, was no less instructive and suggestive than in the Pavilion at Swansea.

Pererin, Alltud Eifion, and the Rev. Rowland Williams (Hwfa Môn) also delivered addresses.

In the course of the first day's proceedings, a handsome enamelled slate table, the work and gift of Mr. Owen of Carnarvon, was presented by Mr. Love Jones Parry, in the name of the committee, to Captain Moger, of H.M. training ship *Clio*.

A concert was held, as usual, each evening. In that on the 26th, the Swansea Valley Orpheus Society formed the conspicuous feature.

Proclamation of Merthyr Tydfil as the place of the Eisteddfod of 1881 was made at the Gorsedd on the concluding day.

THE CYMMRODORION SECTION.

Under this title a series of meetings were held by the Society of Cymmrodorion in the Guildhall, Carnarvon, in connection with the National Eisteddfod, on the evening of August 23rd, and on the three following days.

In the unavoidable absence of Mr. Lewis Morris, the president of the section, the chair was occupied by Mr. Hugh Owen.

The following papers were read and discussed :

“On the Present and Future of Wales” (President’s Inaugural Address). By Mr. Lewis Morris.¹

“On Higher and Intermediate Education in Wales.” By Mr. Hugh Owen.

“On Music in Wales.” By Mr. David Jenkins, Mus. Bac.

“On Eisteddfod Reform.” By Mr. Hugh Owen, and by Mrs. Thomas of Llandegai.²

“On Jesus College and the Meyrick Fund.” By Mr. Owen Owen of Oswestry.

“On Temperance Public-houses in North Wales.” By Mr. Henry Lewis.

“On Higher Education of Girls.” By Mrs. Peters of Bala.

“On the Design for the Cymmrodorion Medal.” By Mr. Joseph Edwards.

¹ This address is printed in an earlier portion of the present number of *Y Cymmrodor*.

² Discussion on these papers was taken at great length, and resulted in the appointment of a joint committee of Bards and Cymmrodorion, and ultimately in the formation of the “National Eisteddfod Association”.

Reviews of Books.

Y MABINOGION CYMREIG : SEF CHWEDLAU RHAMANTUS YR HEN GYMRY. YN YR HEN GYMRAEG A'R GYMRAEG BRESENL. Liverpool : Cyhoeddwyd gan ISAAC FOULKES, 18, Brunswick Street. 1880. [First vol.]

WE have here to call the attention of our readers to what we have long earnestly desired to see—an edition of the *Mabinogion* specially adapted for the Welsh “general reader”. Mr. Foulkes has already deserved well of his countrymen by his efforts to place within the reach of all the works of some of our best writers. We may instance his cheap, but neat and handy, editions of the works of Goronwy Owen, Alun, Dafydd ab Gwilym, and others. He has not been a prolific publisher, but in everything that he has issued he has supplied a want. The present is his most ambitious and, we are told, his last venture, and it is to be hoped that his enterprise may be rewarded with the encouragement it deserves.

The history of these remarkable tales has been a strange one. Standing apart as the one work in our literature that has powerfully influenced European thought, it might reasonably have been expected that they would have enjoyed a popularity proportionate to their worth, and have been in everybody's hands, studied and prized by all as the rarest treasure in the language. Unhappily their fate has been far different. For many a long year they remained known only to a few scholars, and entrusted to the precarious keeping of a manuscript. Something over fifty years ago Carnhuanawc mournfully expressed his apprehension that they might

never see the light, but might at any moment, through some accident, be lost to the world for ever. Fortunately the fears of that distinguished scholar and thorough patriot were not fulfilled. At last—thanks to the taste, learning, and munificence of Lady Guest—they were issued from the Llandovery press in a form that reflected equal credit upon the editor and the publisher, and went far to make amends for centuries of neglect. Further honour awaited them: taken up by Zeuss, they formed a great storehouse of illustration for his work, the Welsh portion of which may be not unaptly described as a Grammar of the *Mabinogion*.

Still the tales remained, with one or two exceptions, inaccessible to the Welsh reader, and a popular edition was urgently needed. The present issue is intended to meet that want. The plan of the work is indicated by the title. We have first a reprint of the text, and then, with a separate pagination, a modernised version accompanied with notes. The first volume contains five of the tales, viz., those bearing the names of Math vab Mathonwy, Peredur ab Efrawe, Iarllles y Ffynawn, Geraint ab Erbin, and Kulhwch ac Olwen.

It is right to say that this edition will not be of much value for critical purposes, as the text is not printed with sufficient accuracy in minor matters. We should also have been glad if a more systematic attempt had been made to explain the language in all its details to the modern reader. Finally, the work is issued in 4to., to which we should have preferred crown 8vo. or 12mo. as more handy; but this is a matter of individual taste of no moment.

We are often reminded that the works of a certain English author have been styled the “well of English undefiled”; with much more appropriateness might the *Mabinogion* be called “the well of undefiled Cymraeg”, and as such we would most strongly recommend them to the patient study

of all who wish to cultivate a pure and idiomatic Welsh style.

CYDYMAITH Y CYMRO: NEU LAWLYFR I'R GYMRAEG. Gan y
Parch E. T. DAVIES, B.A., Ficer Eglwys Dewi Sant,
Llynlleifiad, etc., etc.

THIS little work is intended as a guide to young writers, and the fact that the present is the third edition seems to imply that it has been found useful. It was compiled originally for some Eisteddfod, and the haste with which all compositions for these competitions have to be written, must probably account for that absence of a definite plan in the work, which has rendered necessary the addition of a chapter of Miscellanea, another of Addenda, and two Appendices. But the little book contains a large amount of useful information; the writer's judgment is generally sound; and we should be glad to find the "Cydymaith" extensively used by that not too well-informed class who write to our newspapers and cheaper magazines to the grievous disfigurement of our old language. It would have been better, however, if the author had not undertaken the responsibility of perpetuating the notion that the Welsh *eto* is derived from Latin *etiam*.

NOTES OF A TOUR IN BRITANY. By S. PRIDEAUX TREGELLES,
LL.D. Edinburgh: Johnstone, Hunter, and Co.

THIS unpretending little volume—the scope and character of which are sufficiently indicated by its title—will be read with great pleasure by anyone interested in things Cymric generally, or in Brittany particularly. The author is known to the world at large as a distinguished biblical scholar and editor of the Greek Testament; but to many of our readers he will be further known as a Cornishman, who during a temporary residence in South Wales became an enthusiastic

student of Welsh, which he learnt with a thoroughness equalled by very few, foreigners or natives. Readers of the *Brython* especially will remember with pleasure his interesting letters in that periodical.

The "Notes" are quite plain and simple, and very different from the work of a professional bookmaker; hence they are much more satisfactory than similar works of a more pretentious character which we have read. Dr. Tregelles did not go to Brittany in order that he might write a book about it on his return; he went to see a country and a people that had long interested him, and with whose history he was already familiar. He simply tells us the way he and his sister, who accompanied him, went, and what they saw, adding as much of historical detail as is required to make his references intelligible to the general reader. He gives an interesting sketch of the early close connection between the Continental Britons and their cousins in Wales and Cornwall, and has an occasional happy note illustrating points of contact in the dialects.

Two characteristics of the author come out very clearly in the "Notes"—his strong yet sober enthusiasm for everything Celtic (or perhaps we should rather say Cymric, as it is in Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany that he shows himself chiefly interested), and his uncompromising Protestantism. He appears to have been quite pleased to find that the inhabitants of Rennes were not content with saying that they were Bretons, but would add "et non pas Français", to prevent any possible misconception. But the religious state of "our cousins" pained him greatly. Of the strong feeling against Protestantism he gives some striking illustrations. In a Breton book, published at Landerneau in 1846, the author speaks "of a great heavy *Huguenot* book, called the Bible" (p. 118); and in another book, the passage in Mark x, 33, is rendered, "And they shall deliver him into the hands

of the *Huguenots*" (p. 139). But altogether he declares himself to have been greatly pleased with the people of whom he was so sympathetic and appreciative an observer.

THE REBECCA RIOTER: A STORY OF KILLAY LIFE. By E. A. DILLWYN. 2 vols. London, Macmillan and Co. 1880.

THE period of neglect and distress in which "Rebecca" made her rough protest against the anomalies of the existing Turnpike Act, has been selected by Miss Dillwyn for illustration. The hero of her little sketch, dying in Australia under sentence for homicide connected with the riots, tells the pathetic story of a life begun in poverty and ignorance, and wrecked in early manhood for lack of better guides, to a fellow countryman, the surgeon of the prison. It needs a certain effort, so rapid have been the changes of the last forty years, to realize the existence in South Wales, only so far back as 1843, of a state of society such as Miss Dillwyn depicts. Neither chapel, nor school, nor eisteddfod extends its influence to soften the manners or train the moral sense of the youth of Upper Killay, who grow up, on their bleak hillside, a wild and lawless set, regarding the policeman as a common enemy, and an unprotected traveller as legitimate prey. From such surroundings, modified in slight degree by the accident which brings him for a time under the tutelage of Gwenllian Tudor, the embryo rioter forms his views of human life, until in the natural course of things he becomes enrolled among "Rebecca's" children, and involved in the course of events which lead to his crime and transportation, and form the plot of the tale.

In the filling in of this simple plan, Miss Dillwyn finds an opportunity of exhibiting talents of no mean order. In the central figure of Evan Williams, she has succeeded in

placing before us a carefully studied and thoroughly human portrait of a typical Welshman,—a Welshman, that is, of the rudimentary stage of civilization indicated above. The subordinate characters are of necessity little more than outlines, but they are well delineated in a few bold and skilful strokes, and seldom fail to possess distinct individuality. The homeliness of the speaker's narrative, and the characteristic threads of humour interwoven with its pathos, are preserved without sacrificing the grace of an accurate English style, and the more stirring scenes are depicted in language which retains its simplicity while becoming eminently descriptive. The attack on the gate, the struggle with the police, the escape of the fugitives, the hero's remorse on learning his victim's name, and the details of his apprehension, form a continuous series of vivid pictures, the sustained interest of which is never marred by strain after effect. The whole work, in short, conveys the impression that the authoress is writing well within her strength, and on subjects which she thoroughly understands. To say even so much is to attribute to "the Rebecca Rioter" a high place among contemporary fiction.

The Folk-Lore of Wales.

THE desirability of establishing a Welsh Dialect Society has several times, within the last ten years, been dwelt upon; and quite recently, it has been proposed that a Welsh Dialect Section be formed in connection with our own Society. A suggestion has also been made, that the study of the Folk-lore of the Principality might with advantage be included in the programme of such society or section. Whatever may be done to carry out these suggestions, we wish, by way of initiative, to take this opportunity of urging our

readers, who are resident in Wales, to do all in their power to collect and secure what still remains of the popular literature of the country. And under this term we would comprehend all the unwritten literature (if such an expression be permissible) of the peasant—the tales and legends that constitute his History; the songs, verses, and ballads, that form his Music and his Poetry, the proverbs that embody his Philosophy, as well as all those observances, beliefs, and ideas which are more strictly included in the term Folk-lore.

As might have been expected, in the case of a people of such strong imagination, the various Celtic peoples are, or have been, singularly wealthy in such popular literature. Very much has been lost for ever, and much more will be lost, unless some special efforts be speedily made to secure what remains, before those powerful influences, which are so rapidly deceltising these lands, shall have made it too late. Of what Cornwall possessed, while it was yet Celtic in language, we can now only surmise; and in Wales, the day for gathering a rich harvest has long since passed. In Ireland also, it is rapidly passing; and passing, alas! to a great extent, if not entirely, unimproved. No adequate effort, so far as we are aware, is being made to secure the immense mass of songs and tales, which are still sung and told by the winter fireside in the cabins of Connemara. And very soon it will be too late there, too. Every year carries away some of the old people, whose sole literature has been of this class; and every year makes the newspaper, the great rival and foe of the story-teller, more and more common. In the Highlands of Scotland, Mr. Campbell has done good service by the collection of his *Popular Tales*. But it is Brittany that has been fortunate, beyond almost any other country in Europe. In the person of M. Luzel, it possesses a collector who may fairly be described as unrivalled. Of what he has done, and how he has done it, our readers may

form an opinion by glancing through the two volumes of his *Gwerziou Breiz-Izel*, his *Veillées Bretonnes*, and the pages of *Mélusine*. If he lives (and we devoutly hope that he will) to give to the world his complete collection of songs and tales, the popular literature of Brittany will be presented to the student with a completeness that shall leave little to be desired.

As already observed, the time for gathering such a rich harvest in Wales has passed for ever: it had passed, indeed, long before students of language and ethnology had perceived the value of these treasures. To have secured the full wealth of song and tale, that once circulated in the Principality, measures should have been taken at least a hundred and fifty years ago, while this traditional lore still constituted the sole mental wealth of the peasant. Still, much remains to be gleaned in out-of-the-way corners; very much more than a casual observer would expect to find. But, like ghost stories, these remains must be sought, and sought in a sympathetic spirit, ere they can be found. And we would urge those of our readers, who have the opportunity, to engage in the quest *eon amore*, ere it is too late. For another generation of elementary schools, newspapers, and cheap novels, with the change of language which these agencies are so rapidly effecting, will have swept away most of what yet remains. As deserving objects of the collector's pious care, might be specified:—

1. Tales, legends, and traditions of all kinds.
2. Songs, and poetic fragments of all kinds, not forgetting, especially as being rare, Welsh nursery rhymes, lullabys, or shoheens.
3. Old airs.
4. Folk-lore, strictly so-called, comprising old observances and customs, the superstitions, ideas, and prejudices of the common people.

5. Riddles, puzzles, and verbal tasks.

6. Formulæ used in games, with description of the games, if necessary.

In order that anything thus collected may have a scientific value, it must be authentic. The song or tale may be crude and inelegant, imperfect, or even unintelligible, yet it should be recorded with scrupulous fidelity, as it was sung or told by the peasant, from whom it has been obtained; if it is tinkered to suit the narrator's ideas of literary excellence, or to satisfy any of his preconceived ideas, notions, or theories, it becomes worthless. We have already referred to M. Luzel's labours, and we would specify his *Gwerziou Breiz-Izel* as a model of what a collection of popular songs should be. We might instance, again, a work dealing with the same subject, and containing, to a certain extent, the same matter,—Villemarqué's *Barzaz Breiz*, as a type of what such a collection should not be. The songs in the former are often imperfect, rugged, and partially unintelligible; while those in the latter are finished and elegant, and possess much literary beauty; yet it does not require that one should be a specialist in this department, in order to know to which of the two a Liebrecht, or a Köhler would turn for a representation of what the popular poetry of Brittany really is. In saying this, we do not in the least wish to pronounce an opinion on the matter in dispute between M. de La Villemarqué and his critics: it is enough for us that the authenticity of the *Barzaz Breiz* can, with some show of reason (not to put it more strongly) be denied. A collection of the kind, to have any scientific value, must be above suspicion.

Any readers who may feel anxious to become collectors, should observe the following rules:—

1. Whatever is recorded, should be given with absolute fidelity, as it fell from the narrator's mouth.

2. It should be stated where, when, and from whom, each tale, song, etc., was obtained: and if the narrator is known to be a native of another district than that in which he is found, it should be mentioned.

3. The collector should generally go to the oldest and most illiterate peasants, as these naturally preserve their traditional lore with the greatest fidelity, both as to matter and form. Such persons also speak the dialects with the greatest purity.

4. Fragments of tales, etc., should be carefully recorded; and also different versions should be given, if the variation is at all considerable.

We shall be glad to give a place in the *Cymmrodor* to such gleanings as we may from time to time be favoured by our fellow-members.

Notes and Queries.

A VERY learned and active member of the Society has suggested that it might be well to devote some space in every number of *Y Cymmrodor* to "Notes and Queries". This suggestion it gives us great pleasure to act upon, and we hope our readers will give their help, and send us any fact worth recording in connection with "Cymru, Cymry, a Chymraeg", which they may at any time "make a note of".

Queries.

BLODEUWEDD AS A NAME FOR THE OWL.—In the *Mabinogi* of Math ab Mathonwy, an account is given of the transformation of the faithless Flower-aspect into an owl, and it is added: "Now blodeuwedd is an owl in the language of this present time..... And even now the owl is called Blodeuwedd" (Guest's *Mabinogion*, iii, 214, 249). In the note on

p. 258, reference is made to Davydd ab Gwilym's poem on the subject. Silvan Evans, in his Eng.-Welsh Dicty. s.v. "owl", gives "blodeuwedd" as a rendering. What other references (if any) are there in Welsh literature to this metamorphosis? And is the name *blodeuwedd* still given to the owl in any district of Wales? GLANIRVON.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.—The Welsh article under this heading in the present number appears to be a translation, probably from the Latin. Can any of our readers direct us to the original? EDITOR.

GLOUCESTER AND ITS INTOXICANTS.—Years ago I heard from a native of Carmarthenshire, resident in Breconshire, the following doggerel verse:

"Yn nhre' Llynden mae cyfreth gywren,
Yn Rhydychen mae gwyr o ddysg;
Yng Ngharloyw mae gwin a chwrrw,
A dynion meddw yn eu mysg."

Why should Gloucester have been selected as the place *par excellence* of "wine and beer"? Was that city at any time famous or infamous in that respect? GLANIRVON.

WELSH PHRASES.—It is much to be desired that some competent person would give us a *Dictionary of Welsh Phrase and Fable*: it would be an interesting and, what dictionaries generally are not, an amusing work. Pending the appearance of such a work, can any reader of *Y Cymmrodor* throw light on the origin of the following phrases?

1. *Brathu'r gaseg wen*. I have often heard this expression used to describe the conduct of a person who breaks in upon conversation with some stupid or irrelevant remark, or some foolish explanation or answer: e.g., *Dyna fe 'n brathu'r gaseg wen* (or, more fully, *yn brathu'r gaseg wen yn rhywle*), There he goes with his wild and thoughtless answer.

2. *Bod ym Mhenboir*=to be a fool. I have heard it said of a man, *Oh, y mae llawer o hono fe ym Mhenboir yto*: Oh, he has a good deal of the fool about him yet. Penboir is in Carmarthenshire, but why is it thus libelled?

3. *Plant Sion Cnoc*=“fools, noodles”. This expression I have heard in the Western part of Breconshire. A foolish young woman is sometimes humorously designated *Un o ferched Sion Cnoc*; or it will be said of one, *Oh, un o blant Sion Cnoc yw ynte*. I never could learn who Sion was, but it seems to be generally acknowledged that his family is a numerous one. Is he known to any Cymmrodor otherwise than through his descendants?

4. *Godre'r Rhiw dywyll*=at a safe distance. This, I believe, comes from Cardiganshire. It is used of a person who loudly denounces another in his absence, and implies the belief that the blusterer would be discreetly silent in that other's presence: e.g., *Ie, ie, yng ngodre'r Rhiw dywyll y mae e'n cynhennu bob amser*: He always scolds at a safe distance, when the person reproved is far enough out of hearing.

5. *Gwerthu'r hwrdd*=to mutter sulkily, said of a person who mumbles indistinctly some reply which he dare not, or does not care to give openly: e.g., *Dyna lle'r o'dd e'n gwerthu'r hwrdd*: There he stood, muttering and grumbling. Sometimes I have heard the phrase expanded into *gwerthu'r hwrdd am lai nag a dalai fe* (to sell the ram for less than its value). Who made the bargain that originated the saying?

GLANIRVON.

Notices.

SOMETIME ago a leading London Review gave us the interesting information that Prof. Rhys was engaged upon a *History of the Breton Celts*. This, however, was a misconception:

the work referred to will treat not of Brittany and its people, but of *Early Britain, Celtic, and Pre-Celtic*. It is to form the first of a series dealing with the early history of the island, to be issued by the S.P.C.K., and will be followed by others on Roman, Saxon, and Scandinavian Britain. We understand that a part of the work has been written, and that it will be completed as soon as the Professor's labours in connection with the Education Commission permit him to resume his pen.

It has also been announced that Mr. Rhys has undertaken to edit *Pennant's Tours* for Mr. Humphreys of Carnarvon.

STILL more gratifying is the hope held out that the same scholar will soon be called upon to prepare a new edition of the *Mabinogion*, to be issued by the Clarendon Press.

WHILE on the subject of Prof. Rhys's literary engagements, actual and prospective, we are glad to be able to announce that our next number will contain a paper of some length from his pen.

WITH regard to the long-expected *Welsh Dictionary* of Prof. Silvan Evans, the *Cymmrodor* has already made announcements giving rise to hopes which have proved to be of that kind which "maketh the heart sick". Mr. Evans has looked in vain for a publisher in the principality; the mantle of Owain Myfyr has not rested on the shoulders of any of his countrymen. However, there is good ground for hope that the same press which promises a new edition of our great romances, will lay us under further obligations by giving to the world the new *Geiriadur*. The author hopes "that at no distant date he will be able to see his way clearly to the press".

D Cymrodor.

OCTOBER 1881.

WELSH FAIRY TALES.

BY PROFESSOR RHYS.

THE main object the writer of this paper has in view, is to place on record all the matter he can find on the subject of the lake legends of Wales: what he may have to say of them is merely by the way and sporadic, and he would feel well paid for his trouble if the present collection should stimulate others to communicate to the public bits of similar legends, which, it may be, still linger unrecorded among the mountains of the Principality. For it should be clearly understood that all such things bear on the history of the Celts of Wales, as the history of no people can be said to have been written so long as its superstitions and beliefs in past times have not been studied; and those who may think that the legends here recorded are childish and frivolous, may rest assured that they bear on questions which themselves could be called neither childish nor frivolous. So, however silly they may think a legend, let them communicate it to somebody who will place it on record; they will then, probably, find out that it has more meaning and interest than they had anticipated.

I. THE MYDDVAI LEGEND—LITTLE VAN LAKE.

I find it best to begin by reproducing a story which has already been recorded; this I think desirable on account of

its being the best told, the most complete of its kind, and the one with which shorter ones can most readily be compared. I allude to the legend of the Lady of the Lake of the Little Van in Carmarthenshire, which I take the liberty of copying from Mr. Rees of Tonn's version of it, in the introduction to *The Physicians of Myddvai*, published by the Welsh Manuscript Society at Llandovery, in 1861. There he says that he wrote it down from the oral recitations, which I suppose were in Welsh, of John Evans, tiler, of Myddvai, David Williams, Morva, near Myddvai, who was about ninety years old at the time, and Elizabeth Morgan, of Henllys Lodge, near Llandovery, who was a native of the same village of Myddvai; to this it may be added that he acknowledges obligations also to J. Joseph, Esq., F.S.A., Brecon, for collecting particulars from the old inhabitants of the parish of Llanddeusant. The legend, as given by Mr. Rees in English, runs as follows:—

“When the eventful struggle made by the Princes of South Wales to preserve the independence of their country was drawing to its close in the twelfth century, there lived at Blaensawdde¹ near Llanddeusant, Carmarthenshire, a widowed woman, the relit of a farmer who had fallen in those disastrous troubles.

