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The Englyn.

THE ORIGIN

OF

THE WELSH ENGLYN

AND

KINDRED METRES.

BY

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Ita honoris æmulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent.

TACITUS, AGRICOLA, 21.

Cernitis ignotos Latia sub lege Britannos.

ANTH. LAT., 424, 3 R.

PREFACE.

PORTIONS of this paper were read before the members of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion on the 17th day of February, 1904. But in the course of passing it through the press a good many minor points presented themselves in a way that I had not foreseen. They were mostly of a nature to strengthen the argument; but, as it was, they could only be, so to speak, brought in by the tail, and more or less in defiance of the attempt to be methodical in the presentation of the evidence. One result is that I should like to begin again from the beginning; but even then the event would be relatively the same. For the craving for finality, though an invaluable stimulus to thought, is ever destined to fall short of full fruition. There remains, however, the cheering reflection that the imperfect performance of one student may lead another to do better.

Most of the kind friends who have helped me are acknowledged in the body of the paper, as occasion arises; but I must mention here my indebtedness to my friend Professor Morfill for having read the proof sheets, and assisted me in many other ways. Also to the Regius Professor of Latin, and to Mr. Genner, Assistant Tutor of Jesus College, for a variety of valuable hints given me by them with the most friendly readiness. Above all I wish to record my gratitude to the Cymmrodorion Society for their liberality and their readiness to undertake the publication of this troublesome piece of work.

Lastly, a word to the reader : it is sometimes noticed that the reviewer studies nothing but the preface, and that the reader notices only what follows the preface ; nevertheless, on the bare chance of these lines catching the latter's eye, I venture to ask him to turn first to the Additions and Corrections at the end of the volume, and enter in his copy the cross references which they suggest. This would, I believe, facilitate his reading of the whole, and reduce the number of occasions when he might feel tempted to curse the writer for his stupidity.

<div align="right">JOHN RHŶS.</div>

Jesus College, Oxford.
 St. David's Day, 1905.

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However uncertain the origin of quantitative Greek verse, we can be sure that it had its justification in the nature of the spoken language. The Greeks wrote in quantity because they spoke in quantity, just as the modern English poet writes what we call accentual verse because his language is in the main an accentual language. On the other hand it is clear that the quantitative system of Greek poetry was in part artificial. It seems impossible that every long syllable should require in ordinary speech just twice the time of any short syllable ; and some of the phenomena of logaœdic measures are obviously due to arbitrary conventions. In post-classical times, the relations between quantity in speech and quantity in verse seem gradually to have become still more strained. . . . Quantitative verse had been made easy by the quantitative character of the language and by an almost entire absence of accentual stress ; but as the former decayed and the latter came in, quantitative writing became more and more an act of somewhat pedantic affectation ; and the poets had to meet the new conditions of the language by writing a new kind of verse.

CHARLTON M. LEWIS.

Y Cymmrodor.

The Origin of the Welsh Englyn and Kindred Metres.

By JOHN RHYS, M.A., D.Litt.

Part I.
Inscriptional Data.

Some twelve or thirteen years ago I called attention to the similarity of form between the characteristic portion of the Welsh metre known as the englyn and the Porius inscription at Llech Idris, near Trawsfynydd, in Merionethshire. I hardly knew then what to make of that similarity, but I have lately succeeded beyond my expectation in clearing the matter up. In collecting, with a view to publication, our old post-Roman inscriptions found in Wales and other portions of the British Isles, it has been repeatedly forced on my attention that not a few of those of the southern half of Britain are in verse. In one case, that of the Paulinus stone, preserved at Dolau Cothi, the metrical nature of the inscription has been known for more, at any rate, than half a century; for it was discussed by the Rev. Rice Rees in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, published in the year 1836. So that monument may

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appropriately stand at the head of the list which is to follow.

It may be premised that the order intended to be followed in the first part of this paper will be that which is suggested by the precedence claimed by the more common Latin metres in point, namely, the hexameter and the elegiac couplet. Then will follow separate pentameters and shortened hexameters, and such Horatian metres as I have succeeded in identifying as the models of any of our inscriptions. In applying these terms to the inscriptions at all, it must be understood that they mean not quantitative metres but accentual, a most important difference, to be explained best in connection with the individual instances. So I shall, for example, have to use the term "accentual hexameter" at the risk of the metre being forthwith identified with that of Longfellow's *Evangeline*: I cannot help it, as I have not been able to discover a better name for the kind of hexameter I have in view.

i. HEXAMETERS.

1. MAES LLANWRTHWL, *near Dolau Cothi, Carmarthenshire: see Hübner's "Inscriptiones Britanniæ Christianæ", No. 82: Westwood's "Lapidarium Walliæ", p. 79.*

A stone from the precincts of the extinct chapel of Llanwrthwl is preserved at Dolau Cothi: it is in several pieces, and one at least of those pieces is missing, but there is excellent authority for giving the reading as follows, with the ligatures resolved :—

SERVATVR FIDÆI	His faith he kept,
PATRIEQ*ue* SEMPER	He loved his country well—
AMATOR HIC PAVLIN	Here, mindful of the right,
VՐ IACIT CVLTOR PIENTн	Does Paulinus dwell.
ՐIMVS ÆQVI	

Putting it into the normal spelling of literary Latin, Professor Rice Rees wrote it out as the following pair of hexameters, *loc. cit.*, p. 188 :—

> Servator fidei, patriæque semper amator,
> Hic Paulinus jacet, cultor pientissimus æqui.

Then he proceeded to write as follows on this text :— "The last syllable of *patriaque* is an error in prosody, unless the author intended the *u* for a vowel, and so formed the end of the word into a dactyl. In the second line he appears to have had for his model the poets before the Augustan age, who frequently omitted the final *s*, and allowed the vowel preceding to assume its natural quantity ; the last *u* in Paulinus is therefore short. The *n* in *pientissimus* must have been quiescent, in which case the vowel before it would be short, as in 'pietas' from whence the word is derived." But the study of the treatment of the hexameter in our epigraphy convinces me that these suggestions on the part of Professor Rees are altogether beside the mark, and, that, had he had to deal with the other metrical epitaphs, he would have found all ingenuity of the kind which he suggested to have been inadequate to help him out.

This raises the question, what characteristics of Latin hexameter verse are likely to have been retained by the Celts of this country, if and when they tried to imitate it. Let me first mention that there were certain things which were not likely to remain, and foremost among them may be instanced the measuring of the lines by the quantity of the syllables. Even in Latin itself this was hardly native so much as due to Greek influence, and it could not be expected to be understood by men in whose own languages the accent was predominantly one of stress, such as appears to have been the case with the Celts as far back as we

have any means of studying it. So in their verses, whether
written in Latin or in their own idioms, one would expect
to find the rhythm dependent on the stress accent, no cog-
nizance, or next to none, being taken of quantity except
in so far as it conditioned the stress accent. We have
accordingly a fixed point in the fact, that the hexameter
ended in a spondee or a trochee preceded by a dactyl, that
is, the two last feet were in Latin _ ◡ ◡, _ -, which, in the
majority of cases meant ´ ◡ ◡ | ´ -, or with the quantity
notation dropped, ´ - - | ´ -, as in the ending of the first
line of the Æneid, *prímus ab | óris.* The dactylic move-
ment at the end of the line is therefore one of the things
to be looked for first in the imitation of Latin hexameters,
and we have it right enough in both lines of this epi-
taph, | *sémper a mátor,* and | *tíssimus | áequi.*

Another of the marks of the hexameter has given rise
to its name : it consisted of six feet. This, reduced to
syllables, meant that the verses might range in length
from 13 syllables to 17, for the shortest, with only a single
dactyl, that is in the fifth place, would consist of 5 spon-
dees and 1 dactyl, $5 \times 2 + 3 = 13$, while the longest
might possibly have 5 dactyls and only 1 spondee,
$5 \times 3 + 2 = 17$. What has already been said as to
the epitaph is based on the fact of its consisting of lines
of six feet each ; as it happens, the six feet make 14
syllables in both instances, and the rhythm may be repre-
sented as follows :—

> Servátor | fídei | patri áeque | sémper a mátor
> Híc Pau línus | jácit | cúltor pien tíssimus | áequi.

In this kind of verse the chief requisite seems to have
been that the dactylic movement at the end of the line
should be all right : as to the four feet preceding the
dactyl, I must confess that I have not succeeded in dis-

covering any definite rule with regard to the rhythm.
Here let me remark as to the letter *i*, that when unaccented
between a single consonant and a vowel it seldom forms a
syllable in pronunciation, so I have treated it as asyllabic
in *pientissimus*, which is indicated by writing it i̯ according
to recent philological usage, which is convenient also in
the case of u̯.

Hübner places this epitaph among those of his earliest
period, which he defines, p. xxi, as beginning from "saeculo
fere quinto medio sextove ineunte". The name Paulinus
occurs three or four times in our inscriptions, but this
Paulinus has been supposed to be the teacher who taught
St. David, and lived into the early part of the sixth
century. There seems to be no difficulty in the way of
this identification.

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2. WARRIOR'S REST, *near Yarrow, in Selkirkshire: see Hübner*, 209.

Three visits have been made by me to the stone, and
during the last of them I examined it repeatedly, with the
assistance of the minister, the Rev. R. Borland, and with
the aid of a good photograph taken at the time by Dr.
Stuart, of Leith, who happened to be staying in the neigh-
bourhood. Altogether I feel considerable confidence in
the accuracy of the following reading:—

HIC MEMORIAE ET

[BE]LLO INΓIGNIΓIMI PRINCI   Here Nudos' princely offspring rest,

PES.NVdI.   Dear to fame, in battle brave,

dVMNOGENI.   HIC IACENT   Two sons of a Bounteous sire,

IN TYMVLO · dVO FILII   Dumnonians, in their grave.

   LIBERALIΓ

The first part of the word *bello* is gone, with a piece,
which I have never seen, of the stone; the *s* is mostly of
the tall form, like a Greek Γ; the *d* is minuscule; and the

g is of the ordinary Hiberno-Saxon kind. The short line ending with *Nudi* shows where the first hexameter was considered to end.

Now, to get the whole into metrical form, it has to be borne in mind that *liberalis* was most likely pronounced *librális*: witness, for example, the French *livrer* from Latin *liberare*. Notice, also, that the *o* and the *i* in the second line combine to form one syllable *oi*; and that *h* did not count in such Latin as we have to do with here. So the whole may be scanned as follows, according to the incidence of the stress :—

 Híc me | mórie et | béllo insig|nísimi | príncipes | Núdi,
 Dumnógen|i 'ic jácent | in túmu|lo dúo | fílii Lib|rális.

An important point to be considered here is the accentuation of *Dumnógeni* with the stress falling on the thematic vowel of the first element in the compound. This is commonly supposed to have been pronounced without any stress or clear complexion of sound ; but there are reasons for thinking such was not the rule, and that Brythonic resembled Old Gaulish in this matter. The scanty remains of the latter language have recently been examined from this point of view by Dr. Meyer-Lübke[1] in the Transactions of the Academy of Vienna, and the writer has succeeded in shewing that in Gaulish the stress frequently fell on the thematic vowel: take for instance such words as *Durócasses*, now *Dreux ; Cambóritum*, now *Chambort ;* and *Rotómagus*, now *Rouen*. Among other instances he mentions the southern *Nemausus* making *Nímes*, and pointing to *Némausus* as its origin, while a more northern *Nemáusus*

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[1] See the *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien (Phil.-Hist. Classe)*, vol. cxliij.—My references are to the paper entitled "Die Betonung im Gallischen", and sold separately by Carl Gerold's Sohn (Vienna, 1901), pp. 23, 40, 44, 47-49.

is postulated by *Nemours*, which suggests to me the possibility that we have here to do with traces of two Celtic languages, one accenting its nouns on the first syllable, as Irish does, and the other tending to keep the accent nearer the end. Welsh has carried the latter tendency into effect by restricting the stress more and more to the penult, but Welsh literature has preserved a number of personal names postulating the same accentuation as Durócasses. Thus the Nennian Genealogies shew such forms as *Dinacat*, which is now superseded by *Dingad*, pronounced *Díng-gad*. The Latin genitive of this name occurs as *Dunocati* on a stone at Glanusk Park, near Crickhowel, Brecknock, and in the *Book of Aneurin* it is *Dinogat*[1] with the *o* retained, though the tendency has been to modify the *o* into *a*, as in the *Dinacat* already mentioned : that is a change which awaits explanation. Other instances from the Nennian Genealogies may be mentioned, such as *Tutagnal* (more usually *Tudwal*) postulating an early *Tutórulos*, and *Dumnagual* or *Durnagual* (commonly *Dyfnwal*) for an early *Dubnóvalos* or *Dumnóvalos*, with the same element *dumno* as in the *Dumno-geni* of the epitaph.[2] BRIG OMAG LOS is a name on an early inscribed stone now in the Clayton Museum near Chesters on the Roman Wall : later it must have been reduced to *Brigómail* and *Briómail*, but we have it in a later inscrip-

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[1] See Thomas Stephens's *Gododin*, p. 332 ; Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 90.

[2] The instances cited from the Nennian Pedigrees will be found in Phillimore's edition of the *Annales Cambriæ* in the *Cymmrodor*, ix, 141-183 : see A.D. 760, and pedigrees iv, v, vi, vii, xvij. I might probably have mentioned with them *Cun-da*, or, as given by Nennius and Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Cunedag*. I do not know how to explain the vowel *e* ; but compare *Venedotis*, to be mentioned presently. The modern pronunciation is *Cunédda* ; but the only instance in which it enters into a place-name as far as I know is *Allt Kynedhe*.

tion near Brecon as *Briamail*, and the place-name *Kelli Uriavael*, 'Briavael's Holt', in the Englynion of the Graves (Evans's *Black Book of Carmarthen*, p. 34a); compare also St. *Briavel's* church in Gloucestershire, where the pronunciation is *Bravels*, I am told. Another name partly identical occurs as *Briacat* in Nennius,[1] with a variant *Briecat*. Names beginning with the stem *rīgo*, 'king or kingly', were treated in the same way; so we have *Riacat*[2] in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 140, *Riatam*, *Riataf*, pp. 185, 186, a name borne by the king of the Brythonic troops in Berry, mentioned by the fifth century bishop Sidonius as *Riothamus*: see his *Epistula*, iii, 9, also Holder s.v. *Riotamus*. In the *Liber Landavensis*, also, a certain cleric is called apparently *Rioval*, *Riaval* and *Riual*, pp. 178, 207, 211, 212: in Breton cartularies this name is common as *Riaval*. In the *Black Book of Carmarthen* we have a *Riogan* (Evans's *Black Book*, p. 35a), and in the *Iolo MSS.* one meets with a *Rhioged*, p. 255. Possibly we have an appellative of this group in the word *rhiallu*, explained by Dr. Davies as 'decem myriades', as to which I suspect that it simply meant originally a king's army, or such a great host as a king might be imagined to have, the word being derived probably from rīgó-slōgo-s. Pughe, regarding it as made up of *rhi* and *gallu* 'power', naturally explained it more adequately than Davies, as meaning first the power of a sovereign or the army of a country; but he was wrong, I am inclined to think, in making the second element into *gallu* 'power' rather than *llu* 'a host'. In the same way are to be treated all names ending in *apui* or *abwy*, as

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[1] See *Historia Brittonum cum Additamentis Nennii* in Mommsen's *Chronica Minora* (Berlin, 1894), iii. 193.

[2] In a litany in Latin, given by Stokes in his *Patrick*, a St. *Riacatus* is named, p. 502, who was presumably a Brython or a Gaul.

Gwernábwy: in one instance the *Liber Landavensis* gives
the two forms to be expected—a man called *Guorapui*,
Guorabui and *Guorhaboe* is also called *Gurpoi*, p. 205.
Lastly, I may mention the name *Vepógenos*: the genitive
Vepogeni occurs in the votive tablet of the Pict Lossio
Veda, and the shortened nominative Vepógen was presum-
ably treated by the Picts as their usual genitive in *en*,
from which they inferred a nominative *Vepog*, which
appears in their lists of kings' names as *Vipoig*. All this
is easiest to understand on the supposition that the
Brythonic accentuation was *Vepógenos*; *see* the *Proceedings*
of the Antiquaries of Scotland, xxxij. pp. 327, 329, 393,
and Skene's *Chron. of the Picts and Scots*, p. 6. Here should
also be mentioned *Urbagen*, discussed by Mr. E. W. B.
Nicholson in Meyer and Stern's *Zeitschrift für Celtische
Philologie*, 1901, pp. 104-11 ; the better known form of
the name was *Urbgen*, while the later is *Urien*.

One is naturally led to ask how the duplication of these
forms arose : for I do not see that *Dinógad*, for instance,
could lead to *Díngad*. The latter is the later form, but
what led to it ? I can only suggest that at a certain stage
in the language there was a weight of analogy against the
antepenultimate accent, and that this caused Dŭnŏcătus to
have by its side a newer form *Dŭnŏcătus*; or, perhaps, to
be more accurate, it was *Dắnoca″tus*, with a secondary
accent on the first syllable. Among other things one
must not overlook the influence on Brythonic pronuncia-
tion of the masses of Goidels who adopted the language.
In this case Goidelic accentuation, so far as we have any
means of understanding what it was in early times, would
be distinctly in favour of that of *Dŭ′noca″tus* as against
Dŭnócatus : for the Goidelic pronunciation would in this
respect only differ in the relative stress of the primary and
secondary accents. The Goidels would make the word into

Dū″nocátus instead of *Dū′nocă″tus*, where the difference was much less than between *Dū′nocă″tus* and *Dūnŏcatus*; and so in other words originally of four syllables, to which these remarks must be understood to be confined. However the newer accentuation arose, it triumphed, for *Dingad* is naturally but the continuator of *Dū′nocă″tus*, even without any help from a Goidelic *Dū″nocátus*; and altogether one can only regard forms like *Dinógad*, *Riával*, *Guorápai* and the like, as interesting bits of an older stratum which has been mostly swept away in the course of a linguistic revolution whose history has been lost; but it must have taken place fairly early, as both Welsh and Breton have been affected by it.

Mention has already been made of the name BRIGO-MAGLOS which would make *Brigomagli* in the genitive: *vice versa* our *Nudi* would in the nominative be *Nudos*; but in this case I take *Nudos* to have stood for an earlier *Nudons* the proper genitive of which was *Nudontos*, in Latin *Nudontis* or *Nodentis*: the datives occur in inscriptions found at Lydney on the Severn, and refer to the god Nodons, whose temple in that locality was repaired sometime during the Roman occupation: *see* the Berlin *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vij. Nos. 137-140. By the time, however, of the Yarrow inscription *Nudons* in its form *Nudos* had become a man's name, that of a king in the North, whose full designation appears to have been Nudos Liberalis; for it is the exigencies of the metre that forced the inscriber to separate the two words. That they belonged together is rendered probable by the fact that they have their exact equivalent in Welsh literature as *Nûd Hael*, that is to say, Nudos the Bounteous.[1] Other princes of the same family were called *Mordav Hael* or

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[1] *See* Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, 166-9.

Morday the Bounteous, and *Rhyderch Hael* or Rhyderch the
Bounteous. Thus it would seem that *hael* or bountiful,
the *Liberalis* of our epitaph, was not an unusual epithet in
the family. Skene, on the strength of a Hengwrt MS.
transcribed, he thought, about 1300, makes these three
men great grandsons of a certain Dyfnwal Hên. All
three are mentioned in the twelfth century MS. of the
Venedotian version of the Laws of Wales as leaders in
an attack made on Gwyned by the Men of the North.
They were repelled by Rhûn, whose father Maelgwn's
death is given in the *Annales Cambriæ* as taking place
in the year 546 : so Rhûn, when warring on the Men of
the North, was probably king of Gwyned, and his expedi-
tion took place presumably not before his father's death.
Further, Nennius mentions Rhyderch as one of the kings
who made war on the Anglian King Hussa, who is said to
have reigned over Bernicia from 567 to 574, and Rhyderch
appears to have died not later than 614, probably earlier :
he reigned at Alclyde or Dunbarton over the Brythons of
the North.[1]

The epitaph is remarkable for not giving the names of
the brothers commemorated : I gather that they fell in
their father's lifetime. It would thus appear probable
that the stone was set up in the latter part of the sixth
century ; but further discussion of the historical references,
which would seem to point to that time, would lead one too
far from the question of metre which occupies us here.
This agrees well enough with Hübner's guess that the
inscription belongs to his second period.

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[1] Skene, *loc. cit.*, p. 176.

3. LLANGEFNI, ANGLESEY : *see Hübner*, 150 ; *Westwood*, p. 189; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1847, p. 42 ; 1856, p. 145.

The stone is in the vestry of the Parish Church, and is said to have been found in 1824 in taking down the wall of the old church. The legend, with the exception of the end of the first line, is fairly legible, and runs thus :—

> CVLIDORI
> IACIT   Here lies Cū-lidori,
> ET ORVVITE   And Oruvite wife of Cū-lidori,
> MVLIER   Her second husband.
> SECVNDI

This is evidently to be regarded as forming an accentual hexameter, which may perhaps be scanned as follows :—

> Culído│ri iácit │ ét O″ru│víte │ múlier se│cúndi.

But how it should be construed it is not easy to say, and it is a matter of doubt how the last word is to be taken. 1. It looks as if the last two words meant "the wife of Secundus"; but why should she occupy the same grave with another man ? 2. There is some analogy for treating *secundi* as a spelling of the adverb *secunde*, which one might be tempted to interpret as an equivalent for the usual *in pace*. But in that case one would have rather expected *mulier eius*. 3. One may take the last word as applying to Culidori, and that in one of two ways : *(a)* By assuming that his whole name was *Culidori Secundus*, and that the two vocables have only been divorced by the exigencies of the metre, somewhat in the same way as in the case of *Nudos Liberalis* in the Yarrow epitaph. (*b*) Or by interpreting *secundus* to mean that Culidori was the lady's second husband. This is the view to which I am inclined to give the preference.

The names unfortunately do not help us much as to the language and the accentuation : thus if they are Goidelic they might be represented as having the principal accent

on the first syllable and a secondary one on the third,
Cū″lido′ri, *O″ruvi′te*. while Brythonic may have had the
reverse arrangement *Cu′lidō″ri Óruvī″te*. But both these
sets would fit the verse equally well, not to mention that
Brythonic may have accented here like Gaulish in the
instances mentioned in connection with *Dumnogeni*, p. 6 ;
but that is, perhaps, not here the best way to treat *Oruvite*.
The termination *e* in the case of feminine nominatives
occurs in others of our inscriptions, and it possibly belongs
to the semi-Greek declension of which the Berlin *Corpus*
supplies many instances : *see* vol. xii. p. 953. But it is
more likely to be purely Celtic : for a Gaulish feminine
like *rēda*, 'a chariot', made *rēdēs* in the genitive (Stokes's
Celtic Declension, p. 102), and on Goidelic ground may be
compared the Eglwys Cymun stone with *Avitoria* nominative
in Latin, and *Avittoriges* (= Avithoriies) for the genitive in
Ogam. Here the instinct that works for uniformity might
lead to the nominatives being given the forms of *rēde* and
Avittorige respectively. As the Llangefni inscription is an
early one found in Anglesey, it would not be surprising if
one or both names should prove to be Goidelic. In fact I am
inclined to treat *Culidori* so, and to analyse it into *Cū-lidori*
(for an earlier *Cū-lidorii*) after the analogy of *Cū-Chulainn*
'Culann's Hound', that is, "Culann's watchdog, guardian
or champion". A name *Cū-Lothair*, which is given by the
Four Masters A.D. 915, and involves *Lóthar*, a man's name
in the *Book of the Dun Cow*, fo. 65ᵃ, suggests itself here ; but
it does not seem to fit, so I try another name, *Kyledyr*, given
in the Welsh story of Kulhwch and Olwen : *see* the Oxford
Mabinogion, pp. 134, 141 ; Guest's *Mabinogion*, ii, 305, 315.
The shortening of the Goidelic *cū* 'hound' in names
involving it, and passing into use in Welsh, is evidenced in
other instances : thus *Cū-Chulainn* occurs in Welsh as
Cochólyn, and Welsh *Cyhóred* (also *Cynhóred*—in the *Liber*

Landavensis, Conhórget), represents an early Goidelic *Cū-Orgetas*, while a Goidelic *Cū-Urit* became in Welsh *Cywrýd, Cywryd*, as to which more anon.

Hübner places this epitaph in his first period, but in his second group written across the stone *more Romano.* One can hardly regard it as later than the Llansadwrn stone (p. 31) : I am not sure that it is not somewhat earlier.

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4. CAER GAI, NEAR BALA, MERIONETH: *see Hübner*, 132 ; *Westwood*,
    p. 168 ; *Rhys's " Lect.", p.* 377.

The stone has been lost, but readings left by the antiquary Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt make it fairly certain that the following was the epitaph : IC IACIT SALVIANVS BVRGOCAVI FILIVS CVPITIANꟼ, which would seem to scan thus :—

    Ic jácit | Salvjánus | Burgóca vi fílius | Cupiti áni.

    Here lies Salvianus Burgocavis son of Cupitianus.

It belongs to what may be regarded as Ordovic territory, so the author's own language was presumably Brythonic, which the accent of *Burgócavi* would favour. But the case of that name is somewhat uncertain : it may possibly be the epithet belonging to Cupitiani, but I prefer to suppose it to stand for a nominative *Burgocavi-s* and to belong to Salvianus, meaning perhaps keeper or guardian of a, or the, burgh. The Latin cognomen Salvianus occurs on another stone found in the county : *see* Mr. Edward Owen's paper in the *Arch. Cambrensis* for 1896, p. 136. Had it been permissible to treat the name as *Salviănus* I should be tempted to scan the epitaph somewhat differently.

Burgocavi reminds one of *Cavoseni* on a stone at Llanmor on the other side of Bala : the latter is placed by Hübner in his first period and the Caer Gai epitaph is not likely to be much later, if at all.

———

5. LIMA HOUSE, PENTRE VOELAS, DENBIGHSHIRE: *see Hübner*, 158;
   Westwood, p. 202, *pl.* 87.

The stone was found in making the Holyhead Road,
and it reads as follows :—

BROHOMA꟒LI	The burial place of Brohomaglos :
IAᐁ IC IACIT	Here he lies already
ET VXOR EIVꟓ CAVNE	and his wife Caüne.

Inscriptions of this kind are remarkable for their brevity
and the crudity of the syntax: the genitive is freely
used, so the reader is left to supply the other noun,
which I presume to have mostly been *locus* or some word
meaning the place of burial : except for religious symbols
it should come first. Sometimes so much importance was
attached to the *locus*—the Irish often called it *locus
resurrexionis*—that the deceased's title to it is briefly
written on his monument. as in the case of the Llan Llyr
stone and one of the crosses at Merthyr Mawr. This
solicitude as to one's burial-place can be traced back to the
Continent, where Christian monuments not only mention
that the place of burial had been acquired by the deceased
in his lifetime, but give the terms of his curse aimed at
any one who durst appropriate it.

The word *jam* clearly betrays the poet, and his handi-
work forms the following hexameter :—

Brohómag h iam ic | iácit | et úxor | éius Ca úne.

Now not only is the accentuation _ ⌣ _ a favourite one at
the beginning of the line, but we know from another
compound of *maglos* 'hero or prince' that the stress fell
on the thematic vowel preceding it. I allude to *Briafael*,
accented *Briáfael*, and *Brigomaglos* already mentioned p. 7.
Neither *Brohomagli* nor *Caune* could be here referred to
Goidelic, as in that language they would have been

accented on the first syllable. The *h* in the former name supplies a still stronger obstacle; but I wish to lay no stress on the latter, as it is only from this epitaph I learn that it is a trisyllable, *Caïne*. The *u* here had the sound approximately of French *u*, or possibly a still thinner sound, far gone in the direction of *i*; and one would probably be right in identifying with this name the modern *Cain*, borne by the saint after whom is called Llangain, near Carmarthen : *see* the *Iolo Manuscripts*, p. 101, and Professor Rees, *loc. cit.*, p. 228. The saint is said to have been daughter of *Caw*, and it looks as if *Cain* were a derivative from *Caw*; and to this may be added the fact that a masculine *Cain* occurs in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 205, where if the vowel *i* had been original we should have had *Cein* and not *Cain*.

The use of *h* for *ch* in Brohomagli is remarkable, but not without parallel, as we shall see later, for the spelling to be expected was *Brochomagli*. The name in the *Annales Cambriæ* and the Nennian Genealogies was *Brochmail* (and less accurately *Brocmail*), whence the Medieval Welsh *Brochuail* and *Brochuael*. The modern Welsh is *Brochfael*, except in so far as its place has been usurped by *Brochwel*, the result seemingly of misreading the Medieval forms with *u*, intended for *v* or Welsh *f*. The Welsh *broch* meant a badger, Irish *brocc*, whence the English *brock* : so one would have to interpret the name *Brochomagl-i* as badger prince or badger hero, whatever such a compound may have exactly meant. Perhaps the first man named *Brochomaglos* belonged to a tribe of Badgers, or a people whose totem was the badger. I have no recollection of meeting with the name in Irish literature, but it is well-known in pedigrees of Welsh princes, and this brings me to the question of the date of the epitaph.

Hübner, judging by the lettering, places it in his second

period, which he confines to the sixth and seventh centuries. Now there was a Brochfael in command of a force to protect the monks of Bangor when Æthelfrith's attack was expected : the story represents the prince put to flight and the monks to the sword. According to the chronology of the *Annales Cambriæ* this was in the year 613, more correctly 616 ; but they mention also a Brochfael dying in 662. This would probably be another person : either of them may have been the man commemorated by the epitaph ; but I should be disposed to give the preference to the later Brochfael.

6. THE CATSTANE *on the farm of West Briggs in the parish of Kirkliston, between six and seven miles from Edinburgh : see Hübner, 211 : " The Academy", Aug. 29, 1891, p. 180 : Wilson's " Prehistoric Annals of Scotland" (London, 1863), ij, 209-11, plate : J. Y. Simpson in the " Proceedings" of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iv, p. 119 et seq. : Ed. Llwyd in the "Philosophical Transactions", vol. xxij for 1700-1 (London, 1702), No. 269, p. 790, plate.*

So much of the lettering as one can make out with a fair amount of certainty stands thus :—

<div align="center">

IИ OC TV
MVLO IACIT
VETTA F . . A
VICT . . .

</div>

The most noticeable peculiarity of this inscription is the smallness of the *O*. The *ili* of *filia* are too faint to be made out with certainty, and the last name has been sometimes treated as *Victi ;* but Edward Llwyd, who was the first to call attention to the stone, shows that there was more writing than *victi*, and Daniel Wilson has suggested *victr–*. I have looked at the stone twice, and the second time I had the help of Dr. Daniell of Edinburgh, when we thought *vict* was followed by *rs* : this

was before either of us knew of Llwyd and Wilson's
readings. We were, however, puzzled by finding no
corresponding supply of vowels to make some such a
genitive as *Victoris*; but bearing in mind that the *o* would
be small and placed perhaps in the outer angle of the T,
there might be no insuperable difficulty as to its presence.
The case of the *i* would be still easier, as it may have
sufficed if the perpendicular of the *R* was prolonged up-
wards a little, as sometimes occurs in Roman inscriptions.
Supposing Wilson to have been right, his reading would
point to VICToRꞂ with the final *s* omitted and the final *i* cut
horizontally : this would practically mean the same geni-
tive *Victori(s)*. That it was either of the two spellings I
consider to be now made almost certain by the fact of its
yielding an accentual hexameter of the proper form, and
scanning as follows :—

> In oc | túmulo | iácit | Vétta | fília Vic|tóris.
> In this mound lies Vetta daughter of Victor.

Hübner risks no opinion as to the date of this epitaph,
but I see no reason to suppose that it does not belong to
our earliest period.

———

7. TREGONEY, CORNWALL : *see Hübner*, 10.

The stone is built into the wall of the parish church and
reads as follows :—

NONNITA	The burial place of Nonnitis,
ERCILIVI	Erciliu, and Ricat,
RICATI TRIS FILI	The three sons of
ERCILINCI	Ercilineu.

The following points call for notice in the matter of
lettering : the diagonal of the *n* is horizontal, which
makes it look an *h* ; the first *a* and the first *v* are

upside down; *li* make a ligature, and so do *fi*. The
letters are all capitals, but of a somewhat late kind. For
the writing of *tris* for *tres* there is no lack of parallels, and
as to the syntax the analogy of our inscriptions by no
means requires *tris fili*, that is to say, *tres filii*, to have
been in the genitive case because the antecedents are :
sometimes the apposition words are allowed to appear in
the nominative. The whole would seem to scan as
follows :—

Nonníta | Érci|li vi Ri|cáti trés | fílị Érci|li nei.

The accentuation seems to be Brythonic, but I suspect
the inscription to be the work of one whose own language
was Goidelic, as it seems to have also been of the family
which he was proceeding to commemorate. The whole
was meant to be Latin, and the ending of three of the
genitives out of four is Latin. Thus *Ercilivi* seems to
have been formed from a Goidelic nominative *Erciliiū*, the
Goidelic genitive of which would have been *Ercilien-as*,
later *Ercilenn* (Brythonic *Ercilion-os*). The same sort of
explanation applies to *Ercilinci*, except that the name had
been first given a distinctly Brythonic form corresponding
to an early Goidelic Ercilincū, genitive *Ercilincon-as*. But
long, possibly, before the date of this inscription the nasal
had been assimilated to the following guttural, and had as
such disappeared, so that the forms must have become
Erciliccū, genitive *Erciliccon-as*, which, according to analogy,
may have resulted in *Erciliuc*, genitive Ercilcon, or better
perhaps an intermediate form *Ercilicon*. Brythonic re-
tained *nc*, so that *Ercilicon* or *Ercilcon* was transformed
into Brythonic *Ercilinc-i*, with the Latin genitive ending.
All this was the doing of the man of letters, and what
happened where he did not interfere is illustrated on
Welsh ground. For the *Liber Landavensis* supplies us not

only with *Ircil*, the common measure of the two longer
cognates in the epitaph, but also with *Ercilinc-* with its
nc submitted to the Goidelic treatment, namely, as *Irgillicg*,
where the digraph *cg* is meant to represent the mute sound
g, and the preceding *g* a spirant sound of *g* or *c*.   The
passage occurs at p. 159 of the Oxford edition, and reads
Tref irgillicg, id est tref ircil antiquo nomine: the place
meant seems to have been the same which in the lists at
pp. 32, 43 is called *Trem Gýllicg* and *Tref Gillic*, the
shorter forms having been arrived at by dropping the *ir*,
which was, perhaps mistakenly, regarded as the Welsh
definite article and as no essential part of the name.   All
this makes against any notion that *Ircil* is connected with
the common Irish name *Erc*, and in favour of a pronun-
ciation *Irchill* or *Erchill*, the genitive perhaps of an *Ecchell*
(= Arecell-) of the same origin as the Irish name *Airchella*
in *Hui Airchellai*, mentioned in the *Book of Leinster*, 323ᵉ,
otherwise written *Urchailli* (genitive), namely, in Stokes's
Patrick, where we have Druim *Urchailli* and Domnach
Vrchaile, pp. 184, 185.