“The widow had an only son to bring up, and Providence smiled upon her, and, despite her forlorn condition, her live stock had so increased in course of time that she could not well depasture them upon her farm, so she sent a portion of her cattle to graze on the adjoining Black Mountain, and their most favourite place was near the small lake called

¹ “Blaensawdde, or the upper end of the river Sawdde—is situate about three-quarters of a mile S.E. from the village of Llanddeusant. It gives its name to one of the hamlets of that parish. The Sawdde has its source in Llyn-y-Van-Vach, which is nearly two miles distant from Blaensawdde house.”

Llyn-y-Van-Vach, on the north-western side of the Carmarthenshire Vans.

“The son grew up to manhood, and was generally sent by his mother to look after the cattle on the mountain. One day, in his peregrinations along the margin of the lake, to his great astonishment, he beheld, sitting on the unruffled surface of the water, a Lady; one of the most beautiful creatures that mortal eyes ever beheld, her hair flowed gracefully in ringlets over her shoulders, the tresses of which she arranged with a comb, whilst the glassy surface of her watery couch served for the purpose of a mirror, reflecting back her own image. Suddenly she beheld the young man standing on the brink of the lake, with his eyes rivetted on her, and unconsciously offering to herself the provision of barley bread and cheese with which he had been provided when he left his home.

“Bewildered by a feeling of love and admiration for the object before him, he continued to hold out his hand towards the lady, who imperceptibly glided near to him, but gently refused the offer of his provisions. He attempted to touch her, but she eluded his grasp, saying

‘Cras dy fara;
Nid hawdd fy nala.’

‘Hard baked is thy bread!
’Tis not easy to catch me;’

and immediately dived under the water, and disappeared, leaving the love-stricken youth to return home, a prey to disappointment and regret that he had been unable to make further acquaintance with one, in comparison with whom the whole of the fair maidens of Llanddeusant and Myddvai,¹ whom he had ever seen were as nothing.

¹ “Myddvai parish was, in former times, celebrated for its fair maidens, but whether they were descendants of the Lady of the Lake or other-

“On his return home the young man communicated to his mother the extraordinary vision he had beheld. She advised him to take some unbaked dough or ‘toes’ the next time in his pocket, as there must have been some spell connected with the hard baked bread, or ‘Bara cras’, which prevented his catching the lady.

“Next morning, before the sun had gilded with its rays the peaks of the Vans, the young man was at the lake, not for the purpose of looking after his mother’s cattle, but seeking for the same enchanting vision he had witnessed the day before ; but all in vain did he anxiously strain his eye-balls and glance over the surface of the lake, as only the ripples occasioned by a stiff breeze met his view, and a cloud hung heavily on the summit of the Van, which imparted an additional gloom to his already distracted mind.

“Hours passed on, the wind was hushed, and the clouds which had enveloped the mountain had vanished into thin air, before the powerful beams of the sun, when the youth was startled by seeing some of his mother’s cattle on the precipitous side of the acclivity, nearly on the opposite side of the lake. His duty impelled him to attempt to rescue them

wise cannot be determined. An old pennill records the fact of their beauty thus :—

‘ Mae eira gwyn
Ar ben y bryn,
A’r glasgoed yn y Ferdre,
Mae bedw mân
Ynghoed Cwm-brân,
A merched glân yn Myddfe.’

Which may be translated,

‘ There is white snow
On the mountain’s brow,
And greenwood at the Verdre,
Young birch so good
In Cwm-brân wood,
And lovely girls in Myddve.’ ”

from their perilous position, for which purpose he was hastening away, when, to his inexpressible delight, the object of his search again appeared to him as before, and seemed much more beautiful than when he first beheld her. His hand was again held out to her, full of unbaked bread, which he offered with an urgent proffer of his heart also, and vows of eternal attachment. All of which were refused by her, saying

‘Llaith dy fara !

‘Ii ni fynna’.

‘Unbaked is thy bread !

I will not have thee.’

But the smiles that played upon her features as the lady vanished beneath the waters raised within the young man a hope that forbade him to despair by her refusal of him, and the recollection of which cheered him on his way home. His aged parent was made acquainted with his ill-success, and she suggested that his bread should next time be but slightly baked, as most likely to please the mysterious being, of whom he had become enamoured.

“Impelled by an irresistible feeling, the youth left his mother’s house early next morning, and with rapid steps he passed over the mountain. He was soon near the margin of the lake, and with all the impatience of an ardent lover did he wait with a feverish anxiety for the reappearance of the mysterious lady.

“The sheep and goats browsed on the precipitous sides of the Van; the cattle strayed amongst the rocks and large stones, some of which were occasionally loosened from their beds and suddenly rolled down into the lake; rain and sunshine alike came and passed away, but all were unheeded by the youth, so wrapped up was he in looking for the appearance of the lady.

“The freshness of the early morning had disappeared before the sultry rays of the noon-day sun, which in its turn was

fast verging towards the west as the evening was dying away and making room for the shades of night, and hope had well nigh abated of beholding once more the Lady of the Lake. The young man cast a sad and last farewell look over the waters, and, to his astonishment, beheld several cows walking along its surface. The sight of these animals caused hope to revive that they would be followed by another object far more pleasing; nor was he disappointed, for the maiden reappeared, and to his enraptured sight, even lovelier than ever. She approached the land, and he rushed to meet her in the water. A smile encouraged him to seize her hand; neither did she refuse the moderately baked bread he offered her; and after some persuasion, she consented to become his bride, on condition that they should only live together until she received from him three blows without a cause,

‘Tri ergyd diachos.’

‘Three causeless blows.’

And if he ever should happen to strike her three such blows, she would leave him for ever. To such conditions he readily consented, and would have consented to any other stipulation, had it been proposed, as he was only intent on then securing such a lovely creature for his wife.

“Thus the Lady of the Lake engaged to become the young man’s wife, and having loosed her hand for a moment, she darted away and dived into the lake. His chagrin and grief were such that he determined to cast himself headlong into the deepest water, so as to end his life in the element that had contained in its unfathomed depths the only one for whom he cared to live on earth. As he was on the point of committing this rash act, there emerged out of the lake *two* most beautiful ladies, accompanied by a hoary-headed man of noble mien and extraordinary stature, but having otherwise all the force and strength of youth. This man addressed

the almost bewildered youth in accents calculated to soothe his troubled mind, saying that as he proposed to marry one of his daughters, he consented to the union, provided the young man could distinguish which of the two ladies before him was the object of his affections. This was no easy task, as the maidens were such perfect counterparts of each other that it seemed quite impossible for him to choose his bride, and if perchance he fixed upon the wrong one, all would be for ever lost.

“Whilst the young man narrowly scanned the two ladies, he could not perceive the least difference betwixt the two, and was almost giving up the task in despair, when one of them thrust her foot a slight degree forward. The motion, simple as it was, did not escape the observation of the youth, and he discovered a trifling variation in the mode with which their sandals were tied. This at once put an end to the dilemma, for he, who had on previous occasions been so taken up with the general appearance of the Lady of the Lake, had also noticed the beauty of her feet and ankles, and on now recognising the peculiarity of her shoe-tie he boldly took hold of her hand.

“‘Thou hast chosen rightly,’ said her father, ‘be to her a kind and faithful husband, and I will give her, as a dowry, as many sheep, cattle, goats, and horses, as she can count of each without heaving or drawing in her breath. But remember, that if you prove unkind to her at any time, and strike her three times without a cause, she shall return to me, and shall bring all her stock back with her.’

“Such was the verbal marriage settlement, to which the young man gladly assented, and his bride was desired to count the number of sheep she was to have. She immediately adopted the mode of counting by *fives*, thus:—One, two, three, four, five—One, two, three, four, five; as many times as possible in rapid succession, till her breath was ex-

hausted. The same process of reckoning had to determine the number of goats, cattle, and horses respectively; and in an instant the full number of each came out of the lake when called upon by the Father.

“The young couple were then married, by what ceremony was not stated, and afterwards went to reside at a farm called Esgair Llaethdy, somewhat more than a mile from the village of Myddvai, where they lived in prosperity and happiness for several years, and became the parents of three sons, who were beautiful children.

“Once upon a time there was a christening to take place in the neighbourhood, to which the parents were specially invited. When the day arrived, the wife appeared very reluctant to attend the christening, alleging that the distance was too great for her to walk. Her husband told her to fetch one of the horses which were grazing in an adjoining field. ‘I will,’ said she, ‘if you will bring me my gloves which I left in our house.’ He went to the house and returned with the gloves, and finding that she had not gone for the horse, jocularly slapped her shoulder with one of them, saying, ‘go! go!’ (*dos, dos*) when she reminded him of the understanding upon which she consented to marry him:—That he was not to strike her without a cause; and warned him to be more cautious for the future.

“On another occasion, when they were together at a wedding, in the midst of the mirth and hilarity of the assembled guests, who had gathered together from all the surrounding country, she burst into tears and sobbed most piteously. Her husband touched her on her shoulder and enquired the cause of her weeping: she said, ‘Now people are entering into trouble, and your troubles are likely to commence, as you have the *second* time stricken me without a cause.’

“Years passed on, and their children had grown up, and were particularly clever young men. In the midst of so many

worldly blessings at home the husband almost forgot that there remained only *one* causeless blow to be given to destroy the whole of his prosperity. Still he was watchful lest any trivial occurrence should take place, which his wife must regard as a breach of their marriage contract. She told him, as her affection for him was unabated, to be careful that he would not, through some inadvertence, give the last and only blow, which, by an unalterable destiny, over which she had no control, would separate them for ever.

“It, however, so happened that one day they were together at a funeral, where, in the midst of the mourning and grief at the house of the deceased, she appeared in the highest and gayest spirits, and indulged in immoderate fits of laughter, which so shocked her husband that he touched her saying, ‘Hush! hush! don’t laugh.’ She said that she laughed ‘because people when they die go out of trouble,’ and, rising up, she went out of the house, saying, ‘The last blow has been struck, our marriage contract is broken, and at an end! Farewell!’ Then she started off towards Esgair Llaethdy, where she called her cattle and other stock together, each by name. The cattle she called thus:—

‘Mu wlfrech, Moelfrech,
 Mu olfrech, Gwynfrech,
 Pedair cae tonn-frech,
 Yr hen wynebwen.
 A’r las Geigen,
 Gyda’r Tarw Gwyn
 O lys y Brenin;
 A’r llo du bach,
 Sydd ar y bach,
 Dere dithau, yn iach adre!’

‘Brindled cow, white speckled,
 Spotted cow, bold freckled,
 The four field sward mottled,
 The old white-faced,
 And the grey Geingen,
 With the white Bull,

From the court of the King ;
 And the little black calf
 Tho' suspended on the hook,
 Come thou also, quite well home !'

They all immediately obeyed the summons of their mistress, the 'little black calf', although it had been slaughtered, became alive again, and walked off with the rest of the stock at the command of the Lady. This happened in the spring of the year, and there were four oxen ploughing in one of the fields, to these she cried,

'Pedwar eidion glas
 Sydd ar y maes,
 Deuwch chwithau
 Yn iach adre !'

'The four grey oxen,
 That are on the field,
 Come you also.
 Quite well home !'

Away the whole of the live stock went with the Lady across Myddvai Mountain, towards the lake from whence they came, a distance of above six miles, where they disappeared beneath its waters, leaving no trace behind except a well marked furrow, which was made by the plough the oxen drew after them into the lake, and which remains to this day as a testimony to the truth of this story.

"What became of the affrighted ploughman—whether he was left on the field when the oxen set off, or whether he followed them to the lake, has not been handed down to tradition; neither has the fate of the disconsolate and half-ruined husband been kept in remembrance. But of the sons it is stated that they often wandered about the lake and its vicinity, hoping that their mother might be permitted to visit the face of the earth once more, as they had been apprised of her mysterious origin, her first appearance to

their father, and the untoward circumstances which so unhappily deprived them of her maternal care.

“In one of their rambles, at a place near Dôl Howel, at the Mountain Gate, still called ‘Llidiad y Meddygon’, The Physicians’ Gate, the mother appeared suddenly, and accosted her eldest son, whose name was Rhiwallon, and told him that his mission on earth was to be a benefactor to mankind by relieving them from pain and misery, through healing all manner of their diseases; for which purpose she furnished him with a bag full of medical prescriptions and instructions for the preservation of health. That by strict attention thereto, he and his family would become for many generations the most skilful physicians in the country. Then promising to meet him when her counsel was most needed, she vanished. But on several occasions she met her sons near the banks of the lake, and once she even accompanied them on their return home as far as a place still called ‘Pant-y-Meddygon’, The dingle of the Physicians, where she pointed out to them the various plants and herbs which grew in the dingle, and revealed to them their medicinal qualities or virtues; and the knowledge she imparted to them, together with their unrivalled skill, soon caused them to attain such celebrity that none ever possessed before them. And in order that their knowledge should not be lost, they wisely committed the same to writing, for the benefit of mankind throughout all ages.”

To the legend Mr. Rees added the following notes, which we reproduce also at full length:—

“And so ends the story of the Physicians of Myddvai, which has been handed down from one generation to another, thus:—

‘Yr hên wr llwyd o’r cornel,
Gan ei dad a glywodd chwedel,
A chan ei dad fe glywodd yntau
Ac ar ei ôl mi gofiais innau.’

‘The grey old man in the corner
 Of his father heard a story,
 Which from his father he had heard,
 And after them I have remembered.’

As stated in the introduction of the present work [*i.e.*, the Physicians of Myddvai], Rhiwallon and his sons became Physicians to Rhys Gryg, Lord of Llandovery and Dynevor Castles, ‘who gave them rank, lands, and privileges at Myddvai for their maintenance in the practice of their art and science, and the healing and benefit of those who should seek their help,’ thus affording to those who could not afford to pay, the best medical advice and treatment, gratuitously. Such a truly Royal foundation could not fail to produce corresponding effects. So the fame of the Physicians of Myddvai was soon established over the whole country, and continued for centuries among their descendants.

“The celebrated Welsh Bard, Dafydd ap Gwilym, who flourished in the following century, and was buried at the Abbey of Tal-y-lychau,¹ in Caermarthenshire, about the year 1368, says in one of his poems, as quoted in Dr. Davies’ dictionary.

‘Meddyg ni wnai modd y gwnaeth
 Myddfai, o chai ddyn meddfaeth.’

‘A Physician he would not make
 As Myddvai made, if he had a mead fostered man.’

Of the above lands bestowed upon the Meddygon, there are two farms in Myddvai parish still called ‘Llwyn Ifan Feddyg’ the Grove of Evan the Physician; and ‘Llwyn Meredydd Feddyg’ the Grove of Meredith the Physician. Esgaer Llaethdy, mentioned in the foregoing legend, was formerly in the possession of the above descendants, and so was Ty newydd, near Myddvai, which was purchased by Mr. Holford, of Cilgwyn, from the Rev. Charles Lloyd, vicar of Llandefalle, Breconshire, who married a daughter of one of the

¹ There is, I believe, no reason to think that this statement is correct.

Meddygon, and had the living of Llandefalle from a Mr. Vaughan, who presented him to the same out of gratitude, because Mr. Lloyd's wife's father had cured him of a disease in the eye. As Mr. Lloyd succeeded to the above living in 1748, and died in 1800, it is probable that the skilful oculist was John Jones, who is mentioned in the following inscription on a tombstone at present fixed against the west end of Myddvai Church.

‘HERE

Lieth the body of Mr. David Jones, of Mothvey, Surgeon,
who was an honest, charitable, and skilful man.

He died September 14th, Anno Dom' 1719, aged 61.

JOHN JONES, Surgeon,

Eldest son of the said David Jones, departed this life
the 25th of November, 1739, in the 44th year
of his Age, and also lyes interred hereunder.’

These appear to have been the last of the Physicians who practised at Myddvai. The above John Jones resided for some time at Llandovery, and was a very eminent surgeon. One of his descendants, named John Lewis, lived at Cwmbran, Myddvai, at which place his great grandson Mr. John Jones, now resides.

“Dr. Morgan Owen, Bishop of Llandaff, who died at Glasallt, parish of Myddvai, in 1645, was a descendant of the Meddygon, and an inheritor of much of their landed property in that parish, the bulk of which he bequeathed to his nephew, Morgan Owen, who died in 1667, and was succeeded by his son Henry Owen; and at the decease of the last of whose descendants, Robert Lewis, Esq., the estates became, through the will of one of the family, the property of the late D. A. S. Davies, Esq., M.P., for Caermarthenshire.

“Bishop Owen bequeathed to another nephew, Morgan ap Rees, son of Rees ap John, a descendant of the Meddygon, the farm of Rhyblid, and some other property. Morgan ap

Rees' son, Samuel Rice, resided at Loughor, in Gower, Glamorganshire, and had a son, Morgan Rice, who was a merchant in London, and became Lord of the Manor of Tooting Craveney, and High Sheriff in the year 1772, and Deputy Lieutenant of the county of Surrey, 1776. He resided at Hill House, which he built. At his death, the whole of his property passed to his only child, John Rice, Esq., whose eldest son, the Rev. John Morgan Rice, inherited the greater portion of his estates. The head of the family is now the Rev. Horatio Morgan Rice, rector of South Hill, with Callington, Cornwall, and J.P. for the county, who inherited, with other property, a small estate at Loughor. The above Morgan Rice had landed property in Llanmadock and Llangenith, as well as Loughor, in Gower, but whether he had any connexion with Howel the Physician (ap Rhys ap Llywelyn ap Philip the Physician, and lineal descendant from Einion ap Rhiwallon), who resided at Cilgwryd in Gower, is not known.

“ Amongst other families who claim descent from the Physicians were the Bowens of Cwmydw, Myddvai; and Jones of Dollgarreg and Penrhock, in the same parish; the latter of whom are represented by Charles Bishop, of Dollgarreg, Esq., Clerk of the Peace for Caermarthenshire, and Thomas Bishop, of Brecon, Esq.

“ Rees Williams of Myddvai is recorded as one of the Meddygon. His great grandson was the late Rice Williams, M.D., of Aberystwyth, who died May 16th, 1842, aged 85, and appears to have been the last, although not the least eminent, of the Physicians descended from the mysterious Lady of Llyn-y-Van.”¹

This brings the legend of the Lady of the Van Lake into connection with a widely spread family. There is another

¹ This is not quite correct, as I believe that Dr. C. Rice Williams who lives at Aberystwyth is one of the Meddygon.

connection between it and modern times, as will be seen from the following statement kindly made to me by the Rev. A. G. Edwards, Warden of the Welsh College at Llandovery: "An old woman from Myddvai, who is now, that is to say, in January 1881, about eighty years of age, tells me that she remembers 'thousands and thousands' of people visiting the Lake of the Little Van on the first Sunday or Monday in August, and when she was young she often heard old men declare that at that time a commotion took place in the lake, and that its waters boiled, which was taken to herald the approach of the Lake Lady and her oxen." The custom of going up to the lake on the first Sunday in August was a very well known one in years gone by, as I have learned from a good many people, and it is corroborated by Mr. Joseph, who kindly writes as follows, in reply to some queries of mine: "On the first Sunday in the month of August, Llyn y Van Vach is supposed to be boiling (*berwi*). I have seen scores of people going up to see it (not boiling though) on that day. I do not remember that any of them expected to see the Lady of the Lake." As to the boiling of the lake I have nothing to say, and I am not sure that there is anything in the following, which was offered to Mr. A. G. Edwards, as an explanation of the yearly visit to the lake, by an old fisherwoman from Llandovery: "The best time for eels is in August, when the north-east wind blows on the lake, and makes huge waves in it. The eels can then be seen floating on the waves."

Last summer I went myself to the village of Myddvai, to see if I could pick up any variants of the legend; but I was hardly successful; for though several of the farmers I questioned could repeat bits of the legend, including the Lake Lady's call to her cattle as she went away, I got nothing new, except that one of them said that the youth, when he first saw the Lake Lady at a distance, thought she was a

goose—he did not even rise to the conception of a swan—but that by degrees he approached her, and discovered that she was a lady in white, and that in due time they were married, and so on. My friend, Mr. A. G. Edwards, seems, however, to have got a bit of a version which may have been still more unlike the one recorded by Mr. Rees of Tonn: it was from an old man at Myddvai last year, from whom he was, nevertheless, only able to extract the statement “that the Lake Lady got somehow entangled in a farmer’s ‘gambo’, and that ever after his farm was very fertile”: a ‘gambo’ is a kind of a cart without sides, used in South Wales, and both the name and the thing seem to have come from England, though I cannot find such a word as *gambo* or *gambeau* in the ordinary dictionaries.

Among other legends about lake fairies, in the third chapter of Mr. Sikes’ *British Goblins*, there are two versions of this story: the first of them only slightly differs from Mr. Rees’, in that the farmer used to go near the lake to see some lambs he had bought in a fair, and that whenever he did so, three beautiful damsels appeared to him from the lake; they always eluded his attempts to catch them; they ran away into the lake, saying, “Cras dy fara”, etc. But one day, a piece of moist bread came floating ashore, which he ate, and the next day he had a chat with the Lake Maidens. He proposed marriage to one of them, to which she consented, provided he could distinguish her from her sisters the day after. The story, then, so far as I can make out, from the brief version Mr. Sikes gives of it, went on like that of Mr. Rees. He gives another version, with much more interesting variations, which omit all reference, however, to the physicians of Myddvai, and relate how a young farmer had heard of the Lake Maiden rowing up and down the lake in a golden boat with a golden oar. He went to the lake on New Year’s Eve, saw her, was fascinated by her, and left in despair at

her vanishing out of sight, although he cried out to her to stay and be his wife: she faintly replied, and went her way, after he had gazed on her long yellow hair and pale melancholy face. He continued to visit the lake, and grew thin and negligent of his person, owing to his longing. But a wise man, who lived on the mountain, advised him to tempt her with gifts of bread and cheese, which he undertook to do on Midsummer Eve, when he dropped into the lake a large cheese and a loaf of bread. This he did repeatedly, when at last his hopes were fulfilled on New Year's Eve. This time he had gone to the lake clad in his best suit, and at midnight dropped seven white loaves and his biggest and finest cheese into the lake. The Lake Lady by and by came in her skiff where he was, and gracefully stepped ashore. The scene need not be further described: Mr. Sikes gives a picture of it, and the story then proceeds as in the other version.

II. GEIRIONYDD.

On returning from South Wales to Carnarvonshire, last summer, I tried to discover similar legends in connection with the lakes of North Wales, beginning with Geirionydd, the waters of which form a stream emptying itself into the Conwy, near Trefriw, a little below Llanrwst. I only succeeded, however, in finding an old man of the name of Pierce Williams, about seventy years of age, who was very anxious to talk about "Bony's" wars, but not about lake ladies. I was obliged, in trying to make him understand what I wanted, to use the word *morforwyn*, that is to say in English, a mermaid; he then told me, that in his younger days, he had heard people say that somebody had seen such beings in the Trefriw river. But as my questions were leading ones, his evidence is not worth much; however, I feel pretty sure that one who knew the neighbourhood better, such for

instance as the bard Gwilym Cowlyd, would be able to find some fragments of interesting legends still existing in that weird district.

III. LLANBERIS—LLYN DU'R ARDDU, ETC.

I was more successful at Llanberis, though what I found, at first, was not much; but it was genuine, and to the point. This is the substance of it:—An old woman, called Sian Dafydd, lived at Helfa Fawr, in the dingle called Cwm Brwynog, along the left side of which you ascend as you go to the top of Snowdon, from the village of lower Llanberis, or Coed y Ddol, as it is there called. She was a curious old person, who made nice distinctions between the respective virtues of the waters of that district; thus, no other would do for her to cure her of the *defaid gwylltion* or warts, she fancied she had in her mouth, than that of the spring of Tai Bach, near the lake called 'Llyn Ffynhon y Gwas,' though she seldom found it out, when she was deceived by a servant who cherished a convenient opinion of his own, that a drop from a nearer spring would do quite as well. Old Sian has been dead over thirty-five years, but I have it, on the testimony of two highly trustworthy brothers, who are of her family, and now between sixty and seventy years of age, that she used to relate to them how a shepherd, once on a time, saw a fairy maiden (*un o'r Tylwyth Teg*) on the surface of the tarn called 'Llyn Du'r Arddu,' and how, from bantering and playing, their acquaintance ripened into courtship, when the father and mother of the Lake Maiden appeared to give their sanction, and to arrange the marriage settlement. This was to the effect that he was never to strike her with iron, and that she was to bring her great wealth with her, consisting of stock of all kinds for his mountain farm. All duly took place, and they lived happily together, until one day, when trying to catch a pony, the

husband threw a bridle to his wife, and the iron in that struck her. It was then all over with him, and she hurried away with her property into the lake, so that nothing more was seen or heard of her. Here I may as well explain that the Llanberis side of the steep, near the top of Snowdon, is called 'Clogwyn du'r Arddu,' or the black cliff of the Arddu, at the bottom of which lies the tarn alluded to, or the black lake of the Arddu, and near it stands a huge boulder, called 'Maen du'r Arddu,' or the black stone of the Arddu, all of which names are curious, as involving the word *du*, black, although 'Arddu' itself seems to have nearly the same meaning, in allusion, probably, to the dark shadow cast by that terrible stretch of precipices. One of the brothers, I ought to have said, doubts that the lake here mentioned was the one in old Sian's tale; but he has forgotten which it was of the many in the neighbourhood. Both, however, remembered another short story about the Fairies, which they had heard another old woman relate, namely, Mary Domos Sion, who died some thirty years ago: it was merely to the effect that a shepherd had once lost his way in the mist on the mountain on the land of Caeau Gwynion, towards Cwellyn lake, and got into a ring where the *Tylwyth Teg* were dancing: it was only after a very hard struggle, that he was able, at length, to get away from them.

To this I may add the testimony of a lady, for whose veracity I can vouch, to the effect that, when she was a child in Cwm Brwynog, from thirty to forty years ago, she and her brothers and sisters used to be frequently warned by their mother not to go far away from the house when there happened to be thick mist on the ground, lest they should come across the *Tylwyth Teg* dancing, and be carried away by them into their abode beneath the lake; they were always, she says, supposed to live in the lakes; and the one here alluded to was Llyn Twythweh, which is one of those

famous for its *torgochiaid* or chars. The mother is still living, but she seems to have long since, like others, lost her belief in the Fairies.

After writing the above, I heard that a brother to the foregoing brothers, namely, Mr. Thomas Davies of Mur Mawr, Llanberis, remembered a similar tale. Mr. Davies is now sixty-four, and the persons he heard the tale from were the same Sian Dafydd of Helfa Fawr, and Mary Domos Sion of Ty'n Gadlas, Llanberis; they were about seventy years of age when he heard it from them, and this, he thinks, would now be about sixty years ago. At my request, a friend of mine, Mr. Hugh D. Jones of Ty'n Gadlas, who is also a member of this family, which is one of the oldest perhaps in the place, has taken down from Mr. Davies's mouth all he could remember, word for word, as follows—

“Yn perthyn i ffarm Bron y Fedw yr oedd dyn ifange wedi cael ei fagu, nis gwyddent faint cyn eu hamser hwy. Arferai pan yn hogyn fynd i'r mynydd yn Cwm Drywenydd a Mynydd y Fedw ar ochr orllewinol y Wyddfa i fugeilio, a byddai yn taro ar hogan yn y mynydd; ac wrth fynychu gweled eu gilydd aethant yn ffrindiau mawr. Arferent gyfarfod eu gilydd mewn lle neillduol yn Cwm Drywenydd, lle yr oedd yr hogan a'r teulu yn byw, lle y byddai pob danteithion, chwareuyddiaethau a chanu dihafal; ond ni fyddai yr hogyn yn gwneyd i fyny a neb ohonynt ond yr hogan.

“Diwedd y ffrindiaeth fu carwriaeth, a phan soniodd yr hogyn am iddi briodi, ni wnai ond ar un ammod, sef y bywiau hi hefo fo hyd nes y tarawai ef hi a haiarn.

“Priodwyd hwy, a buont byw gyda'u gilydd am nifer o flynyddoedd, a bu iddynt blant; ac ar ddydd marchnad yn Caernarfon yr oedd y gŵr a'r wraig yn meddwl myned i'r farchnad ar gefn merlod, fel pob ffarmwr yr amser hwnw. Awd i'r mynydd i ddal merlyn bob un.

“Ar waelod Mynydd y Fedw mae llyn o ryw 60 neu gan

llath o hyd ac 20 neu 30 llath o led, ac y mae ar un ochr iddo le tŷg, ffordd y byddai y ceffylau yn rhedeg.

“Daliodd y gŵr ferlyn a rhoes ef i'r wraig i'w ddal heb ffrwyn, tra byddai ef yn dal merlyn arall. Ar ol rhoi ffrwyn yn mhen ei ferlyn ei hun, taflodd un arall i'r wraig i roi yn mhen ei merlyn lithau, ac wrth ei thaflu tarawodd *bit* y ffrwyn hi yn ei llaw. Gollyngodd y wraig y merlyn, ac aeth ar ei phen i'r llyn, a dyna ddiwedd y briodas.”

“To the farm of Bron y Fedw there belonged a son, who grew up to be a young man, they knew not how long before their time. He was in the habit of going up the mountain to Cwm Drywenydd and Mynydd y Fedw, on the west side of Snowdon, to do the shepherding, and there he was wont to come across a lass on the mountain; so that by frequently meeting one another, they became great friends. They usually met at a particular spot in Cwm Drywenydd, where the girl and her family lived, and where there were all kinds of nice things to eat, of amusements and of incomparable music; but he did not cultivate the acquaintance of anybody there except the girl's. The friendship ended in courtship; but when the boy mentioned that she should be married to him, she would only do so on one condition, namely, that she should live with him until he should strike her with iron. They were wedded, and they lived together for a number of years, and had children. Once on a time it happened to be market day at Carnarvon, whither the husband and wife thought of going on their ponies, like all the farmers of the time. So they went to the mountain to catch a pony each. At the bottom of Mynydd y Fedw, there is a pool some sixty or one hundred yards long by twenty or thirty broad, and on the one side of it there is a level space along which the horses used to run. The husband caught a pony, and gave it to the wife to hold fast without a bridle, while he should catch another. When he had bridled his

own pony, he threw another bridle to his wife for her to secure hers; but as he threw it, the bit of the bridle struck her on one of her hands. The wife let go the pony, and went headlong into the pool, and that was the end of their wedded life."

The following is a later tale, which Mr. Davies heard from his mother, who died in 1832, and who would be now ninety years of age had she been still living.

"Pan oedd hi yn hogan yn yr Hafod, Llanberis, yr oedd hogan at ei hoed yn cael ei magu yn Cwmglas, Llanberis, a arferai ddweyd, pan yn hogan, a thra y bu byw, y byddai yn cael arian gan y Tylwyth Teg yn Cwm Cwmglas.

"Yr oedd yn dweyd y byddai ar foreuau niwliog, tywyll, yn myned i le penodol yn Cwm Cwmglas gyda *jugiad* o lefrith o'r fuches a thywel glan, ac yn ei roddi ar gareg; ac yn myned yno drachefn, ac yn cael y llestr yn wâg, gyda darn dau-swllt neu haner coron ac weithiau fwy wrth ei ochr."

"When she was a girl, living at Yr Hafod, Llanberis, there was a girl of her age being brought up at Cwmglas, in the same parish. The latter was in the habit of saying, when she was a girl, and so long as she lived, that she used to have money from the Tylwyth Teg, in the cwm of Cwmglas. Her account was, that on misty mornings she used to go to a particular spot in that cwm with a jug full of sweet milk from the milking place, and a clean towel, and then place them on a stone. She would return, and find the jug empty, with a piece of money placed by its side; that is, two shillings or half-a-crown, or at times even more."

A daughter of this woman lives now at a farm, Mr. Davies observes, called Plas Pennant, in the parish of Llanfihangel yn Mhennant, in Carnarvonshire; and he adds, that it was a tale of a kind that was common enough when he was a boy; but many laughed at it, though the old people believed

it to be a fact. To this I may as well append another tale, which was brought to the memory of an old man who happened to be present when Mr. Jones and Mr. Davies were busy with the foregoing. His name is John Roberts, and his age is seventy-five: his present home is at Capel Sion, in the neighbouring parish of Llanddeiniolen:—

“Yr oedd ef pan yn hogyn yn gweini yn Towyn Trewern, yn agos i Gaergybi, gyda hen wr o’r enw Owen Owens, yr hwn oedd yr adeg hono at ei oed ef yn bresennol.

“Yr oeddynt unwaith mewn hen adeilad ar y ffarm; a dywedodd yr hen wr ei fod ef wedi cael llawer o arian yn y lle hwnw pan yn hogyn, a buasai wedi cael ychwaneg oni bai ei dad.

“Yr oedd wedi cuddio yr arian yn y ty, ond daeth ei fam o hyd iddynt, a dywedodd yr hanes wrth ei dad. Ofnai ei fod yn fachgen drwg, mai eu lladratta yr oedd. Dywedai ei dâd y gwnai iddo ddweyd yn mha le yr oedd yn eu cael, neu y tynai ei groen tros ei hen; ac aeth allan a thorodd wialen bwrpasol at orchwyl o’r fath.

“Yr oedd y bachgen yn gwranddo yr ymddiddan rhwng ei dad a’i fam, ac yr oedd yn benderfynol o gadw y peth yn ddirgelwech fel yr oedd wedi ei rybuddio gan y Tylwyth Teg.

“Aeth i’r tŷ, a dechrenodd y tâd ei holi, ac yntau yn gwrthod atieb; ymbiliai a’i dâd, a dywedai eu bod yn berffaith onest iddo ef, ac y cai ef ychwaneg os cadwai y peth yn ddirgelwech; ond os dywedai nad oedd dim ychwaneg i’w gael. Modd bynnag ni wrandawai y tâd ar ei esgusion na’i resymau, a’r wialen a orfu; dywedodd y bachgen mai gan y Tylwyth Teg yr oedd yn eu cael, a hyny ar yr ammod nad oedd i ddweyd wrth neb. Mawr oedd edifeirwech yr hen bobl am ‘ladd yr wydd oedd yn dodwy’.

“Aeth y bachgen i’r hen adeilad lawer gwaith ar ol hyn, ond ni chafodd byth ychwaneg o arian yno.”

“When a lad, he was servant at Towyn Trewern, near

Holyhead, to an old man about his own age at present. They were one day in an old building on the farm, and the old man told him, that he had had much money in that place when he was a lad, and that he would have had more had it not been for his father. He had hidden the money at home, when his mother found it and told his father of the affair: she feared he was a bad boy, and that it was by theft he got it. His father said that he would make him say where he got it, or else that he would strip him of the skin of his back, at the same time that he went out and cut a rod fit for effecting a purpose of the kind. The boy heard all this talk between his father and mother, and felt determined to keep the matter a secret, as he had been warned by the Tylwyth Teg. He went into the house, and his father began to question him, while he refused to answer. He supplicatingly protested that the money was honestly got, and that he should get more if he kept it a secret, but that, if he did not, there would be no more to be got. However, the father would give no ear to his excuses or his reasons, and the rod prevailed; so that the boy said that it was from the Tylwyth Teg he used to get it, and that on condition of his not telling anybody. Greatly did the old folks regret having killed the goose that laid the eggs. The boy went many a time afterwards to the old building, but he never had any more money there."

IV. BETTWS AND WAENFAWR VERSIONS.

Through the Rev. Daniel Lewis, incumbent of Bettws Garmon, I was directed to Mr. Samuel Rhys Williams, of the Post Office of that place, who has kindly given me the results of his inquiries when writing on the subject of the antiquities of the neighbourhood for a competition at a literary meeting held there a few years ago. He tells me that he got

the following short tale from a native of Drws y Coed, whose name is Margaret Williams. She has been living at Bettws Garmon for many years, and is now over eighty. He does not know whether the story is in print or not, but he is certain that Margaret Williams never saw it, if it be. He further thinks he has heard it from another person, a man over seventy-seven years of age, who has always lived at Drws y Coed, in the parish of Beddgelert:—

“Y mae hanes am fab i amaethwr a breswyliai yn yr Ystrad, Bettws Garmon, pan yn dychwelyd adref o daith ar awr hwyr un noswaith, ddarfod iddo weled cwmni o'r Tylwythion Teg ynghanol eu hafiaeth a'u gloddest. Syfrdanwyd y llanc yn y fan gan degweh anghymarol un o'r rhianod hyn, fel y beiddiodd neidio i ganol y cylch, a chymeryd ei eilun gydag ef. Wedi iddi fod yn trigo gydag ef yn ei gartref am ysbaid, cafodd ganddi addaw bod yn wraig iddo ar ammodau neillduol. Un o'r ammodau hyn ydoedd, na byddai iddo gyffwrdd ynddi ag un math o haiarn. Bu yn wraig iddo, a ganwyd iddynt ddau o blant. Un diwrnod, yr oedd y gwr yn y maes yn ceisio dal y ceffyl; wrth ei weled yn ffaelu, aeth y wraig atto i'w gynnorthwyo, a phan oedd y march yn carlamu heibio gollyngodd yntau y ffrwyn o'i law, er mwyn ceisio ei attal heibio; a phwy a darawodd ond ei wraig, yr hon a ddiflanodd yn y fan allan o'i olwg?”

“The story goes, that the son of a farmer, who lived at Ystrad, Bettws Garmon, when returning home from a journey, late in the evening, beheld a company of fairies in the middle of their mirth and jollity. The youth was at once bewildered by the incomparable beauty of one of these ladies, so that he ventured to leap into the circle and take his idol away with him. After she had tarried a while with him at his home, he prevailed on her to become his wife on special conditions. One of these conditions was that he should not touch her with iron of any description. She became his

wife, and two children were born to them. One day the husband was in the field trying to catch the horse; seeing him unsuccessful, the wife went to him to help him, and, when the horse was galloping past him, he let go the bridle at him in order to prevent him from passing; but whom should he strike but his wife, who vanished out of his sight on the spot."

Just in time a correspondent sends me a copy of the Ystrad tale as published by the late bard and antiquary, Glasynys, in the *Brython* for 1863, p. 193. I will not attempt to translate Glasynys' poetic prose with all its compound adjectives, but it comes to this in a few words. One fine sunny morning, as the young heir of Ystrad was busied with his sheep on the side of Moel Eilio, he met a very pretty girl, and when he got home he told the folks there of it. A few days afterwards he met her again, and this happened several times, when he mentioned it to his father, who advised him to seize her when he next met her. The next time he met her he proceeded to do so, but before he could take her away, a little fat old man came to them and begged him to give her back to him, to which the youth would not listen. The little man uttered terrible threats, but he would not yield, so an agreement was made between them, that he was to have her to wife until he touched her skin with iron, and great was the joy both of the son and his parents in consequence. They lived together for many years, but once on a time on the evening of the Bettws Fair, the wife's horse got restive, and somehow, as the husband was attending to the horse, the stirrup touched the skin of her bare leg, and that very night she was taken away from him. She had three or four children, and more than one of their descendants, as Glasynys maintains, were known to him at the time he wrote in 1863. Glasynys regards this as the same tale which is given by Williams of

Llandegai, to whom we shall refer later; and he says that he had heard it scores of times when he was a lad.

Lastly, I happened to mention these legends last summer among others to the Rev. Owen Davies, curate of Llanberis, a man who is well versed in Welsh literature, and thoroughly in sympathy with everything Welsh. Mr. Davies told me that he knew a tale of the sort from his youth, as current in the parishes of Llanllechid and Llandegai, near Bangor. Not long afterwards he visited his mother at his native place, in Llanllechid, in order to have his memory of it refreshed; and he also went to Waenfawr, on the other side of Carnarvon, where he had the same legend told him with different localities specified. The following is the Waenfawr version, of which I give the Welsh as I have had it from Mr. Davies, and as it was related, according to him, some forty years ago in the valley of Nant y Bettws, near Carnarvon.

“ Ar brydnawngwaith hyfryd yn Hefin, aeth llange ieuange gwrol-ddewr ac anturiaethus, sef etifedd a pherehenog yr Ystrad, i lan afon Gwyrfaï, heb fod yn neppell o'i chychwyniad o lyn Cawellyn, ac a ymguddiodd yno mewn dyryslwyn, sef ger y fan y byddai poblach y cotiau cochion—y *Tylwyth tég*, yn arfer dawnsio. Yr ydoedd yn noswaith hyfryd loerganog, heb un ewmwl i gau llygaid y Lloer, ac anian yn ddistaw dawedog, oddigerth murmuriad lleddf y Wyrfaï, a swm yr awel ysgafndroed yn rhodio brigau deiliog y coed. Ni bu yn ei ymguddfa ond dros ychydig amser, cyn cael difyru o honno ei olygon â dawns y teulu dedwydd. Wrth syllu ar gywreinrwydd y ddawns, y chwim droadau cyflym, yr ymgyniweiriad ysgafn-droediog, tarawodd ei lygaid ar lês lodes ieuange, dlysaf, harddaf, a'r lunieiddiaf a welodd er ei febyd. Yr oedd ei chwim droadau a lledneisrwydd ei hagweddion wedi tanio ei serch tu ag atti i'r fath raddau, fel ag yr oedd yn barod i unrhyw anturiaeth er mwyn ei hennill yn gydymaith

iddo ei hun. O'i ymguddfa dywyll, yr oedd yn gwylio pob ysgogiad er mwyn ei gyfleustra ei hun, fel y Benjaminiaid gynt. Mewn mynnd, yn ddisymwth ddigon, rhwng pryder ac ofn, llamneiodd fel llew gwrol i ganol cylech y Tylwyth teg, ac ymafaelodd â dwylaw cariad yn y fun luniaidd a daniodd ei serch, a hynny, pan oedd y Tylwyth dedwydd yn nghanol nwyfiant eu dawns. Cofleidiodd hi yn dyner garedig yn ei fynwes wresog, ac aeth a hi i'w gartref—i'r Ystrad. Ond diflanodd ei chyd-ddawnsyddion fel anadl Gorphenaf, er ei chroch ddolefau am gael ei rhyddhau, a'i hymegnion difflino i ddiange o afael yr hwn a'i hoffodd. Mewn anwylder mawr, ymddygodd y llange yn dyner odiaethol tu ag at y fun dêg, ac yr oedd yn orawyddus i'w chadw yn ei olwg ac yn ei feddiant. Llwyddodd drwy ei dynerwech tu ag ati i gael ganddi addaw dyfod yn forwyn iddo yn yr Ystrad. A morwyn ragorol oedd hi. Godrai deirgwaith y swm arferol o laeth oddiar bob buwech, ac yr oedd yr ymenyn heb bwys arno. Ond er ei holl daerni, nis gallai mewn un modd gael ganddi ddyweud ei henw wrtho. Gwnaeth lawer cais, ond yn gwbl ofer. Yn ddamweiniol ryw dro, wrth yru

Brithen a'r Benwen i'r borfa,

a hi yn noswaith loergan, efe a aeth i'r man lle yr arferai y Tylwyth teg fyned drwy eu campau yng ngoleuni y Lloer wen. Y tro hwn etto, efe a ymguddiodd mewn dyryslwyn, a chlywodd y Tylwyth teg yn dywedyd y naill wrth y llall— 'Pan oeddym ni yn y lle hwn y tro diweddaf, dygwyd ein chwaer Penelope oddiarnom gan un o'r marwolion'. Ar hynny, dychwelodd y llengeyn adref, a'i fynwes yn llawn o falehder cariad, o herwydd iddo gael gwybod enw ei hoff forwyn, yr hon a synodd yn aruthr, pan glywodd ei meistr ieuange yn ei galw wrth ei henw. Ac am ei bod yn odiaethol dlos, a lluniaidd, yn fywiog-weithgar, a medrus ar bob gwaith, a bod poppeth yn llwyddo dan ei llaw, cynnygiodd ei hun iddi yn wr—y celai fod yn feistres yr Ystrad, yn lle bod

yn forwyn. Ond ni chydrynai hi a'i gais ar un cyfrif; ond bod braidd yn bendrist oherwydd iddo wybod ei henw. Fodd bynnag, gwedi maith amser, a thrwy ei daerineb diflino, eidsyniodd, ond yn ammodol. Addawodd ddyfod yn wraig iddo, ar yr ammod canlynol, sef, 'Pa bryd bynnag y tarawai ef hi â haiarn, yr elai ymaith oddi wrtho, ac na ddychwelai byth atto mwy'. Sierhawyd yr ammod o'i du yntau gyd a pharod-rwydd cariad. Buont yn cyd-fyw a'u gilydd yn hapus a chysurus, lawer o flynyddoedd, a ganwyd iddynt fab a merch, y rhai oeddynt dlysaf a lluneiddiaf yn yr holl froydd. Ac yn rhinwedd ei medrusrwyd a'i deheurwydd fel gwraig gall, rinweddol, aethant yn gyfoethog iawn—yn gyfoethocach na neb yn yr holl wlad. Heblaw ei etifeddiaeth ei hun—Yr Ystrad, yr oedd yn ffarmio holl ogledd-barth Nant y Bettws, ac oddi yno i ben yr Wyddfa, ynghyd a holl Gwambrwynog, yn mhlwyf Llanberis. Ond, ryw ddiwrnod, yn anffortunus ddigon aeth y ddau i'r ddôl i ddal y ceffyl, a chan fod y ceffyl yn braidd yn wyllt ac annof, yn rhedeg oddi arnynt, taflodd y gwr y ffrwyn mewn gwylltineb yn ei erbyn, er ei attal, ac ar bwy y disgynodd y ffrwyn, ond ar Penelope, y wraig! Diflanodd Penelope yn y fan, ac ni welodd byth mo honi. Ond ryw noswaith, a'r gwynt yn chwythu yn oer o'r gogledd, daeth Penelope at ffenestr ei ystafell-wely, a dywedodd wrtho am gymmeryd gofal o'r plant yn y geiriau hyn:

‘ Rhag bod anwyd ar fy mab,
Yn rhodd rhowch arno gôb ei dad;
Rhag bod anwyd ar liw 'r can,
Rhoddwch arni bais ei mham.’