As to Ricati, that is presumably from *Rigacatu-s*, or
Rigocatu-s, and shows that there was in Brythonic a
Ricat probably along side of the *Riacat*, which was
noticed at p. 8.   The Goidelic pronunciation was probably
Ríchath or Ríchad.   So also with *Nonnita*, which, as a
man's name, is to be distinguished from *Nonnita*, the name
of St. Non, mother of St. David, in the Latin Life of the
latter by Caradoc of Llancarfan : *see* Mommsen's *Chronica
Minora*, iij, 108.   I may add that an extinct church near
Margam is called Eglwys *Nynnid* (in English spelled
Nunyd), probably after some lady of the name of *Nonnita*.
But a genitive *Nonnita* postulates an early Goidelic
Nonniti-s, genitive *Nonniti-as*, which in the course of
phonetic decay became *Nonnita*, with the *s* and the *i* elided

as usual. The Goidelic pronunciation would be more cor-
rectly *Nónnitha* or *Nónnida*, as the name is probably to be
identified with the Irish one *Nannid* or *Nainnid*, genitive
Nanneda or *Nainnida*, in spite of the difference of vowel.
The elision of the *i*, as between *Nonnitias* and *Nonnita*, is
comparatively late, though it is met with occasionally in
Irish Ogam inscriptions. In fact everything indicates that
this epitaph does not date before the seventh century,
which agrees, so far as it goes, with Hübner's placing it
in his second period. It is worthy of notice that in the
time of the men here commemorated, not only were
Goidelic names current in Cornwall, but the Goidelic
language appears to have been alive as such, and well
understood as regards some, at any rate, of the phono-
logical points on which it differed from Brythonic.

S. LLANDAWKE. CARMARTHENSHIRE: *see Hübner*, ᴊ᙮: *Westwood, p.* 92.

The stone has an Ogam inscription on the edge, and the
Latin reads, with *hic iacit* also on the edge :—

BARRIVEND⊢ FILIVS VENDVBARI ¦ HIC IACIT

which seems to mean, "The burial place of Barrivend :
here lies the son of Vendubarr." The *barr* with *rr*
probably bore the accent, while the same syllable with
only one *r* just as probably did not. The whole would
seem to represent Goidelic accentuation and to scan as
follows, if you take into account the difference between
the primary and the secondary accent :—

Ba rri véndi filius ¦ Ve ndu bári hic ¦ iácit.

The two names are made up of the same elements
differently placed, and they may be, roughly speaking,
rendered White-head; in Medieval Irish they were re-

spectively Barrfind and Findbarr, Welsh Berwyn and
Gwynfar.   As to the thematic *i* of *barri* and *u* of *Vendu*
see the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of
Ireland, 1902, p. 35.

Hübner places this in his second period, and Westwood
thought it not later than the sixth century, but his
reasons, so far as he has suggested any, tend to diminish
the value of his opinion.

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9. LLANGAFFO, ANGLESEY : *see Hübner*, 148 ; *Westwood, p.* 187, *pl.* 83 ;
    " *Arch. Camb.*", 1896, *p.* 140.

A stone which seems to have formerly been used as a
gate-post on the farm of Fron Deg in the parish of
Llangaffo is now fixed in the wall of the vestry of the
parish church.   The lettering is in a very bad state of
preservation : this is what I make of it :—

GVR
GNIHH
FILIU
CUURIƆ
CINI
ƐRƐ
XIꞀ
HUNC
LAPI
ƆƐHH

Parts only of the two "Hiberno-Saxon" *g*'s
are left, but the second *g* is quite certain.
Between *gur* and *gnim* there was probably a *u*
or *v*.   The *s* of FILIUS was probably never
there ; at any rate there is no trace of it.   The
next line seems to have had a minuscule *d* of
the same kind as in the last line ; it may
possibly have been an *s*, though I do not think
it probable.   The *m* in both instances has its
three perpendicular bars joined about half way
down, so that it looks somewhat like H H
pressed together into one character.   The in-
scription has been examined repeatedly by me, and the
last time I had the valuable help of Prof. J. Morris Jones,
who has also photographed the stone.

The reading which I have suggested would in full make
the following :—

Gur[u]gnim filiu Cu-Urid Cini crexit hune lapidem.

Gwrwnif son of Cu-Urid Cini set up this stone.

Arranged metrically the whole would stand thus :—

Gúrugnim | filiu | Cuurid | Cini | er | éxit hunc | láp'dem.

That is an accentual hexameter ending with a dactyl, or else, as is far more probable, *lápidem* was shortened into *lapdem* or *laptem* in the author's pronunciation : compare the like treatment of this word in other inscriptions to be mentioned presently.

The names are of great interest in spite of the difficulties with which their obscurity has surrounded them. *Gurugnim* equates exactly with the Irish *Gormgnim*, genitive *Gormgnima* (*Book of Leinster*, fo. 312ᶜ), made up of *gním*, 'act, deed, feat, or exploit', and *gorm*, a word interpreted in O'Davoren's Glossary (Stokes's *Three Irish Glossaries*, p. 94), to have meant 'conspicuous, famous, illustrious', though it is better known as applied to colour, ranging, with somewhat primitive indefiniteness, from red to blue. So the compound as a proper name may be said to have meant " him of conspicuous deeds"; and the Irish name *Gormgal* (*Bk. of Leinster*, 323ᶜ, 325ᵉ), may be compared as involving *gorm* prefixed to *gal*, a word meaning any sensation, from a mere headache to the wildest fury of battle. So this name may be explained to have meant " him of conspicuous valour", and its Welsh equivalent occurs in the *Liber Landavensis* in the spelling *Gurgal* and the older one *Gurguol*, whence also *Guruol* (for Guru-gol, Guru-gal). The same compound it is, perhaps, that came down into Medieval Welsh as the abstract noun gwrjal, "an act of heroism" (*Myvyrian Archaiology*, i, 207ᵇ, 220ᵇ). In Old Welsh the other compound occurs similarly used, namely, in an englyn in the ninth century Juvencus Codex, where we have *Niguru gnim molim trint[aut]*, "No heroic

effort is it to praise the Trinity", meaning it is no more
than one's duty; and we have a sort of parallel a dozen
lines further on—*Nit guorguim molim map meir*, "No deed
of excess is it to praise Mary's Son"; *see* Skene's *Four
Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 1, 2, and Stokes in the *Phil. Soc.
Transactions*, 1860-1, p. 204. In these names Welsh *guru*
corresponds to Irish *gorm*, in the same way as Welsh
cwrw 'ale' and Old Welsh *anu*, later *enw*, 'name', do to
Irish *coirm*, genitive *corma*, and *ainm*, genitive *anme*,
respectively.[1]

The longer name *Cunrideini* it can hardly be wrong to
analyse into Cu-Urid Cini, from which, if the *d* may be
assumed to be the correct reading, one may detach
Cu-Urid as a Goidelic name of which we have the genitive
in *Conurit*, that is *Con-Urit*, in the *Liber Landavensis*;
more correctly *Con-Urit* or *Con-Writ*, as we shall see
presently. But in neither is the distinction of case recog-
nized, which serves to show that these names were current
among a people who had adopted Brythonic, a language in
which case relations ceased to be distinguished by means
of case endings. Now, a Goidelic Cū-Urit would become in
the Brythonic of Wales, Cŭ-Urit or Cŏ-Urid, and coalesce
into *Cowrid*, later *Cówrid*, to appear in the standard
spelling as *Ciurit* and *Cywryd*. It is best known with

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[1] It follows that the Welsh *gwrm*, 'dun, dark brown', may be
regarded as borrowed from Irish; so it would be unnecessary to
postulate two Irish words *gorm*, as is done in Fick's *Urkeltischer
Sprachschatz*, where one finds, p. 114, *gormo-s* 'warm, roth', and
gorsmo-s 'dunkel'. I do not remember that *gorm* occurs alone as a
proper name in Irish, but we possibly have its Welsh equivalent as
Gwrw in the name of *Eglwys Wrw*, a parish church near Newport in
Pembrokeshire. The local etymologists are ever anxious to prove
the name to be Eglwys *Erw*, which would mean "the Church of an
acre". They may be right, but they are squeamish in any case as to
Wrw, because it comes near *gwryw* 'male', which is pronounced in
some parts of Wales as *gwrrw*, liable to be mutated to *wrrw*.

bleid 'wolf', making *bled-cu* 'wolf-hound', prefixed to make *Bledcuurit* in the *Liber Landavensis*,¹ and *Blegywryd* in Med. Welsh, mostly with the *d* elided. The name *Cū-Ụrit* would mean the Hound of Ụrit, a kind of name which was, as already suggested, a favourite one among the Goidels: thus in the *Liber Landavensis Con-Urit* was the son of a man named Concolen. This last vocable is no other than the genitive *Con-culainn* of the Irish name *Cū-chulainn*, and *Culainn*, the genitive of *Culann*, was itself a man's name. So probably also was *Ụrit* in *Cū-Ụrit*, and Nennius has a name *Mepurit* in the pedigree of Fernmail, a king ruling at one time over Buallt and Gwrtheyrnion, in the vale of the Wye: *see* Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, iii. 193, where Mepurit² looks like an agglutination of *Map Ụrit*, rendering an Irish *Mac Ụrit*.

In the pedigree *Mepurit* is great grandson of Gwrtheyrn or Vortigern, as to whom I would remark, that it is

¹ That is probably the meaning also of the name *Bleiden* in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 155, though the purer or, let us say, the later Welsh form would have to be represented as *Bleidei*. In the same volume, however, we have *Bledciurit*, p. xlvij, from a charter in the *Book of St. Chad*, and so should be treated the *Bledcuirit* at p. 219 of the *Liber Landavensis*.

² In a note Mommsen cites Zimmer as conjecturing it to be a corruption of Map Iudnert: why *Iudnert* I do not know, for the choice is not phonologically satisfactory. In *Mepurit* the second element is a monosyllable *Ụrit*, and so the *i* accounts for the change from *map* to *mep*, according to the usual rule, and *Mep-ụrit* explains completely the MS. variants *Menprit* and *Meprit*: all point to a single reading of the original; and if the second element, with this pronunciation, came to be used independently it would be certain to be written Gurit, Gwrit, or Gwryd, in Welsh. It is to be noticed that Ụrit must have been borrowed into Welsh before its initial *ụ*, *w* or *v* had become *f* in Irish. We seem to detect it in Irish in the genitive *Aperritti* on one of the Ballintaggart stones in Kerry, and in the Gaulish *Aterritus* and *Atecrita*: *see* the *Revue Celtique*, xi. 381, where we have also a related form mentioned, *Vritu*: compare the Nîmes genitive *Vrittonis* in the *Corpus I. L.*, xij. No. 3478.

possible he belonged to the Dési, who came over from what
is now the county of Waterford to Dyfed or south-west
Wales. At any rate it is remarkable that the name
Vortigern occurs in Ireland in the inscriptions in the
Dési district, and is otherwise not uncommon in Irish
nomenclature, while on this side of the Channel it is, as
far as I can remember, confined to the Hengist legend and
Breton cartularies.

The name Cu-Urit, Cywryd, is, as already shown, not
confined to the epitaph : we have it for instance in the
Welsh Triads, i, 73=iij 107, where a certain Gwenn,
daughter of Cywryd ab Crydon, is mentioned, and Cyrwyt
(*lege* Cywryt), son of Crydon, figures in a pedigree of
Rhodri Mawr given at the beginning of the Life of
Gruffyd ab Cynan : *see* the *Myryrian Archaiology*, ij, 584.
There was also a Cywryd of sufficient distinction to have
his name mentioned in the first of the Englyns of the
Graves in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*: *see* Evans's
facsimile, 32ᵃ, and Skene, *loc. cit.*, i, 309, ij, 28.

We now come to *Cini*, as to which I may point out that it
is possibly to be equated with Irish *Cinni* in the genitive of
a man's name, *Carpri Chinni*, in the *Book of Leinster*, 324ᵃ,
where it looks like a derivative from Irish *cenn*, 'a head
or end', the equivalent of our Welsh *pen*. The meaning
of *Cinni* I can only guess to have been that of principal
or chief ; but whatever it may have been we have the
whole name presented in its proper Welsh form of *Gurit
Penni* in the *Liber Landavensis*. At p. 72 we find a place
called Mainaur Garth Benni, or simply Garth Benni ; and
in Garth Benni there was a church called Lanncusthennin
in Garth Benni, p. 276, and more briefly Lanngarth Benni or
Ecclesia Garth Benni, which Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans fixes,
p. 407, at Welsh Bicknor in the counties of Monmouth
and Hereford. Now one cleric identified with that

ecclesia is described, p. 231, as Eithin de Garth Benni;
another as Guenuor abbas Lann Garth Benni, p. 164; and
a third as Guernabui princeps Garthbenni, "G. the Superior
of Garth Benni," p. 164; also simply as Guernapui
Guritpenni, "G. of Gurit Penni", p. 166. From these
mentions I conclude that the church name, liable to be
curtailed in more ways than one, was in full Garth Gurit
Penni, or rather Lann Custenhin Garth Gurit Penni.
In other terms the place-name was *Garth Gurit Penni*, the
Garth, that is to say, of somebody called Gurit Penni.
The word *garth* originally meant an enclosure, like its
Irish equivalent *gort* 'a field'; but *garth* has been largely
applied to hill-top enclosures of an ancient type, and
thereby it is become the name of the hills themselves which
they crowned. But I am chiefly interested here in Gurit
Penni as the equivalent of *Urid Cini* or *Urit Cini*, which
reminds one of a mention in the *Triads*, i, 59=ij, 16=iij,
109, of one of Arthur's three Gwenhwyfars as daughter
of Gwryd Gwent or *Gawryd* (also *Gawrwyd*) Ceint, for
they differ hopelessly. Gwryd *Gwent* points in the
direction of Monmouthshire and of Garth Urit Penni,
while *Ceint* in Medieval Welsh meant Kent, further away
still; but as a matter of fact there is a Ceint in Anglesey
itself, not far from the Menai Straits. I mention these
allusions though I hardly know what to make of them,
but possibly we have here a confused echo of Cū-Urid
Cini. Should that prove so, one might regard the dis-
tances between the places named as pointing to a time
when the coast of Wales, the Severn Sea, and the south
coast of England were infested by invaders from Ireland,
about the close of the Roman Occupation.

The top of the stone probably bore a cross at first,
and the opposite face of it is now imbedded in the
wall, but it had probably nothing on it: at least this is

what one would gather from Westwood's silence on the point. As to the date, Hübner has placed this epitaph in his third group of the seventh and eighth centuries: the character of the lettering seems to make an earlier time improbable. But it is remarkable that while the deceased's name was decidedly Welsh, that of his father was as decidedly Goidelic; so one is tempted to think it points to the transition when Goidelic was dying out. I am at present hardly disposed to regard that transition as extending into the eighth century. But it is to be noticed that the retention of Cini without being altered into its equivalent Brythonic with an initial p, rather suggests that Goidelic and Brythonic were not both understood, at any rate by the author of the epitaph.

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9. MARGAM, GLAMORGANSHIRE. *The stone is the great wheel cross outside the chapter house: see Hübner, 72; Westwood, p. 27, pl. 15; "Arch. Camb.", 1894, pp. 251-3, pl.; 1899, pp. 15-17, 19, pl., 140-1.*

The writing occupies the two left-hand spaces in the wheel above and below the left arm of the cross, the two opposite spaces having, so far as I can judge, been left blank. The writing is very faint in the former, and so far as I can make it out it stands thus: Con belin . . | suit . . | anc . . | rucem | . . . . | nima mu | . . . . | . . . . | ; and having regard to the spaces it may be completed thus: Con | belin po | suit h | anc c | ru | cem | pro a | nima mu | lieris | eius | . The last word may have been *sue* for *sua*; but the analogy of other Glamorgan instances points rather to the incorrect use of *eius*. The whole would accordingly scan as follows:—

Conbélin pósuit hanc crúcem pro ánima múlieris éius.

Cynfelyn set up this cross for the soul of his wife.

Neither Hübner nor Westwood suggest any date for this cross, but Mr. J. Romilly Allen treats it as pre-Norman, as does also Mr. Ward of the Cardiff Museum : one might probably assign it to the ninth or tenth century.

10. CAMBORNE, CORNWALL: *see Hübner*, 8; *Borlase's "Cornwall"*, *p. 401, pl. 36; Haddan and Stubbs's "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents", vol. i, p. 699.*

The writing is on the flat face of an oblong stone, and so arranged near the margin as to leave the middle empty except for a small cross which is cut there. It reads— *Leuiut iusit h*°*c altare pro anima sua*, where one has to understand *hoc altare* or perhaps *hæc altaria*. It makes a hexameter as follows, of the accentual kind :—

> Léviut | iússit | hóc al| táre pro | ánima | súa.

Hübner is content to say as to the date "tribuunt sæculo octavo vel nono", but to whom he more especially refers he does not say. I may mention, however, that Haddan and Stubbs place it in their list of *Sepulchral Christian Inscriptions*, A.D. 700-1000.

11. LLANTWIT MAJOR, GLAMORGANSHIRE: *see Hübner*, 63; *West-wood, p. 11 ; "Arch. Camb.", 1899, p. 153.*

The inscription reads now: ninomine dī patris & ꝼ | [s]peretus santdi anc | [cr]ucem houelt prope | [ra]bit pro anima res pa|[tr]es eus. The beginnings of the lines are gone except the first, and this shows *nin* for *inn*, which seems to indicate that the inscriber cut five perpendicu-lars ||||| and joined the wrong ones together. The middle of the line has *dī* for *dei*; more usually we have simply *di*. The line ends with ꝼ surmounted with a mark

indicating an abbreviation for *fili*, which appears to have been overlooked, and to have been inserted in this way at the very edge. In *properabit*, which was probably meant for *preparavit*, we have *b* used for *v*, as was commonly done in late Latin, and in the Old Welsh Glosses of the ninth century. Also *es* instead of *is* in *patres* has plenty of analogy in Latin inscriptions, especially in Christian ones. Lastly, *eus* for *eius*, is probably due to the inscriber's carelessness, and the whole, corrected accordingly, may be scanned as follows :—

In nómi|ne déï | pátris et | fíli | spíritus | sáncti
Hanc crúcem | Hóuelt | prop'ravit | pro án'ma | Rís pátris | éius.

In the name of God the Father and the Son the Holy Ghost,
This cross Houelt prepared for the soul of his father Rhys."

Ris patris does not accentually make the strongest kind of dactyl for our rhythm, as *patris* claims a part of the stress which, according to the foregoing analogy, *Ris* requires, so I am not quite confident that I have hit on the right metre of the second line.

Hübner is content to say as to the date, "creditur esse sæculi noni," and Westwood fixes it in that century on the wrong supposition, that the name Houelt, cognate with Irish Sualdaim, is merely a form of the commoner name *Howel* or *Hywel*, which led him to identify Houelt with a certain Howel son of Rhys, belonging to the ninth century. Nevertheless, I have no objection to the suggestion that the inscription dates from that century. As to the Celtic theology, which identified the Son with the Holy Spirit, *see* Mr. Conybeare's paper on "The Character of the Heresy of the Early British Church", in the *Transactions* of this Society for 1897-8, pp. 84-117.

12. LLANSADWRN, NEAR BEAUMARIS, ANGLESEY: *see Hübner*, 153 ;
   Westwood, p. 188, *pl.* 85; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1896, *p.* 139 (*Lewis Morris*), *also* "*Arch. Camb.*", 1847, *p.* 259 (*H. Longueville Jones*).

A stone taken out in digging a grave in 1742 has had the legend on it by this time reduced to the following fragmentary state—

<div align="center">

HIC BEAT
SATVRNINVS SE
ACIT.ET SVA SA
CONIVX-PA

</div>

With the aid, however, of the readings given by Lewis Morris and Longueville Jones, one may give the following as representing the epitaph at an earlier stage :

HIC BEAT	Here Saturninus lies, the truly blest ;
SATVRNINVS SEPS	Here doth his holy wife Paterna
IACIT.ET SVA SA	rest ;
CONIVX-PA	Lightly may the earth lie upon her
CVIS	breast.

On this basis the following might be inferred to have been the original :—

Híc be|átus | vír Satur|nínus | sépsemet | íacit.
Et súa | sáncta | cónjux.Pa|térna cui | sít térra | lévis.

It has been attempted to read SEPS into an abbreviation of *sepultus*, but that is inadmissible, as such abbreviations have next to no place in our inscriptions, and as to *cui sit terra levis*, I have only to say that it was a common ending enough of Latin epitaphs, and that it just fits here to explain Morris's CVIS, though it is open to the same remark on the score of accent as the instance last mentioned.

The date of the inscription is impossible to fix : the lettering, in spite of the T having its lower part turned

forward like that of a minuscule t, might be regarded as
belonging to any time from the end of the fourth century
to that of the seventh. Hübner has placed this stone
in his first period, p. xxi, and by that he meant, as
already suggested, the time from the cessation of Roman
inscriptions, about the middle of the fifth century to the
opening of the sixth. Within this first period he dis-
tinguishes two groups, the first of which consists of
inscriptions written down the face of the stone, *more
Celtico*: the second group consists of inscriptions written
horizontally across the face of the stone, *more Romano*.
But in the present case he has, in my opinion, committed
two mistakes: this particular instance was undoubtedly
written downwards and not across; and it is highly
improbable that he was right in regarding those written
more Romano generally as later than the others : I should
have guessed just the reverse. Coming back to the name
Saturninus, I may mention that it was a well-known
Roman cognomen, and that it occurred in Roman Britain.
In Welsh it becomes *Sadyrnin*, while *Saturnus* yields
Sadwrn ; and there is a church called Llansadyrnin in the
south-west of Carmarthenshire, which Professor Rice Rees,
loc. cit., p. 305, states to have received its name from a
ninth century Sadyrnin, who was bishop of St. David's.
But mention is made in the *Iolo Manuscripts*, pp. 141, 545,
of another Sadyrnin, who dates earlier, and is represented
as son of Sadwrn, son of Gynyr of Caer Gawch, the same
Gynyr who was father of Non, mother of St. David. So
this Sadyrnin would be cousin to David, and that would
probably bring his death into the earlier half of the sixth
century. If this identification should prove tenable, it
would explain in an easy way why the epitaph has
Saturninus (Sadyrnin) while the church is called that of
Sadwrn (Saturnus) : I take it that the son Sadyrnin had

it called after his father Sadwrn. The more usually accepted view, however, is different, namely, that Saturnus was a Sadwrn Farchog 'Saturnus the Knight', from Brittany, brother of St. Iltutus or Illtud, which would also point approximately to the early part of the sixth century: *see* the *Iolo Manuscripts*, pp. 134, 536-7. To this there is a serious objection, namely, that it postulates the identity of the name Saturninus (Sadyrnin) with Saturnus (Sadwrn): in the absence of facts to the contrary I see no more reason for this than for treating *Williams* and *Williamson* as one and the same man. On the whole I should be disposed to regard the epitaph as belonging to the earlier half of the sixth century.

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13. LLANDYSILIO, PEMBROKESHIRE: *see Hübner*, 97: *Westwood*, *p.* 112.

The stone reads CLVTORIGI FILI PAVLINI MARINILATIO "the burial place of Clutorix son of Paulinus Marinus of Latium". On this one has to remark that in Irish Latinity the name Latium applied not only to the part of Italy so called, but also probably to any place called in Irish Letha and in Welsh Llydaw. The latter commonly meant Brittany, but there was probably a Snowdonian locality so called where there is still a Llyn Llydaw. There may have been other Llydaws, and I cannot tell where this Paulinus came from, but in my *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 531-6, I have suggested Llangorse by the Lake of Savadon, near Brecon. However, if we may render his name "Paulinus the Mariner" it cannot be denied that it naturally suggests Brittany, and that he was one of a number of Armoricans settled near the Lake of Savadon. Tysilio was the patron saint of Llandysilio, it is needless to say; but among a number of churches ascribed to him by the twelfth-century bard Cyndelw, one is called Llan Llydaw

D

'the Church of Llydaw' (*Myryrian Arch.*, i, 245[b]), which
was possibly this Llandysilio under an alternative name
derived from the Paulinus mentioned on the old stone.
Now as to the metre, the epigraph seems to scan thus :—

<div style="text-align:center">Clúto│rígi │ fíli Pau│lini │ Maríni │ Látio.</div>

So far we have had to do chiefly with instances ending
│ ⌣ - - │ ⌣ - │ , while here we have │ - ⌣ - │ ⌣ - │ ; but this,
as will be seen, does not stand alone.

Hübner places this inscription in his second period.

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14. SPITTAL. PEMBROKESHIRE : *see Hübner*, 99; *Westwood, p.* 109.

The stone seems to read EVALI FILI DENOVI CVNIOVENDE
MATER EIVS, "the burial place of Eval, son of Denov,
Cuniovende his mother set up the stone". There is a
doubt as to the first *O*, since it is imperfect, but the last
time I looked at it I thought it too nearly a complete
circle to be a *C*, to which I had been in the habit of giving
the preference. The scanning of this epigraph and the
next might perhaps be referred to the kind of line known
as the Greater Sapphic, but I prefer treating them as
instances of the accentual hexameter as follows :—

<div style="text-align:center">Evali │ fili │ Denovi │ Cunióven│de máter │ éius.</div>

The metre does not help one to fix the accentuation of
Evali and *Denovi*. The former is probably to be identified
with the Irish genitive *Evil* in the *Book of Leinster*, fo. 349[c]
(also nominative *Eoil*, fo. 352[c]), *Denovi* is perhaps to be
identified with *Dinui* (possibly for *Dinuvi*) on the Gulval
stone (Hübner 3). *Cuniovende* may possibly be the female
name which occurs in Welsh as *Ceinwen*, which I have not
identified in Irish.

Hübner places this inscription in his second period.

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15. MARGAM, GLAMORGANSHIRE: *see Hübner*, 75; *Westwood, p.* 30; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1899, *p.* 138.

The stone is in the church, and reads, in minuscules:—
ilci fecit | hanc eruce | m in nomin | e di summi. I take
di to stand for *dī* or *dei*, and the scanning reminds one
of the previous instance:—

Ílci fécit | hanc crúcem | in nómin e déï | súmmi.
Ilci made this cross in the name of God the most High.

The name *Ilci* is probably to be identified with that which
occurs in the *Liber Landavensis* as *Elci* and *Eleu*.

Westwood gives it as his opinion that the lettering is of
a more ancient form than that on the crosses of Grutne
and Brancuf, the former being regarded by him as of the
eighth or ninth century, while he has treated the Brancuf
one as not earlier than the ninth or later than the tenth.
In any case the Ilci cross can hardly be earlier than the
eighth century.

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ii. ELEGIACS.

We now come to instances of couplets having for their
original model Latin elegiacs. The pentameter is some-
times difficult to recognize in its accentual form, and
especially to distinguish from the accentual hexameter.
It will be found that in the matter of the use of dissyllabic
feet, the second half of the pentameter is treated with the
same freedom as the first. But this and other charac-
teristics of the metre will be best understood by studying
the instances themselves, to which we are now coming.

16. KIRKMADRINE. WIGTONSHIRE: *see Hübner, 205.*

Used as gate-posts in the wall of the burying-ground were found two inscribed stones with the monogram of Christ enclosed in a circle, and the longer of the two inscriptions reads as follows :—

A Eт Ω
XPI
HIC IACENT
STI ET PRAE
CIPVI SACER
DOTES ID ES[T]
VIVENTIVS
Eт MAVORIVS

The *t* of *est* is gone, and owing to an ambiguous ligature the last name may be either *Mavorius* or *Manorius*; but Hübner's *Maiorius* does not seem to me a possible reading. The small *t* is attached to the middle bar of the *e* in *et*.

The whole was evidently meant to make an elegiac couplet of the accentual kind, thus :

Álpha et Ómega | CHRÍSTUS Híc | jácent | sáncti prae|cípui Sacer | dótes id | est ‖ Vivéntius | et Mavór|ius.

> Christ is Alpha and Omega : Here lie holy, eminent priests,
>   That is to say, Viventius and Mavorius.

It is not necessary to suppose *Viventius* accented *Víventius*, as we have such an accentuation in classical elegiacs, as Ovid's *siccáque sémper híemps*, forming the second half of a pentameter, while the first half of our pentameter may be compared with Propertius's *Nec desérta tuo ‖ nómine sáxa vócant*, or Ovid's *Grandaevíque négant ‖ dúcere arátra bóves*.

There was a Latin cognomen Viventius, and it was probably selected as rendering some such a name as Irish *Béo ín or Béoóc* from the adjective *beo* 'live, *rivus*'. I have no light to throw on the origin of *Mavorius* or *Manorius*. The former, however, might perhaps be regarded as related to *Movor* in the name of the church of Merthyr Mawr in

Glamorganshire, where *Mawr* seems to be a corruption of *Moror* : for this and other forms of the name see the passages in which it is mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis*.

As to the date of the two inscriptions at Kirkmadrine suffice it to say, that Hübner reckons them in his first period, the fifth or sixth century.

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17. HAYLE, IN CORNWALL : *see Hübner, 7.*

The stone is in a very bad state of preservation, but what I could read, and what others had read before, may be represented as in the margin. Treated as verse it becomes comparatively easy to fill the lacunæ with an approach to certainty, as follows :—

HIC . . . .

CE MVL . . .

REQVIEVIT

. . . N . . . .

CVNAIDE

HIC

TVMVLO

IACIT

VIXIT

ANNOS

XXXIII

HIC IN PA | CE MVLIER REQVIEVIT |
NOMINE CVNAIDE HIC | TVMVLO IACIT
VIXIT ANNOS | XXXIII.

It seems to scan thus :—

Híc in | páce | múlier re quiévit | nóm'ne Cu náide.
Hic túm'lo | iácit ví | xit ‖ ánnos | trigínta | trés‖

Here takes her rest in peace
The wife yclept Cunaidë.
Here in the grave she lies :
She lived three years and thirty.

One would have expected *Hic in tumulo*, but there is no trace to be found of the *in*, though there was plenty of room for it : I conclude that it was never there.

Hübner has placed this inscription in his second period,

but I do not see why he should not have reckoned it
older, except that he may have been influenced by his
unfortunate theory, that epitaphs arranged *more Romano*
are later than the others.

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18. MERTHYR MAWR, NEAR BRIDGEND, GLAMORGAN: *see Hübner*,
      66; *Westwood, p.* 17; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1899, 156.

The great cross at Merthyr Mawr comes from a spot
near Witney farm, between Merthyr Mawr and Laleston:
it stood about ten yards from the fence, not in it. This
is its history, as kindly corrected by Mr. J. Illtyd D.
Nicholl, the squire of Merthyr Mawr, who was good
enough last year to have this stone and another near the
house buried in the ground so as to clean them of lichen.
He invited me last August to come and re-examine both;
and the result as regards the present stone was that I was
able to read more than before, and to correct at some
points what I had guessed on my previous visits. The
inscribed surface is divided by a groove across into two
panels, but the middle of the stone is worn out, so that
nothing I fear can enable one to read the end of the first
panel and the beginning of the second: it looks as if the
stone had been used as a threshold for a long while some
time or other. Another suggestion made to me was that
the wear was effected by sheep rubbing against it for cen-
turies. I do not know which theory to prefer: in either
case the result is greatly to be deplored. My guesses are as
follows, with the lines numbered for the sake of reference;
but I must confess that I am not absolutely certain of the
original number of them—the doubt is as to those below

the dividing groove and the line to which I have pre-
fixed 11 : —

1. inomine ūi pat
2. riſ & fili ſperi
3. tuſ ſagti. ha
4. [nc cruce] m. [pro a
5. n ̣ima . . et. . . .
6. . . . in . . t . . .
7. . . . e . . . . . .
8. [fuit] . . . . .
9. lle . iltut . . . .
10. f . d . . . . . .
11. i . posit . se . lo
12. co isto . . ingre
13. fium . in pro
14. prium . usqē
15. in diem iudici

It is hardly worth the while
to discuss these guesses in de-
tail, but the following notes
may prevent them misleading
anybody :—The *s* is everywhere
of the angular gamma form : the
contraction of *dei* has the line
over the *d*. *fili speritus* is cer-
tain, and the adjective seems to
be spelt *sagti*, there is no room
for an *n*. The *ha* at the end of
line 3 is fairly certain, but not
so *nc cruce* of the next line,
which those letters would rather
crowd ; perhaps if I have hit on
the right words the spelling was

hancrucem, just as we have *inomine* for *in nomine*. *pro an*
is a guess. The *t* in line 5 may be a *g*. Line 7 seems to
begin with *n* or *si*, but the only letter I could feel certain
about is the *e*. Line 8, *fuit* was not sought for, but sug-
gested by the guesses which I jotted down. Line 9, the
lle seemingly belongs to *ille*, and *Iltut* is fairly certain,
but I was unable to detect the case ending, which I regret,
for the point after *ille* does not favour *ille Iltutus*. Line
10 is all uncertain, but it should end with a word whose
ending *i* begins line 11. *Posit. se.* suggested to me
posuisse and *possit esse*, but I could not fit either of them
in. *Loco* has the peculiarity that the *o* is attached to the
rounded *l*, or is rather continued from it : the same
thing happens to the *o* following the *c*, to which I may
add that in this instance the *o* is an oval placed
horizontally, so that I took it formerly for an *a*. In line

13 the *n* of *grefium*, more usually *graphium*, is a sort of intermediate form between *u* and *o*. In line 14 *usque* was written *usqc̄*. In the last line the *c* is distinctly angular, and the lower part of the *e* is angular also throughout the inscription, while the top is more that of a minuscule.

According to the guesses just given, the first panel would seem to have formed an elegiac couplet of the accentual kind as follows, in the ordinary orthography :—

> In nómin | e déi | pátris et | fíli | spíritus | sáncti :
> Hanc crúcem | pro anim|a‖ . . . . fé|cit . . . .