Ac yna eiliodd, ac ni chlywwyd na siw na miw byth yn ei chyleh.”

For the sake of those readers of the *Cymmrodor* who do not happen to know Welsh, I add a summary of it in English.

One fine evening in the month of June a brave, adven-

turous youth, the heir of Ystrad, went to the banks of the Gwyrfai, not far from where it leaves Cwellyn Lake, and hid himself in the bushes near the spot where the folks of the Red Coats, or the Fairies, were wont to dance. The moon shone forth brightly without a cloud to intercept her light; all was quiet save that the Gwyrfai gently murmured on its bed, and it was not long before the young man had the satisfaction of seeing the Fair Family dancing in full swing. As he gazed on the subtle course of the dance, his eyes rested on a damsel, the most shapely and beautiful he had seen from his boyhood. Her agile movements and the charm of her looks inflamed him with love for her to such a degree that he felt ready for any encounter in order to secure her to be his own. From his hiding-place he watched every move for his opportunity; at last, with feelings of anxiety and dread, he leaped suddenly into the middle of the circle of the Fairies. There, while their enjoyment of the dance was at its height, he seized her in his arms and carried her away to his home at Ystrad. But, as she screamed for help to free her from the grasp of him who had fallen in love with her, the dancing party disappeared like a breath in July. He treated her with the utmost kindness, and was ever anxious to keep her within his sight and in his possession. By dint of tenderness he succeeded so far as to get her to consent to be his servant at Ystrad. And such a servant she turned out to be! Why, she was wont to milk the cows thrice a day, and to have the usual quantity of milk each time, so that the butter was so plentiful that nobody thought of weighing it. As to her name, in spite of all his endeavours to ascertain it, she would never tell it him. Accidentally, however, one moonlight night, when driving two of his cows to the spot where they should graze, he came to the place where the fairies were wont to enjoy their games in the light of the moon. This time also he hid himself in a thicket, when he overheard

one fairy saying to another, "When we were last here our sister Penelope was stolen from us by a man." As soon as he heard that, off he went home, full of joy because he had discovered the name of the maid that was so dear to him. She, on the other hand, was greatly astonished to hear him call her by her own name. As she was so charmingly pretty, so industrious, so skilled in every work, and so attended by luck in everything she put her hand to, he offered to make her his wife instead of being his servant. At first she would in no wise consent, but rather give way to grief at his having found her name out. However his importunity at length brought her to consent, but on the condition that he should not strike her with iron; if that should happen, she would quit him never to come again. The agreement was made on his side with the readiness of love, and after this they lived in happiness and comfort together for many years, and there were born to them a son and a daughter, who were the handsomest children in the whole country. Owing, also, to the skill and good qualities of the woman, as a shrewd and virtuous wife, they became very rich—richer, indeed, than anybody else in the country around; for, besides the husband's own inheritance of Ystrad, he held all the northern part of Nant y Bettws, and all from there to the top of Snowdon, together with Cwm Brwynog, in the parish of Llanberis. But one day, as bad luck would have it, they went out together to catch a horse in the field, and, as the animal was somewhat wild and untamed, they had no easy work before them. In his rashness the man threw a bridle at him as he was rushing past him, but, alas! on whom should the bridle fall but on the wife! No sooner had this happened than she disappeared, and nothing more was ever seen of her. But one cold night, when there was a chilling wind blowing from the north, she came near the window of his bedroom, and told him in these words to take care of the children:—

“Lest my son should find it cold,
Place on him his father’s coat ;
Lest the fair one find it cold,
Place on her my petticoat.”

Then she withdrew, and nothing more was heard of her.

In reply to some queries of mine, Mr. O. Davies tells me that Penelope was pronounced in three syllables *Pènelôp*—so he heard it from his grandfather: he goes on to say that the offspring of the Lake Lady is supposed to be represented by a family called *Pellings*, which was once a highly respected name in those parts, and that there was a Lady Bulkeley who was of this descent, not to mention that several people of a lower rank, both in Anglesey and Arvon, claimed to be of the same origin. I am not very clear as to how the name got into this tale, nor have I been able to learn anything about the *Pellings*; but, as the word appears to have been regarded as a corrupt derivative from Penelope, that is, perhaps, all the connection, so that it may be that it has really nothing whatever to do with the legend. This is a point, however, which the antiquaries of North Wales ought to be able to clear up satisfactorily.

Mr. O. Davies¹ has kindly called my attention to a volume

¹ To meet the Editor’s rule I have applied to Mr. Davies for a little of the history of the legend in his family; he is a native of Llanllechid, where he was brought up, and writes to the following effect:—I am now (June 1881) over fifty-two years of age, and I can assure you that I have heard the legend forty years ago. I do not remember my father, as he died when I was young, but my grandfather was remarkable for his delight in tales and legends, and it was his favourite pastime during the winter nights, after getting his short black pipe ready, to relate stories about struggles with robbers, about bogies, and above all about the *Tylwyth Teg*; for they were his chief delight. He has been dead twenty-six years, and he had reached within a little of eighty years of age. His father before him, who was born about the year 1740, was also famous for his stories, and my grandfather often mentioned him as his authority in the course of his narration of the tales. Both he and

entitled *Observations on the Snowdon Mountains*, by Mr. William Williams of Llandegai, published in London in 1802, where this tale is given somewhat less fully than by Mr. Davies's informant. There the author makes the following remarks with regard to it (pp. 37, 40):—"A race of people inhabiting the districts about the foot of Snowdon, were formerly distinguished and known by the nick-name of *Pellings*, which is not yet extinct. There are several persons and even families who are reputed to be descended from these people. . . . These children [Penelope's] and their descendants, they say, were called *Pellings*, a word corrupted from their mother's name, Penelope. The late Thomas Rowlands, Esq., of Caerau, in Anglesey, the father of the late Lady Bulkeley, was a descendant of this lady, if it be true that the name *Pellings* came from her; and there are still living several opulent and respectable people who are known to have sprung from the *Pellings*. The best blood in my own veins is this fairy's."

Lastly, it will be noticed that this version does not distinctly suggest that the Lake Lady ran into the lake, that is into Cwellyn, but rather that she disappeared in the same way as the dancing party by simply becoming invisible like one's breath in July. The Fairies are called in Welsh, *Y Tylwyth Teg*, or the Fair Family; but the people of Arvon have been so familiarised with the particular one I have termed the Lake Lady, that, according to one of my informants, they have made the term *Y Dylwythes Deg* or even *Y Dylwythen Deg* to denote her; but it is unknown to the others, so that the extent of its use is still not very considerable.

the rest of the family used to look at Corwrion as a sacred spot. When I was a lad and happened to be reluctant to leave off playing at dusk, my mother or grandfather had only to say that "the Pellings were coming", in order to induce me to come into the house at once: indeed, this announcement had the same effect on persons of a much riper age than mine then was.

This is, perhaps, the place to give another tale, according to which the man goes to the Lake Maiden's country instead of her settling with him at his home. I owe it to the kindness of Mr. William Jones of Regent Place, Llangollen, who is a native of Beddgelert. He heard it from an old man before he left Beddgelert, but when he sent a friend to inquire some time afterwards, he was gone to his long home. The details of the tale are, for that reason, imperfect, Mr. Jones says, as the incidents have faded from his memory; but such as he can still remember the tale, it is here given in his own words:—

“Ryw noson lawn lloer ac un o feibion Llwyn On yn Nant y Bettws yn myned i garu i Glogwyn y Gwin, efe a welodd y Tylwyth yn ymloddestu a dawnsio ei hoehr hi ar weingloddwrth lan Llyn Cawellyn. Efe a nesaodd tuag attynt; ac o dipyn i beth fe'i llithiwyd gan bereiddra swynol eu canu a hoender a bywiogrwyd eu chwareu, nes myned o hono tu fewn i'r cyleh; ac yn fuan fe ddaeth rhyw hud drosto, fel y collodd adnabyddiaeth o bobman; a chafodd ei hun mewn gwlad harddaf a welodd erioed, lle yr oedd pawb yn treulio eu hamser mewn afaeth a gorfoledd. Yr oedd wedi bod yno am saith mlynedd, ac etto nid oedd ddim ond megys breuddwyd nos; ond daeth adgof i'w feddwl am ei neges, a hiraeth ynddo am weled ei anwylyd. Felly efe a ofynodd ganiatad i ddychwelyd adref, yr hyn a roddwyd ynghyd a llu o gymdeithion i'w arwain tua'i wlad; ac yn ddisymwth cafodd ei hun fel yn deffro o freuddwyd ar y ddol, lle gwelodd y Tylwyth Teg yn chwareu. Trodd ei wyneb tuag adref; ond wedi myned yno yr oedd poppeth wedi newid, ei rieni wedi meirw, ei frodyr yn ffaelu ei adnabod, a'i gariad wedi priodi un arall.—Ar ol y fath gyfnewidiadau efe a dorodd ei galon, ac a fu farw mewn llai nag wythnos ar ol ei ddychweliad.”

“One bright moonlight night, as one of the sons of the farmer who lived at Llwyn On in Nant y Bettws was going

to pay his addresses to a girl at Clogwyn y Gwin, he beheld the Tylwyth enjoying themselves in full swing on a meadow close to Cwellyn Lake. He approached them, and little by little he was led on by the enchanting sweetness of their music and the liveliness of their playing until he had got within their circle. Soon some kind of spell passed over him, so that he lost his knowledge of every place, and found himself in a country, the most beautiful he had ever seen, where everybody spent his time in mirth and rejoicing. He had been there seven years, and yet it seemed to him but a night's dream; but a faint recollection came to his mind of the business on which he had left home, and he felt a longing to see his beloved one. So he went and asked for permission to return home, which was granted him, together with a host of attendants to lead him to his country; and, suddenly, he found himself, as if waking from a dream, on the bank where he had seen the Fair Family amusing themselves. He turned towards home, but there he found everything changed: his parents were dead, his brothers could not recognise him, and his sweetheart was married to another man. In consequence of such changes, he broke his heart, and died in less than a week after coming back."

V. THE LLANLLECHID AND LLANDEGAI VERSIONS—

CORWRION LAKE.

The Rev. O. Davies regarded the Llanllechid legend as so very like the one he got about Cwellyn Lake at Waenfawr, that he has not written the former out at length, but merely pointed out the following differences: 1. Instead of Cwellyn, the lake in the former is that of Corwrion, in the parish of Llandegai, near Bangor. 2. What the Lake Lady was struck with was not a bridle but an iron fetter: the word used is *Uyfether*, which probably means a fetter connecting a fore-

foot and a hind-foot of a horse together. In Arvon, the word is applied also to a cord tying the two fore-feet together, but in Cardiganshire this would be called a *hual*, the other word, there pronounced *llowethir*, being confined to the long fetter. In books, the word is written *llywethair*, *llefethair*, *llyffethair*, *llyffethar*, and it is possibly so pronounced in parts of North Wales, though I cannot recall it. This is an interesting word, as it is no other than the English term "long fetter", borrowed into Welsh; as in fact, it was also into Irish early enough to call for an article on it in Cormac's Irish Glossary, where *langfiter* is described as an English word for a fetter between the fore and the hind-legs. 3. The field in which they were trying to catch the horse is, in the Llanllechid version, specified as that called Maes Madog, at the foot of the Llefn. 4. When she, after that, ran away, it was headlong into the lake of Corwrion, calling after her all her milch cows, which followed her with the utmost readiness. 5. Before going on to mention bits of information I have received from others about the Llanllechid legend, I think it best here to finish with that sent me by Mr. O. Davies, whom I cannot too cordially thank for his readiness to answer my questions. Among other things, he expresses himself to the following effect:—"It is to this day a tradition, and I have heard it a hundred times, that the dairy of Corwrion excelled all other dairies in those parts, that the milk was better and more plentiful, and that the cheese and butter were better there, than in all the country around, the reason assigned being that the cattle on the farm of Corwrion had mixed with the breed belonging to the Fairy, who had run away after being struck with the iron fetter. However that may be, I remember perfectly well the high terms of praise in which the cows of Corwrion used to be spoken of as being remarkable for their milk and the profit they yielded; and, when I was a boy, I used to hear people talk of *Tarw Penwyn Corwrion* or

‘the white-headed bull of Corwrion’, as derived from the breed of cattle which had formed the Fairy Maiden’s dowry.”

My next informant is Mr. Hugh Derfel Hughes,¹ of Pendinas, Llandegai, who has been kind enough to give me the version, of which I here give the substance in English, promising that Mr. Hughes says that he has lived about thirty-four years within a mile of the pool and farmhouse called Corwrion, and that he has refreshed his memory of the legend by questioning separately no less than three old people, who had been bred and born at or near that spot. He is a native of Merioneth, but has lived at Llandegai for the last thirty-seven years, his age now being sixty-six:—

“In old times, when the fairies showed themselves much oftener to men than they do now, they made their home in the bottomless pool of Corwrion, in Upper Arllechwedd, in that wild portion of Gwynedd called Arvon. On fine mornings in the month of June these diminutive and nimble folk might be seen in a regular line vigorously engaged in mowing hay, with their cattle in herds busily grazing in the

¹ Mr. Hughes is a local antiquary of great industry and zeal. In the year 1866 he published a book on the antiquities of the district, under the title of *Hynafiathan Llandegai a Llanllechid*; but it is out of print, and I have never seen a copy. I may add that at present he is engaged on a key to a larger work, which he has spent some ten years in compiling, on Welsh names, under the title of *Casgliad o Enwau Cymreig*, which is to be published as soon as the Welsh public has given the author sufficient encouragement to undertake the expense of printing. I have not seen the manuscript, but, according to what the author tells me, it would be of great value and interest to the Welsh reading public. Mr. Hughes has supplied me with such a quantity of notes relative to Corwrion and the neighbourhood, that I can only publish extracts from them, remarking as to the legend, that he, being a Christian, does not wish to be supposed, as he kindly hints, to harbour any liking for such vanities, and I most willingly bear him testimony that it is only the belief that possibly I may be able to draw some edification from it, that he has written to me so fully about it. I cannot adequately express my obligations to him for the disinterested manner in which he has given me his help.

fields near Corwrion. This was a sight which often met the eyes of the people on the sides of the hills around, even on Sundays; but when they hurried down to them they found the fields empty, with the sham workmen and their cows gone, all gone. At other times they might be heard hammering away like miners, shovelling rubbish aside, or emptying their carts of stones. At times they took to singing all the night long, greatly to the delight of the people about, who dearly loved to hear them; and, besides singing so charmingly, they sometimes formed into companies for dancing, and their movements were marvellously graceful and attractive. But it was not safe to go too near the lake late at night, for once a brave girl, who was troubled with toothache, got up at midnight and went to the brink of the water in search of the root of a plant that grows there full of the power to kill all pain in the teeth. But, as she was plucking up a bit of it, there burst on her ear, from the depths of the lake, such a shriek as drove her back into the house, breathless with fear and trembling; but whether this was not the doing of a stray fairy, who had been frightened out of her wits at being suddenly overtaken by a damsel in her night-dress, or the ordinary fairy way of curing the toothache, tradition does not tell. For sometimes, at any rate, the fairies busied themselves in doing good to the men and women who were their neighbours, as when they tried to teach them to keep all promises and covenants to which they pledged themselves. A certain man and his wife, to whom they wished to teach this good habit have never been forgotten. The husband had been behaving as he ought, until one day, as he held the plough, with the wife guiding his team, he broke his covenant towards her by treating her harshly and unkindly. No sooner had he done so, than he was snatched through the air and plunged in the lake. When the wife went to the brink of the water to ask for him back, the

reply she had was, that he was there, and that there he should be.

“The fairies when engaged in dancing allowed themselves to be gazed at, a sight which was wont greatly to attract the young men of the neighbourhood, and once on a time the son and heir of the owner of Corwrion fell deeply in love with one of the graceful maidens who danced in the fairy ring, for she was wondrously beautiful and pretty beyond compare. His passion for her ere long resulted in courtship, and soon in their being married, which took place on the distinct understanding, that firstly the husband was not to know her name, though he might give her any name he chose; and, secondly, that he might now and then beat her with a rod, if she chanced to misbehave towards him; but he was not to strike her with iron on pain of her leaving him at once. This covenant was kept for some years, so that they lived happily together and had four children, of whom the two youngest were a boy and a girl. But one day as they went to one of the fields of Bryn Twrw in the direction of Penardd Gron, to catch a pony, the fairy wife being so much nimbler than her husband, ran before him and had her hand in the pony’s mane in no time. She called out to her husband to throw her a halter, but instead of that he threw towards her a bridle with an iron bit, which, as bad luck would have it, struck her. The wife at once flew through the air, and plunged headlong into Corwrion Lake. The husband returned sighing and weeping towards Bryn Twrw (Noise Hill), and when he had reached it, the *twrw* (noise) there was greater than had ever been heard before, namely that of weeping after “Belene”; and it was then, after he had struck her with iron, that he first learnt what his wife’s name was. Belene never came back to her husband, but the feelings of a mother once brought her to the window of his bedroom, where she gave him the following order:—

“ Os bydd anwyd ar fy mab,
 Rho'wch am dano gob ei dad ;
 Os anwydog a fydd can,¹
 Rho'wch am dani bais ei mam.”

“ If my son should feel it cold,
 Let him wear his father's coat ;
 If the fair one feel the cold,
 Let her wear my petticoat.”

“ As years and years rolled on a grandson of Belene's fell in love with a beautiful damsel who lived at a neighbouring farm-house called Tai Teulwriaid, and against the will of his father and mother they married, but they had nothing to stock their land with. So one morning what was their astonishment, when they got up, to see grazing quietly in the field six black cows and a white-headed bull, which had come up out of the lake as stock for them from old grannie Belene? They served them well with milk and butter for many a long year, but on the day the last of the family died, the six black cows and the white-headed bull disappeared into the lake, never more to be seen.”

Mr. Hughes refers to no less than three other versions, as follows. (1) According to one account, the husband was ploughing, with the wife leading the team, when he accidentally came across her and the accident with the iron happened. The wife then flew away like a wood hen (*iar goed*) into the lake. (2) Another says that it was in a stable they were trying to bridle one of the horses when the misfortune took place through inadvertence. (3) A third specifies the field in front of the house at Corwrion as the place where the final accident took place, when they were busied with the cows and horses.

To these I would add the following traditions, which Mr. Hughes further gives. Sometimes the inhabitants, who seem

¹ For *can* they now usually put *Ann*, and Mr. Hughes remembers hearing it so many years ago.

to have been on the whole on good terms with the fairies, used to warm water and leave it in a vessel on the hearth over night for the fairies to wash their children with it. This they considered such a kindness that they always left behind them on the hearth a handful of their money. Some pieces are said to have been sometimes found in the fields near Corwrion, and that they consisted of coins which were smaller than our halfpennies, but bigger than farthings, and had a harp on one side. But the tradition is not very definite on these points. Here also I may as well refer to a similar tale which I got last year at Llanberis from a man who is a native of the Llanllechid side of the mountain, though he now lives at Llanberis. He is about fifty-five years of age, and remembers hearing in his youth a tale connected with a house called Hafoty'r Famaeth, in a very lonely situation on Llanllechid Mountain, and now represented by some old ruined walls only; it was to the effect that one night when the man who lived there was away from home, his wife, who had a youngish baby, washed him on the hearth, left the water there, and went to bed with her little one; she woke up in the night to find that the *Tylwyth Teg* were in possession of the hearth, and busily engaged in washing their children. That is all I got of this tale of a well-known type.

To return to Mr. Hughes' communications, I would select from them some remarks on the topography of the teeming home of the Fairies. He estimates the lake or pool of Corwrion to be about 120 yards long, and adds that it is nearly round; but he thinks it was formerly considerably larger, as a cutting was made some eighty or a hundred years ago to lead water from it to Penrhyn Castle; but even then its size would not approach that ascribed to it by popular belief, according to which it was no less than three miles long. In fact there was once a town of Corwrion which was swallowed up by the lake, a sort of idea which one meets with in many parts

of Wales, and some of the natives are said to be able to discern the houses under the water. This must have been near the end which is not bottomless, the latter being indicated by a spot which is said never to freeze even in hard winters. Old men remember it the resort of herons, cormorants, and the water-hen (*hobi wen*); near the banks there grew, besides the water lily, various kinds of rushes and sedges, which were formerly much used for making mats and other useful articles. It was also once famous for eels of a large size, but it is not supposed to have contained fish until Lord Penrhyn placed some there in recent years; it teemed, however, with leeches of three different kinds so recently that an old man still living describes to Mr. Hughes his simple way of catching them when he was a boy, namely, by walking bare-legged in the water; in a few minutes he landed with nine or ten leeches sticking to his legs, some of which fetched a shilling each from the medical men of those days. Corwrion is now a farm-house occupied by Mr. William Griffiths, a grandson of the late bard Gutyn Peris. When Mr. Hughes called to make enquiries about the legend, he found there the foundations of several old buildings, and several pieces of old querns about the place. He thinks that there belonged to Corwrion in former times, a mill and a fuller's house, which he seems to infer from the names of two neighbouring houses called 'Y Felin Hen' and 'Pandy Tregarth' respectively; and he mentions a *gefail* or smithy there, in which one Rhys ap Robert used to work, not to mention that a great quantity of ashes, such as come from a smithy, are found at the end of the lake furthest from the house of Corwrion. The spot, on which Corwrion stands, is part of the ground between the Ogwen and another stream which bears the name of 'Afon Cegin Arthur' or the river of Arthur's kitchen, and most of the houses and fields about have names which have suggested various things to the people there: such are the farms called

'Coed Howel', whence the belief in the neighbourhood that Howel the Good, King of Wales, lived here. About him Mr. Hughes has a great deal to say; among other things, that he had boats on Corwrion lake, and that he was wont to present the citizens of Bangor yearly with 300 fat geese reared on the waters of the same. I am referred by another gentleman to a lecture delivered in the neighbourhood on these and similar things by the late bard and antiquary the Rev. Robert Ellis, Cynnddelw, but I have not yet been able to find it in print. A field near Corwrion is called 'Cae Stabl', or the Field of the Stable, which contains the remains of a row of stables, as it is supposed, and of a number of mangers where Howel's horses once were fed. In a neighbouring wood, called 'Pare y Gelli' or 'Hopiar y Gelli', my informant goes on to say, there are to be seen the foundations of seventeen or eighteen old hut-circles, and near them some think they see the site of an old church. About a mile to the south-east of Corwrion is Pendinas, which he describes as an old triangular Welsh fortress on the bank of the Ogwen; and within two stone's-throws or so of Corwrion on the south side of it, and a little to the west of Bryn Twrw mentioned in the legend, is situated Penardd Gron, a caer or fort, which he describes as being, before it was erased in his time, 42 yards long by 32 wide, and defended by a sort of rampart of earth and stone several yards wide at the base. It used to be the resort of the country people for dancing, cock-fighting, and other amusements on Sundays. Near it was a cairn, which, when it was dug into, was found to cover a kistvaen, a pot, and a quern: a variety of tales attach to this caer about ghosts, caves, and hidden treasures of money. Altogether Mr. Hughes is strongly of opinion that Corwrion and its immediate surroundings represent a spot which had great importance at one time; and I see no reason to doubt the correctness of that conclusion, but it would be interesting to know whether Penrhyn

used, as Mr. Hughes suggests, to be called Penrhyn Corwrion; there ought, perhaps, to be no great difficulty in ascertaining this, as a good deal of the estate appears to have been the subject of sharp litigation in times gone by.

Possibly, the so-called *Cyfraith Corwrion* may turn out to have some bearing on the question of the importance of Corwrion in old times. Under this heading Mr. Hughes writes to the following effect:—"There was formerly a law called *Cyfraith Corwrion*, together with lawyers called *Cyfreithwyr Corwrion*, and the old people sometimes chose to settle their quarrels according to *Cyfraith Corwrion*. Here is an instance of it. About 150 years ago there was such a flood in the Ogwen, that it carried away a valuable tree from the land of Grâs ych Huw of Cilgeraint, and left it on the land of Madam Puw of Coetnor. The servants of the latter were eager to take possession of it, but Madam Puw would have nothing to do with it until Grâs had been sent for from Cilgeraint to see it. Down came Grâs on her horse, and rather than go to law about the tree, they agreed that Grâs was to have the trunk and Madam Puw the branches. So they parted in peace, when Grâs went home, and died not long afterwards, in the process of making oatmeal cakes, at the age of 103, as testified by an inscription to be seen in Llandegai Church until it was restored." I am by no means clear as to why the above is called *Cyfraith Corwrion*, and whether the term may not have some other signification. The word *cyfraith* may mean either a law or a lawsuit, and I learn from my informant that the latter is the one attributed to it in this instance by the old people about him. I have recorded it simply in hopes that if the term has any historical significance, light may be thrown on it by somebody more skilled in Welsh law than I am.

Before leaving Mr. Hughes's notes, I must here give his too brief account of another thing connected with Corwrion,

though, perhaps, not with the legends here in question. I allude to what he calls the Lantern Ghost (*Ysbryd y Lantar*). "There used to be formerly," he says, "and there is still at Corwrion, a good sized, sour apple-tree, which during the winter half of the year used to be lit up by fire. It began slowly and grew greater and greater until the whole seemed to be in a blaze. He was told by an old woman that she formerly knew old people who declared they had seen it. In the same way the trees in Hopiar y Gelli appeared, according to them, to be also lit up with fire." This reminds me of Mr. Fitzgerald's account of the Irish Bile-Tineadh in the *Revue Celtique* (vol. iv, p. 193).

After communicating to me the notes of which the foregoing are abstracts, Mr. Hughes kindly got me a version of the legend from Mr. David Thomas of Pontyvern, in the same neighbourhood, but as it contains nothing which I have not already given from Mr. Hughes's own, I pass it by. Mr. Thomas, however, has heard that the number of the houses making up the town of Corwrion some six or seven centuries ago was about seventy-five; but they were exactly seventy-three according to my next informant, Mr. David Evan Davies of Treflys, Bethesda. Both these gentlemen have also heard the tradition that there was a church at Corwrion, where there used to be every Sunday a single service, after which the people went to a spot not far off to amuse themselves, and at night to watch the Fairies dancing, or to mix with them while they danced in a ring around a glow-worm. According to Mr. D. E. Davies, the spot was called 'Pen y Bonge', which means that they chose the top of a rising ground. This is referred to in a modern rhyme, which runs thus—

"A'r Tylwyth Teg yn dawnsio'n sionge
O gyleh magien Pen y Bonge."

"With nimble Fairies dancing round
The glow-worm on the rising ground."

Mr. D. E. Davies has kindly gone to the trouble of giving me a brief, but complete, version of the legend as he has heard it. This is the substance of it in English:—"At one of the dances at Pen y Bonge, the heir of Corwrion's eyes fell on one of the damsels of the Fair Family, and he was filled with love for her. Courtship and marriage in due time ensued, but he had to agree to two conditions, namely, that he was neither to know her name nor to strike her with iron. By and by they had children, and when the husband happened to go, during his wife's confinement, to a merry-making at Pen y Bonge, the Fairies talked together of his wife, and in expressing their feelings of sympathy for her, they inadvertently betrayed the mystery of her name by mentioning it within his hearing. Years went by, when they one day went out together to catch a colt of theirs that had not been broken in, with the view of going to Conwy Fair. Now, as she was swifter of foot than her husband, she got hold of the colt by the mane, and called out to him to throw her a halter, but instead of throwing her the one she asked for, he threw another with iron in it, which struck her. Off she went into the lake. A grandson of this fairy many years afterwards married one of the girls of Corwrion. They had a large piece of land, but no means of stocking it, so that they felt rather distressed in their minds. But lo and behold! one day a white-headed bull came out of the lake, bringing with him six black cows to their land. There never were the like of those cows for milk, and great was the prosperity of their owners, as well as the envy it kindled in their neighbours' breasts. But when they both grew old and died, the bull and the cows went back into the lake."

Now I add the other sayings about the *Tylwyth Teg*, which Mr. D. E. Davies has kindly collected for me, beginning with a common story about changelings:—

"Once on a time, in the fourteenth century, the wife of a

man at Corwrion had twins, and she complained one day to the witch, who lived close by, at Tyddyn y Bareut, that the children were not getting on, but that they were always crying day and night. 'Are you sure that they are your children?' asked the witch, adding that it did not seem to her that they were like hers. 'I have my doubts also,' said the mother. 'I wonder if somebody has changed children with you,' said the witch. 'I do not know,' said the mother. 'But why do you not seek to know?' asked the other. 'But how am I to go about it?' said the mother. The witch replied, 'Go and do something rather strange before their eyes and watch what they will say to one another.' 'Well, I do not know what I should do,' said the mother. 'Oh,' said the other, 'take an egg-shell, and proceed to brew beer in it in a chamber aside, and come here to tell me what the children will say about it.' She went home and did as the witch had directed her, when the two children lifted their heads out of the cradle to see what she was doing, to watch, and to listen. Then one observed to the other, 'I remember seeing an oak having an acorn,' to which the other replied, 'And I remember seeing a hen having an egg;' and one of the two added, 'But I do not remember before seeing anybody brew beer into the shell of a hen's egg.' The mother then went to the witch and told her what the twins had said one to the other; and she directed her to go to a small wooden bridge, not far off, with one of the strange children under each arm, and there to drop them from the bridge into the river beneath. The mother went back home again and did as she had been directed. When she reached home this time, to her astonishment she found that her own children had been brought back."

Next comes a story about a midwife who lived at Corwrion. "One of the fairies came to ask her to come and attend on his wife. Off she went with him, and she was astonished to be taken into a splendid palace. There she con-

tinued to go night and morning to dress the baby for some time, until one day the husband asked her to rub her eyes with a certain ointment he offered her. She did so, and found herself sitting on a tuft of rushes, and not in a palace. There was no baby and all had disappeared. Some time afterwards she happened to go to the town, and whom should she there see busily buying various wares, but the fairy on whose wife she had been attending. She addressed him with the question, 'How are you, to-day?' Instead of answering her, he asked, 'How do you see me?' 'With my eyes,' was the prompt reply. 'Which eye?' he asked. 'This one,' said the woman, pointing to it; and instantly he disappeared, never more to be seen by her." This tale is incomplete, but it can be made up from another version I have seen in print somewhere, though I cannot now lay my hand on it. It was possibly in Mr. Sikes' book.

"One day Guto, the farmer of Corwrion, complained to his wife that he was in need of men to mow his hay, and she answered, 'Why fret about it? look yonder! There you have a field full of them at it, and stripped to their shirt sleeves (*yn llewys eu crysau*). When he went to the spot the sham workmen of the Fairy Family had disappeared. This same Guto, or somebody else, happened, another time, to be ploughing, when he heard some person he could not see calling out to him, 'I have got the *bins* (that is the *vice*) of my plough broken.' 'Bring it to me,' said the driver of Guto's team, 'that I may mend it.' When they brought the furrow to its end, there they found the broken vice, with a barrel of beer placed near it. One of the men sat down and mended it. Then they made another furrow, and when they returned to the spot they found there a two-eared dish, filled to the brim with *bara a chwrrw*, or bread and beer." The *vice*, I may observe, is an English term, which is applied in Carnarvonshire to a certain part of the plough; it is otherwise called *bins*,

but neither does that seem to be a Welsh word, nor have I heard either used in South Wales.

At times the wife of one of the Fairies was in the habit of coming out of the lake of Corwrion with her spinning-wheel (*troell bach*) on fine summer days, and betaking herself to spinning. While at that work she might be heard constantly singing or humming, in a sort of round tune, the words *sili ffrit*. So that "Sili ffrit Leisa Bèla" may now be heard from the mouths of the children in that neighbourhood. But I have not been successful in finding out what Liza Bella's "silly frit" exactly means, though I am, on the whole, inclined to think the words are other than of Welsh origin: the last of them, *ffrit*, is usually applied in Cardiganshire to anything worthless or insignificant, and the derivative, *ffrityn*, means one who has no go or perseverance in him; the feminine is *ffriten*. In Carnarvonshire my wife has heard *ffrityn* and *ffritan* applied to a small man and a small woman respectively. Mr. Hughes says that in Merioneth and parts of Powys *sili ffrit* is a term applied to a small woman or a female dwarf who happens to be proud, vain, and fond of the attentions of the other sex (*benyw fach, neu goraches falch a hunanol a fyddai hoff o garu*); but he thinks he has heard it made use of with regard to the Gipsies, and possibly also to the Tylwyth Teg. The Rev. O. Davies thinks the words "sili ffrit Leisa Bèla" to be very modern, and that they refer to a young woman who lived at a place in the neighbourhood, called Bryn Bèla, or Brymbèla, Bella's Hill, who was ahead, in her time, of all the girls in those parts in matters of taste and fashion. This however does not seem to go far enough back, and it is possible still, that in Bèla (that is, in English spelling, Bella) we have merely a shortening of some such a name as Isabella or Arabella, which were once much more popular in the Principality than they are now; in fact, I do not feel sure that *Leisa Bèla* is not bodily a corruption of Isabella. As to

sìli ffrit, one might at first have been inclined to render it by small fry, especially in the sense of the French “de la friture” as applied to young men and boys, and to connect it with the Welsh *sìl* and *sìlod*, which mean small fish; but the pronunciation of *sìli* being that of the English word silly, it appears, on the whole, to belong to the host of English words to be found in colloquial Welsh, though they seldom get into books. Students of English philology ought to be able to tell us whether *frit* had the meaning here suggested in any part of England, and how lately; also, whether there was such a phrase as “silly frit” in use. After penning this, I received the following interesting communication from Mr. William Jones of Llangollen:—The term *sìli ffrit* was in use at Beddgelert, and what was thereby meant was a child of the *Tylwyth Teg*. It is still used for any creature that is smaller than ordinary. “Pooh, a silly frit like that!” (*Pw, rhyw sìli ffrit fel yna!*). “Mrs. So-and-so has a fine child.” “Hah, do you call a silly frit like that a fine child?” (*Mae gan hon a hon blentyn braf. Ho, a ydych ehwi yn galw rhyw sìli ffrit fel hwna yn braf?*) But to return to Leisa Bèla and Belene, it may be that the same person was meant by both these names, but I am in no hurry to identify them, as none of my correspondents knows the latter except Mr. Hughes, who gives it on the authority of Gutyn Peris, the bard, and nothing further so far as I can understand, whereas Bèla will come before us in another story, as it is the same name, I presume, which Glasynys has spelled *Bella* in “Cymru Fu”.

These tales are brought into connection with the present day in more ways than one, for besides the various accounts of the *bwganod* or bogies of Corwvrión frightening people when out late at night, Mr. D. E. Davies knows a man, who is still living, and who well remembers the time when the sound of working used to be heard in the lake, and the

voices of children crying there somewhere in its depths, but that when people rushed there to see what the matter was, all was found profoundly quiet and still. Moreover, there is a family or two, now numerous represented in the parishes of Llandegai and Llanllechid, who used to be taunted with being the offspring of fairy ancestors. One of these families was nicknamed "Smychiaid" or "Simychiaid"; and my informant, who is not yet quite forty, says that he heard his mother repeat scores of times that the old people used to say that the Smychiaid, who were very numerous in the neighbourhood, were descended from fairies, and that they came from Corwrion Lake. At all this the Smychiaid were wont to grow mightily angry. Another tradition, he says, about them was that it was a wandering family that arrived in the district from the direction of Conwy, and that the father's name was Simweh, or rather that was his nickname, based on the proper name Simwnt, which appears to have once been the prevalent name in Llandegai. The order of these words would in that case have been Simwnt, Sinweh, Simychiaid, Smychiaid. Now "Simwnt" seems to be merely the Welsh form given to some such English name as Simond, just as Edmund or Edmond becomes in North Wales "Emwnt". The objection to the nickname seems to lie in the fact, which one of my correspondents points out to me, that "Simweh" is understood to mean a monkey, a point on which I should like to have further information. Pughe gives *Simach*, it is true, as having that meaning. A branch of the same family is said to be called "y Cowperiaid" or the Coopers, from an ancestor who was either by name or by trade a cooper. Mr. Hughes's account of the Smychiaid is, that they are the descendants of one Simonds, who came to be a bailiff at Bodysgallan, and moved from there to Coetmor in the same neighbourhood. Simonds was obnoxious to the bards, he goes on to say, and they described the Smychiaid as having arrived

in the parish at the bottom of a *cawell* or basket carried on the back, when chance would have it that the *cawell* broke just in that neighbourhood, at a place called Pont y Llan. That accident is described, says Mr. Hughes, in the following doggerel, the origin of which I do not know—

“ E dorai ’r arwest, ede wan,
Brwnt y lle, ar Bont y Llan.”

Curiously enough, the same *cawell* story used to be said of a widely-spread family in North Cardiganshire, whose surname was pronounced Massn and written Mason or Mazon ; as my mother was of this family, I have often heard it. The *cawell*, if I remember rightly, was said, in this instance, to have come from Scotland, to which were traced three men who settled in North Cardiganshire. One had no descendants, but the other two, Mason and Peel (I think his name was Peel, but I am not sure about it, only that it was not Welsh), had so many, that the Masons, at any rate, are exceedingly numerous there ; but a great many of them, owing to some extent, probably, to the *cawell* story, have been silly enough to change their surname into that of Jones within my knowledge. I have never heard it suggested that they were of aquatic origin, but, taking the *cawell* into consideration, and the popular account of the Smychiaid, I should be inclined to think that the *cawell* originally referred to some such a supposed descent. I only hope that somebody will help us with another and a longer *cawell* tale, which will make up for the brevity of these allusions. We may, however, assume, I think, that there was a tendency at one time in Arvon, if not in other parts of the Principality, to believe or pretend to believe, that the descendants of an Englishman or Scotchman, who settled among the old inhabitants, were of fairy origin, and that their history was somehow uncanny, which was all, of course, duly resented. This helps, to some extent, to explain how such names of doubtful origin have got

into these tales as *Smychiaid*, *Cowperiaid*, *Pellings*, *Penelope*, *Leisa Bèla* or *Isabella*, and the like. This association of the lake legends with intruders from without is what has, perhaps, to a great measure served to rescue them from oblivion.

As to a church at Corwrion, the tradition does not seem to be an old one, and it appears founded on one of the popular etymologies of the word Corwrion, which treats the first syllable as *cor* in the sense of a choir; but the word has other meanings, including among them that of an ox-stall or enclosure for cattle. Taking this as coming near the true explanation, it at once suggests itself that Creuwryon in the *Mabinogi* of Math ab Mathonwy is the same place, for *creu* or *erau* also meant an enclosure for animals, not even excluding swine. In Irish the word is *cró*, an enclosure, a hut or hovel. The passage in the *Mabinogi* relates to Gwydion returning with the swine he had got by dint of magic and deceit from Pryderi prince of Dyfed, and runs thus in Lady Charlotte Guest's translation: "So they journeyed on to the highest town of Arllechwedd, and there they made a sty (*creu*) for the swine, and therefore was the name of Creuwryon given to that town." As to *wyrion* or *wryon*, which we find made into *wrion* in Corwrion according to the modern habit, it would seem to be no other word than the usual plural of *wyr*, a grandson, formerly also any descendant in the direct line. If so, the name of an ancestor must have originally followed, just as one of the places called Bettws was once "Bettws Wyrion Iddon"; but it is possible that "Wyrion" in Creu- or Cor-Wyrion was itself a man's name, though I have never met with it. It is right to add that the name appears in the record of Carnarvon as Creweryon, which carries us back to the first half of the fourteenth century. There it occurs as the name of a township containing eight gavels, and the particulars about it might, in the hand of a man familiar with the tenures

of that time, perhaps give us valuable information as to what may have been its status at a still earlier date.

In the next number I hope to be able to say something of the versions of the lake legends which are extant at Drws y Coed and elsewhere, and I should be exceedingly thankful for any correction or any scrap of information bearing on this subject from any other part of the Principality. Nothing will be published without duly acknowledging whence it comes. If space should allow of it, some remarks will be added at the end on the general character of this kind of folk-lore, its place in Celtic mythology, and what it has in common with the legends of other nations. But I expect that the legends, when brought together, will to a great extent explain one another, and leave me little to do by way of explaining them.

A CELTO-SLAVONIC SUFFIX.

THE Britannie languages—Welsh, Cornish, and Breton—have among their substantives some which Welsh grammarians call Collectives and Singulatives. As the reader knows, Collectives are substantives which have a plural force without a plural ending; and the Singulatives, *i.e.*, those forms which are employed to designate a single object, have this peculiarity—they appear to be formed from the Collective. These Singulatives end in *-in* (now written *-yn*) for the masculine, and in *-en* for the feminine.

Examples: Welsh:—

Adar, birds; *aderyn*, a bird.
Plant, children; *plentyfn*, a child.
Derw, oaks; *derwen*, an oak.
Gwenyn, bees; *gwenynen*, a bee.¹

Cornish:—

Gwyth, arbores; *guiden*, arbor.
Deyl, folia; *delen*, folium.²

Breton:—

Kaol, des choux; *kaolen*, un chou.
Stered, des étoiles; *stercden*, une étoile.
Faô, des hêtres; *faôen*, un hêtre.
Gwenan, des abeilles; *gwenanen*, une abeille.³

Most Welsh grammarians record these facts under the heading, "Formation of the Singular from the Plural", and

¹ Rowland's *Welsh Grammar*, 4th edit., p. 33. ² Zeuss², p. 297.

³ Le Gonidec, *Grammaire bretonne*, ed. La Villemarqué (prefixed to the *Dict. breton-français*), p. 17. It will be seen that Cornish and Breton have only the suffix *-en*; in Breton, singulatives in *-en* are always feminine. Hingant, *Éléments de la grammaire bretonne*, p. 12, n

the Breton grammarians express themselves in the same way. The enormity of this theory does not strike them, and they look for no historic or organic explanation of this curious parallelism. However, an old Welsh grammarian, J. Davies, in his *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae Rudimenta*,¹ had (as we are reminded by Zeuss,² p. 295) caught a glimpse of, and formulated, a perfectly natural explanation, which we proceed to develop here.²

The explanation of these forms in *-yn* and *-en* is very simple; and that it did not present itself to the mind of the Welsh and Breton grammarians (J. Davies excepted), is due to the fact that the language has no longer any consciousness that these forms are diminutives. It is what has occurred, for instance, in French, in the case of such words as *soleil* from **soliculus**, *sommeil* from **somniculus**, *abeille* from **apicula**, *grenouille* from **ranuncula**, *aiguille* from **acicula**, etc. It is the case in German as regards *mädchen*, *weilchen*, etc.—diminutives of which the primitive has become almost or entirely obsolete, and which have by usage acquired the full force of the primitive which they have displaced. The same phenomenon occurred in Latin, as is seen by such words as *annulus*, *oculus*, *puella*, etc. The simple term is readily supplanted by the diminutive, especially when the former is a monosyllable; and then the language uses the derivative—originally diminutive—without any recollection of the particular signification it bore when first formed.

¹ Pp. 61-2 of the Oxford reprint in 12mo., 1809.

² It is scarcely worth observing that to this class of nouns must be added those which, ending in *-yn*, masc.; and *-en*, fem.; “throw off these terminations when the plural termination is added” (Rowlands, p. 32). Example—

Merlyn, pony (masc.)

Merlen, pony (fem.); pl., *merlod*.