The verses next to follow I am unable to restore, but the ending pósit | se lóco | ísto would do as that of an accentual hexameter : then comes a pentameter of the same kind, as follows :—

> In gréfi̱um | in própri|um ‖ úsque in dí|em i̱údi|ci‖

The space, however, would suggest rather more than a couplet here, and it is possible that it was a hexameter plus three half-pentameters, with the words *posit se loco isto* ending the first of the three, unless it was rather two hexameters plus a pentameter. In any case the groove across the face of the stone would seem to have been intended to separate the two stanzas.

Lastly, as to the nature of the transaction referred to as committed to a written document, here called *grefium*, that is *graphium*, I have no doubt that it was the legal acquisition by the deceased of the plot of ground which was to be his burial place, where this cross, probably of the seventh or eight century, was originally set up. Plenty of illustrations occur in the Christian epitaphs of the Continent, such as those of Rome collected by De Rossi. We have another Celtic instance, to be mentioned shortly, in the case of the Llanllyr stone, where a saint is also made a party to the transaction. The country round Merthyr

Mawr was decidedly within the sphere of the influence of
St. Iltutus or Illtud, but the state of the legend does not
enable one to define the part which the saint was supposed
to act through his successor at the time here in question :
probably the transaction would not have been considered
valid without the latter's express approval.

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19. PENMACHNO CHURCH, NEAR BETTWS Y COED, CARNARVONSHIRE :
see *Hübner*, 135; *Westwood, p.* 176; *Rhys's "Lectures,"* pp. 369, 370.

The inscription reads continuously on two faces of the
stone *more Celtico* as follows :—CANTIORI HIC IACIT VENE-
DOTIS CIVE FVIT CONSOBRINO MAGLI MAGISTRATꟾ.
The top of the stone is broken, and most of the *c* of
consobrino is gone. There is plenty of analogy for *cives* and
consobrinos, as nominatives singular: *see* the *Corpus,* vii, 52,
66; xii, p. 955ᵇ, and for instances of the final sibilant
omitted, as in *cive* and *consobrino*, *see* xii, p. 956ᵃ. The
conversion of *magistratūs* into *magistrati* is also to be put
down as Latin, and not as a whim of the Celtic inscriber.
The whole appears to scan as follows :—

> Cánti óri | hic iác it Ven édotis | cive(s).
> Fúit con sobrín o(s)| Mágli mag istrát i|

The burial place of Cantiorios : here he lies, citizen of Venedos ;
He was the cousin of Mael the magistrate.

Owing to the breakage, one cannot say whether the
epitaph did not begin with the monogram ; but in case it
did, the scanning of the first line would be probably as
follows :—

> CHRÍSTUS Cánti óri hic | iácit Ven édotis | cíve(s).

The name *Magli*, nominative *Maglo-s*, is in Welsh *Mael*;
but *Cantiorios* awaits identification : it is possibly a
derivative from the shorter *Cantio-s*, feminine *Cantia*, as to

which *see* Holder under *Cantius*; he gives also *Cantus*.
The accentuation of *Venedotis* I take to have been that of
the Brythonic genitive *Venedōtos*, which was presumably
Venédōtos; the later forms are Gwyned, "Venedotia, or N.
Wales," representing a nominative *Venĕdos or possibly
Vĕnĕdos*, and *Gwyndawt, Gwyndod*, from *Venedṓt-os*, the
alternative to *Venédṓt-os*: *see* pp. 6-10 above. Thus the
language of the inscriber would seem to have been
Brythonic rather than Goidelic.

Westwood speaks of this epitaph as a Welsh inscription
of the sixth or seventh century, and Hübner places it
among those of his first period.

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20. St. David's Cathedral : *see Westwood, in "Arch. Camb." for* 1892,
    pp. 78-80.

A portion of an elaborate cross was discovered there
with an inscription in Hiberno-Saxon letters reading :

> Pontificis | Abraham | filii hic hed | 7 Isac. quies|cunt.

To the right, and therefore perhaps to be read after the
foregoing, are the letters A, ⲱ Iⱨs XPS. In that case
the whole may be regarded as an elegiac couplet of the
accentual kind as follows :—

> Pontific|is Ábra|ham filji | hic Héd et | Ísac qui|éscunt
> Álpha | et Óme|ga || Ihés|us Chrís|tus||

> Here bishop Abraham's sons Hedd and Isaac rest :
> Jesus Christ is Alpha and Omega.

As to the date of this monument suffice it to say that
Abraham appears to have been bishop of St. David's from
1076 to 1078.

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21. LLANDDEWI BREFI, CARDIGANSHIRE: *see Hübner*, 120; *Westwood*,
  p. 140.

The stone was disgracefully treated in the so-called
restoration of the church some years ago, when it was
broken into several pieces, two of which are in the wall
with the lettering visible, while the others cannot be
identified. One of the former is upside down about 10 feet
from the ground, and reads now :—

<div align="center">

dNERT FILIVS I
VIT PROPTER PR
</div>

The other has on it OCCISVS with the lower ends of
letters belonging to the line above, they may be the remains
of the words *hic iacet*. I have not succeeded in finding
any more, but Edward Llwyd contributed a sketch of the
portion of the inscription which was visible on the stone
in his time to the first edition of Gibson's Camden's
Britannia (London 1695) and it reads thus, col. 644:—

<div align="center">

✠ hIC IACEC IdNERC FILIVS I . . . .
QVI OCCISVS FVIT PROPTER P . . . .
SANCTIC . . . .
</div>

The stone was then also in the wall of the church, but
Llwyd took for granted that the inscription was complete,
though he could not see the whole of it, notably the *r*,
which is still intact at the end of the second line of the
longer fragment. In his sketch the *c* after *sancti* has been
dotted by him at the top into a C ; for he guessed the
whole word to have been *sanctitatem*. His note runs thus :
"it's probably such an Epitaph as might become that
martyr'd Bishop of Lhan-Badarn, who, as Giraldus informs
us, was barbarously murder'd by some profane Wretches
of his Diocese. For I am apt to conjecture it may bear
this sense; *Hic jacet Idnert* (alias *Idnerth*) *filius I* . . . . . .
qui occisus fuit propter Pietatem et Sanctitatem. But I

had rather such as have opportunity of doing it, would satisfie their curiosity, by causing some stones under it to be remov'd, and so reading the whole inscription, than that they should rely on my conjecture." In the next edition of Gibson's *Camden* (London, 1722), ii, 769, the same sketch of the inscription appears, except that the dotted letter after *sancti* has disappeared, without any indication that any writing at all followed that word. But in the accompanying note he says, that "upon a review of this monument," it appeared that the first line was to be completed by adding *acobi*, the second by *redam*, and the third by *Dawid*. The whole reference to the murdered Bishop of Llanbadarn Fawr is omitted; but how he got the supplementary portions of the inscription is not stated; and Meyrick, in his *Cardiganshire* (p. 269, plate v, fig. 2), knew no better than to copy Llwyd, specifying what Llwyd had conjectured to finish the three lines. There is no suggestion that anybody had seen the ends of those lines, but on the whole I am inclined to think that Llwyd, or somebody for him, had been able, by removing a bit of the mortar, to discover the *r* following the *p* in the second line, and the *a*, or *ac* perhaps, of *Jacobi*; also to find that no *t* or *c* followed *Sancti*. The rest was probably Llwyd's conjecture, but it would be hard to improve on *predam*, and there is no objection to *Iacobi*, though any other name like *Idwállon* would do equally well. I am more doubtful as to *Dawid*, for the saint would be understood to be the patron saint of the church, so there was no need to name him; not to mention that the metre makes any word after *sancti* inadmissible. The question therefore resolves itself to this, was the epitaph meant to be metrical? I believe that it was, and that it is to be scanned as a truncated hexameter followed by a pentameter, or else—with a pious formula at the beginning—as an elegiac couplet of the

usual accentual kind, somewhat as follows :—

> Crúx Sal··· tóris   Hic jácet   Idnerth   fílius Ia ··bi
> Quí oc císus fú it   própter   prædam Sánc ti
>
> The Saviour's Cross : Here lies Idnerth son of James,
> Who was slain because of the Saint's property.

As regards the man commemorated, it is probable that
he was killed in defending the church against raiders, or
because he may have refused to disclose where they should
find the valuables of the church, the goods and chattels of
the saint. Who Idnerth was we do not know. Llwyd's
mention of Idnerth in the same note with the murdered
Bishop of Llanbadarn, though he cancelled it in the
second edition, has blossomed into a most improbable
legend. Westwood, improving on some very loose reason-
ing on the part of Haddan and Stubbs, i, 146, 625, was
induced to say that "the inscription has been said to refer
to Idnerth, the last Bishop of Llanbadarn, who was mur-
dered in A.D. 720". But it does not appear whether any
bishop of the name of Idnerth has otherwise been heard of,
still less that he was the last bishop of that See, or that
he was killed, or that any bishop was killed in 720. Then
why should he have been commemorated at Llanddewi in
another diocese ? For the satisfaction of anyone who may
wish to examine this little story I add the rest of the
necessary references :—Giraldus's *Itinerarium Kambriæ*
(London, 1868), lib. ii, cap. iv (pp. 121, 122); Rice Rees's
Welsh Saints, p. 216; and *Brut y Tywysogion* in the
Myvyrian Archaiology, ii, 472. The name *Idnert* would be
more correctly spelt *Idnerth*, but in any case it is a com-
paratively late form ; to go back to the year 720, when the
diocese of Llanbadarn is last heard of (*Myvyrian Arch., loc.
cit.*), it would have to be *Iudnerth*. So far from the epitaph
dating from 720, I should think it much more likely to
refer to the plundering of Llanddewi by the brothers Ithel

and Madog in the year 1106 : *see* the Oxford *Bruts*, p. 284, and Williams ab Ithel's *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 90.

———

22. LLANELLTYD, NEAR DOLGELLEY, MERIONETHSHIRE : *see Westwood*,
       157 ; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1897, *p.* 139.

The writing on the stone is rather hard to read, and in one place the letters are gone; what I was able to make out was: Vestigiū. Re . . . . ic. te|netur. in. capite la|pidis. Et. ipsemet. a|ntequam. *pegre*. pro|fectus | est   But Professor Westwood, over twenty years ago, when the stone was somewhat more legible than it is now, read the personal name *Reuhic*, which I should regard as *Reu. hic*. For *Reu* occurs twice in the *Liber Landavensis*—once as the name of a clerical witness.   It seems to be a dissyllable, and the same name which occurs in Breton as *Rio* : *see* De Courson's *Cartulaire de Redon*.   Bearing this in mind, one finds that the legend reduces itself readily into an accentual elegiac couplet except for *lapidis*, which requires to be read as *lap'dis*, as in the case of the Llangaffo stone and others : *see* Nos. 9, 43, 64.   Then as to *profectus est,* there is no reason to treat it here as in the classics, namely, as pronounced *profectust*.   Accordingly the scanning would be as follows :—

> Vestígium | Rëu | híc te|nétur in | cápite | láp'dis
> Et ípse|met ánte|quam ‖ péregre | proféctus | ést ‖

This seems to mean :—"The footprint of Rëu is here at the top of the stone, and he was here himself before he went abroad."   It would appear from this that he went on a pilgrimage ; but he may not have done anything more than move away to Landaff, if one may venture to identify him with the cleric to whom I have referred.

Altogether the inscription is a very singular one, of the

tenth or perhaps the ninth century. Westwood calls the
letters "very debased Hiberno-Saxon characters".

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iii. PENTAMETERS AND HALF PENTAMETERS.

23. LLANGADWALADR, NEAR BODORGAN, ANGLESEY: *see Hübner*, 149;
    Westwood, p. 190; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1846. *p.* 166 (*H. Longueville
    Jones*).

The stone is in the church, having been at the late
restoration fixed in the north wall and cleared of the
mortar, which partly covered it in its former position in
another part of the building. The inscription is now
found to be surmounted by a cross, which is, however, not
quite perfect, so that it is impossible to say whether it was
not meant for the monogram of Christ. But the whole
is more complete, and forms a far more respectable
monument, than one could gather from the *Archæologia
Cambrensis*, where no proper representation of it has yet
been published. I cannot discuss the peculiarities of the
lettering, but suffice it to say that it recalls the features of
the Hiberno-Saxon hand, such as it appears in the *Book of
Kells*. The whole reads :—*Catamanus rex sapientisimus
opinatisimus omnium regum*. The superlatives suggest the
court bard, but I am by no means clear as to his metre;
possibly it is to be scanned as follows, as two lines of
pentameter :—

> Catá manus réx ‖ sapien tíssim us ‖
> Opína tíssim us ‖ ómni um rég um ‖
> Cadvan a most wise king,
> Of all kings the most renowned.

The name *Catamanus* was represented in Gaulish by

Catumandus, for which *see* Holder, s.v. How early *nd* was
reduced to *nn* in Brythonic speech, it is hard to say ; but
had the *Catamanus* of the epitaph been intended to be
accented on the penult, it would most likely have been
written *Catamannus.* In other terms there appear to have
been here two pronunciations, one the *Catámanus* suggested
for the verse, and the other the *Cátama"nnus* postulated by
the later Welsh forms written *Catman, Catvan, Cadfan,*
and made in Anglican mouths into *Cadmon* as the name
of Northumbria's first poet in the seventh century. Had
the former survived, it would have been as *Cadáfan,* but as
far as I know it does not occur. Duplicates of this kind
have been discussed at p. 8, and to them may be added
the case of *Cadfael* 'battle-prince', in Medieval Irish
Cathmál, which must have been matched by an alternative
form, *Cadafael.* This was apparently the name of Penda's
ally from North Wales, who left him suddenly in the
lurch, and thereby earned the nickname of *Cad(g)afael
Cadomed,* or, as Nennius has it, *Catgabail Catguommed,*
'the battle seizer that battle declines': *see* Mommsen's
Chronica Minora, iii, 208.

The king of Gwyned commemorated by this epitaph
died in the earlier half of the seventh century, and the
epitaph was probably carved soon after his death.

————

24. LLANTWIT MAJOR, GLAMORGANSHIRE : *see Hübner,* 61 ; *Westwood,*
10 : "*Arch. Camb.*", 1899, *pp.* 150-2.

The cross is gone which seems to have formed the upper
portion of the stone, but the shaft remaining has on it
inscriptions in three double compartments. The one on
the front face reads : ✝ Sam|son | posuit hanc cr|ucem
✝ pro a|nnia ei|us ✝ The two on the back face read

respectively: **†** Iltu|ti | Sam|son | Re|gis | , and Sam|uel
+ | Ebi|sar**+**. The little cross prefixed to the name of the
principal saint is more elaborate than the other crosses asso-
ciated with the names, and the Saint's name, now imper-
fect, was the full Latin genitive *Iltuti* (*Arch. Camb.*, 1893,
p. 327), while the others were treated as indeclinable
Welsh. This I say on the supposition that the whole
was meant to be read continuously; and accordingly I
should scan as follows, after correcting *anmia* into *anima*,
in the same way as *nin* into *inn* on the Houelt cross,
p. 29 :—

> Sámson | pósnit | hanc ‖ crúcem pro | án'ma é|ius, ‖
> Iltu|ti, Sám|son ‖ régis, Sám|uel, Ebí|sar ‖

That is, "Samson set up this cross for his own soul, for
that of Iltutus, of Samson the king, and of Samuel and
Ebisar."

Haddan and Stubbs in their *Councils and Ecclesiastical
Documents*, i, 628, date this cross in the latter half of the
ninth century, and Hübner simply says "creditur esse
sæculi noni."

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25. LLANFIHANGEL CWM DU, NEAR CRICKHOWEL, BRECKNOCK: *see
Hübner, 35; Westwood, p. 55.*

The stone was found in the neighbourhood, and inserted
for preservation in a buttress of the church wall. The
lettering is a mixture of minuscule and majuscule forms,
reading :—CATACVS hIC IACIT | FILIVS TETERNACVS:
"Here lies Catoc, son of a king." The *c* is of the square
kind, and the *n* approaches the form of *h* as in no. 7.
The adjective *tegernacus* meant kingly or princely, and it
was borrowed from Celtic in order to indicate the rank of
the deceased, for which Latin may be supposed to have
supplied no exact equivalent. We have it also on the

E

Llangwarren Stone in Pembrokeshire : see *Arch. Camb.* for 1897, pp. 324-6. The legend scans as follows :—

> Cátacus | hic iá cit ‖ filius te"g|erná|cus ‖

I am not sure as to the accentuation of the first word : if it is to be taken as accented in the Goidelic way it would be *Cátacus*, but if in the Brythonic way it would be *Catácus*. To be more accurate I should rather expect it to have been *Catócus*, and I am inclined to regard the use of *tegernacus* as probably Goidelic rather than Brythonic.

As to the date, Westwood gives no clear indication, but Hübner places the inscription in his third period, namely, the seventh and eighth centuries.

———

26. LLANDYSILIO, PEMBROKESHIRE : *see Hübner, 98; Westwood, p. 113.*

The stone is in the wall of the church, and it reads as follows :—EVOLEИGGH | FILH | LITOGEИI | HIC IACIT. The *g* is of the usual Hiberno-Saxon type, the *n* has its diagonal reversed, *fi* form a ligature, and the lettering is generally somewhat rustic. The scanning is doubtful, but I suggest the following :—

> Evóleng| gi fil | i | Litógen|i hic iá|cit ‖
>
> The burial place of Evoleng son of Litogen : here he lies.

Hübner places it in his second group, which seems reasonable.

———

27. MERTHYR MAWR, NEAR BRIDGEND : *see Hübner, 67; Westwood, p. 16; "Arch. Camb.", 1899, p. 159.*

This is the other cross at Merthyr Mawr, and Mr. Nicholl believes that it was brought to its present position near the

house, from the village of Merthyr Mawr. It has now been
thoroughly cleaned of lichen and the reading offers no
difficulties except at one point; but previous readings,
including my own, have been incomplete or else incorrect in
various ways. This is what I make of it now:—

1. [Co]nbellini
2. [p]offuit hanc
3. crucem pro
4. anima eius
5. SCITLIUIF I
6. herttade
7. fratriſ eiu
8. sˑ et pater
9. eius a me
10. prepara
11. tus ∴ SCILOC

The *co* and the *p* at the beginning
of lines 1 and 2 are gone, for the
corner of the stone has been damaged
some time or other since Edward
Llwyd saw it. The *ss* consist in
both instances of the angular kind,
which we have also at the end of
fratris in line 7. Line 5 consists of
capitals except the *U* and the *ss*.
Sciloc is also made up of capitals
carefully cut with an oval *o* standing
in the bosom of the *L*. The cross

curves before *Sciloc* constitute a form probably of the con-
traction standing for *est* in Latin. The letter at the end
of line 9 looks as if meant to be *æ*, and the *a* at the end of
line 10 has its heels unduly prolonged to fill the space, and
there is a little notch attached to the upper one which
almost makes it into *at*. Some of the *r*'s are good capitals,
while the others are of the usual debased kind. Several of
the letters are damaged by cracks and other imperfections
in the surface of the stone : this is the case with the two
last letters but one of line 6 : the first of the two looks
like an imperfect *a*—it is possibly an *e*. The letter follow-
ing looks like a clumsy D, almost square in form, and with
its perpendicular coinciding with a crack which extends
above and below and covers the perpendicular of the
angular *s* of *fratris* in the next line below : unfortunately
this inscription offers us no other *d* for comparison.

As regards the metre the cross line divides the epitaph

into two portions, consisting of a pentameter and a half
each, thus :—

> Conbelli | ni póssu | it | hanc crúcem | pro áni | ma ‖
> éius Scit | livís | si ‖
> Hérttade | frátris éi | us ‖ et páter | éius a | mé ‖
> prepará | tus est Scí | loc ‖

> Conbelline this cross erected
> For the soul of his spy,
> Even Herttaid his brother ; and his *pater*
> Was prepared by me Scílóc.

Conbellini, or as it might be rather expected, *Conbelline*,
would seem to be an Irish derivative from some such a
shorter name as *Cinvall*, *Cinfall*, or *Cynfall*, which occurs
in the *Liber Landavensis* in the place-names Merthir
Cynfall, Ecclesia Cinfall and Cirn Cinfall ; or else it should
be regarded as standing for an early *Cunobelinios*, derived
from the name of the king Cunobelinos : this seems
preferable. *Scitlivissi* is the genitive of a compound
which might be represented as *scedlivisse*, meaning 'one
who has knowledge of news'—an emissary, informer, scout
or spy. I have used the word emissary as specially in
point, for the Latin *emissarius* was made into Ebissar,
which occurs on three different stones in the district as a
man's name. It was treated, doubtless, as the Latin
equivalent of *Scedlivisse*, which was probably also used as
a proper name, in fact the one of which *Scílóc* (for a fuller
form *Scedlóc*) was the hypocoristic form : for more about
these words the reader may be referred to the *Archæologia
Cambrensis*, 1899, p. 161. Of the name Herttade I can make
nothing ; it seems to be the genitive of some such a form
as *Erttaid*, especially if the correct reading could be
established as Herttede, and Erttaid or Ertid one might
venture perhaps to equate with the man's name *Erdit*,
which occurs in Stoke's edition of *Patrick*, pp. 192, 349.
The Latin *pater* has become in Welsh *pader* and *y pader*

means the *paternoster* or the Lord's prayer, in Irish *paidir* ;
but what can *pater* mean in this connection ? On asking
my theological friends this question I have had several
answers suggested, among others the two following :—(*a*)
The saying of Mass for the Dead was meant, and the term
pater may have been used by reason of the place given
to the paternoster in the Mass. (*b*) There was an office
of "præparatio ad missam" in which the paternoster was
said by the priest when he prepared himself for saying
Mass. As neither of these answers seems quite conclusive,
I venture to quote from Haddan and Stubbs, i, 697, an
ancient formula for the Benediction of Alms for the Dead,
which is also somewhat to the point. They regard it as
belonging to Cornwall, and cite it as follows :—" Creator
et Sanctificator elimentorum, Pater et Filius et Spiritus
Sanctus, Qui es vera Trinitas et Unitas, precamur Te,
Domine clementissime Pater, ut elemosina ista fiat in
misericordia Tua, ut accepta sit cibū istū (*sic*) pro anima
famuli Tui iłł : ut sit benedictio Tua super omnia dona
ista." This, it is hoped, will suffice to indicate suf-
ficiently the direction in which to look for light on one
of the most interesting inscriptions in Wales. As to the
man Scīlōc, I infer that he belonged to the same family as
Conbellini and his brother, and also that he was a priest ;
are we also to suppose him to have made the cross and
carved the inscription, or that he merely composed the
latter, and handed it over to a workman to be cut on the
stone ?

Hübner gives no guess as to the date, but Westwood,
while abstaining from giving any view of his own, cites the
late Dr. Petrie as having suggested the year 600 or there-
abouts : I should be inclined to say later, but some time,
perhaps, in the seventh century.

28. Llanllyr, in the Vale of Aeron, in Cardiganshire: *see Hüb-ner*, 124: *Westwood, p.* 135; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1896, *p.* 120.

Hübner and Westwood are hopelessly wrong in their readings, and my division of the words in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* is also erroneous, as I am now inclined to think. The writing runs down the stone parallel to the shaft of a cross, the top of which is formed into a circle: unfortunately rather more than one half of the stone, and of the cross too, has been split off and lost. But it is possible that the cross was fashioned at the top into a monogram of Christ: the rest reads thus, in the Hiberno-Saxon type of Brythonic letters :—

> tesquitus ditoc
> madomnuaco
> ccon filius asa
> itgen dedit

This I would treat as also consisting of three half penta-meters and scan as follows :—

> Tesquít|us Dít|oc ‖
> Madómnu | ac Óc|con ‖ fílius Ás|aitgen déd|it.

The usual incidence of the accent in Latin pentameters suggests *Asáitgen* rather than *Ásaitgen*: compare, however, the latter half of such a line as this in Ovid's *Tristia*, "Dissiluit nudo pressa bis uva pede", where *bis* must have had a decided accent. The epitaph may be translated thus :—" Ditoc's plot of ground: MoDomnu and Occon son of Asaitgén gave it to him." It means that Ditoc was buried in the *tesquitus*—one might have expected it to be written *tesquittum*—or else that he had arranged to be buried there when the time came; and he attached evident importance to his title to the spot which was to be his *locus resurrectionis*. There was an Irish name Occán or Ocán, genitive Ocáin, with which our Occon is probably to

be identified : *see* the *Book of Leinster*, 322, and the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1103, 1598. The name Asaitgen, genitive *Asaitgin*, I have not met with anywhere else, and the same remark applies to *Ditoc* unless we have it in Llan *Dydoch*, the Welsh name of St. Dogmel's on the Teifi. As to Madomnu, he is very possibly to be identified with Modomnoe, one of the pupils of St. David. In any case it looks as if the ground belonged to Occon, and that the presiding Saint Madomnu was invited to sanction the transaction. The prefix *ma* (unaccented) more usually *mo* 'my', marks *Madomnu* out as a cleric to whom respect was considered to be due. It is, however, not known that Modomnóc had anything to do with the church of Llanllyr, which suggests that he could only have been there for a comparatively short time. For what is known of him *see* the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 133, 134, and Stokes's *Gorman*, Feb. 13 and May 18. His full name was Domon-gen, and in Ireland he was associated with a place called Tipra Fachtna, in the west of Ossory. In any case it is not impossible that the inscription dates about the beginning of the seventh century.

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29. ABERCAR, BETWEEN MERTHYR TYDFIL AND BRECON: *see Hübner*, 52 ; *Westwood, p.* 64 ; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1885, *p.* 341.

The stone was a long while ago built into the wall of a farm building and broken into three pieces, one of which is missing. The other two were extracted from the wall and taken to his house at Merthyr by Dr. Wilkins, of the Post Office, and there I had an opportunity of examining the lettering. This is all I could make out with certainty :
. . . NICCI FILIVS | . . . . IC IACIT ᚱECVRI IN hOC TVMVLO.
Before NICCI there were traces of another letter, parts of

a or *n*, perhaps the latter part of an *m*, or a portion of a
letter followed perhaps by an *i*. The spelling of *hoe* sug-
gests that the adverb was written *hic*, but there is no
probability that *h* is the only letter gone at the beginning of
the second line. This forms a difficulty in the way of restor-
ing the epitaph in the manner which suggests itself at the
first glance, namely, by supposing it to have begun, let us say,
as *Maglus Annicci filius hic iacit*, &c. So I conjecture it to
have done so with some such a formula as *Tesquitus Annicci*
or *Locus Belinicci* and to have proceeded with *Filius eius*
hic iacit, &c., the person buried being in that case presum-
ably an infant whose own name was not given. The
scanning of the latter set of words (with *securi* treated as
standing for *secure*) would be as in the two previous
epitaphs, as follows, in half pentameters :

<div align="center">

Locus Bel|inic|ci ‖

Filius é|ius hic iác|it ‖ secúri in | hoc túmu|lo ‖

The burial place of Beliniccus :

His son lies here secure in this barrow.

</div>

Hübner places this inscription in his second group.

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30. CALDEY ISLAND, OPPOSITE TENBY, PEMBROKESHIRE : *see Hübner*, 94 ;
    Westwood, p. 107 ; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1896, *pp.* 98 *et seq.*

The stone, which is at the Church, has on its edges traces
of an Ogam inscription, suggesting the name Magli[a]
Dubr[acunas], the genitive of a form of the name which
is met with in MSS. as Mael-Doborchon 'the Slave of
Doborchú'. The other inscription is in a mixture of
minuscule and uncial letters surmounted by a cross, and
reads as follows :—

   & singno cr|ucis in illam | fingsi rogo | omnibus am|mulantibus |
      ibi exorent | pro anima | catuoconi.

This consists of an accentual hexameter with a half

pentameter following it, and a truncated hexameter pre-
ceding it. Put into the ordinary orthography the scanning
may be represented thus :—

> Et signo | crúcis | in íllam | fínxi |
> Rógo | ómnibus | ambu lántibus | íbi ex órent |
> Pro án'ma | Catуóco|ni‖

> And with the sign of the cross have I fashioned it:
> I ask all men who here may stroll
> A prayer to say for Cadógan's soul.

The importance of the combination of the hexameter
and the half pentameter will appear later : for the present
let it suffice that it should be referred to its quantitative
model in Horace's *Ode*, iv, 7, opening with the lines—

> " Diffugere nives, redeunt jam gramina campis
> 　　　Arboribusque comæ."

The spellings *sinqno*, *fingsi* and *ammulantibus* appear to
be phonetic. The name Catuocon is that of a Brython,
now written in Welsh *Cadwgan ;* and it retains its
penultimate accent even in its English spelling of *Cadogan*
to this day. The inscriber seems to have been aware that
there was another inscription on the stone, and that is the
explanation of his beginning with *et*.

Hübner appears to acquiesce in ascribing it to the end
of the ninth century ; but Westwood, while not believing
it to be more recent than the ninth, was willing to admit
that it might be as old as the seventh : that seems to me
to be nearer the mark.

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iv. Curtailed Hexameters, Group 1.

31. St. Columb Minor, Cornwall : *see Hübner*, 13.

The stone reads :—BONEMIMOR⊣ FILL⊣ TRIBVN⊣ that
is, "the burial place of Bonememorius son of Tribunus",

or perhaps "of the Tribune". Bonememorius, with a slight difference of spelling, occurs elsewhere, to wit in epitaphs in Southern Gaul: see the *C. I. L.*, xij, p. 964. Whether it is meant here as the deceased's proper name, however, is not quite clear. If not, one would have to translate "of Tribunus's son of blessed memory," or to that effect, provided one at least of the words in the epitaph be treated as a proper name. It is interesting to notice that the *lị* of *filịi* had been assimilated here into the *ll* of *filli*. The metre is practically a truncated hexameter, or to give it a more technical name, a dactylic tetrameter, of which lines will be found in Horace's *Odes*, i, 7 and 28, also *Epode*, 12, the scheme is $-\smile\smile | -\smile\smile | -\smile\smile | -\div$, so the epitaph scans like "Certus enim promisit Apollo", as follows :—

<div align="center">Bone | mímori | filli Tri | búni.</div>

Hübner places this in his earliest class, and I see no objection to urge against his guess.

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32. LLANFAGLAN, NEAR CARNARVON: *see Hübner*, 147; *Westwood, p.* 174.

The stone reads :—FILI LOVERNII ∣ ANATEMORI. The letters are contained within a sort of groove or moulding enclosing an oblong, and the metre, which is the same as in the previous instance, explains why the deceased's name comes last, for one has to translate "the burial place of Anatemor son of Loverne". The scanning is as follows:—

<div align="center">Fili | Lóvernịi | A″nate | móri.</div>

The language of the author of the epitaph was probably Goidelic; had it been Brythonic we should presumably have not *Anate-mori* but *Anatio-mori*, which would be in Welsh *eneid-fawr* 'great-souled, μεγαλό-ψυχος'.

Hübner reads the epitaph upwards, *Anatemori Fili*

Lovernii, but there is no warrant for treating this carefully inscribed stone in that way, nor is there any very evident reason for his placing the epitaph in his second rather than his first group ; the spelling with *ii* for *ii* seems to me to form an argument for its antiquity, as that combination very rarely occurs.

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33. BUCKLAND MONACHORUM, DEVONSHIRE: *see Hübner*, 25.

The stone is now in the Priory grounds at Tavistock, and shows traces of an Ogam inscription ; but the Latin is complete and reads DOBVNN⊢ ⏐ FABRI FILI ⏐ ENABARRI, where I take the syllables ending with the double consonants to have been meant to bear the stress accent. They suggest that the author of the epitaph's own language was Brythonic. The metre is the same as before, and the scanning is as follows :—

<div align="center">Dobúnni ⏐ fábri ⏐ fíli Ena¦bárri</div>

<div align="center">The burial place of Dobunnos the smith, son of Enabarr.</div>

The rhythm is like that of the last line of *Ode* i, 7 : "Cras ingens iterabimus æquor." The man's name may have been not Dobunnus but Dobunnus Faber, and the former vocable reminds one of the people called Dobunni, whom Ptolemy seems to have placed in the present county of Gloucester, where Cirencester belonged to them. In Enabarri, the first element is of doubtful meaning, but *barr*- meant head or top : compare No. 8, p. 21 above.

Hübner places the epitaph in his first period.

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34. WORTHYVALE, NEAR CAMELFORD, CORNWALL: *see Hübner*, 17 ; "*Rhys's Lectures*", p. 402.

The Roman writing is legible with the exception of two letters as follows : LATINI IC IACIT ⏐ FILIUᒥ ᒧA . . . . ARI.

The second *ci* are joined together, the second *i* in *filius* is joined to the foot of the *l*, for the next letter we seem to have *u* rather than *v*, and the *s* is of the gamma shape. The *m* is of the uncial kind, and after *ma* comes a difficulty; at first sight the consonant might be taken to be a *g* or a *c*, but the lower portion of it is complicated by small hollows in the stone, and the top looks more like that of an *f*. This is followed by an *a* which has a nearly perpendicular line joining (from above) the beginning of that letter. If the juncture is accidental, one would read *ia*, but it is more probable that a ligature was intended for VA or ИA. After *ari* there is a longish horizontal groove, which seems, however, to form no part of the inscription; but on the edge to the right there is the end of an Ogam legend, which reads *ni*, probably the end of the genitive *Latini*. It is difficult to choose from among the possibilities of the reading of the other name, such as *Macuari, Mafuari, Magiari, Macnari* or *Magnari*. If one takes the last mentioned, the metre will be that of the Dobunni epitaph: Latíni ic | iácit | filius Mac nári, which may be rendered "the burial place of Latinus: here lies Macnáir's son". *Macuari* if treated as *Macṇari*, would comport itself, as far as the metre is concerned, in the same way as *Macnari*. But the other alternatives suggest another metre, namely the Iambic trimeter catalectic, and the scanning would be as follows :—

Latín | i ic iác | it fil | ius Ma | fuár | i.

The rhythm is one of the commonest in *Odes,* i, 4, and ii, 18: take for instance line 8 in the former *Ode*: "Volcanus ardens urit officinas". *Mafuari* suggests analysis into an Irish name *Ma-Fuari*, but the accentuation *Ma-Fuári* stands in the way, not to mention the obscurity surrounding all the names here suggested. The only one which is transparent is *Macnari*, which would seem to resolve itself

into Mac-Nari, that is to say Mac Náir in Irish, which is
met with in the *Book of Leinster*, fo. 369ᵉ, where the name
occurs of a Soran *m. Nair*. The scanning accordingly
would be :—

Latíni ic | jácit | filius Mac | nári.
The burial place of Latinus : here lies Nár's son.

Hübner places this among the inscriptions of his second
period ; but for the Ogam I should have been inclined to
conjecture his third period.