Meddlyn, a drunkard; pl., *meddion*.

Llysien, an eel; pl., *llysiod*, etc.

Now Welsh has among its suffixes of diminution *-yn* for the masc. and *-en* for the fem. These enable us to understand the nature and the origin of the so-called Singulatives.

Bachgenyn, a little boy ; from *bachgen*, a boy.

Merlyn, a little horse ; from *merl*, a pony.

Miaren, a little bramble ; from *miar*, a bramble.

The suffix *-en*, which forms feminine nouns, is the feminine form that regularly corresponds to *-yn* masc., as is seen by the adjectives which admit of internal flexion ; e.g., *gwyn* m., *gwen* f., white, etc. Cornish and Breton have lost this diminutive suffix.

It is by this suffix that the "Singulative" is most satisfactorily explained. It is easy to see that the "Collectives" are old plurals preserved in the language, while the Singulative is the singular strengthened by the suffix of diminution. The forms of the singular, the endings of which were not so heavy as those of the plural, were found too light, when these very endings had been worn away. The language felt the necessity of giving them ballast, and the example of other languages (compare the French, German, and Latin words quoted above) shows that the diminutive endings are frequently used for this purpose. The hypocoristic tendency, the instinct which leads to the formation of familiar names and terms of endearment, aids greatly in this work of regeneration of the simple substantive. These diminutives once created, the language had a sufficiently clear consciousness of the difference between the singular and the plural to make it necessary, for the most part, to add the new plural ending to these old plurals, which had become, in a manner, petrified as collectives.

An analogous phenomenon, in which the suffix, too, is the same, appears in the Slavonic languages ; and of the origin of this, again, the Slavonic grammarians (such of them, at

least, as we have consulted) give no explanation. Thus, in Russian, the nouns which form the fifth paradigm of the declension in the grammar of Reiff,¹ *i.e.*, nouns ending in *-ianine*, *-anine*, *-iarine*, and *-arine*, and denoting origin or state, “do not take in the plural the suffix *-ine*”. Ex:—

SING.	PLUR.
<i>Rossianine</i> , a Russian.	<i>Rossiané</i> , Russians.
<i>Sélanine</i> , a villager.	<i>Séliané</i> , villagers.
<i>Boiarine</i> , a lord.	<i>Boiaré</i> , lords.
<i>Grazdanine</i> , a citizen.	<i>Grazdane</i> , citizens, etc.

“These words,” says M. Reiff, “have two stems, the one *sélanine*, containing a pronominal suffix *-in*, the other *séliané*.” A pronominal suffix! That is more easily said than proved. The learned M. Leskien, in his grammar of old Slavonic, confines himself to a statement of the fact without seeking any explanation of it.²

It appears to us certain that this suffix *i-n-* is a secondary form of the Indo-European suffix NA. It is curious to find it localised, with the same force, at the two extremities of the European branch, in the Slavonic and in the Britannic languages.

H. GAIDOZ.

¹ *Grammaire française-russe*, par Reiff, 4e ed., revue par M. Leger, Paris, 1878, p. 40.

² Leskien, *Handbuch der alt-bulgarischen Sprache*, Weimar, 1871, p. 36.

A CYWYDD

TO

SIR EDWARD STRADLING AND DR. JOHN DAVID RHYS

UPON THE

PUBLICATION OF THE LATTER'S WELSH GRAMMAR,

From a MS. in the possession of MR. LL. REYNOLDS, B.A., of Merthyr Tydvil.

OF the writer of this *Cywydd*, Meirig Davydd, not much is recorded. Williams, in his *Eminent Welshmen*, says he was "an eminent poet of Glamorgan, who presided in the Gorsedd Morganwg in the year 1560, and died in 1600". As Dr. Rhys's Grammar, *Cambrobrytannicæ Cymraecæve Linguae Institutiones et Rudimenta*, published at the sole expense of Sir Edward Stradling, appeared in 1592, it follows that this composition was written between that year and 1600.

Sir Edward Stradling was born in 1529, and died in his eightieth year, 1609.

LLYMA GYWYDD I SYR EDWAR YSTRADLING AG IR DOCKDOR
DAVYDD AM Y GRAMER KYMRAEG.

Y marchog rywiog benn raith,
jor syth waew a wyr saithjaith,
Syr Edwart mewn hasart jng
js di radlafn ystradling :
ef yw'r hydd penn llywydd llwyd
jawn son dawn yn sain Dynwyd.

oes Addaf hynaf yw hwnn,
 a brav ytiw ir brytwn.
 nidoes vn brigyn or brig
 mawr vwyn hawdd mor vonheddig ; 10
 vn vodd yw'r marchog jawnfwyn
 ar bymtheg llin teg or llwyn;
 llyna lwyn llawn olaini
 llawn glod oll nerth yn gwlad ni :
 roes nerth yn jor grasvwyn hv 15
 rann rag karran ir kymrv
 i gael Gramer goel grymiaith
 brauvwyn jor i bryvo n jaith,
 val na bo i sais o drais draw
 vn bawaidd mwy yn baiaw, 20
 na baio gwaith na bywyd
 yn hawen vairdd, na n hen vyd.
 mae gwarant penn voliant per
 orav grym ar y gramer
 dockdor por gwyddor ir gwaith— 25
 dyn yw a wyr daunawjaith;
 kymro gwyeh or kymry gwiw,
 klennig dysgedig ydiw ;
 gwr yw ail jpo gywrain,
 gorav swydd mewn gair a sain ; 30
 kyviaithydd dedwydd didwyll
 jaith hardd, ny vynn bai na thwyll.
 naddoedd ysgryvenyddiaeth,
 yn llawn ag yn jawn i gwnaeth :
 kyviaithyddiaeth oedd gaeth gynt, 35
 kair i bo gair i gerynt:
 kystrawaeth kost ar awen
 kywir byth i kair oi benn:
 tonyddiaeth halaeth hylawn
 a gair mewn llevair yn llawn. 40

mewn y Gramer per heb hynn
 mwyvwy i kair y movyn
 athrawiaeth prydyddiaeth prin
 osod oedd waith Taliesin.
 well well, tra vo bwyell byd, 45
 yw kael vydd pob kelfyddyd ;
 ag waeth-waeth, o sywaeth son,
 i doniav vydd y dynion.
 kann gwell waithon mewn ton teg
 kam ryw a vydd kymraueg ; 50
 Sion a roes ym synwyr j
 hynt aurnod warant erni ;
 Gric lladin di brin yn brynt
 gradd addyse grjaidd yddynt ;
 [yr he]n gelvyddyd wiw rwydd 55
 [o] gerddwriaeth gardd arwydd,
 a phob kolfen hen ddwfn ddysg
 [u]niawn hoewddawn yn hyddysg,
 [pob] mesurav samplav son
 holl jawn oll a phenillon, 60
 a phob kynghanedd hoff hynt
 hyno a pha le henynt,
 au henwav hoff rywiav ffraeth
 hwynt herwydd i naturiaeth :
 mae baiav anavav want 65
 mal llygod aml i llwygant
 yny gerdd rai enwog ynt
 adwyth ag anardd ydynt.
 mae statvs weddvs wiwddawn
 yw gweled oll galed jawn 70
 ar gerddwyr or gywirddysg,
 ar rai na bai divai dysg.
 gwae brydydd or dydd, or daw
 dyrnod eisteddfod arnaw,

ony wyr yn llwyr holl jaith 75
 y llyfr hwnn llavar henjaith.
 da vy r marchog pwylllog pell
 a gostawdd hwnn oi gastell ;
 da vy r doekdor kyngor kall
 o dduw a vy ny ddeall ; 80
 da duw jr gwyr daidiau gwaith,
 duw dalo i daed eilwaith.

MAIRIG DAVYDD *ai kant.*

The preceding composition is printed exactly as it appears in the MS., with only the addition of the bracketed letters in lines 55, 56, and 58, suggested by Mr. Reynolds; the word "pob", in line 59; and the punctuation, there being no stops in the MS. copy.

It will be seen that the transcriber's orthography is not consistent: thus he uses *v* for the present *u*, and for the consonantal sound of the English *v*, for which he also uses *f*, as we now do. Again the sound of *i consonans* he variously represents by *i*, and by *j*, while he uses the latter occasionally as a pure vowel also, as in lines 29, 51, etc.

In this *cywydd* the author has "enriched" the language with a number of unrecorded words. These are *syth-waew* (l. 2), *rhadlāfn* (l. 4), *mawrvwyn* (l. 10), *iawfwyn* (l. 11), *grasfwyn* (l. 15), *grymiaith* (l. 17), *brauvwyn* (l. 18), *clennig* (l. 28), *cerynt* (l. 36: this word appears in Pugh's *Dict.*, 3rd edition, in a quotation of the present couplet under *cyfiachyddiaeth*, but is not recorded in its proper place in the body of the work), *aurnod* (l. 52), *hoewddawn* (l. 58), *holljawn* (l. 60), *gwiwddawn* (l. 69), *cywirddysg* (l. 71), *daed* (l. 82).

L. 6, *Sain Dynwyd*=St. Donat's, the residence of the Stradlings.

L. 29, *jpo* doubtless means Hippocrates, with whom the grammarian, as a Doctor of Medicine of Sienna, and a very able physician, is naturally compared.

L. 30, *gorav* is for *gorau*, not *goraf*, as the alliteration proves.

L. 35, *kyviaithyddiaeth*. The reading in Pugh's *Dict.* is *cyfiachyddiaeth*.

L. 36, *kair i bo*, etc. *Bo* is a clerical error for *bob*.

L. 41, *mewn* is here used before the definite article contrary to the rule set down by modern grammarians, who would say "yn y gramer".

L. 82, *daed* is probably a noun, "God repay them their goodness".

A HISTORICAL POEM BY IOLO GOCH.

IN the year 1877, the publication of "The Works of Iolo Goch", with a sketch of his life, was commenced in the first volume of the *Cymmrodor*, by its first able and lamented editor, the Reverend Robert Jones, Vicar of All Saints, Rotherhithe, and was subsequently continued in the second volume, when the work was interrupted by the necessity for the introduction of more urgent matter after the completion of thirteen of the poems. It is greatly to be hoped that the undertaking, thus auspiciously begun, may not, for lack of means or opportunity, be eventually allowed to drop. In the brief outline of the poet's life, by the late Canon Robert Williams, in that most useful work, the *Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*, it is said that more than fifty of his poems are still extant in manuscript, and obviously the publication of these in their entirety will be needed to enable the present generation to form an adequate judgment of the genius and capacity of the bard, and to appreciate to the full the value of the allusions they contain to the important historical events which were passing around him, and in some of which, in his capacity of a *vates sacer*, he would appear to have borne personally no insignificant part. The compositions may be classified roughly under the headings of 1. Religious; 2. Historical; 3. Encomiastic. Of these, those comprised under the second must naturally attract the first attention; while the third class will be looked to by those who would view society in those troublous times in its more private and social relations; and the state of religious knowledge and practice can scarcely

fail to derive point and illustration from the quaint and often obscure language of the first. To the philologist, the frequent occurrence of terms and forms of speech, current in the poet's day, but scarcely intelligible now, cannot but prove highly instructive; a remark for the truth of which sufficient evidence has been furnished by the poems already in our hands. In the form as well as the matter of Cymric poetry, the works of Iolo may be said to bridge over the period between the ruder, if more majestic, metrical productions of his predecessors, and the more finished performances of those who came after him. During his acme, comprising the earlier half of the fourteenth century, the form of verse known as the "Cywydd" became more recognised as a legitimate expression of poetical feeling than heretofore, when, speaking generally, it had been for some time but sparsely introduced, or was working its way very gradually into use; while in Davydd ab Gwilym, who so prominently occupied the public attention in Wales during the last part of the century, it attained to an ease, a grace, and a perfection, never reached before, and certainly never since surpassed.

Iolo Goch, then, may be said to have occupied as a poet an intermediate position between the last of the "Gogynfeirdd", properly so called, and Dafydd ab Gwilym and the bards who adopted the more modern style, metre, and diction of the Cywydd and Awdl writers of the fifteenth and subsequent centuries, with little or no intermission, down to our own day. Nor was this all. He made his mark also as a man of letters, whose attainments in classical, historical, and general learning were at least equal to, and probably far superior to those of most of his lay contemporaries. To his knowledge of Latin, a *Dialogue between the Soul and the Body*, translated from that language, and extant among his works in MS., will testify. Possessed of independent means, and born of a good family, and maternally of English blood, his

mother, it is said, being Countess of Lincoln,¹ he received an excellent education, and took the degree of Master of Arts at one of the Universities. As Lord of Llechryd, and residing at his own mansion of Coed Pantwn in Llanefydd, and, in later life, at Sycharth, that of his royal patron Owain Glyndwr, he had ample opportunity for the cultivation of his favourite studies. Not only, therefore, in his official character as bard, but also from his own social position, he had ready access to intercourse with the highest in the land, and might have attained to any height of eminence and court favour, had his patriotism permitted him, for the sake of private advancement, to choose the winning side. Of this there is ample testimony in the poem perhaps best known of all his compositions to modern readers, through its publication in the collection entitled "Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru", of Cymric *chef-d'œuvres*, as they appeared to be in the judgment of their spirited editor, Rhys Jones, printed in 1773, and paraphrased in his book, called *Wild Wales*, by the late Mr. Borrow. That poem, with another from the same collection, has been reproduced in the present year, in the *History of Powys Fadog*, by J. Y. W. Lloyd, Esq. of Clochfaen, an esteemed member of our Cymmrodorion Society; but unaccompanied with any translation. This, in the case of the latter of the two poems, the following is an attempt to supply, so far as that may be possible, through the medium of a metrical interpretation, by adhering as closely as may be to the diction as well as spirit of the original. It is entitled "An Ode to Owain Glyndwr after his Disappearance", and is couched in a strain of lamentation for his absence, and of invitation to return with forces gathered from among the nations of Europe, and restore their sovereignty, together with their laws and liberty, to the Cymry. The immediate occasion of the poem is probably an episode in the story of

¹ Query, a De Lacy?

the Cymric hero, which has been involved in some obscurity, and on which it appears to throw no inconsiderable reflection of light.

The battle of Shrewsbury was fought on the 21st of June 1403, in which the first division only of Glendower's army was defeated in his absence. Detained by the siege of Kidweli, he had marched no nearer to the scene of that famous conflict than Oswestry. He then confined his operations to devastating the English borders, and possessing himself of the enemy's castles, among them those of Caermarthen and Emlyn. In 1404, he entered into a treaty with the French King, Charles VI, then at war with Henry IV, and defeated an English army at Craig y Dorth, near Monmouth. This was his last success. The next year his partizans sustained two defeats in Monmouthshire and Brecknockshire. In the latter conflict his brother Tudor, Lord of Gwyddelwern, was slain. All Glamorgan submitted to the King, Owain's followers were dispersed, and himself obliged to hide in caves and other retreats.

The rest shall be told in the words of the historian of Powys Fadog. "A cavern near the seaside in the parish of Llangelynen in Merionethshire is still called 'Ogof Owain', in which he was supported by Ednyfed ab Aaron. King Henry again entered Wales with an army of 37,000 men, but, owing to the tempestuous weather, he was obliged to make a hasty retreat with considerable loss. Owain's affairs were again improved by the aid of his ally, the King of France, who sent a fleet to Milford Haven with an army of 12,000 men, whom Owain joined with 10,000 more at Tenby; and the combined armies marched into Worcester-shire, where they encamped, and were opposed by the English King. For eight days they respectively presented themselves in order of battle, but, beyond skirmishes, in which many were slain, nothing more decisive occurred, and the

King having cut off the means of supply, the Welsh and French secretly (?) retreated to Wales, and the latter returned to France without making any further attempt."¹

We doubt much whether many readers of English history have fully realised the fact that the French and Welsh invasion of England, in 1485, was preceded by another of exceedingly similar character eighty years before, in which the enemy penetrated, if not so far as Bosworth, at least into the very heart of the country, unopposed till they reached Worcester; an expedition which, had it succeeded in its object, would have probably been followed by a more serious consequence even than the transfer of the Crown from one dynasty to another—the dismemberment of the kingdom. By the treaty entered into a few years before by Mortimer, Percy, and Glendower, at the house of Davydd Daron, Dean of Bangor, it had been agreed that Mortimer was to possess all the land from Trent and Severn to the east and south of the island; Percy, all north of the Trent; and Glendower all west of the Severn. France also, in return for its valuable aid, would certainly have claimed a share, and that not improbably the share appropriated by the lion in the distribution of the conquered country.

Be that as it may, those momentous issues have happily long since passed out of the range of human speculation. It remains but to add that it is to this portentous time of concealment, when the landing of the French force was being anxiously looked for in the Principality, that the poem is in all probability to be referred. And the more so, because among the several countries specified by name as those whence Owain's return might be looked for, care seems studiously to have been taken to pass over entirely in silence the one country, namely France, from which the expected military aid afterwards actually came, from which a moun-

¹ Page 210.

tain of glorious eventualities was looked for throughout Wales with heart-beating anxiety. From all this travail, alas! as in so many other projects of human design or ambition, nothing at last was seen to issue but a poor insignificant mouse.

AN ODE TO OWEN GLENDOWER, AFTER HIS
DISAPPEARANCE.

BY IOLO GOCH.

Tall man, thou mark for Harry's hate,
Art living still? is past thy fate?
If thus it be, with fiery spear
Come, show thy shield, say, "I am here!"
Thou gold-girt Warrior, seek thine home,
Come well begirt with arms of Rome.
Coming possest of Peter's Seal,
Full just thy cause will God reveal.
Come from the East! so shall o'erthrown,
Thou Bull of strength, be tow'rs of stone.
Before thee rays of fire be shed,¹
And gifts by all be freely spread.
From Lochlyn,² Earl of keen-edged sword,
Come! of the Glyn thou gen'rous Lord,
Who bearest, for thy shield's contents
A fair escutcheon, four descents;
Three Lions, as the empyrean, blue;³
Three steel frets seen the wildfire through.
Set we the stainless Peacock o'er,
Set you a Chief o'er Bear and Boar:⁴

¹ *I.e.*, "May you be met by a torch-light procession."

² Norway.

³ Heraldic *azure*.

⁴ The bear, the badge of Warwick, the boar of Lovell.

So, there conjoined are axes three,
 A mighty host where strife shall be.
 Let go sev'n noble ships from shore
 Full soon, and then sev'n hundred more.
 Come from the North—'tis Mona's will,
 To Erin, and her hope fulfill.
 Call also—may God grant her thee!
 Needs must thou have her—Italy!
 Pure Galahad,¹ rise! we'll hear thy call,
 Ere fall the Baptist's festival.
 Thy beacon raise, brisk Chieftain, haste
 In Dublin yonder, o'er the waste;
 Raise a fair fleet of seamen's power,
 In confines of the Gael, and Gower.
 Come, Hero of my heart! betray'd
 From Man, and be not long delay'd.
 To Gwyddyl,² best of signals sped
 For fight is ever Gold and Red;³
 Llywelyn's⁴ Standard consecrate!
 Those colours will thy men elate.
 Parade before thee Britain's host!
 Lo! England's for her treason lost!
 Of temper true thy weapon bring,⁵
 And reign o'er all the isles a king!
 Eagle of might! one moment more,
 And light a flame on Mona's shore.
 Beat down the castles, forts of woe,
 And London, lair of dogs, lay low.

¹ The Knight of King Arthur's Table, who for his purity of character, was permitted to see the Sangraal, is here compared to Glendower.

² Irishmen.

³ The royal colours of Wales.

⁴ The last reigning monarch of Wales.

⁵ Lit., "A dagger of true temper thou".

Strike, strike and slay! let Normans ken
That horns of gold¹ have Mona's men.

Needs must thou—'tis of prophecy—
Full many a bout of battle ply;
Do battle, and the foe shall flee;
Still thou, at will, canst gentle be;
But, if thine arm with wrath be sped,
In distant Berwick see the dead!
Thy fortune's turn'd, I know full well;
Thro' summer fight with conflict fell;
Like oaks, thy foes shall fall full fast,
Not Vochno's² fight did longer last.
March through the ford of Ieithon's³ glen,
With Mona's banner, throngs of men;
Be nine⁴ the number of thy fights:
Their own, nor less, nor more requites.
Sword of Cadwalader the Blest!⁵
Take all thy Grandsire e'er possess'd!
Take back for all thy kin their share!
From us take bondage hard to bear.

H. W. L.

¹ Of strength so solid, as to thrust back their enemies, like that of bulls, animals to which the bards loved to compare their warriors.

² The battle of Cors Vochno in Cardiganshire, whereby Maelgwn Gwynedd gained his crown.

³ In Radnorshire.

⁴ The mystic number of the Druidic system, symbolising perfection.

⁵ The last Cymric King of Britain, whose very existence, however, would seem to be not only romantic, but mythical.

THE NATIONAL EISTEDDFOD OF 1881.

August 30th to September 2nd.

MANY conditions of interest attached to the Eisteddfod held at Merthyr Tydfil in 1881. Frankly accepted by North and South, it could show an indisputable title to the name of "national". Celebrated in the metropolis of a busy industrial district, it typified the cordial union of old and new in a race which needs not to break with ancient traditions in order to progress with the time. Held while the report of Lord Aberdare's committee was still a recent topic, it was marked by the especially hopeful tone in which the national sentiment expressed itself, and by the fresh interest imparted to the somewhat time-worn themes that form the traditional text of Eisteddfodic addresses.

The ungrudging exertions of the committee, and the share of favour shown on the part of the weather, laid the foundations of the success which was achieved; and the material of the competitions was, on the whole, not unworthy of the machinery. Evidences of real genius and of painstaking study were not wanting, and the ominous words, "no award", appear less often in the record of the literary contests than has sometimes been the case of late.

The arts of painting and sculpture were, as usual, ill-represented; though one genuine work of art became, in an undisputed contest, the property of the committee. The few prizes offered in musical composition elicited some creditable minor productions, but the most valuable of all, the judges declined to confer. On the other hand, the quality of the

prose-writing showed a marked improvement, and the encomiums of the adjudicators were merited by not a few of the pieces of verse submitted. Six choirs of undoubted merit competed for the great choral prize, a respectable number came into the arena for those of lesser note, and no falling off was evinced by the vocal music generally; but Dr. Parry felt constrained to remark on the unfavourable comparison which the instrumental execution of the Principality bore to that he had witnessed in the North of England. The orchestral competition instituted by the committee is a return to former practice that, it may be hoped, will be generally followed. What the Eisteddfod has done in the past for vocal, it may be trusted to do in the future for instrumental music.