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35. LLANDEILO LLWYDARTH, PEMBROKESHIRE : *see the* ".*Arch. Camb.*",
1889, *p.* 307 ; 1893, *p.* 286 ; 1896, *p.* 300.

The stone reads in Roman letters ANDAGELLⱧ IACIT |
FILI CAVETⱧ, which seems to mean "Here lies the body
of Andagell, son of Cavet", though one has, it must be
confessed, no explicit warrant in any of our epitaphs for
introducing the word *Corpus* or any of its equivalents into
our inscriptions. This is accompanied by a legend in
Ogam writing, which contains the Latin genitive *Cavi*
apparently as the equivalent of *Caveti :* compare *Burgocavi*,
p. 14 above. The scanning would seem to have been as
follows :—

Andágel | li jácit | fíli Ca | véti.

The inscription is the oldest probably of the Llwydarth
group, and I suggest, as a guess, the sixth century.

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36. MARGAM, GLAMORGANSHIRE : *see Hübner*, 77 ; *Westwood, p.* 38.

The stone is an old Roman milestone, brought to
Margam from Port Talbot, and the later inscription is on
the back of it, reading as follows in one line :—

hIC IACIT CANTVSVS PATER PAVLINVS

It scans exactly like the two previous instances :—

Hic jácit | Cantúsus | páter Paul | ínus.

Apparently it means, "Here lies Cantusus, his father was Paulinus"; but possibly the last two words mean that his father Paulinus had the inscription cut and the stone set up; but the other view is perhaps to be preferred : compare No. 14, p. 34. The name Cantusus does not look Goidelic, so I have treated it as Brythonic, accented on the penultimate.

Westwood speaks of this epitaph as being "evidently of a somewhat more recent date" than the Roman miliary inscription on the front of the stone, which he connected with the second Severus ; but Hübner seems more reasonable in placing it in his second group.

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37. PATRISHOW, NEAR CRICKHOWELL, BRECKNOCK : *see* *Hübner*, 33 ;
     Westwood, p. 71.

The inscription is on a font, and reads in minuscules "Menhir me fecit in tempore Genillin", "Menhir made me in the time of Genillin", which seems to be in the same metre as before. So the scanning is probably the following :—

Ménhir me | fécit in | témp're Gen | illin.

The movement accordingly is the same as that of lines 32 and 34 of *Ode* i, 28 ; "Debita iura vicesque superbae" and "Teque piacula nulla resolvent". But it would also fit into the scheme of the Iambic trimeter catalectic, which occurs in *Odes*, i, 4, and ii, 18 ; take for instance the second line of the latter Ode, "Mea renidet in domo lacunar". Neither metre, however, would help to decide as to the name *Menhir*, whether it was accented Menhír, or Ménhir, which I have here assumed to be the case ; but for the *h* one would have had no hesitation in accepting the latter, according to the general rule in Welsh.

The name is unfortunately obscure, but Westwood treats

the font as coeval with the church, which he dates from
the year 1060. This agrees with the fact that a Genillin,
son of Rhys Goch, was in the middle of the 11th century
prince of Powys and lord of Ystrad Yw, in which
Patrishow is situated.

38. MARGAM, GLAMORGANSHIRE: *see Hübner,* 74: *Westwood, p.* 25:
"*Arch. Camb.*", 1899, *p.* 142.

This fragment of a cross reads in minuscules as
follows :—inomi ne di f umi crux crizdi prop arabit
grutne pro anma ahest. As regards the lettering, I
have to remark that the *z* has usually been misread *t*,
but I am not sure that the inscriber did not consider
it an *s*, that is to say an angulated *s* reversed. Then as to
the spelling, we have in *proparabit* a *b* used with the Late
Latin value of *v*—the inscriber meant probably *preparavit*
—and he intended the word to be scanned *prop'ravit*:
compare Houelt's cross, p. 29. *Inomine* represents the pro-
nunciation he gave *in nomine,* and *anma* is instructive as
the shortening of *anima*: *see* p. 30. With regard to *di*,
I take that to be an abbreviation for *dei* or *dī* as it is also
found written: *see* pp. 29, 35. The reading *Anest*, that is
Anést, has to be given up in favour of *Ahest*, that is *Ahest*,
which fits the metre better. The scanning seems to be as
follows :—

In nómin e déi súmmi crúx Chrísti
Prop'rávit Grútne , pro ánma Áhest

    In the name of God the Highest the Cross of Christ :
    Grutne has prepared it for the soul of Aches.

The hiatus between *anma* and *Ahest* is remarkable ; but
even if one should prefer treating it (in spite of the
jostling of accents) as *ánm' Ahest*, it would presumably come
under a form of this metre, as will be seen when we come
to the instances in Group 3. It is right to add that it

would be possible, perhaps, to treat this and the next two
or three epigraphs as instances of the metre called Iambic
trimeter catalectic, but on the whole it seems more prob-
able that they are to be regarded as based simply on a
scheme of truncated hexameter.

The name *Ahest* occurs in the *Liber Landavensis* as *Aches*,
pp. 32, 44, where a place is mentioned called Tref Bledgur
mab Aches; and p. 277, where there is a mention of a
certain *Audi filium Achess* as a priest ordained for a church
called *Lannguern*, supposed to be Llanwerne in Hereford-
shire. Now one of the meanings of *aches* as a common
noun is that of the muse of poetry, and it reminds me
of the Irish verb *adciam* or *adchiam*, 'I see', which has as
its preterite passive an old participle *adchess*, 'was seen',
plural *atchessa*, with the enclitic form *accas*, 'visum est'.
With the latter is connected the word *éces* or *éices*, genitive
éicis, 'a sage', more literally doubtless 'a seer or one who
has visions': the Welsh *Mab Aches* is the equivalent of
the Irish name *Mac ind Éicis* (*Book of Leinster*, 363ᶜ, 373ᵇ),
'Son of the Sage'). These forms, *atchess, accas, éces*, come
from earlier ones with the stem *ad-ques-ta-* or *ate-ques-ta-*,
and the Welsh word was borrowed probably after *qu* had
been reduced to *c* in Goidelic, and the thematic vowel
dropped. Then as to this inscription, it must have been
written before *st* was made into *ss, s*; that is to say, prob-
ably before the eighth century, and before Goidelic had
ceased to be spoken in Glamorgan. As to the confusion
of the synonymous prefixes *ad* and *ate, see* Zimmer's *Kel-
tische Studien*, ii, 70: the form postulated by Welsh *aches*
is *ath-chest* or *ath-chess*; for it is hard to say whether it
had been reduced in pronunciation to *achess* or not before
it was adopted in Welsh. We have a parallel instance in
Caffo in *Llangaffo*, the name of a church in Anglesey,
already mentioned. *Caffo* represents here, probably, a

form of the Irish name *Cathboth* or *Cathbud* (genitive), with
the *b* pronounced successively *v* and *f*, or else Irish *Cathmug*,
genitive *Cathmoga* : compare the Mayo place-name *Breaffy*,
the modern continuator of *Breachmug*, a name occurring
also in Wales, where it is sounded *Brechfa*, in Carmarthen-
shire. As to the former *see* Miss Stokes's Irish *Christian In-
scriptions*, ii, 46. The Welsh cognates of *aches* are to be
found in the *paith* of *gobaith* 'hope', and the *pys* of *hy-s-bys*
as in *gwr hysbys* 'a wise man in the sense of sorcerer or
wizard'.

Westwood dates the cross and the inscription in the
eighth or ninth century ; but I should be inclined to put it
back towards the end of the seventh century, for reasons
already suggested, to which I may add, as having some
weight in the scale, the fact of our having here an *h*
used for *ch* : compare *Brohomagli* in No. 5, p. 15. It is
impossible, however, to sever it much from the Houelt
cross, for which accordingly the ninth century would be
too late.

39. MENABILI, NEAR FOWEY, IN CORNWALL : *see Hübner*, 20.

The stone offers great difficulties owing to the bad state
of preservation of the inscription ; but I have examined it
more than once, and I think I am right in giving the latter
as ꝺRVSTAGИI IC IACIT | CVNOMORI FILIVS, "the burial
place of Drystan : here lies Cynvor's son". The *d* is
reversed, the first *n* has its diagonal the wrong way, and
the *m* is upside down looking like a *w*. The scanning
seems to be the following :—

> Drustágni ic | iácit Cun | ómori filius.

Hübner, who had only a very bad copy of this epitaph,
placed it in his second group : I am not sure whether it
should not be considered somewhat earlier.

40. MAES LLANWRTHWL, NEAR DOLAU COTHI, CARMARTHENSHIRE:
    see *Hübner*, 83; *Westwood*, p. 81; and *Rhys's " Lectures"*, p. 391,
    where their reading is corrected.

The stone was found with the Paulinus monument,
mentioned at p. 2 above; and it is housed with it at the
residence of the Johnes family at Dolau Cothi. The ends
of the lines are gone, but there is good evidence that,
when complete, the epitaph read: TALOR⊣ | ADVENT⊣ |
MAQVERIG⊣ | FILIVS. Let us take the metre first: now as
Maquerīgi is etymologically not Brythonic, one may prob-
ably rule out the accentuation *Maquérigi*. In the next
place, though the apparent number of syllables would sug-
gest the Senarius, and though it could be treated as an
instance of the Iambic trimeter catalectic, it is more
probable that the scanning is the following:—

         Talori Ad | vénti Ma | querígi | filius.

Now as to the translation of the epitaph, Talori and
Maquerigi imply nominatives which would have been
written in Latin *Talorius* or *Talorus*, and *Maquerigius* or
Maquerigus: I give the preference to the adjectival forms
in both names. The number of ways in which the epitaph
may be construed is embarrassing, the following are some
of them : 1. Take the names to belong to a single individ-
ual and it will then mean "Talorius Adventus Maqueri-
gius's son". The objection to this is that while it gives
the father three names, it leaves the son without one at
all, in spite of its being the latter's monument. 2. Suppose
Talori to be a nominative for an earlier and fuller form
Talori-s or *Talo-rix*, and the uncertainty as to the construc-
tion disappears; but I have failed to discover any trace of
such a name. 3. *Adventus* is not an uncommon cognomen
in the *Corpus* (v 436, vij 187, 440, 1003, xij 813), but I
have not come across it there as the *nomen* or name of
anybody; so if we follow that cue we might treat the son's

name as Talorius Adventus, and the father's as Maqueri-
gius; but this last looks less like a name than a surname
or epithet to follow a name. 4. Discard the Roman
distinction, as one has often to do, as between *nomen* and
cognomen, and treat Talorius as the son's name, leaving for
the father the suggestive one of Adventus Maquerigius.
This also is liable to objections, but on the whole they
are perhaps less serious than those in the other cases, and
I translate accordingly :—"The burial place of Talorius,
son of Adventus Maquerigius"; or if it is thought prefer-
able : "This is the burial place of Talorius : he was son of
Adventus Maquerigius". That is, however, unnecessary,
as the analogy of other Celtic inscriptions make it by no
means obligatory that the apposition should be in the
genitive case : it may pass into the nominative, as I sup-
pose here in the case of *filius*. A word now as to the
Celtic names on this stone : *Maquerigi* at first sight sug-
gests a compound of some kind, with the Goidelic word
whose genitive meets us so often as *maqui* 'son or boy',
but the form this takes in other inscriptions in the Latin
language is *mac(c)u* or *mac(c)o* indeclinable, as for instance
in *Maccu-Decceti* and *Maccu-Treni*, both nominative, and
Macco-Decheti and *Macu-Treni*, both genitive. What, then,
is *maque* in *Maquerigi*? I can make nothing of it but the
genitive of *maqua* 'daughter', a word of rare occurrence in
early Goidelic inscriptions, owing, for one thing, doubtless
to the fact that they seldom condescend to commemorate
women at all. But the two following instances are beyond
doubt : "Tria maqua Mailagni", 'Tria daughter of Mailán',
found at Ballintaggart in Kerry, and "Muddossa maqua
At . . . .", 'Muddossa daughter of A.', from Knockrour
in the same county, and now housed here in the Pitt-
Rivers Museum. *Maque* would be the genitive of *maqua*;
if, however, it is preferred to regard *maque* as merely

equivalent to the *Maccu* of *Maccu-Decceti*, we should have
in *Maquerigi* a reference to a king's son rather than a
king's daughter, in which case *Maquerigius* might perhaps
be treated as merely meaning 'of royal descent, or, of the
rank of a king's son', a term to be construed somewhat in
the same way as *tegernacus*, 'of the rank of a *tigerne*', for
instance on the Catacus Stone mentioned at p. 49. But
it looks more probable that Maquerigius was an epithet or
surname based on some such a Goidelic description as *ver
maquē rīgas*, that is *vir filiæ regis*, or king's daughter's
husband, or more probably *maqu maquē rīgas*, 'filius filiæ
regis, or king's daughter's son', in any case the condensed
history of an adventurer who was possibly called *Adventus*
by reason of his coming as a stranger from another state.
Presumably, unable to name his father, the only account
he could give of his descent was that he was son of a king's
daughter, a fact which would naturally exercise those who
gave him hospitality in Dyfed, and result in their inven-
ting for him the epithet underlying *Maquerigi*. This
would unmistakably imply that he came from the Pictland
of the North, and the conjecture is to some extent
countenanced by the name of his son, as we shall see.
Talorius is to be compared with Talargan, Tal Aryant,
later Talarian, supposed to mean 'Silver-browed, or
having a silver forehead', and Talhaearn 'Him of the
iron brow'. Following these parallels we are led to
Tal-eur or *Tal-eurin* 'golden-browed', but no such name
is recorded in Welsh as far as I know. The Latin
aurum 'gold' was borrowed into Welsh as *our*, later *eur*
and *aur* 'gold', but in Irish it became ōr (genitive ōir), and
this or rather the adjective *aureus* 'golden' as ōre, geni-
tive ōri, is in fact what we have in *Tal-ōri*. Here we
have therefore a distinctly Goidelic name, and it appears
elsewhere borrowed by the Picts of the North, whose

chronicles show such names as Talore, Talorc, Talorg, Talargan, Talorcan, Tolarcan, and other forms in utter confusion, as anyone may satisfy himself by a glance at Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*. Whether the MSS. are not too unreliable to enable one to make out which name belonged to which man in question I cannot say; but the identification of the name *Talore*, genitive *Talori*, suggests one of the distinctions to be made; for *Talore* occurs too often and too persistently to be a mere error: possibly some of the instances of *Talorc* are to be treated as misreadings of *Talore*. On the other hand, the trisyllabic forms, such as Talargan, Talorcen and the like, represent the Brythonic *Tal-argant*, which, when the *t* was disposed of, would sound to a Pict like a genitive, so he readily provided it with a quasi nominative Talarg, Talorg, or Talorc and the like: these are the lines on which the Pictish name is to be sorted, and so far as I can see they present no instance of *Talhaearn* or *Taliessin*, though anything is possible in the case of names so carelessly written. *Vice versa* the Pictish *Talore* confirms my treatment of *Talori* as the genitive of *Talōrius*. Goidelic *Talōre*. I may add that we appear to have a partially kindred name in the feminine *Oria*, in case it comes from the Latin name *Aurius*, at Penmachno in Carnarvonshire (*Hübner*, 137; *Westwood*, p. 175). The absence otherwise of the name Talorius or Talore in Wales and its use among the Picts seems to suggest that the father of Talorius was an exile or adventurer from the North, who was kindly received in South Wales, and lastly that his son was called by a name common presumably in his father's family.

Hübner places this epitaph among those of his second period, by which he meant the sixth and seventh centuries.

41. Other epitaphs written in the same metre seem to be the following, which I abstain from discussing one by one : —

Advecti filius Guani hic iacit. *Arch. Camb.*, 1895, pp. 180-2.

Avitoria filia Cunigni. *Arch. Camb.*, 1889, pp. 1-4, 96, 224 ; 1893, p. 285.

Camelorigi fili Fannuci. *Hübner*, 95.

Dis Manibus Barrecti Carantei. *Westwood*, p. 157, pl. 78.

XPI Vailathi fili Vrochani. *H.*, 21.

Macaritini fili Beri : ci. *H.*, 80.

Maccu-Treni Saliciduni. *Rhys's "Lectures"*, p. 382.

Mavoh[eni] fili Lunarchi Cocci. *H.*, 233.

Quenatauci ic Dinui filius. *H.*, 3.

Quenvendani fili Barcuni. *H.*, 91.

Rialobrani Cunovali fili. *H.*, 2.

Rugniatio fili Vendoni. *H.*, 49 ; *Rhys's "Lectures"*, p. 381.

Severini fili Severi. *H.*, 87.

Vennisetli fili Ercagni. *Rhys's "Lectures"*, p. 392.

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iv. Curtailed Hexameters, Group 2.

42. Dyffryn Bern, near Pembryn in South Cardiganshire : *see Hübner, 115 ; Westwood, p. 146.*

The stone reads CORBALENGI IACIT ORDOVS, "here Corbaleng the Ordovician lies". The metre is probably the same that we have already had, and the scanning would seem at first sight to be Córba le″ngi | iácit Or | dóus, but neither *Ode* i, 7, i, 28, nor *Epode* 12, has a line which corresponds. The only other possibility is

Corbá lengi iácit Or dóns,

which suggests a trisyllabic scheme :—

Corbáleng i iácit | Ordóns.

This is practically to treat it as belonging to a distinct
metre, but the accentuation is exactly that of lines 4 and
24 in the former *Ode*, and of the last line of the latter
Ode—"Injecto ter pulvere curras". I take Corbalengi to
stand for a nominative *Corbalengi-s*, for which we have the
analogy of Irish Dūnlaing or Dūnling 'Dowling', genitive
Dūnlinge (also *Dūnlangi*, later declension *Dūnlang*, geni-
tive *Dūnlaing*): see Stoke's *Patrick*, pp. 184, 308, 331,
342, 466. As to the hiatus in *Ordous* compare *Daari* and
Paani mentioned under No. 55. One would have expected
Ordovix or *Ordoix*.

The letters are all capitals, and Hübner places the
inscription among those of his first period: Westwood's
opinion points to a similar conclusion.

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43. LLANHAMLACH, NEAR BRECON: *see Hübner*, 44; *Westwood, p.* 69,
pl. 38; "*Arch. Camb.*", 1874, *p.* 332.

On the face of the stone appears a Latin cross with
figures, supposed by Westwood to represent the Virgin
Mary and St. John standing beneath the arms of the cross,
and on one edge of the stone is the inscription :—Iohannis ‖
moridic surrexit hunc lapidem. The first word is separated
from the rest by a groove, and the whole may probably be
rendered "The Cross of John: Moridic set up this stone".
Needless to say, *surrexit* ought to have been *erexit*, as on
the Llangaffo stone, p. 22, and probably *lapidem* was also
meant to be shortened in pronunciation in the way
suggested in the case of the latter. The scanning might
be that of the metre called Senarius, provided *Iohannis*
were treated as a trisyllable; or else that of a truncated
hexameter if that vocable retained its greater length, as
follows :—Iō hánnis : Mor ídic sur réxit hunc láp'dem.
But on the whole I am disposed to follow the division

indicated by the inscriber, and to read in two lines, thus :—

<div align="center">

Crux Iohannis :
Morídic | surréxit | hunc láp'dem.

</div>

In that case the verse has exactly the rhythm guessed in the case of the Corbalengi epitaph.

Westwood describes the letters on this stone as being of an early character, resembling those generally termed Anglo-Saxon uncials and minuscules, "and as indicating a date prior to the introduction of the Gothic angulated letters by the Normans in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries". Perhaps one may assign the inscription to the ninth century or even the eighth.

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44. NEVERN CHURCHYARD, PEMBROKESHIRE : *see Hübner*, 102 ; *Westwood, p.* 103.

The stone was originally in the churchyard, whence it was taken away to be a gate-post on a farm in the neighbourhood, where it was discovered by me, and whence it has been since restored to the churchyard. The left-hand angle bears *Vitaliani* in a clear Ogam, and on the face of the stone—written across it *more Romano*, contrary to what Hübner thought—is the following :—VITALIANI EMERETO. The *n* is reversed, and *al* form a ligature : on the whole the letters are tall and more than usually good for this kind of epitaph. *Vitalianus* does not appear to have been a very common name, but it will be found in De Rossi's Vol. i, No. 1038, and it appears in its Old Welsh form as the *Guitolion* underlying the manuscript readings of Nennius, *Guitolin, Guitholim, Guttolion, Guitholion*, in the genealogy of Fernmail : *see* Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, iii, 49 (p. 193), where we have Vortigern represented as son of *Guitaul*, son of *Guitolion*, names which

would be in Latin, *Vitalis* or *Vitalius*, and *Vitalianus* respectively.[1]

If this masterpiece of condensation was meant as verse, as I am inclined to think it was, it might be scanned Vitali áni e méreto, and interpreted as meaning "the monument of Vitalianus, given to him as *emeritus*", one who has deserved it, one who has died having completed his service. It refers probably to his military career and his services to his people, though it admits of being interpreted metaphorically in a religious sense. It might be treated as *Vitaliani e mereto*, but that appears to me less probable as being somewhat too classical.

Hübner has placed it in his first class, and if any of our inscriptions date before the close of the fourth century

[1] Doubtless Guitolin was a kindred name current probably in the same family and representing a Latin *Vitalinus*, which appears in a Corkaguiny Ogam (Journal of the Royal Society of Irish Antiquaries, 1902, pp. 36, 37) as *Vitalin*, later *Fidlin*. It figures in an unexplained passage in the Nennian *Historia Brittonum*: *see* Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, iij, p. 203, where one reads:—"Et a regno Guorthigirni usque ad discordiam Guitolini et Ambrosii anni sunt duodecim, quod est Guoloppum, id est Catguoloph". It should be rendered—"And from the reign of Vortigern to the quarrel of Guitolin and Ambrosius there is a space of twelve years, which is empty, that is, empty of war". The scribe responsible for the Latin came to a Brythonic adjective which he did not understand : it proves to have been *guolom*, pronounced *guolor*, the exact equivalent of Med. Irish *falum* (not *follomm*), Mod. Irish *folamh*, Sc. Gaelic *falamh* 'empty' : compare Welsh *gweili*, 'empty', Breton *goullô*, *guliu*. The antiquity of the gloss is suggested also by the use of *pp* as equivalent to *ph*, which is here inexactly used for *v*. The historical interest of the passage as shedding light on the ubiquitous presence of the Dési on our coasts, not only from Waterford to St. David's, but possibly from Kerry to Kent, raises questions too large to be discussed in a note : compare the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, i, 56; note also that it is in Fernmail's pedigree one meets with *Mepurit* mentioned at p. 25 above. In spite of the Latin and Brythonic appearance of that pedigree, it may be taken to have been fundamentally Goidelic.

this is likely to be one of them. In fact, I see no reason why it should not prove to be the epitaph of Vortigern's grandfather, presumably a prince of the Dési of Dyfed.

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45. The following inscriptions appear to be in a similar form of curtailed hexameter :—

Sagrani fili Cunotami. *H.*, 106.

Veracius presbyter hic jacit. *H.*, 145.

Curcagni fili Andagelli. *W.*, p. 86; *Arch. Camb.*, 1876, p. 141; 1894, p. 81; 1896, p. 134.

Doniert rogavit pro anima. *H.*, 22.

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iv. CURTAILED HEXAMETERS, GROUP 3.

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46. YSTRADFELLTE, BRECKNOCK : *see Hübner*, p. 50 ; *Westwood*, p. 65.

The stone reads in very debased capitals, ꓷERVACꓱ FILIVS IVSTꓱ IC IACIT "the burial place of Dervac : here lies the son of Justus." The lettering is very queer, for not only are *d* and *s* reversed, but *a* and *t* are upside down; *fi* make the usual ligature. The inscription, in spite of any possible doubt as between *Dérvaci* and *Derváci*, the former of which is probably to be preferred, as the Brythonic form might be expected to have been *Dervóci*, seems to scan as follows :—

Dérvaci | fílius | Jústi ic | jácit.

That is, I take it to end with two dissyllabic feet, and one might compare Horace's *Ode* i, 28, line 2—"Mensorem cohibent, Archyta"; but that line is itself somewhat exceptional, and as the metre was perhaps never very

common, it seems preferable to regard our line as a
truncated hexameter, but consisting of that part which
represents the first four feet. The choice of feet, how-
ever, which that would imply is subject to one limitation—
the verse must have at least one dactylic foot; and it is
needless to mention that, if it ends with a dactyl followed
by a dissyllabic foot, it is treated as belonging, not here
but to one or other of the two groups of which specimens
have already been given.

Hübner places this epigraph in his third group, that is
to say in the seventh or the eighth century : I should be
inclined to say that this dates from the former, let us say
the close of the seventh century.

———

47. Margam, Glamorgan : see *Hübner*, 73 ; *Westwood, p.* 29.

The stone reads :—Crux. x͞p͞i. | + Enniaun. | pro anima.|
guorgoret. | fecit. This I am inclined to divide as follows,
treating the longer line as a truncated hexameter :—

> Crux Christi :
> Enniaun pro   án'ma Guor góret | fécit.
> Einion made it for the soul of Gwrwared.

It belongs to the period of the old Welsh Glosses, that
is to say that of the ninth and tenth centuries ; but one
ought perhaps to regard that period as extending back
into the eighth.

———

48. Other instances of the curtailed hexameter seem
to offer themselves in the following, that is if one attach
no excessive importance to the secondary stress, which is
here left unmarked :—

Bríaci   fili   Éva lengi.   *Arch. Camb.*, 1896, 303 ; 1897, 133, 329.
Dóbitue i filius   Évo lengi.   *II.*, 109 (with Ogam).
Cáturug i fili   Lóver naci.   *II.*, 231.

To these may be added from the Whithorn inscription,
to be described next, the two lines :—

> CHRISTE   te domin u m lau damu s].
> Et fília   súa   ánni   quínti.

Possibly one may class also in this group the following
with a final dactyl : —

> Sabíni   fili   Macco Décheti.   *II.*, 26.
> Hic jácit | múlier | bóna | Nóbili[s].   *II.*, 162.

The question, however, as to the latter is whether *Nobili*
(for *Nobilis*) was meant to be pronounced *Nobli* ; and
as to the former whether the modifying of *Maqui
Decceddus* into the Brythonic Latin form of *Macco-Decheti*,
carried with it the pronouncing of the Goidelic name as
Dechéti, after the Brythonic fashion.   To these possible
instances of curtailed hexameters ending with a dactylic
foot may be added from No. 50, to be discussed in the
fourth group, the verse :—

> Prónepus | Eter náli Ved ómavi.

----

49. WHITHORN, WIGTONSHIRE.

The stone was found in 1890, by the late Mr. William
Galloway, in the course of excavations conducted by him
for the late Marquess of Bute, on the site of the ancient
priory founded by St. Ninian, the Candida Casa of
ecclesiastical history. I published a reading in *The
Academy*, September 5, 1891, p. 201. Subsequently it
was examined by Mr. Haverfield, who found that I had
overlooked the monogram of Christ at the top of the
stone. On the last day of July 1903, I paid another visit

to the stone, and was able to corroborate my friend as
to the monogram ; in other respects my reading is
practically the same as before, as follows, with the
ligatures resolved :—

XPI
TE DOMINV
LAVDAMV
LATINVS
ANNORVM
·XXXV ET
FILIA SVA
ANNI· V
IC ΓINVM
FECERVT
NEPVS
BARROVA
DI

The monogram is of the kind given in
Hübner's Nos. 1 and 31, and may be
described as an X bisected perpendicularly
by P, but the top portion of the P is gone
with a certain amount of the top edge of
the stone, where it is left rough. Several
of the consonants are now very indistinct,
such as *om* in the first line, not to mention
several of the final ones of the seven first
lines. But the final *m* of *dominum* and
the final *s* of *laudamus* were probably
never there. The *an* of the fourth line is
a ligature, while *anni* of the seventh is
written in full, and the *v* seems to have a
point prefixed to it, as in the case of the

other numeral *xxxv ;* but after the *v* there may have been
an *i*, making it into *vi* instead of *v*: I could not be sure.
The *s* of *sinum* (for *signum*) is of the angular or gamma
form. The *h* of *hic* is absent, and the *n* of *fecerut* has
not been even indicated. The form of the letters *f* and *i*
deserves mention ; the letter *e* is tall, with its three bars
very short, and *f* has also three bars, but it differs from *e* in
having its top one longer and sloping upwards, while the *i*
is like the *e*, except that it lacks the little bar in the
middle. On the other hand, the last *i* of all has a short
stroke across it near the bottom, but I hesitate to read it *e*.

The spelling *nepus* for *nepos* is not peculiar to this
epitaph, but the word is remarkable here as the nominative
to a plural verb : in fact it seems to have been introduced
to render the native word *mocu*, which was not restricted

in its signification to one individual of a clan or tribe.
Who the Moen Barrovadi were I cannot tell, but they
were Picts or Goidels, certainly not Brythons.   There is
nothing distinctly Brythonic about the epitaph, unless it
be the *o* of *Barrovadi*, for which one might have expected
Barravadi ; and until the name is identified one cannot
tell whether the final *i* represents anything more than the
Latin genitive ending provided for the occasion.

The whole when put into the ordinary spelling seems to
scan thus, in three shortened hexameters followed by a
pentameter, as to which, however, I am by no means
certain :—

> CHRÍSTE | te dómin | um land | ámus
> Latínus | annórum | trigínta | quínque
> Et fília | súa | ánni | quínti |
> Hic sígnum | fecér | unt‖Népos Ba′r|rová|di‖

> Christ, Thee as our lord we praise:
> Latinus at five and thirty here is laid
> And in her fifth year his daughter.
> The sign at the head the Barrovadians made.

The sign mentioned means in the first place the
monogram at the head of the inscription, but secondarily
it applies doubtless to the whole monument.   It is a
singular record of the family or tribe joining to set up a
tombstone to the memory of one presumably of their
number, together with his infant daughter.

One could hardly venture to date this monument earlier
than the sixth century : it may be later.

iv. Curtailed Hexameters, Group 4.

Up to this point we have been occupied with part
hexameters of four feet each, which are the most usual on
the stones.   But we are now coming to instances consisting

of five feet each : they are, so to say, short of the first
foot only, as in the following instances :—

50. MAEN LLYTHYROG, ON MARGAM MOUNTAIN, GLAMORGANSHIRE :
see *Hübner*, 71 ; *Westwood*, p. 23.

The inscription is in capitals, except the letter *h*, two of
the final *i*'s are horizontal, and all the *a*'s are upside
down ; *fi* and *li* are represented by ligatures, but the
letters are otherwise better cut than the average of
inscriptions of the kind. On the top of the stone is a
small Maltese cross, which is joined by a sort of connecting
line with the *filius* of the epitaph, which reads as
follows :—

BODVOC⊣ hIC IACIT	The Cross of Bodvoc : here lies
✠—FILIVS CATOTIC IRNI	the son of Catutegernios,
PRONEPVS ETERNALI	great grandson of Æternalis
VEDOMAV⊣	of Vedomagus.

The first part forms a curtailed hexameter of five feet,
and the rest seems to be a similar one of four. Accord-
ingly the whole would scan as follows :—

Bodvóci | hic iácit | fílius | Cátotig|írni
Prónepus | Éter|náli Ved|ómavi

Pronepus stands for *pronepos*; in fact *nepus* also occurs
for *nepos*; and *Eternali* for *Æternalis*, derived from *Æternus*,
which, as *Eternus*, genitive *Eterni*, occurs more than once
in our inscriptions in Wales. *Bodvoci* is the genitive of
the Brythonic *Bodvōco-s*, a name met with abbreviated as
BODVO, BODVOC, BODVOS on coins found mostly in
Gloucestershire and the west of Oxfordshire : *see* Sir John
Evans's *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 134-9. Bodv-ōco-s
was the Brythonic form of what was Bodvāco-s, genitive
Bodvāci in Gaulish : *see* Holder *s. v. Catotigirni* stands for
the genitive of *Catutegernio-s*, which makes in Welsh

Cattegirn and *Catëyrn* 'war-lord or battle prince'. The place-name in its early form would be Vedo-magos, but there is reason to suppose the final *s* of *magos* 'field or plain', to have been dropped pretty early. On the Continent the word was treated as *magus* in Latin, as for instance in *Augusto-magus*, 'the field of Augustus', and Ratú-magus, Rotó-magus, ' the field of the *ráth* or fortification', the name of which was made into *Rotomaus*, *Rotomus*, and finally *Rouen*. That is to say *magus* was treated as of the same declension as *dominus*, *regnum*, whereas it really was an *s* neuter of the declension in Celtic which corresponded to that of *genus*, *generis*, in Latin; but here we seem to have evidence of its being treated differently, for from *Vedomagu(s)* a genitive *Vedomagu-i* seems to have been formed, and the latter with the *g* elided makes our *Vedomau-i*. The Welsh representative should be *gwyd-fa*, and there is such a word, but it means a monument of the dead or a tomb, for *magos* has been reduced to *ma*, mutated *va* or *fa*, meaning no longer a field or plain, but merely a place whether large or small. For the wider meaning there is a derivative *maes* 'a field', from some such a stem as *mages-to-* or *mages-tu-*. It is more likely, however, that our place-name corresponded in meaning and origin to the Irish *fiad-mag* (the genitive *fiadh-moigi* occurs in Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 79). This meant a field or plain abounding with deer or other game (*fíad*). This word occurs in *fíad-mil*, in Welsh *gwyd-fil*, 'a wild animal', and similarly *fíad-mag* would be in Welsh *gwyd-fa*, with some such a meaning as deer field. Modern Welsh pronunciation would hardly distinguish between a possible *gwydfa*=*vĭdu-magos*, 'wood field', and *gwydfa*=*vēdo-magos*, 'deer field', to neither of which *gwydfa* in the sense of a monument would seem to belong, unless it be that the burial place was purposely left to be

a wilderness in the undisturbed possession of wild animals, and that in Brythonic the word for such a wilderness came to mean a graveyard.

Hübner places this inscription among those of his second period, but Westwood would appear to have entertained the possibility of its being of the fifth or the early part of the sixth century.

———

51. TREVENA, TINTAGEL, CORNWALL: *see the* "*Arch. Camb.*", 1895, *p.* 58.

The stone is an ornamented cross, now in the garden of the Wharncliffe Hotel. It is in parts difficult to decipher, but the following is Mr. Langdon's reading of the front :—MAꞇ HEVS MAR CVS LVCA S IOh, and of the back :—ÆLN AT + FECIT HĀC CRV CEM P A [N]IMA SŪ. The c's are all square, and the *h* at the end of the first line is duly provided with a mark of abbreviation; the same may be expected to have been indicated in the case of *pro* on the other face, unfortunately my notes of my examination of the stone in 1896 have been lost in the hands of an editor. Taking the foregoing reading to be substantially correct, we have two curtailed hexameters of four and five feet each as follows :—

> Mathéus | Márcus | Lúcas Io | hánnes.
> Ǽlnat | fécit hanc ' crúcem pro | ánima ' súa.

As to the age of this monument I can hardly venture a guess, but I should not suppose it earlier than the eighth century.

———

52. GESEL GYFARCH, NEAR TREMADOC, CARNARVONSHIRE : *see* "*Arch. Camb.*", 1882, *pp.* 161-5.

The stone is at the farm house of Gesel Gyfarch, and has been described by me in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

The top and the lower side of the inscription have been trimmed off by a mason, but what remains reads downwards as follows, with the ligatures resolved:—FILI CVNALIPI | CVNACI [IC] IACIT | . . . . . . I BЄCCVRI. In both instances *na* form a ligature, so do *fi* and *vr*, which is more unusual. The *e* is rounded, Ꞓ, like the *c* next to it, but the next *c* is angular, <. The letters are all capitals, but the stone, which is greenstone, has on it a sort of hard patch, which interfered with the cutting of the second line, so that the *ia* of *iacit* are out of line with the other letters, and that it is hard to say whether *ic* or *hic* was ever there. Fortunately that does not matter to the metre, but the second verse is hopelessly gone, so that one cannot tell whether it was a curtailed hexameter, say of four feet, or else a pentameter or half-pentameter. The first portion makes the other verse five feet of accentual hexameter, as follows:—

Fili | Cu"na|lípi | Cúnaci ic | iácit.

The grave of Cunalip's son Cunac: here he lies.

I take the accentuation to be Goidelic, and if so the unusual position of the father's name, *Cunaci*, is explained: it was the only word that would yield the dactyl the inscriber wanted in the last foot but one. The case has a parallel in *Fili Lovernii Anatemori* on the Llanfaglan stone, p. 58. The name *Cunac-i* of the son, is a reduced form of a compound like the father's name *Cunalip-i*; it survives in Welsh as *Cynawg, Cynog*, as for instance, in Llan Gynog in Montgomeryshire. As to *Cunalip-i*, it should make in modern Welsh either *Cynllib* or *Cynllyb*; the former is the more probable, as we have a kindred *Libiau* (for instance in the *Liber Landavensis*), in modern Welsh *Llibio*, as in Llan Llibio in Anglesey. In that manuscript the name should be *Conlip*, but it does not

appear to occur, though a derivative does, *Conlipan*. Here
the accentuation of the epitaph has been treated as Goi-
delic, but the *p* of *Cunalipi* looks Brythonic: in fact
Conlipan seems to be represented in Irish by *Conligan*, on
which *see* the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries
of Ireland, 1902, pp. 20, 21, and O'Donovan's edition of
the *Topographical Poems* (Dublin, 1862), p. 133, note 769.
Add to this that B*e*couri is a genitive which appears in
Irish Chronicles as *Bicoir ;* the Four Masters have it,
under A.D. 620, in the designation of a man whom they
call Artur mac Bicair, and Tigernach, according to Stokes,
Revue Celtique, xvii, 178, has "ab Artuir filio Bicoir
Britone"; and Professor K. Meyer, in Nutt's *Voyage of
Bran,* i, 84, finds the same entry in the Bodleian MS.,
Rawlinson, B. 488, fo. 9*b*, 2, where one reads :—*Mongan
mac Fiachna Lurgan ab Artuir filio Bicoir Pretene lapite
percussus interit,*[1] "Mongan mc Fiachna Lurgan dies struck
with a stone by Arthur, son of Bicor of Preten". This
last word seems practically identical with the old Welsh
Priten, meaning either Prydyn, the country of the
Cruithni or Picts, or else Prydain, the whole of our
Island. The description of Arthur as a Brython, as of
the Brythons, or as a Welshman, arose doubtless out of
the attempt to guess the meaning of the unusual form
Pretene ; so that we may still doubt that he and his father
were Brythons. It is evident, however, that the family
had come under Brythonic influence, at any rate that of
the fame of Arthur ; the name *Artur* is that of the
Brythonic hero, and on the spread of it *see* Zimmer's
Nennius Vindicatus, pp. 283, 284. In the *p* of *Cunalipi*
one detects the same Brythonic influence, and that is all

[1] Besides *Pretene*, the spellings *lapite* and *Artuir* are of consider-
able interest, especially the expedient of indicating the sound of
Brythonic *ur* by introducing an *i*.

the more relevant as the obscurity and unusualness of the
name Beccur or Bicor, makes it almost certain that we
have a reference in the epitaph to the same man who is
mentioned in the chronicle entry just cited. It is unfor-
tunate that the fragmentary state of the stone does not
permit us to see what relation he was to Cunalip; we shall
probably be safe in assuming that he represented an
earlier generation. Perhaps one might add that we have
here a glimpse of the family in the process of adopting Bry-
thonic as their language. Their connection with Cantyre,
where Mongán was killed, and with North Wales, points
to their being Goidels or Scots rather than Brythons.

These surmises would point to the seventh century,
possibly to the eighth, as the date of the inscription.

———

53. LLANNOR, NEAR PWLLHELI, CARNARVONSHIRE: *see Hübner*, 138;
Westwood, p. 181 ; *and Rhys's "Lectures",* p. 367.

The stone is in the churchyard at Llannor, where it
had formerly been one of the gate-posts. This use in-
volved damaging a portion of the second line ; but the
name *Loculiti* which has suffered is fairly certain. The
letters are all debased capitals except the *h,* and the
reading is as follows:—FIGVLINI FILI LOCVLITI hIC IACIT.
Figulini is evidently the genitive of a Latin Figulinus,
which might have also been spelt Figlinus : here it is
to be treated as such. So the scanning I adopt is the
following :—

Fig'líni | fíli | Locu|líti hic   jácit
The grave of Figulinus son of Loculit : here he lies.

Figulinus was possibly a Christian name adopted with
direct reference to St. Paul's words : "But we have this
treasure in earthen vessels", etc., II Cor. iv, 7.   A

partially cognate form to *Locu-liti* occurs in *Litogen-i* and Gaulish names of the same kind : *see* p. 50 above ; but the whole compound seems to be represented by the *Liclit* in 'Lann Mihagel Liclit' of the *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 32, 44.

I should be inclined to date this towards the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century.

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54. St. Cubert, Cornwall : *see Hübner*, 12.

The stone reads CONETOCꟼ FILI TEꟼERNO ᒧALꟼ "the burial place of Conetoc son of Tegernomal". The lettering is irregular, and the *g* and *r* are of the Hiberno-Saxon type, while the *i* ending the line is in both cases horizontal. We seem to have to scan as follows : —

Cóne|to ci | fíli | Tégerno|ma li.

That is, we assume the accentuation to have been Brythonic, and as to the deceased's name, one may say that it looks like a later and simplified pronunciation of the Goidelic *Quenatauci*, which occurs in another Cornish inscription : *see* page 70 above. Further, the name *Tegernomal* occurs elsewhere ; for instance, the author of a *Life of St. Samson* addresses his preface "ad *Tigerinomalum episcopum*", who is supposed to have been living towards the end of the sixth century : see *Acta Sanctorum*, July 28, vol. vi, p. 573*a*.

Hübner places it in his second group.

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55. Tre'farchog (or St. Nicholas), Pembrokeshire: *see Hübner*, 101 ; *Westwood, p.* 126.

The stone is in the church and reads ꓔVNCCEꓔACE VX SOR DAARI HIC IA CIꓔ "Here lies Tunccetace wife of Dagare". The stone has on its face a cross so placed as

to suggest its being taken possibly as a part of the
epitaph : thus if we read it *crux Christi* we should have
a complete hexameter. It is thought, however, best to
take only what is in letters, and the scanning seems to
be the following :—

<div align="center">Tu″nccet|áce | úxsor | Dáari̦ 'ic | iácit.</div>

The accentuation is here taken to be Goidelic in both
names, as to the former of which the nominative in *e* has
already been discussed at p. 13. It would be possible,
however, to regard the name here as standing for a geni-
tive *Tunceetācē(s)*, and to translate accordingly, "T's grave :
here D's wife lies". The name as a whole would seem to
have had the same signification as the Latin *Fortunata*,
by which it may even have been suggested : it is derived
from *tuncceto–* in Old Irish *tocad* 'fortune', Welsh *tynghed*
'fate'; and the affix *āc–* in such words is approximately
equivalent to the *āt–* in *fortunātus, fortunāta*. The hiatus
in *Daari* is remarkable as providing an equivalent for the
spirant sound of *g,* which is found regularly written in
Medieval Irish in this name ; so it appears as *Daigre*,
genitive *Daigri*. Our spelling points possibly to a dialectal
peculiarity, for it does not stand alone: we have in the
same neighbourhood PAANI for *Pagani* : see the *Arch.
Camb.*, 1898, p. 55. Neither of the names in the epitaph
is known in Welsh.

Westwood refers this inscription "to a period but little,
if indeed at all, more recent than the departure of the
Romans from the Principality". But I fail to appreciate
his reasons for thinking so, and Hübner seems nearer the
mark in making the date the sixth or the seventh century.[1]

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[1] The time of the disappearance of the nasal in words like Irish
tocad is very difficult to approximate : but I have been inclined to
date it perhaps too early, and the remarks on *Ercilinci*, p. 19, might
be simplified accordingly.

56. LLANFECHAN (or LLANVAUGHAN), NEAR HIGH MEAD, CARDIGAN-
SHIRE: *see Hübner*, 114: *Westwood, p. 136, pl. 64.*

The stone is now preserved by Colonel Davies Evans,
at his residence at High Mead. The legend in Latin is
TRENACATVS | IC IACIT FILIVS | MAGLAGNI " Trenacat
lies here son of Maglagn". It is accompanied by an
Ogam inscription reading *Trenaccatlo*, which raises ques-
tions of considerable difficulty. It seems to be a compound,
meaning 'the Trenaccat tomb': in any case it has to be
interpreted on the same lines as the Ogam on the Trefgarn
stone, the right reading of which appears to be *Ogtenlo*
(with the Latin *Hogtivis fili Demeti*) ; but such a double
compound as *Trenaccat-lo* without a thematic vowel at the
end of the second element makes it hard to believe this
monument to be a very early one. So I should be dis-
posed to treat *Trenacatus*—it is to be noticed that it is not
Trenocatus—as being on a level almost with *Dinácat* (pp.
7, 9) and the like. The scanning in that case would be :—

Trenácat | us ic | iácit | filius Mag lágni.

Trenacat does not survive, but it is represented by
Trinyat, namely, in the 'Kulhwch' and in the 'Geraint'
(Oxford *Mab.,* pp. 132, 265). The other name might be
expected in Medieval Welsh, as *Maelan,* derived from
Maglos, Welsh *Mael.*

Hübner places this inscription in his first group, but for
the reason suggested I should be somewhat inclined to
date it as late as the end of the seventh century.

———

57. PORTHQUEENE, NEAR CAMELFORD, CORNWALL: *see Hübner*, 15 ;
"*Arch. Camb.*", 1895, *p. 51, pl. 35.*

The inscription is in a bad state of preservation, but
partly as the result of our examination and partly of

previous descriptions of it by others, I take it to read
BROCAGꞂ� IHC IACIT ꞂADOTTI FILIVᴦ with the monogram
of Christ standing above the letters. I construe as
follows :—" The burial place of Brocagn: here lies Nadott's
son". The second *n* and the *s* are of the minuscule form,
and the *c* is square as frequently happens in Cornwall.
The *h* of *hic* is misplaced, owing to the inscriber having
carelessly joined the wrong perpendiculars of which he
had three, ‖ , cut seemingly before he thought of finish-
an *h* : at any rate no more profound explanation of his
error seems to be called for. The whole would appear to
scan as follows :—

CHRÍSTVS | Brocágni 'ic | iácit | Nádotti | fílius.

The first genitive *Brocagni* belongs to a name which was
written later Brocán in Irish, and *Brychan* in Welsh.
The other, *Nadotti*, is possibly (in spite of the simpler
vowel) a Latinized form of what appears in Medieval
Irish as Nuada, genitive Nuadat, Welsh *Nud*, represented
in Roman Britain by *Nudons* or *Nodons*, dative *Nodenti* or
Nodonti: *see* the Berlin *Corpus*, vii, 137-140, and p. 10
above.

Hübner, who had only a misleading facsimile of the
inscription at his disposal, gives no opinion as to the date ;
but one could not regard it as early. Perhaps the end of
the seventh century is the earliest guess one could make.
At any rate it belonged probably to a time when Goidelic
was in its last stage of decadence in Cornwall.

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58. Others of the same metre are the following :—

Jove náli[s] | fíli E térni hic | iácit. *Hübner*, 139.
Ali[s] | órtus | Élmeti a"eo hic | iácet. *Westwood*, p. 180.
Méli | médici | fíli | Martíni | iácit. *H.*, 142.
Te"ger náeus | fílius | Márti hic | iácit. *H.*, 58.

iv. Curtailed Hexameters, Group 5.

We have now done with the principal instances of part
hexameters of four and five feet each respectively; and
those of three feet might now be discussed, but it is
hardly worth while to deal with them at length. In fact,
except when they seem to represent the latter half of a
hexameter, I should know of no proof that they were
metrically meant at all. But as it is, too many of the
instances affect the dactylic movement characteristic of
the latter part of a hexameter for this to be regarded the
result of accident: their authors must have had a decided
liking for it. Witness such epitaphs as the following, the
number of which could be easily doubled:—

59. Cælexti | Monedo rigi. *Hübner*, 128.

Cuno|gusi hic | iacit. *Westwood*, p. 192.

Ulcagni | fili Se veri. *H.*, 14.

Ingen [a]vi me moria. *Arch. Camb.*, 1895, Langdon
  and Allen, pl. 1.

Neprani | fili Con bevi. *H.*, 27.

It is possible to deal in still shorter portions of the
hexameter : in fact we have already had an epitaph ending
with the Adonic: Fílius Car ótinn, in No. 65. Sometimes
this constitutes the whole inscription, as in the case of
the epitaph : Gúrdan Sa cérdos (*H.*, 42). Rare as such
instances are, they help to accentuate the evidence, that
the sequence _ _ _ | _ _ was at one time a favourite one
with the Celts of this country.

v. Horatian Metres.

60. Llanerfyl, Montgomeryshire: *see Hübner*, 125 ; *Westwood*,
  p. 153; " *Arch. Camb.*". 1874. *p.* 333.

The stone is in a bad state of preservation, and this is
what I was able to read the last time I saw it, namely, in

1902: HIC . . . TVMVLO IA CIT R . . STE CE FILIA PA
TERNINI ANIXIII IN PA. The oldest representation of it
seems to be a sketch from the papers of Lewis Morris,
published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1791, p. 13,
plate iij. fig. 3; this has been reproduced by Hübner, and
it shows the word *in* to have been then in its place at
the top of the stone, but since that time the bit of the
stone bearing it is gone. The second *v* of TVMVLO is fairly
certain, though Morris seems to have dotted it as an *o*,
but it consisted of a ligature with the *m*, and I thought I
detected traces of the slanting line on the edge of a break-
age in that part of the stone. The missing letter in the
woman's name he has dotted also for *o*, and he wrote
" Rostece or Rastece": the former was probably right:
had the vowel been other than *o* one would expect
to find traces of a straight line there. Hübner treats
the age as *an lxiii*, but that is not the reading of the
stone. The letter preceding *x* is perfect, and it is *i*,
not *l*. Neither am I persuaded that there is any
occasion to suppose the *i* an error for *l*. The spelling of
annus in its different cases with a single *n* is common
enough, witness the *Corpus I. L.*, xii. p. 953ᵃ, where nine
such instances are referred to. Westwood, trusting reck-
lessly to a rubbing, introduces errors of his own : and it
is not only unnecessary to complete the word *pace* at the
end, but contrary to the inscriber's final intention. There
was plenty of room for the letters *ce*, but they were never
cut, and the reason is supplied by the scanning, which must
now be explained. The epitaph consists of the half of an
accentual pentameter, preceded by a verse based on the
metre called Archilochius Major, consisting of a dactylic
tetrameter plus three trochees. The stock examples of
the quantitative original occur in Horace's fourth *Ode*,
beginning with the well known line, "Solvitur acris hiems

grata vice veris et favoni". The scheme is $==\smile\,|\,==\smile\,|\,==\smile\,|$ $-\smile\smile\,|\,-\smile\,|\,-\smile\,|\,-\underline{\smile}\,|$ So the epitaph seems to scan as follows :—

Hic in | túmulo | jácit | Rostéce | fília | Pater | níni
Án⌐n⌐i tre décimi in | pá.

Here is laid in the barrow Paternin's daughter Rostece,
Aged thirteen—in peace!

The author appears to have first meant to close the epitaph with *pace* rhyming with *Rostece*; but as he went on he found that if he wrote *in pace*, he would be violating his metre ; so he seems to have had to adopt, as the end of the epitaph, what he had often probably seen used as an abbreviation. The phrase *in pace* appears to have been treated as an 'adieu', and we have it shortened to a dissyllable in a passage in the *Book of Taliessin*,[1] as to which see the *Revue Celtique*, vi, 43. Owing to the custom of friends kissing one another when parting, the expression became the word for a kiss, for that is the origin of the Welsh *impoy* 'a kiss', *pocyn*, *pocan* 'a smack or kiss', Breton *pok* 'a kiss', and also Irish *póg*, 'a kiss', which, perhaps, owes its *ó* to Brythonic. The other question suggested by the metre is that of the accentuation of the deceased's name, for *Róstece* as well as *Rostéce* might fit. The latter sounds the more Brythonic of the two, and in any case the inscription belongs to the country of the Ordovices, so that one cannot reckon on Goidelic influence here. *Róstece* recalls the sound of the Latin name *Rustica*, which, however, has against it the ending *e* characteristic of the Celtic declension noticed in connection with *Oruvite* at page 13 above. The origin of the name is obscure, but it is possibly the same as that of *Ustic*, borne by a son of Geraint, in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 131, and by a son of Caw, p. 143. The former is written *Ysteg* and *Usteg* in Rees's *Welsh Saints*,

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[1] Owing to a defect in the MS. the reading is now *yn pa*, but the original was possibly *yn pabc*.

pp. 161, 297, and the latter becomes *Iustic* son of Caw in
the Story of Kulhwch (Oxford *Mab.*, p. 107) as if a deriva-
tive of the Latin name *Justus*. In case *Ustic or Ystey* was
a real name, our *Rostece* would have to be regarded as
a compound with the prefix *ro* (for Indo-European *pro*),
modern Welsh *rhy*. The stem *stec* is of uncertain origin,
but, as *sech*, it is a very common element in Irish female
names like *Duinsech*, genitive *Duinsige*.

Hübner places this among the inscriptions of his first
period, and I should be inclined to regard it as dating not
long after the Roman occupation.

———————

61. GORS, NEAR ABERDARON, CARNARVONSHIRE: *see Hübner,* 144 ;
     Westwood, p. 177.

The stone is now at Cefn Amwlch, and when I saw it
years ago I read it as in the margin, with the ligatures
resolved, but lower down I thought I could read

SENACVS

PRSB

HIC IACIT

CVMMVLTITV

DNEM

FRATRVM

PRESPITER which I regard as part of a
second verse. The spelling *multitudnem*
with a final *m* in the ablative, is owing
partly to the fact that the case consonants
had ceased to be sounded, so that when it
was thought fit to write them, there was
no certainty where they belonged and
where they did not ; but the elision of the
second unaccented *i* of *multitudine* is explained by the
metre. This may possibly be the Greater Asclepiad, but
I regard it rather as another instance of the Archilochian
verse as in the case of the Llanerfyl stone :—

Séna|cus présby|ter hic | jácit cum | multi|túdne | frátrum.

But even that is not right, since there ought to be a
break at the end of the tetrameter, and it is not unlikely

that *multitudne* was intended to scan as a trisyllable. In that case the verse would run thus :—

Sénac'us prés byter | hic iácit | cum mul' túdne | frátrum.

The priest Senacus lies here with many of the brethren.

The word PRESPITER probably formed part of some such a half pentameter as Máglus prés byter fé cit, or Présbyter Máglus fé cit, according to the position of *Prespiter* on the stone. *Senacus* was a Goidelic name which appears in Irish as Senach, Seanach, and in Welsh as Henawg, Henog, and the latter would have assumed in Brythonic inscriptions the spelling *Senocus* or *Henocus*, with the stress accent on the *o*.

The inscription was found with one reading *Veracius presbyter hic iacit* (p. 74), and Hübner places both of them in his earliest period.

———

62. LLECH IDRIS, NEAR TRAWSFYNYDD, MERIONETH : *see Hübner*, 131 ; *Westwood, p.* 161 ; " *Arch. Camb.*", 1885, *p.* 145 ; 1897, *p.* 137.

This stone has been already alluded to, and the following is the arrangement of the letters on it :—

<div align="center">

PORIVS

HIC IN TVWVLO IACIT

HOMO PLANVS FVIT

</div>

So it is clear that the author of this epitaph treated it as two lines, with the first of them ending with PORIVS, which, when he had reached the ground line, he cut opposite IACIT. The metre is the same as that of the heptameter on the Llanerfyl stone, so the scanning is probably as follows :—

Hic in | túmulo | iácit | Porius | hómo | plánus | fúit |

Here in the barrow lies Porius : a simple[1] man was he.

———

[1] I have used the word "simple" as being a somewhat ambiguous adjective : for I have failed to extract from such dictionaries as I have consulted any special meaning for the word *planus* : I must

Here again the metre stops short of fixing as decisively
as one could wish the accentuation of the one name in
the epitaph. For after discarding a dissyllabic *Pórius* as
excluded by it, we have two possibilities left. The first is
to follow the lead of *Plutónia* in the last couplet but one
of the fourth Ode, and scan the name in the Latin way as
a trissyllable *Pórius*: but I find nothing to countenance
this treatment in the case of a Celtic word. The other
possibility is *Poríus*, with nearly the same accent as
nos vétat in the previous couplet of the same Ode. It
would accordingly seem that *Porius* represents an early
Brythonic Porigio-s, but as the guttural was always liable
to be elided, the name may be the same as that of the
Porius mentioned by Suetonius in his *Caligula*, 35, as an
essedarius: he was presumably a Gaul. However, the
Porrex of Geoffrey of Monmouth, ii 16, iii 19, accusative
Porrecem, is possibly to be regarded as suggested by this
name written with the guttural consonant intact *Porigio-s* or
Poregio-s. So it looks as if we have the modern equivalent
of the latter in the poetic Welsh word *peryf* 'dominus',
pronounced *peryv*, with a *v* representing the spirant sound
of the *g* of the early form: compare *hyf* 'bold' for an
early *segio-s*, and *llefyd*, the ordinary plural of *lle* 'a place',
Breton *lec'h*.

Hübner places this epitaph in his first period.

———

63. GLANUSK PARK, NEAR CRICKHOWEL, BRECKNOCK: *see Hübner*,
    34; *Westwood, p.* 73.

The stone was found on a farm in the neighbourhood
and bears two inscriptions, one in Goidelic written in

leave it to the student of Late Latin to determine what it exactly
meant here. If I am told that it was intended to convey that
Porius was a man of low rank or humble origin, I can only reply that
in that case I should not expect to find his name on a stone at all.

Ogam, which is imperfect, reading only *Turpil[li. . . . .* *Tri]lluni* . . . and the other in Latin reading as follows :—TVRPILLI IC IA CIT PVVERI TRILVИI dVИOCA TI. The spelling *puveri* for *pueri* is not often met with, but it has a parallel in DRVVIDES on the Druid Stone at Killeen Cormac, in County Kildare : *see* the *Proceedings* of the British Academy, i, 1-8. The metre is based on that called the Iambelegus, consisting of a dimeter Iambic plus the half of an Elegiac pentameter : the scheme is

$\bar{x} \, \_ \, \cup \, \_ \, \bar{x} \, \_ \, \cup \, \bar{x} \,|\, \_ \, \cup \, \cup \, \_ \, \cup \, \cup \, \bar{x}$. So the scanning is as follows :—

Turpíl li ic já cit pú veri Trilluni | Dunóca ti

Here lies the body of Turpillins the boy of Trillun Dunocat.

The accentuation of *Dunocati* has already been discussed; both the thematic *o* and the accent make it Brythonic, except the case ending *i*, which is Latin in this instance. The accentuation of *Trilluni* is left doubtful ; if we give it the Goidelic accent we have *Trílluni*, and the whole runs just like the last line of Horace's thirteenth *Epode* :—

Defórmis ægrimóniæ dúlcibus allóquiis.

But as *Dunócati* has the Brythonic accent, *Trillúni* is more likely the pronunciation to be preferred of the other vocable ; this fits the metre equally well, and the line will then end with the same movement as *nunc máre, nunc síluæ,* ending the first couplet of the same *Epode*.

Hübner places this epitaph in his second period, but I should be inclined to date it nearer to the Roman Occupation.

————

64. PENMACHNO, CARNARVONSHIRE: *see Hübner*, 136: *Westwood, p.* 175.

The inscription is surmounted by the monogram of Christ, and it reads across the face of the stone *more*

Romano, as follows:—CARAVSIVS | HIC IACIT | IN HOC
CON GERIES LA PIDVM.   The Latinity is bad, but corrected
it reads as follows in the same metre as before, for which
see *Epode* 13 :—

> CHRÍSTUS : | Caráus ius hic | jácit ‖ in há · con | gérje láp 'dum.
> XPI : Carausius here lies in this heap of stones.

The movement of the first part of the line is the same as
that in the second couplet of *Epode* 13 : *Occasionem de die.*
The shortening of *lapidum* has its parallel in *lap'dem* for
lapidem in Nos. 9 (p. 22) and 43.

Hübner places this epitaph in his first period, but who
the Carausius here commemorated may have been I cannot
say.   Possibly he was the prince of that name who has the
title of Cæsar given him on a coin described by Mr. Arthur
J. Evans and ascribed by him to the beginning of the fifth
century : *see* his paper "On a Coin of a second Carausius"
in the *Numismatic Chronicle,* third series, vol. vij, 191-219,
reprinted in the *Arch. Camb.,* 1888, pp. 138-63, 274.

———

65. Gwnnws, near Ystrad Meurig, Cardiganshire: *see Hübner,* 122;
    Westwood, p. 144 ; *pl.* 68.

The legend is the following in minuscules, with the
Latin contractions expanded : xps | qui*cunque* | expli |
cau*erit* | h*oc* nom*en* | det b ene dixione|m pro ani|ma
hiroid|il filius | caro|tinn.   "XPS : Whoever shall have
explained this name let him give a blessing for the soul of
Hirhoedl, son of Carodyn."   The metre is based on the
Senarius or Iambic trimeter, of which we have here two
lines followed by an Adonic, as follows :—

> CHRÍSTUS : | Quicún | que explic | áver | it hoc | nómen,
> Dét ben | edíx | ión | em pro | án'ma | Híroid'l,
> Fílius Car | ótinn.

We have already had *anma* for *anima* : *see* Nos. 11, 24,

30, 38, 47. *Hiroidil* is a dissyllable, the last *i* being
an irrational vowel which would have been written *y*
in Medieval Welsh: in Modern book Welsh the name
would be *Hirhoedl* 'long-lived'. In Old and Medieval
Welsh *r* represented both *r* and *rh*, and here we have
a very decided instance of the latter value, as the name
is a compound *Hir-hoedl*. *Carotinn*, Modern Welsh *Car-
odyn*, meant a lover or friend; but I have never met
with either *Carotinu* or *Hiroidil* anywhere else as proper
names. The rhythm of the first line is that of *Epode* 17:
take, for instance, line 40: "Voles sonari: tu pudica, tu
proba". The second line has its parallel in line 66 of the
same *Epode*: "Egens benignae Tantalus semper dapis".
The Adonic comes in the second *Ode*: take such endings as
"Rara inventus" and "Augur Apollo". The author of
the epitaph seems to have taken advantage of the metre to
return to the nominative in the case of the apposition noun
filius.

The inscription is not likely to be earlier than the eighth
or ninth century.

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vi. THE FRAMPTON MOSAICS.

After I had arrived at the conclusions embodied in the
foregoing notes on the inscriptions in verse, I found that I
had forgotten to mention what I must regard as earlier as
well as longer specimens of the accentual hexameter than
any which any one of the stones supplies. It is a well-
known mosaic floor discovered near Frampton in Dorset:
see the elaborate pictures of it in Lyson's *Reliquiæ Britan-
nico-Romanæ* (London, 1813), vol. i, Frampton Notes, etc.,
plate v, and Hübner's account in the Berlin *Corpus*, vii,
No. 2; also his *Inscriptiones Britanniæ Christianæ*, 31, and

H

a paper by Studemund in "Hermes", ix, 503, 504. The mosaic, besides various other figures or groups of figures, shows a head of Neptune dominating the whole, and in another part a damaged figure, probably of Cupid. On either side of Neptune's head and the figure of Cupid, there were double compartments or panels, containing each a hexameter divided into two lines. Let us begin with Neptune : it is the head alone, and it is surrounded with some kind of foliage concealing the whole of the ears : the wreath gives the head almost a horned appearance. As to the face, there is a large growth of beard under the mouth and chin, but the moustache consists of two dolphins, whose thin bluish tails almost meet just above the figure's mouth. The dolphins' bodies are directed wavily to right and left to join a train of other dolphins forming a kind of zone which is produced round the entire floor of the room. The double panel to the spectator's left contains the following words :—

NEPTVNI VERTEX REG MEN

SORTITI MOBILE VENTIS

And the one to his right has the following :—

The *t* of *est* is damaged and so is the end of *duobus*, but the plate given by Lysons allows

SCVLTVM CVI CERVLEA ES . .

DELFINIS CINCTA DVOBV

room only for one letter, whence it would appear that the word had been carved DVOBV without the final *s*. The whole scans accentually as follows :—

Neptúni | vértex | régmen sor|títi | móbile | véntis
Scúl[p]tum | cúi ce|rúlea est delfínis | cíncta du|óbu[s].

Here Neptune's head, of fickle winds the lord,
A girdle blue two dolphins round afford.

With regard to the construing Hübner accepted Stude-

mund's notion that the word *frons* should be supplied and treated as qualified by *cerulea* and *cincta*, but the metre makes an additional word inadmissible, and there is nothing to indicate carelessness on the part of the inscriber to the extent of omitting anything thought necessary to the sense, not to mention that it is by no means clear that *frons* would have been the word to supply, considering where the two dolphins have been placed, connecting the god's head with the whole circle of other dolphins. As a matter of fact *no* word has to be supplied : the noun wanted is there, being no other than the Late Latin *cincta*.

The figure of Cupid is damaged and, what is worse, the panel to the spectator's left is completely gone, and all we have is what remains of the one to his right as follows :—

Lysons suggested com-

. . . . NVS PERFICIS VLLVM

. . . . . GNARE CVPIDO

pleting the beginning as FACINVS, and Studemund as NEC MVNVS, which the space negatives. Among the suggestions for restoring the second line may be mentioned *telorum* or *armorum*, *pugnare* or *regnare* and *ignare*. Having regard to the spaces to be filled, I venture to suggest the following, and to scan accordingly :—

Fácinus | pérficis | úllum | bélli | gnáre Cu | pído.

"Some mischief or other is thine, Cupid, skilled in warfare."

The playfulness of the reference to Cupid as a warrior is perfectly intelligible, but it would have been excluded by the suggestion that one should read *nec munus*.

The arrangement of the lines is instructive, with each hexameter cut as nearly as possible in halves, as the reckoning, whether by feet or by syllables, proves :—

1. Neptuni vertex regmen   (7)
   sortiti mobile ventis   (8)
2. Sculptum cui cerulea est   (6)
   delfinis cincta duobus   (8)
3. [This is the place of the missing hexameter,
      not the fourth.]
4. [Faci]nus perficis ullum   (8)
   [belli] gnare Cupido   (7)

The exact sense of these lines is here a matter of minor importance : their interest centres in the fact that they are specimens of hexameter verse after it had become accentual instead of quantitative, and also in their being comparatively early : Hübner has suggested the end of the fourth century. We have no clue to their authorship, but what has already been said as to the metrical nature of certain of our inscriptions in the west of Britain, makes it but natural to conclude that they were composed by a Celt.

A Place Index to the Inscriptions.

PART II.

CERTAIN WELSH METRES.

Now that the Latin data have been hurriedly surveyed in the previous part of the enquiry, the question presents itself, whether the Celts adopted in their own languages any of the metres with which they familiarized themselves in Latin. This I am able to answer in the affirmative: I may begin with Welsh, and give the first place to the metre in which the Latin influence is most conspicuous, or at any rate the one in which it first attracted my attention: that is the *englyn*.[1] One of the earliest attested forms of this metre consists of three lines, of which the first two make up an accentual hexameter, and the third line is a half-pentameter of the same description. Horace gives an instance of combining the hexameter and half-pentameter in *Ode* iv, 7, which, as already pointed out, p. 57 above, opens with the well-known verses :—

> Diffugere nives, redeunt jam gramina campis
> Arboribusque comæ.

Thus Celtic versemakers may have directly imitated this Horatian metre; but that is not certain, for they may have arrived at it from the elegiac couplet by dividing the lines into halves, and then dropping one of the half-pentameters when they thought it desirable to adopt a favourite triadic arrangement. In favour of the former view must be mentioned the fact, that in the englyn the half pentameter does not admit dissyllabic feet: in other

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[1] In English the word should be pronounced éng-lin not éng-glin, and the derivation of the word will be found touched upon later in these pages.

terms it consists, as in Horace's ode, of seven syllables, neither more nor less, whereas elsewhere the choice seems to have been less restricted, as may be seen on turning back to pages 35, 37, 41, 42, 45, as contrasted with the Caldey and Llech Idris inscriptions, pp. 57, 91.

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i. The Juvencus Englyns.

The oldest manuscript containing englyns is the Juvencus Codex in the University Library at Cambridge. They are in the script of the Old Welsh Glosses of the ninth century, and in a spelling possibly somewhat earlier. The most remarkable of the dozen to be found there consist of a set of three written along the top margins of the manuscript, but long since severed from the rest of it by a reckless bookbinder. Subject to one or two corrections they run thus :—

1. Ni gaor | cósam nem | hénnaur | hénoid mi | télu nit | gúrmaur‖
   mí am fránc | dám an cá | laur‖

   I fondle no maiden to-night, my retinue is not large—
   Myself and my frank around our cauldron.

2. Ni guárdam | ni cúsam | cánel¹ | hénoid cet | íben méd | nónel‖
   mí am fránc | dám an pá | tel‖

   I smile not, I kiss no *canella* to-night, though we should drink new mead,
   Myself and my frank around our pan.