A noticeable feature of the Eisteddfod was the strictly appropriate character impressed on the evening concerts. In place of the well known pieces usually selected, two out of the four evenings were devoted to the performance of important new works by Welsh composers: the "Emmanuel" of Dr. Parry, and Mr. David Jenkins' Cantata, "David and Saul", written expressly for the occasion. A more questionable exercise of patriotism restricted the execution of the concerts to purely Cymric artistes; a bold measure, the best defence of which must be found in its success.

To our readers a matter of no less interest is the position occupied at Merthyr by the meetings of the Cymmrodorion Section. These meetings, held tentatively at Carnarvon in 1880, were at Merthyr made an integral part of the proceedings of the Eisteddfod, and announced as such in its programmes. The evident appreciation on the part of visitors of the proceedings in the Temperance Hall, and the ready response given to the Archdeacon of Llandaff, when, in the pavilion, he called for a popular verdict on the Cymmrodorion's experiment, would seem to indicate that the Society has met a

real want in instituting this Section, and taken a measure fraught with beneficial results. Though education and social science have hitherto formed the staple of the Section's proceedings, and probably will always prove the most attractive topics, it is to be hoped that philology and archæology will not fail to prefer an early claim to its attention. It must not be forgotten, how large a share of the success of this year's "Section" was due to Mr. Wm. Davies (Mynorydd), and Mr. W. Cadwaladr Davies, of Bangor, who acted as its secretaries and managers.

An innovation introduced into the Gorsedd ceremony is worthy of note. The repetition of the Gorsedd prayer by the whole circle of bards, instead of, as heretofore, by the Arch-Druid alone, gave additional impressiveness to the rite which has now at least the prescription of a hundred years' continuous usage, whatever may be its remote origin. The scene of the Gorsedd was the Market-place of Merthyr, and Clwydfardd presided.

In spite of the singular fatality which deprived the Eisteddfod of three out of its four expected presidents, the committee were fortunate in the presence of gentlemen so well qualified to fill the vacant chair as Mr. Lewis Morris, the Rector of Merthyr, and the Ven. Archdeacon Griffiths. Mr. Lewis Morris, who occupied it on the first day, in the stead of Sir Hugh Owen, paid an appropriate tribute to the self-denying labours of the venerable patriot whom his countrymen had hoped that morning to honour in person. It was to be expected that educational prospects should occupy a large share of Mr. Morris' address; and nothing could well have been more to the purpose than the lucid sketch which he presented of the educational status of the country, as revealed by the investigation which he had recently been associated in carrying out. Mr. Lewis Morris' example was not followed by his late colleague on the Committee, Mr.

Henry Richard, the president of the third session, whose excellent address, delivered in "*yr hen iaith*", ranged over a much greater variety of topics. Could anything reconcile a Welsh audience to the absence of Sir Watkin Wynn, the speech of the Rector of Merthyr, who presided in his room on the second day of the Eisteddfod, would have gone far to do so. The theme of his address was the Eisteddfod itself, which he handled with his usual vigour and practical sense. The Rector would look at the institution in the light, neither of the historical past, nor of the ideal future, but in that of the actual present. It is not, in his view, a thing to be explained or justified by its traditions or possibilities, which are dwelt upon, perhaps, unduly in presidential addresses, but by the tastes and habits of the working men of modern Wales, from which it has in reality grown, and upon which it in reality rests.

The Ven. Archdeacon Griffiths, who had already contributed a long and able address in his capacity as chairman of the Cymmrodorion Section, perhaps considered it a matter of congratulation that the length of the programme precluded a formal presidential speech on the last day of the Eisteddfod, when the absence of Sir Edward Reed called him to the chair. A few well-chosen words, mainly in reference to the newly introduced department over which he had lately presided, alone prefaced the business of the meeting. The expression of popular approbation which his remarks on the Cymmrodorion Section called forth, has been already alluded to.

Of incidental speeches, other than those delivered in the course of adjudications, but few were inserted in the programme. The most noticeable was that of Mr. C. W. Jones, the well known Secretary of the Society of Cymmrodorion, upon the permanence of the Welsh language, an historical phenomenon that well deserves the attention which the

speaker demanded for it. Hwfa Môn delivered the address upon the occasion of the chairing of the Bard.

The following prizes were awarded during the four days of the Eisteddfod:—

IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POETRY.

Five guineas and a gold medal for a Welsh operatic libretto, divided between the Rev. D. C. Harris (Caeronwy), and Mr. T. D. Thomas (Tydfilfab). Two guineas (given by the *Herald Cymraeg*), for a descriptive song, "The Newspaper", to Dyfedfab (Mr. Evan Rees). Ten guineas and a gold medal for an epic poem, "The Duke of Wellington", to Mr. Morgan Rees Williams, of Cefncoedycymer. Two guineas for a translation into Welsh of the "Prisoner of Chillon", to Ioan Ddu (Mr. J. S. Jones, of Coedllai, Mold). Two guineas and a silver medal for an eclogue, to the Rev. D. C. Harris (Caeronwy). Two guineas and a silver medal for a song, "Tydfil the Martyr", to Miss Parry, of Llandudno. The CHAIR PRIZE, twenty guineas and an oak chair, for an "Ode on Love", to Dyfedfab (Mr. Evan Rees, of Cardiff, late of Aberdare). Five guineas and a silver medal for a *cywydd* "Iron", divided between Mr. John Jones, of Bangor, and Mr. R. Parry, of Bangor. Six guineas (given by Madame Wynne), for a Welsh ode, "The Chairing of the Bard", to Mr. John Jones (Ogwenydd), of Bangor. Five guineas and a silver medal for an *awdl bryddest*, "Ioan Emlyn", to the Rev. J. C. Williams, of Merthyr. Two guineas for satirical verses, "The Persecutors of Eisteddfodau", to Dyfedfab. A gold medal and £3 10s. for a poem, "Iolo Morganwg", to the Rev. D. C. Harris (Caeronwy); and £7 to Mr. Onllwyn Brace, of Ystalyfera. Twenty guineas and a gold medal for a poem on "Life", to "Wateyn Wyn", of Brynaman.

In two cases the judges refused award.

IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PROSE COMPOSITION.

Ten guineas for an essay on "The History of Religion in Wales, from A.D. 500 to 1280", to Gweirydd ap Rhys (R. J. Pryse of Holyhead). Three guineas for an essay on "The Life, Character, and Achievements of Sir William Jones" (given by Mr. Aviet Agabeg) to Mr. William Evans, barrister-at-law, of Merthyr. Sixteen guineas (given by Mr. D. Williams), for an essay on "The Advantages of Incorporating Merthyr Tydfil", to Mr. D. J. Rowlands of Merthyr. Ten guineas for a Welsh essay on "The Cause, or Causes, of Periodical Panics, etc.", divided between ap Tydfil (Rev. J. R. Thomas of Narberth); and Peel (Rev. Owen Jones of Newtown). Three guineas (given by Mr. Walter Lloyd of Aberdare), for a Welsh novel, to Mr. Isaac Evans (Craigfryn) of Quaker's Yard. Twenty guineas and a gold medal, for a "History of the Literature of Monmouthshire and Glamorgan", to Mr. Charles Wilkins, of Merthyr. Five guineas for a Welsh essay on "The Etymology of Place-names", to Mr. Edward Hughes of Swansea. Ten guineas (given by Mr. Frank James, and Mr. W. Harries, of Merthyr) for an essay on "The Adaptability of Merthyr to other Trades than those already carried on there", divided between Mr. John Howells of St. Athan (who wrote in English), and the Rev. William Thomas of Gwylfa, whose essay was in Welsh.

Three important prizes the judges refused to award.

IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MUSICAL COMPOSITION.

Three guineas (given by Mr. Lucas Williams) and a silver medal, for a song to English and Welsh words, to Mr. R. S. Hughes of London. Five guineas for a string quartette, to Mr. W. C. Lewis of Workington. Ten guineas (given by Mr. B. Evans of Swansea) for three four-part songs, to the well known composer, Gwilym Gwent, who is still

resident in America. Five guineas (given by Miss Mary Davies) and a silver medal (by Mr. Rees Jones of Landore) for a soprano song, to Mr. R. S. Hughes of London.

The prize for a cantata with pianoforte accompaniment, offered by the London Welsh choir, was not awarded.

IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MUSICAL EXECUTION.

Two guineas for singing a contralto solo, divided between Daniel Prothero of Ystradgynlais, and Miss Annie Jones of Carmarthen. Three guineas (given by Madame Wynne) for a soprano and tenor duet, to Miss M. Lewis of Pontlottyn, and Mr. D. Howells of Aberdare. Three guineas and a silver medal for pianoforte playing, to Mr. F. J. Lyons of Newport. Six guineas for quartette singing (given by Signor Foli) to Mr. Wigley and party, of Tredegar. Seven guineas for orchestral performance, to the Merthyr band, led by Mr. Scott. Two guineas for penillion singing, to Mr. Wm. Jones Davies, of Bethesda, Carnarvonshire. A violin, value five guineas, for violin playing, to Mr. Wm. Evans of Swansea. Twenty-five pounds and a gold medal for a rendering of part of "Habakkuk's Prayer" (J. A. Lloyd), to the Tabernacle Choir of Morriston, led by Mr. David Evans. Two guineas and one guinea (given by Messrs. Wright and Round of Liverpool) for cornet playing, to Mr. W. Berry of Merthyr, and Mr. John Francis of Swansea. Two guineas for a baritone song, divided between Gwilym Thomas of Caerphilly, and Mr. Dan. Price of Dowlais. Three guineas for pedal-harp playing to Mr. Wm. Morgan of Bargoed; two guineas (given by Mrs. Crawshay) to Mr. John Evans of Troedyrhiw, one guinea (by Mr. Lewis Morris) to Charles Pearce, aged six, of Treherbert. Two guineas for a soprano solo (given by Mrs. Cozens of Ynys y plwm), to Miss Mary Morgan of Llantrissant. Five guineas, and twenty-five volumes of "The Standard Course" (given by Messrs. Curwen of London),

for part singing, divided between the Taibach and Aberaman Glee-party, led by Mr. Leyshon Davies, and the Maesteg Minstrels, led by Mr. Evan Jenkins. Ten guineas and a silver medal to the Tredegar choir (Mr. Davis Jones, leader), for congregational choir singing. Two guineas for a soprano solo, by young ladies under seventeen, divided between Miss Maggie Beynon, and Miss Amy Ryan. Two guineas (given by Mr. E. Biddle), for harmonium playing, to Miss Mary Jessie Lloyd. Two guineas for a tenor solo, divided between Mr. David Davies of Treherbert, Mr. Tom Felix of Treorky, and Mr. David Howells of Aberaman. Five guineas and a silver medal, for drum and fife playing, divided between the Penydarren and Llantrissant bands. Five guineas for trio singing, to a party from the Rhondda Valley. Three guineas for pedal harp playing, by lads under eighteen (given by Mr. T. T. James of Mountain Ash) to Walter Thomas Barker of Caerphilly, a pupil of the Royal Academy of Music. Five guineas and twenty-five vols. of the "Standard Course" for singing, by male voices only, to the Morryston Glee-party, led by Mr. D. Francis. Two guineas for penillion singing, to Mr. Daniel Lloyd, of the Rhondda Valley. Twenty guineas and a gold medal, to the Cyfarthfa brass band, led by Mr. G. Livesey. A trombone, of the value of eighteen guineas, to the Corris brass band, led by Mr. Tidsbury. Five guineas for pedal harp playing, divided between Miss Annie Jones of Carmarthen, and Mr. Thomas Barker of Caerphilly. Two guineas for piccolo playing by lads under sixteen, to Fred. Griffiths of Swansea. Two guineas for a bass solo, to Gwilym Thomas of Tynwydd. Two guineas for soprano singing, to Miss Nellie Jones. The great prize of £100 and a gold medal, for rendering "Ye Nations" (Mendelssohn), and "Hallelujah, Amen" (Emlyn Evans), to the Rhondda Philharmonic Society, 250 in number, led by Mr. D. Prosser (Eos Cynlais). Four guineas, for a duet, to Mr.

W. Thomas of Neath and Mr. David Phillips of Aberdare. Two violins, viola, and violoncello, for a quartette of stringed instruments, to a party from Merthyr.

The conductor's bâton was wielded on the four successive days by Dafydd Morganwg, the Rev. W. Glanffrwd Thomas, the Rev. A. J. Parry, and the Rev. D. F. Evans (Ednyfed).

Five guineas were awarded for an original bust, to Mr. Alberti of Manchester. Five guineas (given by Mr. W. Merchant of Pontypridd) for an original painting, to Mr. J. C. Fairburn of Aberdare.

In wood-carving, for which a prize of two guineas was offered by Mr. Wm. Jones of Cyfarthfa, there was no competition.

THE CYMMRODORION SECTION.

The Cymmrodorion Section held its meetings in the Temperance Hall on August 29th and 31st, and September 2nd, under the Presidency of the Ven. the Archdeacon of Llandaff. The proceedings were opened on August 29th by an address from the President, dealing with the history, the work, and the position of the Cymmrodorion Society.

At the second meeting, on August 31st, Mr. Gwilym James, High Constable of Merthyr, in the chair, a paper on "The Home Life of the Collier" was read by the Rev. T. D. Jones of Tonyrefail. A second paper, on "The Report of the Departmental Committee", by Mr. T. Marchant Williams, B.A.

At the concluding meeting, on September 2nd, the Rev. W. B. Joseph (Y Myfyr) of Colwyn Bay, in the chair, a paper on "Wasted Energy and Material in Wales", was read by Dr. Humpidge, of the University College of Wales. A second paper, on "Education in Merthyr", by Mr. T. C. Fawcett, M.A., of the Merthyr Proprietary School, was read in his absence by the Secretary of the Section.

Reviews of Books.

WHO ARE THE WELSH? By JAMES BONWICK, F.R.G.S., etc., etc. London: David Bogue. 1881. Price One Shilling.

THE plan of this little book is an excellent one. A work, giving within a small compass the principal facts which archaeology and history furnish as data for the ethnologist in determining the composition of the Welsh people, together with the inferences which competent scholars have drawn from those facts, is a desideratum. In preparing himself to answer his own question, the author has not been sparing of labour; he has read very extensively, and gleaned in all sorts of fields, from the ponderous folios of the past centuries to the magazine and newspaper articles of to-day.

But Mr. Bonwick has unfortunately used his authorities far too indiscriminately. His net, like that in the parable, has "gathered of every kind", but he seems to have utterly forgotten to "cast the bad away". A book of this kind, if of any use at all, is for popular use, and should serve as a guide; and to quote in it all the outrageous notions which foolish people have, with the courage of ignorance, thought fit to propound from time to time, is worse than useless. This the author has done much too freely, the result being a most incongruous combination of "authorities", Myfyr Morganwg and Professor Rhys, Zeuss and Margoliouth, Richard of Cirencester and Dr. Freeman, etc., etc. In this way we find on one page (113) Robert Vaughan, Twm Sion Catti, *Morien*, Nash, Stephens, Sharon Turner, Herbert, Iolo Morganwg, G. D. Barber, *Ab Ithel*, and *Myfyr Morganwg*, collected in one happy family! This utter absence of selection makes the

book rather disappointing, not to say exasperating reading, and detracts very largely from any value it might otherwise have.

Among points of detail it is to be observed that Welsh words and proper names are not unfrequently sadly tortured. What does the author mean by saying that "The Welsh of a few hundred years old is so very different from that now spoken" (p. 8), and again that "Even MSS. of the twelfth century can hardly be deciphered now by Gaelic scholars" (p. 58) ?

Again, "It is admitted that the Welsh of the day is far more unlike old Welsh than modern English is unlike the old English" (p. 78). By whom is this remarkable admission made ?

On p. 26 "Llyn Savathan of Brecon" and "Lake Llangorse of Brecon" are spoken of in different paragraphs, much as if the writer thought them two distinct lakes.

Such expressions as "Cymry-speaking" and "Cymry-tongue" do not commend themselves to eye or ear.

If the author had exercised more discrimination in the choice of authorities, and taken more pains to separate the wheat from the chaff, his wide reading should have enabled him to produce something more satisfactory than this tantalising little volume.

But in parting, none of our readers will feel disposed to quarrel with him on the conclusion of his preface, where he says that—"For those elements of character constituting a prudent, orderly, virtuous, and happy nation, the Welsh may boldly challenge the whole world in competition".

ST. PAUL IN BRITAIN ; OR, THE ORIGIN OF BRITISH AS OPPOSED TO PAPAL CHRISTIANITY. By the Rev. R. W. MORGAN. Oxford and London : James Parker and Co. 1880.

AFTER an interval of twenty years, a second edition of this work is issued. The fact may not be regarded as altogether encouraging to those who wish to promote the scientific study of history among us ; but it points to a clear conviction in the minds of the publishers that the faith of "true believers" in the Historical Triads and "Barddas" has not grown feeble under the assaults of heretics like the late Mr. Stephens. Properly to enjoy this book the reader must be gifted with an ardent patriotism and an abounding faith. For ourselves we claim the patriotism, but alas ! are forced to feel that the necessary faith is not ours. But anyone possessed of these qualifications will feel infinite satisfaction in following the author as he sketches in glowing colours the past greatness and glory of the Cymry. He will learn, for example, that Druidism was founded in Asia by Gwyddon Ganhebon on the 1st of May (the author has unfortunately neglected to state the hour, but we may reasonably assume it was at sunrise) B.C. 3903, 181 years after the creation of man, and 50 years after the birth of Seth ; that its symbol, the milkwhite astral bull, superseding, as usual in the East, the thing signified, Druidism thus corrupted became the religion of Mithras in Persia, of Baal in Assyria, of Brahma in India, of Astarte in Syria, etc. ; and in illustration of all this he will find the "symbol" in Crete was designated in good Welsh "the Menwtarw", which the Greeks barbarously changed into "the Mino-taur"! He will, however, learn to his comfort that Druidism was carried into Britain in all its purity by Hu Gadarn, who also founded Stonehenge, B.C. c. 1800 ; that as taught here it recognised an Infinite Being whose essence is "pure, mental light", and who is therefore called Duw, *i.e.*,

Du-w, "the one without any darkness"; and that in its corrupted form of Buddhism it is "still the religion of nearly one-half of mankind". It would be unfair to reveal any further the mysteries the reader will find in this wonderful volume, so we will only add that when he has learnt these marvellous things and many more, he will be no further from the truth, nay we will venture to say, will be on the whole somewhat nearer to it than are those who believe that our ancestors were no better than the savages of the South Sea Islands.

GLOSSAE HIBERNICAE E CODICIBUS WIRZIBURGENSE CAROLISRUHENSIBUS ALIIS ADJUVANTE ACADEMIAE REGIAE BEROLINENSIS LIBERALITATE EDIDIT HEINRICUS ZIMMER. BEROLINI APUD WEIDMANNOS, MDCCCLXXXI. London: Williams and Norgate. (Price Eight Marks.)

IN a previous number we noticed some very able papers by Herr Zimmer, which had appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*; and now we have the pleasure of calling our readers' attention to a more important work by the same profound scholar. This is a complete edition of the Irish Glosses hitherto discovered in continental libraries, with the exception of the important ones at St. Gall (the Priscian Codex) and Milan, which had been taken in hand by another scholar, Ascoli. In this volume, therefore, we have the glosses already given to the world, fully or in part, by various leading Celtists, and also some hitherto unpublished ones; while in those previously edited, numerous corrections have been effected. Prefixed to the body of the work are fifty pages of interesting "Prolegomena" in which the editor gives an account (1) of the various codices containing the glosses, and (2) of the abbreviations used by the Irish scribes. The production of the volume, even with

all the assistance to be derived from the labours of his predecessors, must have cost the editor much painful toil. Of this any one may convince himself by going carefully through the appended fac-simile of a page of the *Wirzburgh Codex*. Careful inspection of this will also show that, as Herr Zimmer has found occasional errors in the work of those who have gone before him, so his own work, with all the care and learning brought to bear upon it, is not absolutely perfect. The slight deviations from the orthography of the scribe, which are observed on comparison of the photograph with the printed text (the only mode of testing the work open to most readers), are, doubtless, intentional, but *Noli* for *Nolo* in the first line is one of those *maculae quas humana parum cavit natura*. We would suggest that the name *euchil merdach*, on p. 213, probably means, not "*Abihail fratris Mardochoe*", but *Evil-Merodach*, the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, whose name the writer, by a natural slip, substituted for that of Belshazzar, to whom Daniel's words were addressed, and whom he calls, in accordance with the loose Hebrew usage, the son of the same Nebuchadnezzar. Valuable as this volume is, the editor, in the preface, promises us something very much more valuable, viz., a "*Thesaurus linguae Hibernicae veteris atque mediae aetatis*", which we are told he intends to publish "*quam brevissimo tempore*". The fulfilment of this promise we shall await with something of the same eagerness with which we have been looking for the appearance of a long-promised Welsh Dictionary. It is some satisfaction to think (however discreditable the thought may be to the Principality) that Herr Zimmer will not in Germany experience the same difficulty in finding a publisher as Mr. Silvan Evans has met with here.

THE HISTORY OF THE PRINCES, THE LORDS MARCHER, AND THE ANCIENT NOBILITY OF POWYS FADOG, AND THE ANCIENT LORDS OF ARWYSTLI, CEDEWEN, AND MEIRIONYDD. By J. Y. W. LLOYD of Clochfaen, Esq., M.A., K.S.G. Vol. I. London: T. Richards. 1881. (xvi-416 pp. 8vo.)

IN his Preface the author modestly states that "this work is merely a compilation and lays claim to no originality", but it is not necessarily less valuable on that account, or to be less heartily welcomed. We have far too few men who are content, like the writer of this very handsome volume, to work patiently among "ancient records, charters, and MSS.;" and we should be glad to see the Eisteddfod do very much more to encourage such research, even if we had in consequence to do with somewhat less of the so-called "original" work which that institution now periodically calls forth.

The author opens his narrative with the election of Vortigern, King of Britain, in 446, and carries it in the present volume down to the thirtieth year of King Henry the Eighth, 1539. With much care and patience he traces the varying fortunes of the province during the long interval, bringing together from a great variety of sources an immense mass of information relative to the personal and family history of kings, princes, and lords innumerable. We would specially notice, as one excellent feature in the work, the frequent use made of the writings of the mediæval bards. For example, after a brief account of Tyssilio, we find "Can Tyssilyaw" by Cynddelw; in this case a translation by H. W. Lloyd, Esq., is also given. In the same way a number of other historical poems by Cynddelw, Gwalchmai, Prydydd y Moch, etc., are incorporated in the work in their proper places, in connection with the princes whom they celebrate. Most of these compositions are unaccompanied by any translation, for which the author in his preface to the volume

offers an apology. A more serious defect in the opinion of many will be that the Welsh text is not quite free from errors. In general, the reader will, no doubt, be able to correct these slips for himself, but there will probably be cases in which he will find it difficult to decide whether a given peculiarity of diction or orthography is due to the original scribe or to the printer.