---

¹ The MS. has *ni canel nignardam nicusam henoid* with *canel* as a mended spelling of what would seem to have been first written *canu*. The analogy of the assonance in the other two stanzas seems to suggest *cenel* rather than *canel*; but neither *canel* nor even *canu* is metrically impossible.

3. Nam érchit | mi nép le| guénid | hénoid is | discirr mi | cóuid[1]‖
          dón nám rí|ceus ún gŭet|id|¡

>   Ask of me no mirth to-night, my lay is a wail—
>   One word two ills doth cause.

By way of notes on these three stanzas I offer the
following conjectures : *quorcosam* is a compound of
cosam, the modern verbal noun of which is *cosi*, 'the act
of tickling'. *Nemhenuaur* is a regular mutation of *nep
menuaur*, and I guess the latter word to be partly of the
same origin as *meinir*, 'a fair maid'. It may be mentioned
that the poet D. ab Gwilym has *meinwyr*[2] applied to his
Morfud in poem xxiij, and that in the *Black Book of
Carmarthen* we find the sun called *hael vynver*, 'bountiful
maiden' (Evans's Autotype Facsimile, p. 44[b], and Skene's
Four Anc. Books of Wales, ij, 46). The Cambridge MS.
should be carefully examined again to see whether the
reading it suggests be not actually *nemhennuaur* ; but,
whether that be so or not, there can scarcely be any doubt
that the author meant *nemhénuaur*. This is rendered
probable by the assonance with *hénoid*, which would then
be secured as in *leguénid* and *hénoid* in the third englyn.
Cusam seems borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon *cyssan*, 'to
kiss': in later Welsh we have only the noun *cusan*, 'a kiss',

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[1] The *i* of *discirr* is peculiar, but I can make nothing of it but a
sort of twisted and prolonged *i*. *Coueidid* is the reading, but as it
violates the metre and yields no sense, I treat it as an error for
couid, modern Welsh *cywydd* 'a lay or song', a word the technical use
of which is to occupy us presently.

[2] D. ab Gwilym has besides this a word *mynwor*, 'a collar' (poem
xxxv), which is *mynuweir*, plural *mynuweiren* (for so the *mŏeiren* of the
MS. is to be corrected) in the Mabinogi of Manawyddan (Oxford
Mabinogion, p. 58); and he has also *mynwaur* rhyming with *aur*,
'gold' (poem lxviij), but neither seems to suit the sense to be expected
here ; nor is it to the point perhaps to mention *meinwar* (from the
Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales, i, 512), as that seems to be an
adjective *mein-war*, 'slender and gentle'.

and its derivatives. The number of borrowed words in
these lines is very remarkable, *franc* 'francus', *calaur*
'caldarium', *canel* 'canella', *nouel* 'novellus', *patel* 'patella',
modern Welsh *padell* 'a pan'. Two of them, *canel* and
nouel, are unknown to me except in these lines, and this is
all the more to be regretted in the case of *canel*, as the
canella or *cannella*, which it would seem to represent, had a
variety of meanings. Among others ascribed to it by
Ducange, are those of the diminutive of *canna* 'a reed',
such as the top of a barrel, a tube, and cassia or cinamon ;
so we have no adequate data for fixing the meaning of
canel here, though that of a musical pipe would seem to
fit tolerably well. Lastly *ercit*, for so I read it, seems to
stand for *erchit*, an imperative for what is now *erchwch*
'bid ye, demand ye'. The termination *it* is still the one
in use in the Breton verb : there are other things in these
verses to remind one of Breton, and to suggest a puzzling
question of dialect.

Written out in the ordinary form in Welsh, the three
foregoing englyns would stand thus :—

1.	Niguorcosam nemhenuaur henoid,	(9)
	mi telu nit gurmaur :	(6)
	Mi am franc dam an calaur.	(7)
2.	Niguardam nicusam canel henoid,	(10)
	cet iben med nouel :	(6)
	Mi am franc dam an patel.	(7)
3.	Nam erchit mi nep leguenid henoid,	(10)
	is discirr mi couid :	(6)
	Dou nam ricens un guetid.	(7)

Here the three lines have a rhyme, but as the first of
them does not complete the hexameter, it may not have
always been in unison with the other two. Such would in
fact be the case in the second englyn cited if we read *canu*
instead of *canel*. Instances of the kind occur, such as the

following, for which I refer to Evans's *Black Book*, 35ᵇ, and Skene, ii, 36 :—

Otréine | mab din heb|imdíwin | a dúv.	(10) If the son of man perish without atoning
am | awnél o|péchaud.|	(6) To God for the sin he hath committed,
Ny mád áeth | éneid 'ny | gnáud||	(7) It had been better no soul entered his flesh.

The next englyn to be mentioned has the last syllable of the first line rhyming with a syllable in the body of the same line. I cite it, excepting the punctuation, from Evans's *Black Book*, 46ᵇ, Skene, ii, 49, as follows :—

<div align="center">

Can éthiv | rúiw in | ródw*it* i|wér*it*   (10)

a | téulu na | fóuch.|| (6)

Guýdi mét | méuil na výn|uch.|| (7)

</div>

For the translation *see* "Studies in Early Irish History", in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, i, 41 : tentatively it may be given thus :—

<div align="center">

Since a king went into Iwerydd's ford,

Troops do not you flee :

After mead seek not shame.

</div>

It showed still greater ingenuity to introduce a double chain of rhymes, as in the case of leguɛɴ*id*, hɛɴoid, and cou*id* in the third Juvencus englyn cited. These instances, it will be noticed, tend to converge on 10, 6, 7 ; and in them the hephthemimeral cæsura of the Latin metre is represented by a decided break in the fourth foot. Both these points will be further noticed presently ; but in the meanwhile I proceed to cite some more instances from a source already mentioned, namely, the twelfth century MS. of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*.

ii. The Englyns of the Graves Classified.

There, under the heading of "Englyns of the Graves", we have no fewer than seventy-three such stanzas brought together, but the last four, Nos. 70-73, are in a hand different from the others and in a later orthography. They are all to be found in Evans's *Black Book*, 32ᵃ-35ᵃ, and in Skene's volume, ii. 28-35. On examining the series, it is found to fall into three classes, one of which has sometimes the characteristics of the Juvencus englyns already cited, as will be explained presently.

(1) Another class of them, to be examined first, shews the hexameter divided approximately into two equal parts, so that it reminds one, to some extent, of the Frampton hexameters (pp. 98, 99). Those which fall under this head are the following, except that the list is subject to revision, owing to a certain number being of somewhat doubtful classification :—1, 2, 3, 6, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 24, 32, 33, 38, 40, 41, 44, 45, 55, 56, 57, 61, 63, 65, 68, 69, 72, 73.

As an instance may be cited englyn 12, as follows :—

Bét mab ǒssvran yg cámlan.	(7)	Osfran's son's grave at Camlan,
gvýdi lláner kyv lávan.	(7)	After many a slaughter,
Bét bédwir yn alld trý van.	(7)	Bedwyr's grave is in Allt Tryfan.

Here the dactylic movement is not wanting at the end of the hexameter, that is at the end of the second line in the foregoing triadic arrangement. But once one had been used to treat the hexameter as two short lines, it appears to have become a matter of choice which of the two should come first : in the instance last mentioned it would have not mattered, as both lines had dactyls in the last foot but one, so that the first line might have come second, thus :—

> Gvýdi | lláwer kyv lávan. |
> bét mab | óssvran yg | cámlan.||

But it does not appear to have been obligatory to have a dactyl in the second line if the first one had a dactyl in the right place. Take for instance englyn 15 of the *Black Book* series, as follows :—

Gwýdi	gwéli a	gwáedlan.	(7)	After blows and bloodshed,
a gvíscav	séirch a	méirch		And white steeds capari-
cámn.||	(7)	soned,
Nend éw hín	bét kintí|lan||	(7)	This grave holds Cynddylan.

It is needless to say that it was by no means necessary that the division of the hexameter should occur at the end of a foot: in other words, the two lines were to this extent treated as still forming but one verse. Of this we have an instance in the case of the first of the *Black Book* series of the Englyns of the Graves, which runs thus, with a break in the third foot :—

E bétev	aegulích y	gláv.	(7)	The graves drenched by the rain—
gvír ny ordyw|nássint vy| ||		Men they hold not wont to
dígnav.	(9)	fret :
Kérwid. a	chívrid[1] a	cháv.	(7)	Cerwyd and Cywryd and Caw.

Of the englyns to which reference has been made, one or two have four lines each, such as 32 and 65, to which might be added 70, which consists of six lines. The 65th may be cited as a sample :—

Etrí bet	yg kéwin	kélvi.	(7)	The three graves on Cefn Celfi—
áwen	ae dívand	ími.||	(7)	Them the muse hath told me,
Bet kínon	gárv y dúy|ael.||	(7)	The Grave of Cynon of the rugged brows,
bet kínvael.	bet kinvé|li.||	(7)	Cynvael's grave, Cynfeli's.

The examples already given of this class of englyns seem

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[1] This name, however, may have been still *Cirrid* : *see* pp. 24, 25 above, where the compound *Blegywryd* is also mentioned. This last will presently be found to have been treated in Latin as *Blaugoridus*.

to prove that the half-pentameter was a fixture of seven
syllables, while the two halves of the hexameter might,
within certain limits, vary in point of length. But in spite
of the fluctuation it will be convenient to treat the division
of the hexameter as, roughly speaking, a process of bisect-
ing. Now the fixed length of seven syllables in the case
of the half-pentameters would seem to have influenced
the length of the half-hexameter eventually to assume
the same figure. In other words, the later forms of this
metre have uniformly lines of seven syllables : the metres
I mean are those known as "englyn cyrch" and "englyn
proest". As far as mere length in syllables is concerned,
there is another metre which might be regarded as of this
origin, as it consists of a triplet of 8, 8, 7 : it is the one
called *cywyd llosgyrniog*, or "cywyd with a tail." But
judging by the instances given by the grammarians, one
misses the spring of the dactyl which should charac-
terize a metre derived from the hexameter, but it is
possible that its feet were originally not so flat. Lastly,
there are variations of both englyns, which need not
be discussed here : suffice it to say that one may find all
about these and the other Welsh metres in the following
works—Dr. John David Rhys's *Cambrobrytannicæ Cym-
raecæ Linguæ Institutiones* (London, 1592), pp. 168-176 ;
Dosparth Edeyrn Davod Aur, published, with translations and
notes by J. Williams ab Ithel, for the Welsh MSS. Society
(Llandovery, 1856), and containing Simwnt Vychan's en-
largement of *Y Pum Llyfr Kerddwriaeth* (Jesus College
MS., 9=xv), pp. lxvij, lxviij ; *Flores Poetarum Britan-
nicorum*, collected by Dr. John Davies, and published at
Shrewsbury in 1710, but since reprinted by the Rev.
Robert Jones, of Rotherhithe, with Captain Wm. Midel-
ton's account of Welsh versification prefixed (London,
1864), pp. xxj, xxij ; Robert Davies's *Welsh Grammar*
(Denbigh, 1848), pp. 127-131.

(2) The englyns which have thus far occupied us here
have their hexameter, roughly speaking, bisected; the next
class may be said to have it trisected. In the Grave
Englyns the following are the instances in point:—9, 10,
13, 21, 22, 23, 25, 29, 31, 36, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 58, 62, 67,
71, to which are to be added two four-lined englyns, 27
and 59, both imperfect. Of some of them, however, the
classification is merely tentative ; but one may cite as a
certain instance, the 25th, as follows, with the points of
division indicated by a period :—

> Bet alun dywed. yny drewred drav. ny kiliei o caled.
>   mab meigen. mad pan aned.

The Celts seem to have never been able to tolerate a line
of the length of the Latin hexameter. So they made their
own hexameters into two lines, whereof in this class of
englyn the first comprised the first two-thirds, counting
about ten syllables, and the other third formed a short
line appended : in this instance the fourth-foot cæsura
marks the cleavage, thus :—

Bet álun | dýwed yn | y		Alun of Dyfed's grave in
dréwred | dráv.	(10)	yonder township :
ny | kíliei o | cáled.||	(6)	Meigen's son would shirk no hardship :
Máb Méigen | mád pan á|ned.|| (7)		Lucky the day when he was born.

Here 'kíliei o' makes a strong dactyl, ⌣ - -, but in some
we have what I should be disposed to regard as a weaker
dactyl, namely, - ⌣ -. Such is the case with the first englyn
cited on p. 106 from the *Black Book* : take also englyn 48
in the Grave Series, which runs thus :—

Píev 'r'[1] | bet hún. | bet brúyno | hír. (9)		Whose grave is this? Brwyno's the Tall :
hydir | y wír in | y bró.||	(6)	In his land his right was might.
Parth ydvéi | ny bítei | fó.||	(7)	Wherever he was, there was no flight.

---

[1] As usual the MS. has *Pier y*, which might be taken as it stands,
in case it be thought preferable to place this englyn in the next class.

The exact position of the leading rhyme in the first line
does not depend on the position of the break : one or more
syllables may follow the rhyme to complete the line.
Thus in the 25th englyn the rhyme *drewred* is followed by
drur, an overflow word, called in Welsh a *gair todaid*.[1]
In this instance the overflow word alliterates with *drewred*,
which most probably was intentional, but in any case it
was not obligatory that *drar* should enter into any alliter-
ation or assonance whatsoever : witness *mor* in englyn 35.
When, however, that word was answered, as commonly
happened, by a word in the next line, the 'gair todaid,
would be called 'gair cyrch,' or 'fetch word', as it was said
to fetch or make for a word beyond its own line in order
to rhyme or alliterate with it. We have this in the
englyn last quoted, where *hir* rhymes with *wir*—not with
hydir, which was sounded *hyd'r*. Lastly, it should be
noticed that in the last englyn but one, the first break
in the hexameter occurs after the fifth syllable : that was
probably the commonest place of the break, but instances
are not at all wanting of its occurring after the sixth
syllable, as for example in englyn 21 in the Grave Series,
which runs as follows :—

[1] *Toddaid* should have in point of meaning something to do with
melting, which is in Welsh *todd-i* : but that promises at first sight no
appropriate sense, unless we suppose *toddaid* to mean 'melting over',
and so 'flowing over'. This, though it looks fanciful, derives some
corroboration from the fact that J. D. Rhys speaks (p. 166) of it as
gair toddaid dros yr awdl, as it were the 'word melting over or across
the rhyme , which is just what I have ventured to call an 'overflow
word'. It is possible, however, that my namesake was simply
drawing on his own imagination, and that the explanation should
rather be, that the whole line was originally called *toddaid*, and
that *gair toddaid* meant simply 'a word or words belonging to the
toddaid', namely what was marked off that line by the rhyme as a
terminus.

Bet mádauc | mur égluc. | Madog's grave a wall conspic-
  ygkýwluc   kínhen.   (11)   nous, in sight of Cennen [?].
vir úrien go rév ue].‖   (6)   The perky grandson he, of
                                              Urien.

Máb y guýn. | o winllý ue.‖   (7)   Son to Gwyn of Gwynllŵg.

The fourth foot of the last mentioned stanzas has the
cæsura already mentioned, and that foot may be dissylla-
bic like | drav. ny | in englyn 25, or, as happens oftener,
dactylic like | kinhen. vir | in 21. Herewith compare the
Juvencus englyns with | henoid. mi | , | henoid. cet | and
| henoid. is | . When the fourth foot had this cæsura it
was not obligatory that there should also be a break after
the fifth or sixth foot. So there is a residuum embracing
at least Nos. 10, 29, 36, 58, 66, and perhaps No. 48, which
are without that break. It is absent likewise in the
three Juvencus englyns and those compared with them
on page 106.

(3) There was a third kind of englyn, which was based
on the metre called *Archilochius Major*, the scheme of
which has been given (p. 91) as follows :—

$$= \smile \smile \ | = \smile \smile \ | = \smile \smile \ | - \smile \smile \ \| - \smile \ | - \smile \ | - \smile \ |$$

It consists of seven feet, of which the first four are those
of a hexameter, and it will be convenient to call the
stanzas into which it enters heptameter englyns. Of the
Celtic treatment of the Archilochian or heptameter line
the Llech Idris inscription is a good instance, as to which
see pages 93, 120.

Híc in | túmulo | jácit | Poríus | (10)
    hómo | plánus | fúit‖   (6)

Still more to the point is the Llanerfyl Stone (p. 90),
which completes the englyn by appending a half penta-
meter, an essential part of every englyn :—

Hic in | túmulo | iácit | Rostéce |
    fília | Pater nini‖
Ánni tre | décimi in | pá‖

The englyns of this kind in the Grave Series are the following, in their order, but the list is provisional, as the classification of some of them is doubtful:—4, 7, 20, 28, 30, 35, 42, 47, 53, 60. Let us take as a sample the first mentioned : subject to some emendation, it runs thus :—

Bét tédein | tád áwen | yg gódir |
    brin áren.‖   (12)
	Tydain muse-father's grave
	    at Bryn Aren's foot,

ynyd | vná tón | tólo.‖ (6)	Where you hear the billow,
Bét dilan | [in] llan bév no.‖ (7)	Dylan's grave is in Llan Feuno.[1]

In this metre there should be a break after the tetrameter, that is, just before the three dissyllabic feet forming the latter part of the heptameter, the bisecting of which is, therefore, out of the question. That is not all, for usually the preceding portion of the verse has a break after the fifth or the sixth syllable from the beginning. For, as already remarked, it consists simply of four feet of a hexameter, the first four, let us say. But the last of those four is regularly a dactyl, and the earlier fixture occurs where it would have done in a complete hexameter trisected. Take, for instance, englyn 4 just cited, and the heptameter will stand thus :—

Bet tédein | tad áwen. | yg gódir | brin áren. | ynyd | vná tón | tólo.‖

This happens to resolve itself into three phrases of six syllables each, but the metre need not be so symmetrical, as will be seen in the case of englyn 20, where the figures are 5, 5, 6, as follows :—

[1] The scribe of the *Black Book* seldom indulges in abbreviations, but it is quite possible that such occurred in his originals, and that it is thus we are to explain the fact that the MS. has *tedei* for *tedein*. The half pentameter requires one to supply *in*, both for the sense and for the metre.

I

Tri bét | tri bódanc. | in
      ar | térchanc brín | (10)
  ym pant | gvínn gvin | iónanc.|| (6)
Mór. a méi lir. a má | danc.|| (7)

Three genial men's three
   graves the hilltop shews,
In Pant Gwyn Gwynionog,
Mor and Meilir and Madog.

  It is right to mention, however, that instances occur of
the fourth foot being dissyllabic: Simwnt Vychan gives
two such (p. lxvii), one of which on the subject of his
sufferings from ague runs thus in the MS., p. 104:—

Dólur | a gévais | o dálau | dwýais | (10)

Díal | am bech | ódau || (6)
Dwýrann ád | wyth dyrnód | ian || (7)

Dwrn y krýd | yn dírwyn | kráu || (7)

From the rib-tips pain was
   mine twofold
My sins to avenge on me,
Buffeted by a double share
   of woe,
Punished by Ague's gore-
   stirring fist.

The rhyming of the fifth syllable with the end of the line,
gev*ais*—dwy*ais* he terms an *odidowgrwydd* 'a rarity or excel-
lence'; but it reminds one not only of such instances as
englyn 4 (p. 113), but also to some extent of the position
of the rhymes in legu*e*nid hen*o*id, rodw*it* Iwer*it*, and even
of that of the alliteration in *d*rewred *d*rav : *see* pages 105,
106, 110. But to return to the scansion, one looks for a
fourth foot not of two syllables but of three. The presence
of the former, however, cannot be treated as an accident ;
for not only does Simwnt give two instances but others
occur in the works, for example, of Cyndelw, Ab Gwilym,
and Goronwy. The explanation is probably to be sought
in a practice based on a hazy tradition as to the quantita-
tive scanning of Latin verse.[1] In Simwnt's instance this
may be represented somewhat as follows :—

[1] We have possibly a trace of the same influence in the way in
which the paladr, for instance, of englyn 49 has apparently to be
scanned, thus :—

    Píev | y bét | hún nid | árad l̠ | guýthuch urth | érvid | (13)
See, however, the footnote on page 110, and the notes on englyns 11
and 63 in chapter v.

Dólur | a gévais | o dál au dwýais |

That would give the fourth foot three syllables, but to me
such a scansion is altogether arbitrary, nor do I know of
any reason to suppose it required by the pronunciation
of the language even as far back as the twelfth century,
when Cyndelw lived and sang. But it may have come
down to the sixth or seventh century and survived among
successive generations of bards long enough to crystallize
into a license to make the fourth foot now and then dis-
syllabic. So far as this goes one of its effects is to add to
the difficulty of distinguishing between englyns hepta-
metric and hexametric. That difficulty, moreover, tends
to be enhanced on another side, namely, that of the three
dissyllabic feet completing the heptameter. For they are,
as far as I have been able to discover, subject to no exact
rule as to their accentuation; and among other things
they seem now and then to assume the dactylic movement
characteristic of the latter portion of the hexameter. But
this is a point that requires further consideration before
one can dispose of it without risk of error, since the line
here between the hexameter and the heptameter becomes
exceedingly fine and hard to trace.

Taking together the trisected heptameter and the kind
of hexameter also where trisection occurs, we have next
to try to ascertain the origin of the division common to
most of them, that is, after the fifth or sixth syllable.

---

iii. BLEGYWRYD'S HEXAMETERS.

Here, however, it may be convenient first to discuss
certain accentual hexameters[1] which occur in the preface

[1] For calling my attention to them I am indebted to Mr. G. G. T.
Treherne, who was present at the reading of portions of my paper to
the Cymmrodorion.

to the Demetian version of Howel's Laws, wherein we are
told that the code was completed in the year 914, and that
the verses were "composed by Blegywryd thereupon, in
testimony of that event". They are five in number, and
the following is the reading here adopted, as a compromise,
I may say, mostly between the readings of two of the
manuscripts[1] :—

Éxplicit | edíctus | légibus | líber | béne fi|nítus,
Quem régi | scrípsit | Blango,rídus | et quoque | fíxit,
Hóweli | túrbe | légis | dóctor tunc | régis in | úrbe,
Gornándo | cáno | súo , índice | cotidi|áno :
Réx dát ad | pártem dex|trálem quon|iam de sierat | ártem.

To understand this text, it is necessary to remember
that Howel's own realm was called Deheubarth, a name
of somewhat loose definition, and meaning simply the
'Southern Part', with which may be compared the term
Dexterales Brittones in the Latinity of the *Annales Cambriæ*
for Southern Brythons or Welshmen, such as those
molested in 778 by Offa. Also that the opening lines of
the preface assign as Howel's reason for having the code

---

[1] One version of the lines has been published in Aneurin Owen's
text of the Laws, I, 342 : it comes mainly from a British Museum
manuscript numbered Titus D, ix, which A. Owen, I, p. xxx, has
treated as written about the close of the thirteenth or the early
part of the fourteenth century. Another version is quoted—somewhat
inaccurately—in his preface, I. p. xxxiv : it occurs in a Bodley manu-
script numbered Rawlinson C, 821, of a date possibly somewhat
earlier. The verses occur at the bottom of p. 172, and are so
arranged as to suggest a line left blank ; but that appears to
have been done simply to avoid a crease which occurs in the
vellum. It is unfortunate, however, that the inner ends of the lines
have long since been cut off for the purpose of inter-leaving, and
that most of the last verse is illegible : Owen has omitted it
altogether. The following represents my readings, with the con-
tractions extended in italics :—

. . . . expli[cit]
edic*tus* legib*us* liber benefictus.   Quem regi scri*p*sit blaugo[rid*us* et]

compiled, the fact that he "observed the Cymry perverting
the laws and customs" such as they were understood to
be till his code was published—"uidens suos Walenses
insolenter legibus abuti". For making out the sense of
the last verse I am indebted to my friend Mr. Brynmôr-
Jones; and with great diffidence I propose the following
free translation of the whole :—

Here endeth, brought to a happy close, the book for laws decreed,
Which Blegywryd for the King both wrote and put together ;
He who doctor of law was then to the men of King Howel at home,
What time Gwrnerth the Grey was judge of his Court day by day.
This the King to Deheubarth giveth, as it had left the good old way.

In Blegywryd's hexameters it will be noticed that, as in
the case of the englyns last cited, the fifth and sixth
syllables come into prominence : they are distinguished
from the rest by the fact that they rhyme each towards
the end of its line. The metrical importance of those
syllables is to be accounted for by a reference to the place
of the break known as the cæsura in the hexameter in its
classical form. For the common cæsurae were two, the
penthemimeral and the hephthemimeral, which, as their
names indicate, occurred at the end of the fifth and the
seventh half foot respectively. Of these the commoner and
stronger cæsura was that after the fifth half foot, as in

quoque fixit. Howeli turbe doctor tunc regis in urbe Gornando ca[no]
suo iudice (cotidiano) R ex dat) ad (par)tes dextra (les . . . . . .
The portions in round brackets can hardly be read, but they fit.
I must add that I have had most valuable assistance from Bodley's
Librarian, who thinks that the word after indice is cotidiano not
quotidiano : dat is also his suggestion, but he reads dextras, while I
am inclined to dextrales. As regards the curious name Gornandus,
that is merely the result of misreading and misinterpreting an older
spelling Gurnerdus or Gornerdus. As to the man, however, see A. Owen's
quotation following the verses in his preface : the original is on p. 173
of the Bodley MS.; see also Brynmôr-Jones's notes on him in The
Welsh People, pp. 183, 184, 198. Lastly, in urbe is a literal rendering
of the South Welsh yn nhref 'at home', literally 'in town'.

the first of the lines in question beginning with
Explicit edic tus, where the fifth half foot happens to be
the sixth syllable: that is the reckoning according to what
should be the quantitative scansion of those words.
Where, however, no dactyl occurs, the fifth half foot is
also the fifth syllable, as in the next hexameter scanned
in the same way and beginning with *Quem re gi scrip sit*.
Eventually this became the rule in Welsh in all englyns,
where the hexameter or heptameter is trisected; but it is to
be noticed that the reckoning has been divorced from the
quantitative scanning by feet or half feet. In other words
the fifth (or sixth) syllable was made to end a word : there
was a break between it and the next word. Furthermore,
where assonance was preferred to alliteration, the fifth syl-
lable usually rhymes with another syllable in the line : the
present rule is that the syllable with which it rhymes must
be one of the four which precede it. This is found to
have been also the case with some of the englyns in the
Black Book : take for instance the hexameter covering the
two first lines of the second englyn in poem xxiv (Evans,
39^b, Skene, ii, 40) :—

AssuinAF archAF. eirch*ad* ym		I ask, I beg—a beggar am I
gelwir	(10)	called—
nant kynir kygwast*ad*	(6)	Protection just and uniform.

Similar instances occur in poem xxi, not to mention others
elsewhere, in which the sixth syllable continued to be
treated in the same way. In the older englyns, however,
the fifth or sixth syllable rhymed more commonly with a
syllable coming later in the hexameter, by no means
exclusive of the principal rhyme. Take for example the
beginning of an englyn already cited, p. 110 :—

<div align="center">

Bet alun dyw*ed*. yny drewr*ed* drav. (10)
ny kilici o cal*ed*   (6)

</div>

Others of the same kind in the Grave Series will be found

in Nos. 9, 22, 31, 51, 54, not to mention those where the
sixth syllable is the fixture, namely, 21, 23, 53. In other
words, one may say that some of the englyns of this kind
have the rhymes of the Blegywryd hexameters, as will be
seen at a glance by writing the Welsh hexameter con-
tinuously and comparing :—

> Bet Alun Dywed, yny drewred drav, ny kilici o caled.
> Howeli turbe, legis doctor tunc, regis in urbe.

But in this instance the Welsh has, besides the two
rhyming words *Dywed* and *caled*, an intermediate rhyme in
drewred, but so has Blegywryd's first hexameter :—

> Explicit edictus legibus liber bene finitus.

And if one may venture to read *dextralem* instead of
Aneurin Owen's *dexteram*, the last of Blegywryd's hexa-
meters would also fall into line, thus :—

> Rex dat ad partem dextralem quoniam desierat artem.

In that case one could not regard it as an accident that
the author of the verses should have devoted somewhat more
attention to the structure of the first and last lines, than
those that come between.

Let us now for a moment look back in the light of the
foregoing instances at one or two of the inscriptions,
which have been mentioned more than once in these pages.
First may be recalled the portion in point of the Latin
one on the Caldey Stone (pp. 56, 57) :—

> Rógo | ómnibus, | ambu lántibus | ibi, ex | órent |
> Pro án'ma | Catuóco | ni. |

Here the principal rhyme is represented by the final vowel
of *ibi* and *Catuoconi*. The hexameter has also the *ib* of
ambulantibus assonating with the *ib* of *ibi*; but more
important still is the fifth syllable *bus* (of *omnibus*) as a
fixture in the line, and as rhyming with the *bus* of *ambu-
lantibus*. This means that in those two verses we have, as

already suggested, a complete englyn. Next may be
mentioned the heptameter on the Llech Idris stone
(pp. 93, 94) :—

> Hic in tumulo. iacit Porius. homo planus fuit.

On the stone this is divided into the two verses—

> Híc in | túmulo | iácit | Poríus ‖
> hómo | plánus | fúit‖

with the chief rhyme represented by the *it* of *iacit* and
fuit, while *Porius* has *planus* to respond to it. Moreover
the fifth syllable is a fixture rhyming with the *o* of *Porius*,
which practically proves what has been assumed all along,
that the name was Pŏ ríus, for it is improbable that the
unaccented *o* of *tumulo* was intended to form an assonance
with the *o* of *Porius* in case the latter *o* bore the stress in
that name. That is not all, for the same reasoning seems
to apply to the Llanerfyl stone (pp. 89-92), scanning
similarly :—

> Híc in | túmulo.| iácit | Rostéce ‖
> fília | Pater|níni ‖
> Ánni tre|décimi in|pá‖

Though the later rhymes here are differently arranged,
with the *ce* of *Rostece* corresponding to the stress syllable
of *tredécimi*, and the final vowel of *Paternini* to that of
anni, we have the fifth syllable fixture *o* rhyming with the
o of Rostéce, an accentuation also demonstrated by the
assonance with *tredécimi*.

The kinds of metre which have occupied us thus far,
consist of hexametric and heptametric englyns, which
may be otherwise described as englyns bisectual and tri-
sectual, but the double dichotomy practically means only
three kinds of englyn, hexameter bisectual, hexameter
trisectual and heptameter trisectual. It is possible that
there were other kinds. Thus the fact, that the Iambe-

legus occurs in two of the inscriptions (pp. 95, 96),
suggests a metre which with a half pentameter appended,
would have yielded a sort of englyn of three lines of 8, 7,
7 respectively ; and at first one would seem to have
instances at hand. Considering, however, how near these
figures come to those of some of the other englyns, and
also how unreliable the readings often are, it would be
hard to prove the existence of the metre here suggested.
There would be more, perhaps, to say in favour of a
pentameter englyn, consisting of a pentameter bisected
and a half pentameter or two appended, as in other
englyns. This would make a metre of sevens, which is also
the length to which the hexameter englyn bisectual most
commonly accommodated itself (pp. 107-9) ; but there would
remain the difference that the triplet of half pentameters
would lack the dactyl in the place usual in the others.
Such triplets occur : for example the first portion of poem
xxvij, in the *Black Book* consists mainly of them (Evans,
41ᵇ-42ᵃ, Skene, ii, 43, 44). Take the following as a sample :

Gníscaw ym dánaw in bérth.‖   (7)   I will clothe me becomingly,
Ny crédaw ǀ cóel canýd ǀ kérth ‖(7)   No uncertain omen shall I trust:
Y gúr am ǀ crénys¹ am nérth.   (7)   My Maker will be my strength.

In order to reckon this as a bisectual hexameter englyn
one would naturally look for a strong dactyl followed by a
dissyllabic foot ending either the second or the first line ;
but in this case one would look in vain. The same possibly
applies to the following from poem xxx (Evans, 45ᵃ,
Skene, ii, 47) :—

Ottid éiry ǀ tóhid ís ǀ trad.   (7)   It is snowing, thatching the strath :
diurýssint² ǀ kédnir y ǀ cád.   (7)   They the warriors hasten to battle :
mí nid áw. ǀ ánaw nim gád.   (7)   I go not, my blemish forbids.

¹ The MS. has *crenyse*, involving an unnecessary pronoun.
² The MS. has here an otiose *ry* 'they', unless you scan : – ǀ vy
kédnir ǀ y cád ǀ, which is perhaps preferable.

The last but one, and others like it, are to be found inter-
spersed among undoubted englyns. That is the case to a
greater or less extent, not only in poems xxvij and xxx, but
also in xxij, xxxiij, xxxv and xxxix ; and to go beyond the
Black Book, the same remark applies to the portions of
the *Red Book of Hergest* which have been printed in
Skene's volume ii, 218-91. On the whole, however, I am
not quite sure that it would be right to regard the verses
in question as representing a distinct class of englyn, so
much as a degenerate or imperfect form of the hexametric
englyn. So the two first lines of the englyn last cited
would have to be scanned—*eiry* (like *boly*, *llary*, and *marw*,
enw) counts as a monosyllable—as follows :—

> Óttid eíry | tóhid | ístrad.|
> diurýssint | kéduir | y cád.‖

The distinction turns on the presence or absence of the
dactyl in the last foot but one, and some of the stages in
the gradation may be shown thus :—(*a*) The second line
has the dactyl ; (*b*) the first line has it instead ; (*c*) neither
has it. For so one may represent successive stages in the
departure from the Latin prototype, though one might
increase the number of them by distinguishing between
the dactyls as strong and feeble. Lastly, it will be a
convenience to have a short name for the englyn lacking
the dactyl, and subject to the limitations suggested, one
cannot perhaps do better than call it spondaic or flat.
The Grave Series is not wholly free from these flat englyns :
such are, for instance, 8, 19, 64, 70, and 46, which is four-
lined.