A number of well-chosen illustrations, sketches from nature, and fac-similes from the *Harleian MSS.*, form a very interesting addition to the value of this fine volume.

DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE INCISED SLATE TABLET AND OTHER REMAINS LATELY DISCOVERED AT TOWYN. With plates. By J. PARK HARRISON, M.A. Oxon., etc. London: B. Quaritch. 1881.

THE slate tablet here described was discovered in the autumn of 1879 amidst the ruins of an old building, near the sea, at Towyn in Merionethshire. It is a small piece of irregularly broken slate about $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. in its greatest length and breadth. On one side it is marked with some twenty-eight outline figures, which are now supposed to represent primitive articles of dress and household utensils. Some time after it was discovered, the fragment was sent for inspection to Professor Rhys, who, finding no written characters upon it, recommended that it should be forwarded to Mr. Park Harrison. That accomplished archæologist submitted the figures to a careful and detailed examination, the results of which are given at length in the present "account". He inclines to adopt the view "that the tablet may contain a funeral list of objects required by a deceased chief", and suggests that it may be "perhaps the latest instance that has been met with of the Celtic funeral custom of burying objects for use in another state. The change had been

gradual from the sacrifice of the most valued ornaments or weapons, to that of inferior and even miniature articles, and the practice may here and there have died out in outline representations of the objects required". For determining the date of the tablet, Mr. Harrison finds no decisive evidence.

On a subject of this kind only the opinions of experts can have any value. But to the uninitiated Mr. Harrison's pages will be interesting as illustrating the method on which a skilled archæologist proceeds in endeavouring to work out the solution of his problems.

CAER PENSUELCOIT, A LONG LOST UNROMANISED BRITISH METROPOLIS: A REASSERTION. With a Sketch Map. London: Reeves and Turner. 1882.

IN 1877, the author of this interesting *Reassertion*, Thomas Kerslake, Esq., of Bristol, printed a small pamphlet entitled, *A Primæval British Metropolis*, in which he maintained with much ingenuity and cogency of argument, that the little village of Penselwood in East Somerset represents the "Caer Pensaelcoit" of Nennius, and the "Kaerpen-Huelgoit" of Brut Tyssilio (*Myv. Arch.*, ii, 193; pp. 451, 452 of Gee's edn.), the British stronghold besieged by Vespasian. Mr. Kerslake argued very convincingly that *Penhuelgoit* is merely a later form of *Pensaelcoit*, and that "Penselwood" is again simply "Pensaelcoit" with the last element translated. He further maintained that the famous Pen Pits, which had puzzled generations of antiquaries, are—or were, as they have now mostly been "improved" away—the sites of the old dwellings which constituted the "primæval British metropolis", Pensaelcoit. After reading Mr. Kerslake's pamphlet, we felt that few archæological questions had been so fairly cleared up. Not so, however, thought some members of the

Somersetshire Archæological Society, a learned body, which appointed an Exploration Committee to inquire into the matter and presumably settle it for ever. The investigations of this Committee appear to have been carried on in a somewhat desultory manner, and the results were not very conclusive. But the majority seem to have been unable to accept Mr. Kerslake's view, hence the present pamphlet, in which the author handles rather severely one of his opponents. Mr. Kerslake writes with vigour, and enlivens his argument with a good deal of dry humour. His paper is at once sound archæology and amusing reading.

The Folk-Lore of Wales.

MANY of our readers will be aware that there appeared some three or four years ago a periodical named *Mélusine*, devoted exclusively to Folk-lore, and edited by MM. Roland and Gaidoz, the latter the well-known accomplished editor of the *Revue Celtique*, and a contributor to our present number. A correspondent has been good enough to call our attention to the fact that our rough sketch of the field of popular literature in the last number of the *Cymmrodor* so closely resembles the plan on which *Mélusine* was conducted as to lay us open to the charge, or at least the suspicion, of having derived inspiration from that most interesting periodical, without any acknowledgment of our obligation. To this we can only say in answer that we were not consciously plagiarising, and that the sole and simple reason why *Mélusine* was not mentioned in the article is that it did not occur to our mind while writing. Now, however, we are glad to say that any of our readers who may feel disposed to become collectors, and may be fortunate enough to possess or acquire (we think it can

still be obtained) a copy of *Mélusine*, cannot do better than adopt it as a model.

Possibly, some readers may be disposed to consider the collection of such things as riddles, etc., a proof of extreme childishness. Be it so; they will, however, remember that a Plato did not think it derogatory to represent "the wisest of the Greeks" as using riddles—and not very brilliant ones either—to illustrate his "divine philosophy"; and that riddles are found even in the Bible. And what would these critics not give to know the riddles—for such, doubtless, her "hard questions" were—with which the Queen of Sheba tested the wisdom of Solomon? Our Cymric riddles are not destined to take such an honoured place in the world's literature; but *we* should not, therefore, despise them. To us they should be valuable as helping in their measure to fill in the picture of that past, the traces of which are disappearing all too rapidly. Besides, these scraps have a certain philological value, and not unfrequently contain words and expressions not found in the literary language. *Cared doeth yr encilion.*

Our appeal for the co-operation of members has met with no very encouraging response hitherto. We have no obligations to acknowledge, except to one member, the Rev. Griffith Ellis, M.A., of Bootle, who has sent the following version of a well-known and widely-spread legend. It is very imperfect, as will be observed, but it has at least the merit of being given as it dropped from the narrator, without any of that literary tinkering which has spoiled most of what has been attempted in this field hitherto. A version of the story is given in Sike's *British Goblins*, p. 92.

" Hen wr oedd yn byw mewn crefydd,
 Ac yn gweddio'n ddyfal beunydd,
 Ac yn ei weddi yr oedd deisyfiad
 Am un rodd o'r wlad refol cyn
 ei ddiweddiad.

Ar foreu teg fe aeth i rodio 5
 At lwyn o goed yn agos ato ;
 Ar frig y pren fe glywai ganu
 O lais aderyn yn llawenychu,

Ac yno bu nes tewi o hono
 Ac wedi ei dewi trodd tua'i gartref, 10
 Ond yno nid oedd dim ond pobl ddieithr.

Gyna yn myn'd o'r ty yma allan,
 A'r fath gyfuewid sy yma 'rwan ;

Y tai a'r cloddiau wedi newid mewn
 modd arall,

Fy enw i yw Racher William, 15
 Ac enw'm gwraig yw Marged Morgan.

Atebai hen wr llwyd o'r cornel,—
 'Gan fy nhad y clywsai chwedel,
 A chan ei daid y clywsai yntau,
 Ac ar ei ol y cofiais innau, 20

Fyned henwr o'r ty yma allan,
 O'r un enw a'r un oedran,
 Na chlywyd gair gan neb am dano,
 Na gwybodaeth byth o hono.'

Ac erbyn casglu llyfrau a chwilio, 25
 Tri chant a deg a deugain o flynyddau,
 Buasai'n gwrando'r miwsig nefol,
 Ac wrth hir ddal sylw arno,
 Aeth fel dyrnaid bach o ludw."

Ysgrifenydd Awst 25, 1881, o enau hen wraig sydd yn
 ymyl 91 mlwydd oed, yr hon a'i dysgasai gan ei mam. Yr
 oedd ei mam yn enedigol o Landudno. G. E.

The expression "byw mewn crefydd" is noticeable, and seems to mean
 "live as a *religieux*", the hero of the story being generally a monk.

"Racher", in line 15, appears to be for "Roger".

In lines 17 to 20 we have an adaptation of one of the regular formulæ
 with which the *conteur* introduced or closed his tale.

RIDDLES.

1. Beth sy'n dringad y graig.
 Nid gwr, nid gwraig,
 Nid march pedolog,
 Nid 'deryn asgellog?

Atcb. Niwl.

What climbs the rock—not man, not woman, not shod steed, not winged bird?

Ans. Mist.

2. Beth â yn gynt na'r gwynt, yn gynt na'r g'law,
 O'r fan yma i'r fan draw?

Atcb. Y Meddwl.

What goes swifter than the wind, swifter than the rain, from this place to yonder place?

Ans. The Mind.

3. Beth sy'n myn'd lwy hwy wrth dori 'i ddoupen?

Atcb. Pwll Mawn.

What becomes longer and longer by the cutting of both ends?

Ans. A Peat Pit.

4. Beth sy dip, dip, yn y ty, gnoc gnoc yn y cô'd, *jo ho* ar y mynydd?

Atcb. Gwagar Sycan.

What goes drip, drip in the house, knock, knock in the wood, gee ho on the mountain? *Ans.* A strainer (lit. a flummery sieve), the riddle hinting at the wood and horsehair of which it is made, and the sound accompanying the use of it.

5. Beth sy'n cysgu a'i fys yn 'i lygad?

Atcb. Eirw' (*i.e.*, Aerwy).

What sleeps with its finger in its eye?

Ans. A cow collar.

6. Pwy fu farw cyn i i' dad gâl i eni?

Atcb. Abel, neu unrhyw un o blant Adda.

Who died before his father was born ?

Ans. Abel, or any other of Adam's children.

Of this the following is a more elaborate form.

7. Pwy gâs i eni o flân i dad, fu farw o flân i fam, gâs i gladdu ym mola 'i famgu ?

Atch. Abel.

VERBAL TASKS.

All languages have a number of these. In many, some of the difficult sounds of the language are brought together for the patriotic purpose of perplexing foreigners. One in which a succession of guttural aspirates occurs,

Hwch goch fach a chwech o berchyll cochion bach,

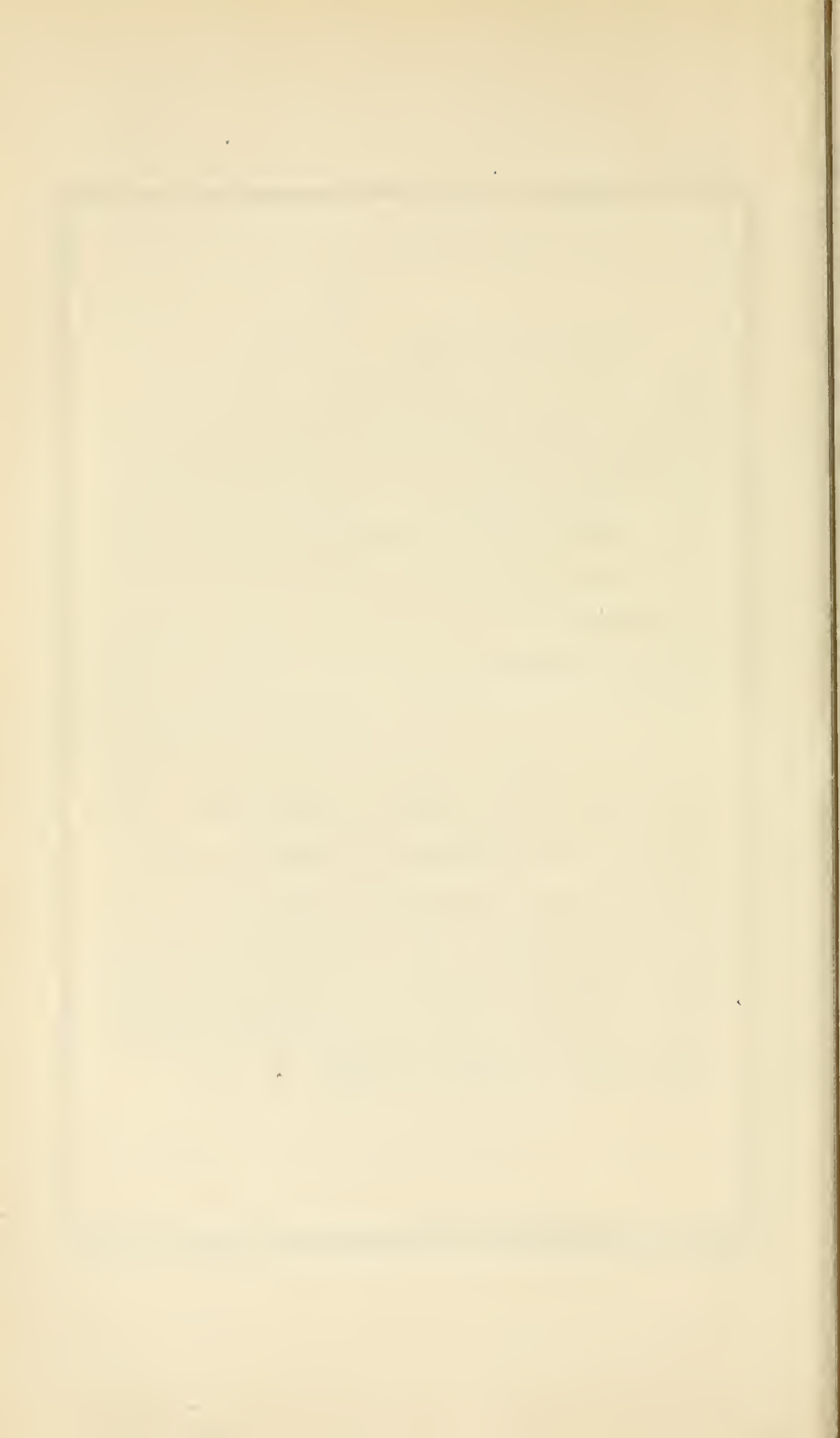
is familiar to most of our readers. The following we had given us in childhood by an old shepherd on Epynt in Breconshire. The task is to pronounce it rapidly without any confusion of the sounds :

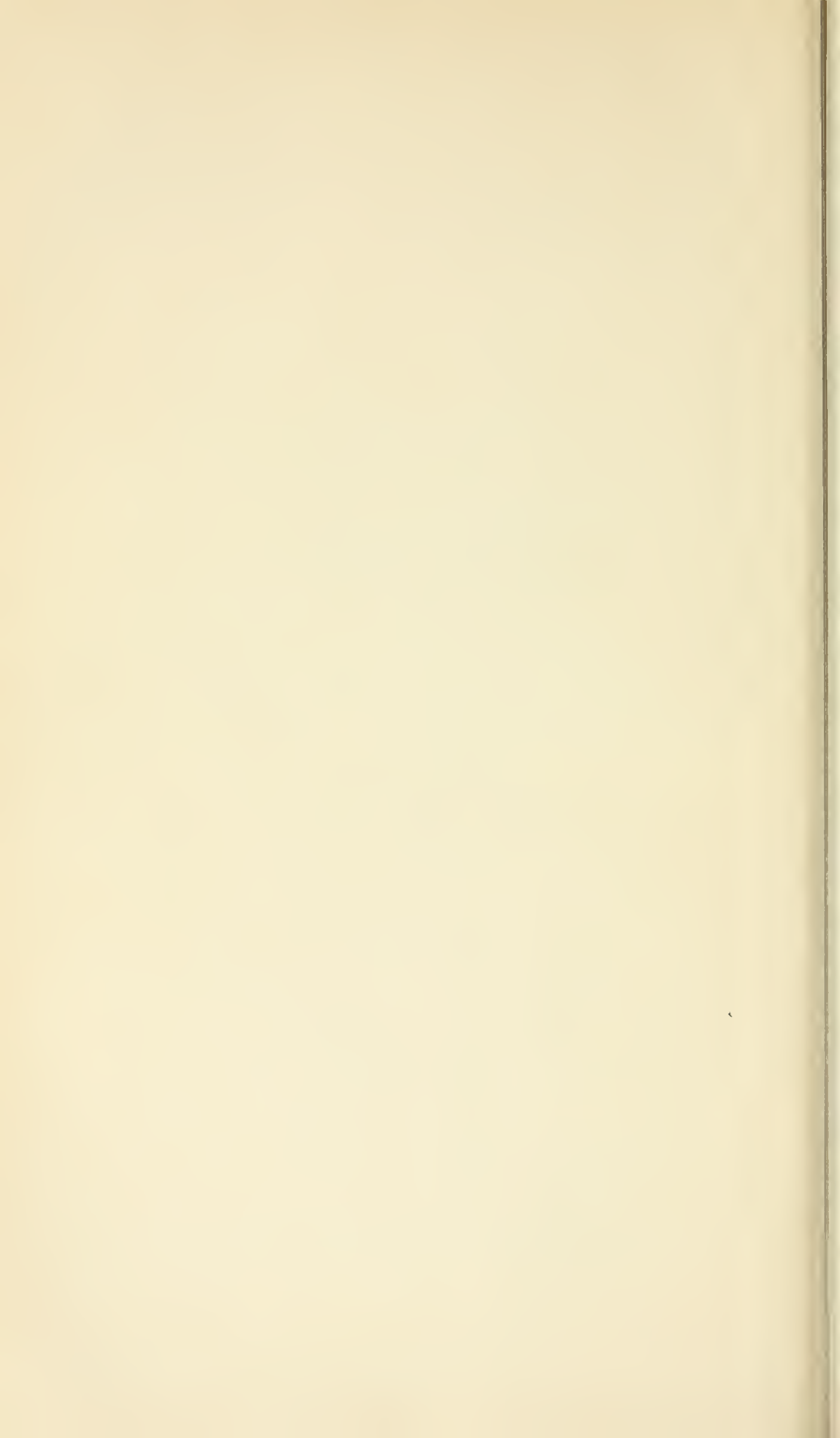
“ Mae gen i ddwy wydd lwyd radlon
 Yn pori ar lan yr afon ;
 Mae'n nwy wydd lwyd radlon i
 'N rhadlonach dwy wydd lwyd radlon
 Na dy ddwy wydd radlon di.”

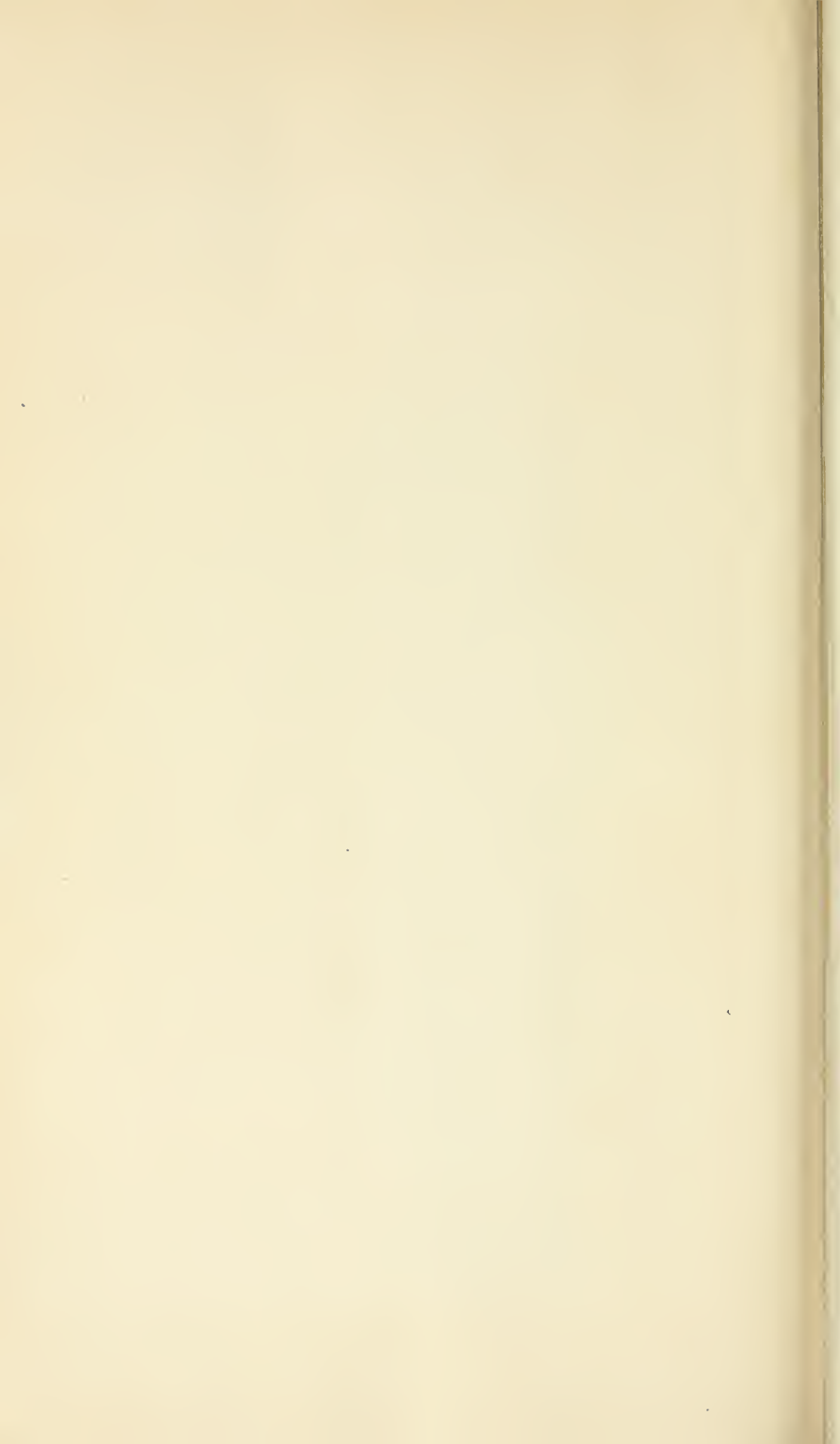
From the same source we derived the following, which resembles the English one, “Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled pepper, etc”. The task was to repeat, nine times without pausing to take breath, the words :

“ Barcutan llwyd cwta 'n pigo pypyr o'r cwpa.”

As our last sheet was passing through the press, news came of the great loss the Society, and the whole Welsh people, have sustained in the death of Sir Hugh Owen. As none of his countrymen ever turned to him for sympathy and help in vain, so there are but few who will not feel his removal as a personal loss. A ready and earnest supporter of every philanthropic movement, he laboured with especial zeal and devotion to promote the cause of education in Wales, a cause for which he did more than any other man during the present century. The shortness of time precludes our offering any adequate obituary notice in the present number, but we hope to give in the next a short biographical sketch of one in whom all that had the privilege of knowing him, recognised a true patriot, an enlightened philanthropist, and a consistent Christian.







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Y Cymmrodor

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