For the sake of dealing with only one question at a
time, it has been assumed thus far that what is appended
to the hexameter or heptameter, to make up the stanza in
the Grave Englyns, consists of one or two half pen-

tameters. That is, however, not always the fact, for the
attempt to edit them with due regard to the metre, leaves
a certain residuum of cases where the final line refuses to
shrink into seven syllables, but remains eight or nine.
Nay, it is possible that emendation may prove to have
been too frequently applied in my review of the Grave
Englyns. In any case the following stand out rebellious :
5, 26, 34, 37, 39, 43, 50, 66. Take as an instance No.
26, which runs thus, with one slight emendation :—

Bet llia gvítel yn árgel		Llia the Goidels grave in
ardúduy.	(11)	Ardudwy's recess,
dan y gvéllt ae grével.	(6)	Beneath the grass at its
		margin lies ;
Bet épint inýffrin t] géwel.	(8)	Gefel Vale holds Epynt's grave

All the others indicated end likewise, with a line of eight
syllables, except No. 39, which I would read as follows :—

Bet únpen o priden yn lléutir		The grave of a Pictish prince
guynmássed.	(12)	in Gwynasedd's loam (?)
yny dá llív llýchur.	(6)	Where the Lliw joins the
		Llychwr,
Ig kélli uriáuael , bet gýrthmul.	(9)	In Briafael's Grove is Gyrth-
		mul's grave.

The *pridein* of the MS. is probably to be altered here into
Priden, of which an older spelling occurs as *Priten* in the
Nennian Genealogies (*Cymmrodor*, ix, 179), and to be
taken as assonating not only with unp*en*, but also with
Guynnass*ed* : compare the case of Llych*ur* and Gyrthm*ul*
in the very next lines. To get the last of them into seven
syllables, one would have had to substitute a monosyllable
such as *wic* (in *Kelli wic*) for *Briavael*. On Welsh ground
there is no warrant for treating the latter name (pp. 7, 8)
even as a dissyllable, though it has come to that at St.
Briavel's in Gloucestershire. So here remains a line of
nine syllables to be accounted for in the same way as

the others of eight to which attention has been called ;
and it will perhaps suffice at this point to say, that quite a
sprinkling of these lines of eights and nines are to be
found closing the englyns in the *Red Book* portions of
Skene's volume ii : one may indicate at random pages 222,
223, 238, 246, 254, 286, 290—the last mentioned has three
instances in point occurring in succession. I draw no
distinction between the lines of eight syllables and those of
nine, for I regard them both alike as being simply part-
hexameters, approximately half hexameters, with all the
option which that carries with it as to the feet on which
the metre moves.

Just a word by way of recapitulation as to the bearing
on Welsh verse of the quantitative scansion usual in
classical Latin. A trace of that remote influence has been
suspected in connection with the appearance of a dis-
syllabic fourth foot in the heptameter englyn : *see* p. 114,
where also were cited the words *Piev | y bét | hún* with a
scansion which cannot be natural to anyone possessed of
any sense of Welsh rhythm. Minuter study of the mass
of materials available may result in detecting more traces
of the Latin influence in question, and possibly lead to a
revised scansion of some of the inscriptions in the first
part of this volume. I should be glad to find it filling the
lacuna (p. 4) to which I had to confess at the outset. In
the meantime one feels on firm ground when relying on
the evidence inseparable from the fifth (or sixth) syllable
fixture (pp. 117, 118). For though that does not in Welsh
always imply a cæsura so much as what would be techni-
cally termed a diæresis, and though it is not located
according to the same scansional reckoning, it has had
its place in the englyn absolutely determined by the pen-
themimeral cæsura of the Latin hexameter. One has only
to add that a form of the hephthemimeral cæsura is still

the cæsura strictly and par excellence in certain englyns,
being in fact an instance of the *gwant* of Welsh metrical
terminology, to be mentioned later.

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iv. CERTAIN CONTENTS OF THE "BLACK BOOK".

Having attempted to classify the *Black Book* Englyns of
the Graves, a short survey may be useful of the other
poems in point in that manuscript, but it must be premised
that hardly one of them can be completely classified with-
out some amount of emendation in the text; and fre-
quently that lies beyond my competence :—

Poem   xv. This consists of a few hexameter englyns of
             the two kinds, bisectual and trisectual.

  ,,   xx. This is of the same description, and is as-
             cribed to Elaeth, who is supposed to have
             lived in the sixth century. The englyns
             are here headed *kygogion*, the plural of the
             word *cynghog*, which probably meant a
             burdock. It here refers to the fact of
             the stanzas hanging together by the second
             stanza being made to begin with a word or
             two repeated from the last line of the first ;
             and so on to the end, which consists of the
             word that begins the poem.

  ,,   xxi. This is also ascribed to Elaeth, and consists
             of seven englyns, which, with one or two
             doubtful exceptions, are hexametric and
             trisect. They are all four-lined, that is,
             each ends with a pair of half-pentameters :
             in other words each whole englyn repre-
             sents in its way a complete elegiac couplet
             in Latin.

Poem   xxii. The subject of this poem was Geraint son of Erbin, and it consists of eighteen stanzas, which, with one exception, are hexametric, including among them a number of flat-footed instances : *see* p. 122. But the text requires editing, a task for which some help may be derived from a version existing in the *Red Book* and printed in Skene's volume ii, pp. 274-7.

,,   xxiv. This consists of ten englyns, all of four lines each, as in the case of poem xxi. The first nine are hexametric, but the tenth seems to be heptametric.

,,   xxv. This is a fragment which begins with two englyns hexametric and trisect.

,,   xxvi. This is a dialogue with Yscolan : it begins with hexameter englyns of both kinds; but it soon becomes too obscure to classify.

,,   xxvii. Under this number Skene has included two poems, of which the first consists of thirteen hexameter englyns, but mostly flat. The second consists of eight englyns, of which seven are hexametric and trisect, with the exception of one which seems bisect. At the end comes an eighth englyn, which seems to be heptametric.

,,   xxx. This consists of thirty-seven englyns of the three kinds, including a sprinkling of flat ones.

,,   xxxiii. A dialogue between Gwyn ab Nûd and Gwydno Garanhir, consisting of twenty-two englyns, hexametric of the two kinds with flat ones interspersed.

,,   xxxv. This consists of a dialogue between Taliessin

To go beyond the *Black Book*, it may be mentioned that
series of englyns are comparatively rare in the Book of
Aneurin or that of Taliessin, but in the former we have a
handful occasionally, as for example, in strophe lxxiv, while
the portions of the *Red Book* published by Skene consist
nearly all of englyns, a large sprinkling of which is, how-
ever, of the flat variety.

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v. Notes on the Text of the Englyns of the Graves.

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It is now possible to suggest emendations in the text of
some of the Grave Englyns with more certainty. Stanzas
1, 4, 12, 15, 20, 21, 25, 26, 39, 48, and 65 have already
been mentioned, and it is now proposed to examine all the
rest of that series in so far as they are found to present
metrical difficulties. Taking the englyns in their order,
I shall have opportunities of indicating, among other
things, some of the scribe's characteristic errors:—
Englyn 2. As englyn 3 shows that *llesseint* was three
                   syllables, the second half of the hexameter

Englyn 2.   in this one is too long : it would be metric-
ally righted by reading *dial* for *ymtial*.

,,   5. The three flat feet "yny diffuis graeande"
have a syllable too many contributing to a
dactyl which is not required, so I propose
to read *graeude*, after the analogy of *daer*,
daerin for *daear*, *daierin*. As to the length
of the last line *see* p. 123 above.

,,   7. Here for *tonnev* read *tonn*, and the result will
be a tolerable heptameter englyn, which
would be metrically improved by omitting
the first *bet*; but it is not obligatory to do so.

,,   9. Read *Clytno idin* as three syllables, and so in
englyn 11, or else pass it as in the case of
englyn 7. The man is otherwise called
Clyduo Eidin; see *The Welsh Laws*, i, 104 ;
Skene, i, 167, 174 ; ii, 394.

,,   11. For *Piev y* and *Piev ir* read *Píeu 'r* everywhere,
except where " Piev y bet hun" (also " Pieu
ir bet hun" in englyn 34) is required for the
fifth syllable fixture in trisectual englyns,
such as Nos. 34, 49, and perhaps 48, as to
which *see* pp. 110, 114.

,,   13. Drop *bet* as in the case of *Ryderch* in the
pentameter, and for *Owein* read *Owen* : com-
pare *Priden* for *Pridein*, p. 123. The whole
will then run thus :—

Owen ab urien im pedryal	Owen ab Urien at Pedrual[1] is known
bid. (10)	to be,
dan gverid llan morvael. (6)	Beneath Llan Morvael's mould,
in abererch riderch hael. (7)	At Abererch is Rhydderch Hael.

---

[1] Where this Pedrual was is uncertain, but there is a Pont *Betrual* on
the Cerrig y Drudion road to Ruthin, and there is a Rhos *Bedrual*
outside Carnarvon on the Llanberis road. In englyn 63 the word is

Englyn 27. Here it is easier to lengthen than to shorten : probably words have dropped out at the end of the MS. line ending with *gwestedin* : some such as "tir kin6il in" would set the metre right, except perhaps as regards the rhymes. Compare the note on englyn 50. *Cynwyl* Gaeo is a well-known parish in Carmarthenshire.

„   28, 29. *Gwyr* has been inserted above the line after *gwanas* in englyn 28, where it is inadmissible : it should come after the *gwanas* in the line below. There is a Gwanas near Dolgelley, but Gwanas Gwyr should be somewhere in Gower, which as the land of Goire, Goirre or Gorre, is famous as one of the realms of enchantment in some of the French romances : *see* Rhys's *Arthurian Legend*, p. 160 and *passim*. The rhyming of *dioes* with *neges* suggests that here the former word was meant to be treated as djóës, though elsewhere it is found rhyming with *egroes* 'berries of the dog rose' : *see Skene*, ii, 134—it occurs also at pp. 159, 230. It belongs to the verb 'to be' and stands for the third person singular or plural

written *Pedrival*, which stands to *Pedrual* as *Rhiwabon* to *Rhuabon*, on which see *Celtic Folklore*, p. 225. These forms seem to converge on an earlier *petri-wal*, meaning either 'provided with four walls' or 'a four-walled structure', with a *wal* apparently borrowed from English, whence our ordinary Welsh *gwal* 'a wall'. The native word was *gwawl*, found written *guaul* in the Nennian *Historia Brittonum* (Mommsen's *Chronica Minora*, iii, p. 165) and corresponding to the Irish *fál* of the same meaning. It is, however, possible that here the early *wāl-*, which yielded *gwawl* as a monosyllable, was shortened into *wol*, *wal*, when it came to be unaccented: that is to say, the borrowing from English may not have taken place here at all.

Englyn 29.   of the indicative present, here used in a
               past sense. It corresponds to the *deuz* in
               Breton locutions rendering 'have': *see*
               Legonidec's *Grammar* prefixed to his Dic-
               tionary (St. Brieuc, 1850) pp. 32, 33. Thus
               a dioes, Skene, ii, p. 230, 'is there to them,'[1]
               have they', corresponds to the first person
               singular *am oes* (p. 54) 'is there to me,
               have I'.

..   30. Omit *ry* in the half-pentameter: it is unneces-
               sary and mars the metre. On account of
               the romantic interest attaching to Gower I
               append a provisional rendering of the two
               englyns in question :—

         The long graves on Gwanas in Gower—
             He whose it was the men [to know] found not
             Who they or what their business.

         Oeth and Anoeth's host were they, who at night
             Grew younger men, younger striplings:
             Whoso them seeks let him Gwanas dig.

,.   35. The half pentameter is three syllables too
               long: strike out the words *oet hvnnv*, which

---

[1] Possibly *a dioes* should here be rendered 'is there to her', for the
noun is the feminine *ciwtabt* 'civitas', and the lines run as follows,
with *gbabt* corrected into *gnabt* :—

A chiwtabt plant adaf	And the city of Adam's children,
A henynt oe gnabt.	That are of his flesh descended—
A dioes gbaret hyt urabt	Is there for it deliverance ere Doom ?

Rendered ' for it ' and not ' for them', it recalls the passage in the
Book of Taliessin, ibid., p. 134.

| Pan y6 rud egroes. | Why is the dogrose berry red? |
| Neu wreic ae dioes. | Or the woman to whom it belongs ? |

The rendering is a mere guess, but how the 'woman' comes in is, perhaps,
explained by Dr. Davies when in his Dictionary he identifies *egroes*
with *Aeron mieri Mair* 'the fruit of the brambles of Mary', which
probably involves an ancient allusion to the Virgin.

Englyn 35.   shew that the scribe had no notion of the
metre. "Gur guir y neb ny rotes," 'A man
that gave no one his rights' is crisper and
fitter for the verse: it refers to the cunning
magician Gwydion ab Dôn.

„   36. There is a syllable too many in the first two
lines : they would come right if one omitted
the second *bet*, for they would have the
cæsura usual in the fourth foot.

„   38. The scribe repeats the full description of
Beidauc in this englyn and he has also
brought in *yr hun* 'this is' without any need:
read simply "Beidauc ab Emer Llydau".

„   45. The first line is a syllable short, and might be
set right by reading *y glav* for *glav*; but
the scribe has made a hash of the half pen-
tameter, which he gives as "Dyliei kynon
yno y kiniav" 'There Cynon ought to
have his dinner', instead of "Dliei Kynon
y kuinav" 'Him Cynon should bewail'.
Whether the names Elchwith and Menetauc,
however, should be allowed to stand it is
hard to say ; for we happen to have a *Red
Book* version of this englyn (*Skene*, ii, 291)
in which they are different. The latter
text begins not with *bet*, but with *tom* (from
the Latin *tumba*), whence the derivative
tomen, as in *Tomen y Bala* 'the Bala Mound'.
The englyn runs thus, with *dyliei* corrected
into *dliei* :—

Tom elwithan neus g6lych   Elwyddan's tomb drenched by the
  gla6   rain—
   maes maodyn y danaw: Beneath it lies Maodyn's plain :
Dliei gynon y g6yna6   Him Cynon is bound to bewail.

Englyn 45.   There is a well known house called Bod
              Elwydan in the Vale of Clwyd.

   ,,   46. This playful englyn is somewhat out of joint,
            and looks at first as if it had to do with *ew*
            and *eitew* or yew and ivy.   Perhaps it might
            be restored somewhat as follows :—

Pieu 'r	bet hun a'r	bet hun.	(7)	Whose grave is this, and this ?
gowin	ymi. mi	ae gun. ‖	(7)	Ask me for I know :
Bet eitew	neut ew oet	hun.	(7)	Eiddef's grave—this was it—
a bet ei	dal tal ys	eun. ‖	(7)	And Eidal's of lofty (?) brows.

Englyn 47. This englyn speaks of the same two men, Eidef
            and Eidal, and it is to be noticed that *Eidal*
            was to assonate with the *all* of *alltudion*,
            which it could hardly have done at any
            time after *alt* had become *allt*.   In the half
            pentameter read *meib* for *meibon*.

   ,,   50. This offers considerable difficulty : it ends with
            two lines of eight syllables each, as to
            which *see* p. 123 ; and the beginning looks
            as if a heptameter was intended, thus :—
            Bet sílit | dýwal | ined|rýwuy lé|.   But the
            three flat feet which should follow to
            form the second line of six syllables, are
            wholly wanting.   When this is compared
            with the notes on englyns 27 and 59, one
            begins to suspect that the scribe had set
            himself to work to cut the stanzas of four
            lines down to abortions of three ; for such
            they are, seeing that they correspond to no
            metre as they stand.

   ,,   53. This is too long, and either *ywinder* should be
            omitted, when the result would be a hexa-
            meter, or else for *dacar* read *daer* : this
            would allow the two first lines to be re-

Englyn 53. garded as a heptameter, and that is on the whole preferable. In the half pentameter either *y amser* is to be sounded *į̃ımser*, or else the first *wn* is to be struck out—this is probably better.

„   55. The scribe has written "bet ruyw yv hunny mab rigenev", which is two syllables too long : he would seem to have misunderstood an *ev* or *ew* in his original for the verb *yw*, for which he then supplied a subject *hunnv*: so read "bet ruyw ew mab rigenev", 'a king's grave that, Rigeneu's son's'. The half pentameter is also probably longer than the original, and should accordingly be corrected into "digonei da ar y arwev".

„   56. According to the analogy of *Gurthëyrn* in englyn 40 *Breint* should probably be treated as *Brëeint*, or *Brïeint*.

„   59. Here the scribe seems to have omitted the last third of a trisected hexameter, and we have no data for supplying it. The englyn should have four lines : compare the note on No. 50. I can make nothing of *diwinvin* but the possible name *Dyfnwyn* with which I have not met anywhere else. *Tir guennle* is possibly what is locally called *Tir Gwenlli*, a field about a mile south-south-west of the church of St. Michael, Cwm Du, in the Vale of the Usk. The late Welsh historian, Thomas Price, was vicar some time ago of the parish, and he has left it on record that the inscribed stone reading "Catacus hic iacit filius Tegernacus" (p. 49), was found in Tir Gwenlli : *see* Westwood, p. 55. In

Englyn 59.   that case, *Gwenlli* may be for an older
                Gwenlle, and that for *Gwennlleu* equating
                with the Irish name *Findlug*, genitive
                Findloga.   But *Hirgweun* also suggests
                itself.

,,   60. Scan "mal y mae 'ny kystut'" with *ny* 'in his'
             as in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 120, and treat
             the half pentameter as "ae clathei ew caffei
             but".

,,   61. *Oet* is probably to be omitted as a needless
             insertion made by the scribe : read accord-
             ingly, "Ri ew Riogan ae gvant", 'a king
             he, Rhiogan slew him'.   The abruptness of
             the syntax is to be compared with that of
             such epitaphs as *Cunogusi hic iacit* 'the
             grave of Congus : here he lies', p. 89.

,,   63. Scan thus :—

                    Pieu 'r | bet ped|rival ‖   (6)
                    ae ped|warmein am | y tal ‖ : (7)

             and *see* the notes on Nos. 11 and 13.

,,   66. This appears to refer to the fairy chief Llwyd
             or Llwydeu son of Celcoed, as to whom one
             should read, beside the *Mabinogion*, the cor-
             respondence reprinted in the *Archæologia
             Cambrensis,* 1904, pp. 33-48.   The latter goes
             to establish his connection with the north-
             west corner of Pembrokeshire known as
             Cemes or Kemesland.   If the englyn about
             Llwyd was meant to end with a half penta-
             meter one should probably read *o* or *in* for
             ino ; but it may be allowed to stand with
             the exceptions mentioned at p. 123.

,,   67. In the latter part of the hexameter one of the

Englyn 67.   *y*'s has to be omitted: if the second, we should then read "y rug guerid ae derv", which looks as if it meant ·between the Forth and its oaks', wherever that might be. Also the half pentameter is a syllable too short and *branc* is probably to be corrected into *bradauc*, as suggested not long ago by M. Loth.

   ,,   70. *Earrwen* is an error for *Garrwen*: *see* the Triads, i, 60=ii, 17 (*Myr. Arch.*, ii, pp. 12, 14). It is noteworthy that Garrwen and the ladies mentioned with her are the only women commemorated in the entire series of seventy-three englyns.

   ,,   71. *Gyhoret* is probably to be corrected into *Cyhoret* ; and in that case the verse "yn ryt gynan cyhoret" may be treated as meaning ·the grave of Cyhoret is at Rhyd Gynan'. Older forms of the personal name are Cohorget and Conhorget : *see* the *Arch. Camb.*, 1895, p. 33.

   ,,   72. Scan "pieu 'r vedgor 'ssy yma", 'Whose is the tomb that is here?"

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vi. THE LATER ENGLYN.

Something must now be said further concerning the later metres in Welsh, as representing the elegiac couplet in Latin, and the englyn with bisected hexameter may

conveniently be taken first. The englyn of three lines
has long since grown out of favour, the ordinary englyn
being made up of two lines covering the hexameter
divided into two parts—here into two equal parts—and
two other lines covering the pentameter divided likewise
into halves. Mechanically, so to say, this is the simplest
treatment of the elegiac couplet, and it may be illustrated
by englyn 32 of the Grave Series, which, with the lines
run continuously, would read as follows :—

> Ebeten yn hir vynyt. yn llvyr y guyr lluossit.
> bet gvryen gvrhyd enguavt. a llvytanc nab lliwelit.

The same with both lines halved stands thus :—

Ebéten | yn hir | výnyt. | (7)	The graves on Long Mountain,
yn llúyr | y gúyr llu óssit. ||(7)	Multitudes know them well—
bet gúryen | gúrhyd	The grave of Gwrien renowned for
én|guavt.|| (7)	valour,
a llúytanc | nab lliwé|lit.| (7)	Llwyddog's grave, son of Lliwelydd.

In this case the third line rhymes (imperfectly, unless one
read *enguavc*) with a word in the middle of the next line,
engu*aut*—llvyt*auc*.   Hence this metre takes its inexact
name of 'englyn unodl *cyrch*', or 'a *cyrch* englyn of one
rhyme', which it is not where there is a *cyrch* forming what
is a second rhyme. The *cyrch* might occur, not in the
second couplet, but in the first or even in both ; however
it was not essential that it should be present at all: in
case of its absence the englyn runs on one rhyme, and is
really *unodl*. This may be illustrated by citing from the
Mabinogi of Math (*Mabinogion*, pp. 78, 79) the three
englyns sung by Gwydion, when he, in quest of Llew
Llawgyffes, detected him in the form of a wounded eagle
among the topmost branches of a lofty oak near the twin
Snowdonian lakes of Nantlle : with certain emendations I
should write them thus, in later orthography :—

1.

Dár a	dýf y rwng	déulyn,	(7)	An oak there grows between two lakes—
Gorddúfrych áwyr	a glýn:	(7)	Darkly speckled are sky and glen—
Óni ddy	wétaf i	éu,	(7)	If my words prove not untrue,
Aelóden	Lléu[1] panýw	hýn.	(7)	The members these of what is Llew.

2.

Dár a	dýf yn ardd fáës.	(7)	An oak there grows in furrowed land—
Nis gwlých	gláw nis mẃy táwdd tés[2]:	(7)	Nor rain wets it nor melts it heat the more—
Naw úgein	íng a bór thes	(7)	Nine score pangs among its branches
Yn y bláen	Lléu Llawgý	ffes.	(7)	Have been the fate of Llew Llawgyffes.

3.

Dár a	dýf dán an wáered,	(7)	An oak there grows below a steep,
Mírein	médr im i	wéled :	(7)	A lucky hit that I should Llew see !
Oni ddy	wétaf i	éu,	(7)	If my words prove not untrue,
Ef dýddaw	Lléu i'm hár ffed.	(7)	On my lap will light my Llew.

The second englyn is the one exactly in point, for it rhymes at the end of the lines only, whereas the other two have a *cyrch* rhyme in the fourth line. The difference between the

[1] It is remarkable that in these verses *Llew* goes by the older version of his name *Lleu*, the correct equivalent of the Irish *Lug*, genitive *Loga*: compare the Gaulish gods called the *Lugoves* (*C. I. L.*, ii. No. 2,818). Lastly, with the unusual adjective *gorddufrych* compare *oer ddufrych* 'cold and darkly speckled' occurring in D. ab Gwilym's reply to Gruffydd Gryg, poem cxxvij.

[2] What the MS. has is "nys m6y ta6d", and it is not certain whether "nys m6y ta6d tes" or "nys m6yta6d tes" is to be preferred as the emendation required. In either case the accent here, as also in some other cases, such as some of Cynddelw's englyns about to be referred to, reminds one more of the pentameter than of the hexameter: and its bearing on the question of pentameter englyns, touched upon at p. 122, is not to be overlooked.

three must have been one of choice, and one important
point on which they agree with englyn 32 is that they
offer no strong dactyl in the second line of any one of the
instances, that is, where it might be most naturally looked
for, but we have passable dactyls in the first lines of
the Math instances: in other terms they approach the
level of the flat feet already discussed (p. 121). So the
following of Goronwy Owen's ranks, perhaps, above the
average in this respect: *see* Robert Jones of Rotherhithe's
edition of that poet's works (London, 1876), p. 134 :—

Dóe Ru féinwyr dorf | únwaith |(7)   Once the Romans came, a host
I dóliaw 'n | hédd, di|léu 'n   Our peace to lessen, our tongue
    hiáith || (7)   to kill,
Hyd na roes | Duw Ion o'i | rad,||(7)   Till God the Lord, of his grace,
O'r daliad | wared eil waith.|| (7)   From their grip set free the
    race.

On the whole a somewhat similar account has to be given
of the *proest* englyn, but now and then one meets with an
example with the dactyl in its proper place, as in the
following, which is one of Cyndelw's englyns to Madog
ab Maredud: *see* the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, i, 211[a] :—

Mádawg ai|céidw can |úrdas   (7)   Madog in lordly state doth hold
Brýn di órmail di órmes || (7)   A hill unsieged, unfought,
Bré úchel | bráint ardáng os || (7)   A lofty height, by right con-
    spicuous,
Llé trýdar | Lléch Ysgar | llýs. ||(7) A scene of life is Llech Ysgar
    Court.

A glance at the end of the lines in this englyn will serve
to show what is meant by the term *proest* in Welsh.
Some of the proests vary the vowel from rhyme to rhyme
(*proest cyfnewidiog*), and some run on alternate lines
(*proest cadwynog*). In none of its forms is this metre
much used, and the modern tendency is, perhaps, to make
the verses end monosyllabically, though that ending is
found eschewed altogether in some instances, such as the

following given in Rhys Jones's *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru*
(Shrewsbury, 1773), p. 274, as sung by the sixteenth
century poet William Llŷn :—

Ámryw │ énwog mawr │ wínwydd │(7)	He of manifold name, he of the great vine—
A máwr │ énw am a │ ránnodd │ (7)	Great is his name for his gifts,
A máwr iáwn ' ymró Wŷ nedd, (7)	Very great within the bounds of Gwynedd,
Am rói i wéin │iaid Meirión ydd │(7)	For his gifts to the poor of Merioneth.

The origin of these metres having been early forgotten,[1]
the tendency seems to have been to efface the contrast
between the hexametric and pentametric portions of the
englyn. On the whole the feet of the former became
dissyllabic, with little or nothing left to relieve their flat-
ness, except perhaps the rhyme ; but even this, when it
happens to be proest, can hardly be held to appeal to
many. For more instances of the old proest, *see* Cyndelw's
poems in the *Myvyrian*, especially pp. 210, 211, 218, 229, 254.

We now come to the later representatives of the englyn
of the trisectual kind, and this also the grammarians call
an englyn unodl or one-rhyme englyn, for the four lines
of which it consists have now one and the same final
rhyme, and the first line has a "gair cyrch" (p. 111). But
that has by no means been always the case, as witness
Grave Englyn No. 4, quoted at p. 113, where there is no
proper "gair cyrch", and where there are two rhymes, one
in *en* and the other in *o*. Englyn 7 of the same series is
similar, and so are others which need not be enumerated.
The grammarians compare the englyn to a winged arrow,
the first two lines representing the hexameter or heptameter
being called the *paladr* or shaft, while the two half penta-

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[1] Possibly "forgotten" is not the word to use, *see* the last footnote.

meters are variously called *pen* 'the head of the arrow' or
else its *esgyll* or wings. So much as to the technical terms
in use: here, as in the previous kind of englyn, the penta-
meter is cut up into two equal parts forming the *esgyll*.
The hexameter also is divided into two parts in the *paladr*
but they are of unequal lengths, the first or long line being
originally made to cover the first two-thirds approximately
of the hexameter, while the second or short line covers the
remainder. The figures for the lengths of the four lines of
this englyn have long been fixed at 10, 6, 7, 7. How the
sevens were arrived at has already been surmised (p. 109),
and so in point of fact has the case of the ten, namely,
when the fifth (or sixth) syllable fixture was traced to the
Latin penthemimeral cæsura. For five or six syllables
doubled may have suggested a convenient length for the
first line of the englyn; but the englyns with the cæsura
in the fourth foot would lead with still greater certainty
to 10 and 6. The same result, however, may have been
even more simply and exactly arrived at from another
side, to wit that of the heptameter, which has also a
right to be considered here. For the chief break in
the heptameter or Archilochian verse occurs after the
fourth or last foot of the dactylic tetrameter and before
the three dissyllabic or flat feet following (pp. 91, 112).
The former portion of four feet, of which the fourth
must always be trisyllabic, would yield a verse ranging
from nine to twelve syllables, and likely to converge on
an average of ten as the predominant figure. Lastly,
the rest of the heptameter, consisting of the three flat
feet, counted six, neither more nor less. On the whole
then it appears as if the heptameter had more to say to
these figures than the hexameter, and that the measure-
ments of the former have been superinduced on the latter
to produce the uniformity which has been secured. Let us

take as an instance the first englyn of D. ab Gwilym's
elegy to his uncle and teacher in the poetic art, a man
whom he regarded as the leading authority in Dyfed or
the Land of Enchantment as he playfully calls it in refer-
ence to the *Mabinogion* story of Manawydan and Llwyd
son of Celcoed : *see* poem ccxxxii :—

Dyfed a | sïomed. o symud | ei
    mawredd,   (11)
    Am er | yr bro | yr Hud; | (6)

Doe wiwdymp | yn dywed
    - nd, || (7)
Hyddawn fodd, | a heddyw'n |
    fud. || (7)

Dyfed is grieved, her greatness
    gone,
The Eagle of the Land of En-
    chantment :
Yesterday, happy time, he could
    speak—
And eloquently—to day is he
    mute.

Here the first line has eleven syllables, but in most of
Ab Gwilym's englyns it counts only ten. But to return to
the cæsura or break in the Archilochian verse just before
the three trochaics, early Brythonic versifiers observed it,
for we see it in the case of the Llech Idris inscription
(pp. 93, 112) in the trouble which the inscriber took to
show that he divided the heptameter thus :—

        Hic in tumulo iacit Porïus
        homo planus fuit.

The break par excellence was after *Porïus*, whereas that
after the fifth syllable was the previous break, a pre-
cæsura so to say, and our Welsh bards inherited for these
two breaks the technical terms *gwant* and *rhagwant* 'cæsura
and præ-cæsura', where *gwant* (p. 125) is of the same origin
as *gwan-u* 'to pierce or run through'. When, however, it
became usual to cut the heptameter into two lines, the term
gwant was no longer required, as the break was sufficiently
indicated by the ending there of the line ; but the pre-
vious and lesser break continued to be called *rhagwant* to
the great perplexity of the grammarians of a later age.

For if there was a *rhagwant*, where was the *gwant*? They could not find it, and eventually they committed the blunder of identifying the *rhagwant* not with a break at all but with a syllable, that is to say with the fifth syllable : thus in Ab Gwilym's englyn the *ed* of *siomed* would be the *rhagwant* and the *ed* of Dyfed which rhymed with it would be the *gwant*. The next step was a logical one, which Robert Davies took, *loc. cit.*, p. 126, namely, that of calling the first *ed* the rhagwant 'præ-cæsura' and the second one the *gwant*, an error which Dr. J. D. Rhys and Simwnt Fychan avoided. For the former the *rhagwant*—he chose to call it also *rhagwán* and *rhagwánt*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 159, 164— was the fifth syllable, to which he assigned one or two attributes under three or four names (pp. 163, 164), such as *gosodiad* 'fixture', *dodiad* 'setting', or *rhodiad* 'datum', and *gorffwysfa* 'rest', also *pausa*.[1] Simwnt knowing his business at first hand was less influenced by the nebulous opinions of others, and he came within a *cyrch* of hitting the mark as to the *gwant*, which he calls *gwahan* 'a separation', in spite of his applying the term to a syllable. One of his instances (*loc. cit.*, p. lxvii) runs as follows :—

Dylýnais | klẃyvais | val y|klẃw		Followed, wounded have I,
déukant |	(10)	as hundreds hear,
Y dék| af o | ddýn býw, ‖	(6)	The fairest of living maidens;
Dólur gór| modd am dó|ddyw, ‖(7)		Beyond measure am I punished—
Dýlyn pryd | éwyn príd|ýw. ‖	(7)	The foam-like fair to follow costs me dear.

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[1] I am very hazy as to the exact meaning which Dr. Rhys attached to the names that he piled on the heavy-laden *rhagwant* : he seems to have had the term *thesis* of Latin verse in his mind. But he went out of his way to complicate matters by making *gwant* and *rhagwant* words of measurement ; for he would have called *Dyfed* a *gwant* of two syllables and *a siomed* a *rhagwant* of three syllables (pp. 164, 165). He was also muddle-headed enough to discover *gwant* and *rhagwant* in the second line of an englyn, pp. 165, 166.

Thereon Simwnt remarks that the *cyrch* word is *deukant*, so that the rhyme portion of the line ends with the eighth syllable *klyw*; and that ending, he says, is called *gwahan*, 'separation'. To whom he alludes as so calling and so placing the *gwahan* does not appear; but it was a mistake, though a lesser one, in any case. For *klyw* does not end the line or even the foot to which it belongs. The englyn being heptametric, the fourth foot must be tri-syllabic, and the *gwant* was the break after *deukant*, the word really ending the line. The fixing of the exact place of the rhyme and the number of syllables to form the overflow is arbitrary. The explanation, probably, is that the structure of the englyn was complete long before any *cynghaned* or rhyme was thought necessary : that was something which was afterwards superinduced.

This leads to a passing mention of a somewhat cognate error of the bards, as to which, however, the grammarians were fairly sound. Now when the fifth syllable of the englyn rhymed with a previous one, as in the case of *klwyvais* with *dylynais*, there was a *gorffwysfa* or rest after the fifth syllable, that is as I understand it, a short break after it. Originally this had nothing to do with the rhyme : the break was to be there whether there was rhyme or not. Simwnt was clear on this point (p. lxvij), and Rhys was fairly so; but he was too shaky to pronounce definitely on an englyn badly constructed in this respect by Guto'r Glyn, whom he quotes (p. 164) introducing an instance with the following *paladr* or shaft :—

Da génnym i'w deg ŷnys	We are pleased to his fair isle
draw rédeg (10)	to hie
Drŵy or éudir Pówys. (6)	Across the best land of Powys.

At the same time that he thought the englyn singular he wrote of the fifth syllable *deg* as having a *gorffwysfa* 'rest'

or *pausa*, which is impossible, as the word is an adjective inseparable from the noun it precedes : it is not followed by a rest or a break, but it ought. From the point of view of the history of the *englyn unodl* one may say that there should be a *rhagwant* in the true sense of that term, that is to say a break, not necessarily a very marked one, after the fifth syllable in every heptameter englyn. But this rule has not always been observed even by such a skilful versifier as our eighteenth century bard Goronwy Owen ; and if one turns the leaves of Eifionyđ's *Thousand Englyns* (Foulkes, Liverpool, 1881), and looks through the modern examples, one meets frequently with instances like this (p. 10) :—

<div align="center">

Anrhegiad | hael y | brigyn | i'r wefus |
Yw 'r per | afal | dillyn. ||

</div>

Here the fifth syllable fixture is the proclitic article *y*, than which it would be hard to find a weaker vocable in the language. With this the next englyn is not parallel : it is cited at random from Jones and Williams's *Llyfr Adrod* (Conway, 1904), p. 55, and the author was Gwallter Mechain, in the nineteenth century :—

Y nós | dýwell yn | distéwi, |
    cáddug
    Yn | cúddio Er | ýri,
Yr hául yng | ngwély'r hé | li,
A'r llóer yn | ariánnu'r | lli.

Night is come with her silent glooms ;
Snowdon his cap of cloud assumes ;
The Sun in Ocean's bed asleep,
The Moon with silver paints the deep.

Here there is no fifth syllable fixture or break, as the paladr consists of a hexameter with the cæsura or gwant in the fourth foot | *cáddug yn* | . It is to be noticed that Simwnt Vychan (p. lxvii) does not appear to have contemplated this kind of exception, but to have required a *gorffywyssva* or pause after the fifth syllable in all englyns not bisectual. To this position he was probably led by the

fact that englyns with the fourth-foot cæsura might have a break also after the fifth syllable : in the great majority of cases perhaps they actually had it.

The englyn last cited is a hexametric one, while Simwnt's instance (p. 142) is heptametric ; and let that suffice to illustrate the fact that both kinds equally yield the englyn unodl of medieval and modern bards. It is no more customary to regard them now as of different kinds than it was in the time of the scribe of the *Black Book* or that of the *Red Book*, where englyns of the several classes are found intermixed in one and the same poem or series. Nevertheless the difference is there, as will be seen at a glance by comparing the second lines : in the former it consisted of three flat feet—Y dék af o | dýn býw |, while in the other Yn | cúddio Er | ýri | is a phrase with the dactylic spring of the hexameter. But the two kinds of trisectual englyn agree as to the fifth syllable fixture, where there is one, that it shall rhyme with one of the preceding syllables if the englyn depends on assonance rather than alliteration. It was pointed out at pp. 116, 117 that this was not always the case, but that it often rhymed with a subsequent word in the line, sometimes even with the principal rhyme of the stanza. The range of the rhyme of the fifth syllable has been eventually narrowed to the part of the line preceding that fixture ; and the reason for this is to be sought in the growth of the rule that no subordinate rhyme is allowed to answer the principal rhyme, on the due prominence of which the unity of the stanza must largely depend.

There were ways, however, of avoiding the incidence of that rule. Thus in a metre called the *clogyrnach* we have the following arrangement : I quote from one of Goronwy Owen's elegies, *loc. cit.*, p. 113 :—

L

Os rhai | géirwyr | sy wyr |
    góran, || (8)
I fýd | sáint e | fúdes | ýntan | (8)

Dráw, ddífraw | ddwýfron. (5)
I | fad lwýsgad | lón   (5)

A | ngýlion y | ngólan | (6)

As truthful men are, I ween,
    the best,
To the world of saints hath
    he flitted,

Far away with fearless heart,
To the good, happy, bright
    array

Of angels in light.

If one disregard the peculiarities of the cynghaned, one
will at once notice that the last three lines are essentially
of the same metre as the shaft of an englyn unodl, as may
be seen by a slightly different arrangement thus :—

Dráw, ddífraw | ddwýfron, i | fad lwýsgad | lón (10)
        A | ngýlion y | ngólen.   (6)

Lastly, another name for what is essentially of the same
metre as the shaft of the englyn is "Todaid byr" 'Short
todaid', and two such todaids with four lines of eight
syllables intervening form the stanza called "Byr a
thodaid" 'Short and liquid'.   Here the lines of eight
syllables represent possibly the fixing of a part-hexameter
(consisting of four feet) at its minimum length.   In that
case we have in an early form the essential elements of
this metre in the Caldey inscription (p. 57), the Latin of
which as a whole may be represented thus :—

Et sígno | crúcis | in íllam | fínxi|| (10)
Rógo | ómnibus | ambu lántibus | íbi ex | órent || (15)
    Pro an'ma | Catuóco | ni. || (7)

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vii. THE ACCENTUAL HEXAMETER IN WELSH.

One of the chief uses of the accentual hexameter in
Welsh, as has been sufficiently seen, is to form with one or
two half-pentameters the different kinds of englyn which
have occupied us, and, in that capacity, it is found not

infrequently replaced by the heptameter. But every now
and then one comes across a poem made up of these
hexameters or heptameters without the aid of other kinds
of verse, or at any rate to any appreciable extent. Such
for example is poem xxxvii in the *Black Book*, and the
same remark applies to a number of the strophes of which
the Gododin consists: take for instance 14, 24, 28-30, 41,
51, 78, 88-91, the last of which is a curious description
of the hunter Dinogad. We have this kind of verse also
in the *Book of Taliessin*, namely, in poem xxxvii.

This must be understood to apply to the trisected
hexameter or heptameter; but a poem may consist also
of bisected hexameters, that is to say, of couplets of
about three feet each and counting from six syllables to
nine per line. In the case of the bisectual englyn the
hexameter portions came to be fixed as verses of seven
syllables each, owing in part at least to the influence of
the half-pentameter as suggested at p. 109. Here, how-
ever, where there is no half-pentameter, the lines in ques-
tion have more commonly counted eight or nine, with a
tendency to converge on eight. Let us take, as an
example, poem xlviii in the *Book of Taliessin*: *see* Skene's
volume ii, 203, and correct his *gwreys* into *gwrys*:—

Neu vi lu | óssa6c yn | trýdar.   (8)
ny | pheid6n r6g | déulu heb | 6ẏar. | (9)
Neu ví a | élwir gor lássar. | (8)
vy gwrýs bu | énuys ym | héscar. | (8)
Neu ví ty | wýssa6c yn | týwyll | (8)
am ríth6y | am dúẏ pen | káwell. || (8)
Neu ví eil | káwyl yn | árdu.   (8)
ny | phéid6n heb | 6ẏar r6g | déulu. | (9)

Other poems in this metre in the *Book of Taliessin* seem to
be i, ii, xxxviii, and portions of poem xiii in the *Black
Book*: I said *seem* as they are less regular and more difficult
to classify. The poet Cyndelw was rather fond of beginning

a strophe with a trisected hexameter or heptameter of 10,
6, and of singing then in couplets of bisected hexameters of
an average length of eight syllables to a verse : instances
will be found in his poems in the *Myvyrian*, vol. i, pp. 206-9,
226-8, 232-4, 234-8, and others needless to specify. This
metre should be the one known to our grammarians as
" Byr a thodaid" · Short and liquid'; but another origin has
just been suggested (p. 146) for that metre, and it turns
out that in the older poetry the verses of eight syllables
in point consisted of three feet, whereas the later instances
given by the grammarians make the feet into four. As
an example of the older form, take the following lines
from a poem by Cyndelw to Rhys ab Gruffyd : *see* the
Myvyrian, i, 228 :—

Gwr a | déngys llát | a llâfnen |
      rhútyon   (10)
     Llew | drágon llyw | dréigyeu ‖   (6)
Dreic éhofyn | éhag y | dérnyn | (8)
Dragónrwyf | rŵytwalch gy|gélyn‖   (8)
Dragónnart | dragónnalch | uŷtyn | (8)
Dragónawl | dra gánwyf | o dŷn‖   (8)
Cánaf wáwd | yr príawd | ae prŷn | (8)
Prif árglwyt | brólwyt bron|héilyn‖   (8)

With this contrast the following verses, cited as his only
instance by Robert Davies (p. 135), to wit from Goronwy
Owen's poem to the Honourable Society of Cymmro-
dorion :—

E dd'wédwyd | adde|wídion a | wíriwyd, (10)
     O|wárant wir | ffŷddlon, ‖   (6)
Od ai'n | tíroedd | dan y | Tácrion, | (8)
Ar fŷr | dŵyre | wir Fro dórion, | (8)
Cáem i'r | hénfri | Cŷmru | hóenfron, | (8)
Llóegr yn | déthol | llŵgyrn | dóethion, | (8)
Llawn dáwn dewr|weilch Llúndain | dírion |
      ímpiau,   (10)
Dewr | wéddau Der|wŷddon.   (6)

Here it will be seen that the place of the bisected hexa-

meters yielding verses of three feet, instinct with dactylic
movement more than enough, has been taken by a metre
counting four flat feet to the line. In other words, this is
a case of two really different metres, and with it should,
on the one hand, be compared what was suggested at
p. 109 concerning the 'cywyd llosgyrniog', and on the other
the mention at p. 121 of englyns without dactyls duly
placed.

viii. The Pentameter the Cywydd.

Thus far of the uses made of the hexameter in its Welsh
form : next comes the pentameter, the use of which in the
structure of the englyn has been sufficiently illustrated.
Now, as an independent metre, the pentameter occurs only
once in the *Black Book*, namely in the fragmentary poem
which comes second in that manuscript, and consists of
proverbial and pithy sayings. As it shows the same final
and leading rhyme throughout—it happens to be the
rhyme in *o*—the author seems to have regarded it as con-
sisting of pentameters rather than half-pentameters, as
will be seen from the following distich (Evans, 4ᵇ,
Skene ii, 5) :—

Níd ehá la‿e‿th as tráeth *a w*]. ‖   ny cháff*aw* | ac hamhéu o. ‖
Ný llúit réu|uct y dí *reid*. ‖   Nýchénir   búy*eid* ar | tfó. ‖

Not copious my treatment of what I find nobody to doubt.
The wicked's wealth is not weal : mass is not chanted in battle's rout.

This metre was known also in Irish, as will be seen
from the following lines from some Ossianic poetry in the
Book of Leinster, fo. 154ᵃ. The text, with O'Curry's some-
what inexact translation, is quoted in Windisch's *Irische
Texte*, pp. 158, 159, to the following effect :—

Ogum illia lia uas *lecht*, bali itéigtis *fecht* fir :
mac rig hErend rogaet *and* do gae *gand* os gabur gil.

"An Ogham in a stone, a stone over a grave, in the place where men were wont to pass ; the son of the king of Eire was there slain, by a mighty spear on a white horse's back." Here besides alliteration we have not only end-rhymes such as *fir* and *gil*, but also internal ones *lecht— fecht, and—gand*, but they are not carried through to the end, and the poem closes with two verses in which the internal rhyme responds to the final syllable, thus, *chloich—troich* and *glond—ogom* respectively. It should be explained that *ond* meant *onn*, and *ogom* meant *ogomm*, and further that such imperfect rhymes as *onn* and *omm*, *fir* and *gil,* have always been admissible in Irish verse.

This illustrates one of the ways of treating the penta-meter, which on its Welsh side has already been noticed at pp. 102, 103, and here further illustrated by the lines just quoted from the second poem in the *Black Book*. The other way of treating it has been seen in all the later englyns, which uniformly end with two half-pentameters fixed as lines of seven syllables each. But besides serving to form the *esgyll* or wings of an englyn, a series of such couplets is recognised as an independent metre : in fact, ever since Ab Gwilym's time it has been the most important and popular metre of all those here in question. I have heard it alleged that the cywyd was his invention, that is to say that he took what has in these pages been called the half-pentameters of the trisectual englyn as his model for a metre to consist wholly of couplets of that kind. The erroneousness of that con-jecture is rendered probable, among other things, by the existence of the above-mentioned fragmentary poem in the *Black Book*. The cywyd couplet, whether forming part of an englyn or of a poem all cywyds, is subject prac-tically to the same rules and shews the same peculiarities. One of the latter is this: either of the lines must end in an

accented syllable, which in Welsh mostly means that it must end with a monosyllable; but the other must not. Take for example the englyn cited from Simwnt at p. 142: it ends thus:

> Dolur gormodd am dóddyw,
> Dylyn pryd ewyn prid ẃw.

The question is, What can have been the origin of such a rule? I have sometimes heard it suggested that it is based on a system of accentuation which no longer prevails in the language; but I have never seen any successful attempt to reason that out. No doubt there has been a certain amount of change in Welsh accentuation; nevertheless the theorist gets into hopeless difficulties, and it looks more promising to attack the question rather from the historical point of view. The rule of varying the accent cannot be said to have been observed by the twelfth century poet Cyndelw; perhaps one might say that he was tending to it, though he was rather fond of having dissyllables of the same accent for his rhyming words in the position in point. Let us glance at the poems in the *Black Book* which consist of four-lined englyns: there are two such, namely xxiv (Evans, 39ᵇ, 40ᵃ, Skene ij, 40, 41), which is Cyndelw's: it has ten englyns with the cywyd rhymes, aerev—dehev, drussad—gwenvlad, kerdaur—porthaur, tarianogion—meibon, gosteguch—glywuch, kywrisset—met, edirn—teeirn (read *teïrn*), vytaw—ataf, glevrvit--wif, hirvlaut—naut. Here the rhyming words are imparisyllabic in five cases out of ten, while the other five are dissyllables. The other *Black Book* poem is xxj (Evans, 35ᵇ, 36ᵃ, Skene, 36, 37) which is ascribed to Elaeth (p. 125): it consists of seven four-lined englyns, and the rhyming words in point are syberwid—imbit, clod—gorvod, atew—new, poeni—merthyri, cofion—gueriton, enbid—bid, poeino-weint—seint. Now the kind of rule which this suggests

is, that the word ending one line of the cywyd couplet should be a syllable shorter than the one ending the other, or, more exactly, that it should be at least one syllable shorter: in other terms the lines have major and minor rhyme-words and the accent follows suit. It is needless to say that this is very different from the present rule, that the minor rhyme-word must be a monosyllable, or at any rate a word accented on the ultima. Now there seems to be nothing in Welsh to suggest ending verses imparisyllabically: let us see whether there was nothing in the Latin pentameter that might possibly lead to that practice. In Latin itself the pentameter hardly ever ended in a monosyllable, but mostly in a dissyllable, sometimes in a trisyllable, than which it was oftener a quadrisyllable. On the other hand, the first half of the pentameter did sometimes end in a monosyllable. Take one of the school Arnold's stock instances: Non tamen est cur sis tu mihi causa necis. If we cut this verse up into two we have—

> Non tamen est cur sis
> tu mihi causa necis,

with the final words *sis* and *necis*. If we further made the order of the half-pentameters optional we might have endings corresponding not to sis—necis, but, as it were, to necis—sis. That is what the Welsh would seem to have done, and the Latin pentameter would thus appear to have supplied the model of the imparisyllabic rhyme-words of the cywyd, though it took a long time to establish this as an inexorable rule.

It is an old notion of mine that the cywyd metre must be of one and the same origin as the Irish metre known as *deibhidhe*, whatever that origin might prove to be. Take the following instance from the *Book of the Dun Cow*, fo. 129ª (Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 131) :—

Is tria ág dossib in rí	For her sake the king will chase
inna heónu di Thethbí	The birds away from Tethba
oeus báidtid a dá *ech*	And drown his pair of chargers
illind locha dá Airbre*ch*	In loch da Airbrech's waters.

More of this metre will be found for instance in the story of "The Exile of the Children of Usnech" in the same manuscript, and imperfect copies of poems in it have been found in the Milan and Priscian Codices : *see* Ebel's edition of the *Grammatica Celtica*, pp. 951-53. In the instance just given the lines are seven syllables each with a major rhyme-word to the second and the fourth : all the instances are not so regular in the old manuscripts, but the metre becomes fixed with a minor termination to the first line of a couplet and a major one to the second, as will be seen at a glance in the instance given in O'Donovan's *Grammar of the Irish Language*, p. 419. Thus it will be seen that the conjecture offered as to the Welsh metre fits the Irish likewise : more correctly speaking it fits it, in one respect, even better; for Irish retains the fixed order of minor termination followed by a major one, as in the Latin line with *sis—necis*, and not optionally the other way about, as in Welsh. This explanation is offered as a mere conjecture, and the alternative, as far as I can see, is to suppose that here the Latin pentameter and a native metre came into contact, and have, as the result, been influenced by one another; for it is quite possible that there existed a native metre of the length in question, and that it was perhaps common to Welsh and Irish. But the complexion of the doubt is deepened by the consideration that Welsh and Irish may have influenced one another, not to say borrowed from one another's metrical systems, which is also conceivable.

Before dismissing the cywyd and the englyn, a word may not be out of place on those two terms. The former

we have already had (p. 104) in the loose sense of a lay or song, and the technical name for what has here been for brevity's sake called simply cywyd is *cywyd deuair hirion*, which may be rendered 'verse of two long couplets'. For there is another called *cywyd deuair fyrion*, 'verse of two short couplets,' as they consist of only four syllables each. The history of the word *cywyd* is obscure, but it may be of the same origin as certain Old Irish words which represent a compound *con-vid-* or *con-red-*. One of them is *cobeden*, the native word for *conjugatio* in the grammatical sense of that term, and another, *in-chobaid*, is a gloss on the Latin adverb *concinnenter*; also the derivative *cuibdius*, 'concinnitas', as to which *see* Ascoli's *Codice irlandese dell' Ambrosiana*, II, pp. cccij, ccciij. So one may perhaps treat the Welsh word as having been meant originally to convey the idea of words elegantly, artistically put together or set alongside of one another. Then as to *englyn* one may point out that it is also found written *ynglyn*, and that it is not to be severed from *glyn-u*, 'to stick, cleave, or adhere'. The root has the preposition *yn*, 'in', prefixed to it, so that one may say that the compound is formally equivalent to the Latin *inhaerens*, and one naturally asks, to what does this exactly refer? The *englyn* is historically, as has been shown, of several kinds, and what those kinds have in common is that they require a half-pentameter or two to be tagged on to complete the stanza. So I infer that the term referred originally to the circumstance of the longer line having this pendant cleaving or adhering to it; and this is substantially the way in which Welsh grammarians have understood it. In any case it is needless, after what has been said already, to dwell on the highly artificial nature of the englyn, or to show how inconceivable it is that it should have come into existence in any early stage of a people's literary development. It argues a past of

prolonged familiarity of some kind or other with the art
of verse-making.

ix. The Hexameter Truncated.

The metre most commonly evidenced by the inscriptions
was found to be the one which consisted of a part-hexa-
meter of four feet. So in Welsh the line ranges from
eight syllables to twelve, with a tendency to converge on
nine or ten. The lines of intermediate length include
among them one of three dactyls, which, scanned in the
quantitative way of Latin, would count as four feet, that
is, three dissyllabic feet plus a dactyl : see pp. 70, 71, 124.
A line preserving the two last feet of the hexameter is, of
course, common enough, but it is often impossible to
distinguish between it and the one ending with a dactyl.
The latter appears to have been one of the most popular,
owing, doubtless, in part to the fact that it formed the
tetrameter portion of the archilochian verse, that is to say,
the first line of the Welsh heptameter englyn. The
favourite form of this line has its final dactyl accented as
in the inscription (p. 58) :—

Bone mímori | filli | Tribúni. |

Put otherwise, it will stand thus:—

Bone | mímori | filli Tri | búni. |

But other accentuations of the two final feet are by no
means excluded in Welsh. The following strophe from
poem xvij in the *Black Book* (Evans. 25 , Skene, ii, 18, 19,
but subject to a slight emendation) may be cited as illus-
trating several of the points here in question, among others
the uncertainty as to the exact division of some of the
lines into feet, as already suggested :—

Awállen | péren. | A prén |
    mélin. ‖ (9)

Sweet apple-tree, wood of a
    yellow hue,

A týw in ¸hál art. | heb árt
    in | y chílchin. ‖ (11)

That grows in Halardd without
    tilth around it—

Amí dis | cogánaw | kád im | prý-
    din. ‖ (10)

I prophesy a battle among the
    Prydyn

In ámvin | ev térwin | a guir |
    dúlin. ‖ (10)

Holding their bounds against the
    men of Dublin.

Seith lóng y | déuant | dros
    lyd ánlin ‖ (10)

Seven shiploads they come over
    a wide lake,

A seith | cánt. dros | mór y |
    oréskin. ‖ (9)

And seven hundred, across the
    sea to invade.

Orsául y | déuant. | nydánt y |
    kénhin. ‖ (10)

Of the fleet so come there will
    homeward sail

Námuin. | seith llédwac | gwýdi |
    ev lléttkint. ‖ (10)

But seven ships, half manned, to
    tell their dismal tale.

Elsewhere in the *Black Book* the same metre will be found
in poems v, vj, vij, x, xi, xiv, xvi, xviij, xxviij, xxxiv, in
some of which the lines are varied by the occurrence of an
occasional whole hexameter.   Other poems, such as ix, also
belong here, but they are partly too obscure to classify as
they stand.   Then as to our other old manuscripts, one may
say that nearly the whole of the *Book of Taliessin* is in
various forms of the curtailed hexameter, and similarly most
of the *Gododin* in the *Book of Aneurin* is in that metre,
whence presumably the name Gwawdodyn is given to two
of the metres in D. ab Edmwnt's system.   The Gwawdodyn
now consists of one or more couplets (of nine syllables to a
line) followed—formerly often preceded—by a couplet of
10, 9, with a *gair cyrch*, the unity of the whole being
indicated by the stanza having one and the same principal
rhyme throughout.   As will have been already observed,
no metrical difference of any significance attaches in this
metre to the fact that one line happens to have ten sylla-
bles and another only nine.   So it follows, as was perceived
by J. D. Rhys, *loc. cit.*, pp. 196, 199, that no radical dis-
tinction can be drawn between the Gwawdodyn and the

verse known as "Hir a thodaid", 'Long and liquid', which
closes with a todaid couplet of 10, 10, preceded by other
couplets of the same length and with the same principal
rhyme throughout as in the Gwawdodyn. As an instance
of the todaid couplet of the latter may be cited the follow-
ing from one of Rhys's examples, *loc. cit.*, p. 195 :—

> Lléw blín | ym mýddin | máeddaɪ | wyr árf*og* : ‖ (10)
> Llym fárch*og* | énw*og* a | ddigónaɪ. ‖ (9)

> Lion-like, chafing in battle's array, he would buffet armed men ;
> Sharp-eyed knight, famous the feats he performed.

Compare with this the following from one of Robert
Davies's examples of a "Hir a thodaid, p. 136 :—

> Ail Ólwen | lwýswen | lïósoG | lýs*oedd*, ‖ (10)
> Ail a wnaɪ | wléd*doedd*, | Élen | LuéddoG. ‖ (9)

> Another fair white Olwen art thou of many courts,
> Another Elen Lüyddog, a giver of banquets.

The cyrch rhyme which we have in the Gwawdodyn
metre is not common in the old manuscripts here in ques-
tion, such for example, as the *Book of Aneurin*. But we
find it in the poems of Cyndelw, where the departure from
the principal rhyme is very frequent, for example in his
'Poem to God': *see* the *Myvyrian*, i, 247ᵃ-49ᵃ, where no
distinction between the Gwawdodyn and 'Hir a thodaid'
seems to have been thought of.

Other treatments of the part hexameter might be men-
tioned : for instance, here and there one finds a great run
on trisyllabic feet, as for example in the case of the first
poem in the *Black Book*, where a very dactylic hexameter
introduces other lines in which the dactyl plays an almost
exclusive part, as follows :

> Mor trúan | génhyf. mor | trúan a | déryv.
>   am | kéduyv a | cháduan. ‖
> Oed lláchar | kyuláuar | kyulánan. ‖
> Oed ýscuid | o trýuruyd | o trýuan. ‖

A somewhat similar description applies to poem xxxi in

the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, 183) : that is likewise
introduced by a full hexameter of the same description.
The principal use of this kind of verse appears to have
been to diversify the movement of the lines, and it is not
hard to understand why nothing of great length is found
written in it in the *Black Book*.   But a common treatment
of the part-hexameter was to divide the verse of four feet
into versicles of two, and to make them rhyme together and
with the succeeding ones until you exhausted your special
stock of assonances.   This is a favourite metre in the
Book of Taliessin : it occurs also in the *Gododin*, which in
fact begins with it, and we have it in the *Black Book* in
the dialogue which opens with poem xxxi (Evans, 47ᵇ-48ᵇ,
Skene, ii, 50-3) as follows :—

> Pa gúr yv | y pórthaur. ‖ Gléulnid | ganáeluaur. ‖ (11)
> Pa gúr ae | gónin. ‖ Árthur. a | chéi gnín. ‖ (10)

>> Who is the porter ? Glewlwyd Great-grip.
>> Who is it that asks ? Arthur and Cai the White.

On surveying the kind of verses grouped together under
this heading one would at first sight be disposed to say,
perhaps, that it is useless to examine them with a view to
metre, that in a word it is no case of one metre at all,
but rather of a collection of heterogeneous samples of
metres.   That would be, however, to run in the teeth of the
fact, that the old writers of Welsh poetry by their manner
of intermixing these verses in their poems tacitly treated
them as of cognate origin.   This now proves true, for on
the application of the key of the hexameter the difficulties
presented by the motley appearance of the examples is
dissipated : they fall into their places as instances of the
hexameter truncated in various ways.   It is hard, perhaps,
to think of any better proof that the key applied must be
the right one : the unity of this metre is found in the
accentual hexameter.

x. The Luxembourg Folio.

The practice of writing certain Latin metres accentually
has been here illustrated not only by our post-Roman
epigraphy, but also by the Frampton Mosaics. From
another side the subject may be said to have been
approached in the *Grammatica Celtica*, namely, in the
section entitled "Consonantia Latina", pp. 938-48,[1] which,
with the help of illustrations, some of which reach back to
St. Ambrose in the fourth century, goes to show how
Celtic assonance and alliteration invaded Latin verse.
This may be briefly supplemented by a note or two on the
curious fragment known as the Luxembourg Folio : it was
edited by me years ago in the *Revue Celtique*, i, 346-75 (and
pp. 503, 504), where on the one hand such words as
regminat, regminant, recall the *regmen* of the Frampton
Mosaics, and, on the other, *novellus* reminds one of the
Juvencus englyn with the word *nouel* for 'new'. The
Latinity of the fragment is very peculiar and in-
separable from the bombastic jargon of the so-called
Hisperica Famina, which have been discussed at
length by Professor Zimmer in the appendix to his
Nennius Vindicatus. There he has endeavoured to shew
that the home of the *Hisperica Famina* must have
been one of the great monasteries in the south-west of
Britain : he points more especially to Llantwit Major, the

[1] Here, among other things of special interest to the Welsh
reader, may be mentioned, that our early bards' habit of running
whole strophes on a single rhyme, is illustrated by long citations,
pp. 940, 941, from St. Augustine, who died in 430. Lines also are
quoted, p. 945, from the Irishman Columbanus, who died in 614, and
some of them are so constructed that they show much the same
system of rhymes as the Blegywryd hexameters discussed in
chapter iii above.

great school of St. Illtud in the sixth century, and he has in view more particularly the best known of the Saint's pupils, namely, Gildas ; for he thinks that the *Hisperica Famina* are to be traced rather to a Brython than to a Goidel, and it is not without interest here that Zimmer is prompted to call repeated attention to the dactylic style affected by Gildas and the Hisperic school. To return to the Luxembourg Folio, that is proved, by its Breton glosses, to come from Brittany, and in the *Grammatica Celtica* it is referred to the ninth century. The verses in the fragment consist mostly of accentual hexameters, complete and curtailed hexameters intermixed ; but the glosses are preceded by a bit of dialogue which has the interest of being, it would seem, in hexameters and pentameters. Apparently it takes place between a pious widow and a man with whom she is in love : he will not marry her because she has been the wife of a previous husband. It runs thus, with the scanning marked :—

. . . . con | gaudet | animus | meus
placu | isset | hoc in | domino | re⌐rum . . | . . .
   venis⌐ | latus me | nm ‖ dulcis iu | galis me | us ‖
kalami | tas de me | recedit | ista[1] | nolo an | dire ;
si tibi | dilectat | nub⌐e⌐re | alium | virum per | quiris ;
   rem die | ac noc | te ‖ doleo | et fle | o ‖
propter | caru⌐m⌐ | virum | meum si | tibi me | fraudet |
   non iaces | meum lat | us ‖ dulcis iu | galis me | us ‖

SHE. . . . . my soul rejoices.
     In the name of the Lord this had been pleasing [if true
     That you come] to my side to be the sweet consort mine.

HE. The storm of my passion is over : I dislike those words of yours.
     If it be your pleasure to marry, you seek another man.

SHE. The matter grieves me day and night, and with tears I mourn
     Because of my dear husband, if he defraud me of charms for you,
     That you lie not beside me the sweet consort mine.

---

[1] The MS. has *ista verba*.

I have not succeeded in reading what comes immediately after *domino*, but it seems to begin with *re*, and *domino rerum* has been suggested to me by the Old Irish term 'lord or prince of the elements' as at the opening of Adamnan's Vision *coimdiu na n-dúla*: *see* Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 169, and *s.v. dúil*. The key to the use of *latus meum* or *meum latus* for 'at or to my side, beside me, by me' is supplied by the Irish conjugated preposition *lium*, *lem*, 'to me, with me, by me', which consists of the neuter noun *leth* 'side' provided with a personal ending. This etymology of the Irish preposition has Stokes's approval in the *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xii, 188, n. 2. Compare the similar use of *les*, *lez*, in French from Latin *latus* 'side', and its survival in such names as Plessis-*lès*-Tours and the like. If Gaulish and Brythonic made a similar use of the form corresponding to Irish *leth*, namely *letos*, one can hardly avoid the inference that the French use of *lès*, Provençal *latz* 'by', was suggested by Gaulish: at any rate the Italian *allato*, with the *al* which it involves, fails to illustrate it. Lastly, there is some difficulty as to how subordinate clauses were introduced by the writer of the lines in question, but we have one clear instance in *non iaces*, so that, on the whole, I venture, though with great diffidence, to suggest the above as the sense of the fragmentary dialogue.

xi. Irish Rhetorics.

It should be noticed that versification is not found confined to those of our inscriptions which may be regarded as of Brythonic origin. It extends to those of Goidelic origin in Britain; but, as far as I know, it has no place in Ogam inscriptions, whether in Britain or in Ireland, which

is just what the brevity of the Ogam legends would lead one
to expect. On the contrary it is to be detected in Medieval
Irish literature, especially in the passages, mostly un-
rhymed, which are termed *retoric*, that is to say *rhetoric*, in
some of the more elaborate stories, for instance in the
twelfth century MS. of the *Book of the Dun Cow*. That
they are in some kind of verse has long been suspected,
though hardly any of them have been written out success-
fully as verse by anybody. One of the nearest approaches
to this was made by Windisch in the *Revue Celtique*, v,
389-91, 478, 479, where he has discussed three of the
retorics occurring in the oldest Irish fairy tale on record,
Echtra Condla Chaim. The text occurs on fo. 120 of the
Book of the Dun Cow, and has been printed in Windisch's
Kurzgefasste Irische Grammatik, pp. 118-20. In the *Revue
Celtique* his metrical arrangement of the first two makes
them into 50 syllables each as follows :—

Adgladadar mnái n-óic n-alaind socheneóil	11
nad fresci bás na sentaid	7
ro charus Condla Rúad cotngairim do Maig Mell	6 + 6 = 12
inid rí boadag bidsuthain rí cen gol cen mairg inna thír	8 + 8 = 16
ó gabais flaith	4

Tair lim a Chondlai Rúaid muinbric chaindeldeirg	11
[is] barr bude fordotá	7
óas gnúis corcorda bidordan do rígdelbæ	7 + 5 = 12
má chotuméitis ní chrínfa do delb a hóitin a haldi	8 + 8 = 16
co bráth m-brindach	4

I accept Windisch's readings, including the supplying of
is at the beginning of his second stanza, and the scanning
seems to be as follows, though there are other possibilities :

i. Adgglad|adar | mnāi n-óic | n-ālaind | socheneōil ‖	11
nad fresci | bās na sen|taid ‖	7
rocharus | Condla | Rūad cot|ngairim do | Maig Mell ‖	12
inid ri | bōadag bid|suthain ri | cen gol | cen mairg ‖	13
inna thir | ō gabais | flaith ‖	7

ii. Tair lim a | Chondlai Rūaid | muinbric | chaindeldeirg ‖   11
    is barr bu | de fordo | tā ‖   7
ōas gnūis | corcorda | bid ordan | do rig delbæ ‖   12
ma chotnm | éitis ni | chrinfa do | delb a | hōitin ‖   13
    a haldi | co brāth m-brind ach ‖   7

He speaks to a young woman, fair and well-born,
    Who awaits nor death nor old age :
I have loved Colla Roe and I call him to Moy Mell,
Where reigns Buadach, ever king, without wail or woe in his land
    From the day he began to rule.

Come with me Colla Roe of the freckled neck and torch-red bloom,
    Thou whose topmost locks are golden
Above thy purple brow, ever the adornment of thy kingly form—
Hark to me and never will that form lose its freshness
    Or its beauty till the checkered day of doom.

Here each strophe consists of three curtailed hexameters
and two half-pentameters ; but the next *retoric* is made up
differently, and Windisch has split it into two of thirty-
six syllables each, and further he has been obliged, in
order to arrive at that symmetry, to omit a trisyllable
mordanaig. I can discover no sufficient reason for either
proceeding : the following is his arrangement :—

Not álim a Choráin mórchetlaig   9
forbond dodomanic   as dom móo airli   11
as dom moo cumachtu níth   náchim thánic   11
o gabussa flaith.   5
Mu imchomruc delb nemaicside   9
cotoméicnigidar   immum mace rocháin   11
d'airchelad tre thoathbandu   dim[1] laim rígdai   11
brechtaib[2] ban m-berir.   5

In the manuscript this is one *retoric*, and the only emen-
dation which I wish to make in the text is to omit the first
do of *dodomanic* : then the whole will be found to consist

[1] The MS. has *di*.
[2] The MS. has *brectu*, but Windisch corrects it into *brechtaib*, which
is perhaps better from the point of view of the sense.

of two full hexameters, two curtailed ones and a penta-
meter, as follows :—

iii. Notālim | a Chorān | mŏrchetlaig | mŏrdānaig | forbond dom|ānie
     as dom mŏo | airli as | dom mŏo | cumachtu | nīth nāchim | thānie |
         o gabsu | flaith mu | imchomruc | delb nem|aieside |
             cotomĕie|nigidar | immum mace | rochāin | d airchelad |
     tre thōath | bandu dim | lāim ‖ rigdai brech|taib ban m-ber|ir. ‖

     Thy help, O Corán of great voice, of great gifts, I entreat to meet
         a challenge
     Such as till now, beyond my wit, beyond my power,
     Never troubled my reign—no case of combat but a form unseen
     Me by force compelling in order to kidnap my comely son :
     Through heathen tricks him women's spells from my royal hand
         remove.

The remaining *retorics* in the story have not been dis-
cussed by Windisch, so far as I know, so I quote them in
their order, premising that Corán the druid did as Conn
the king bade him, that is to say, he drowned the voice of
the fairy with his own singing; but as she was going
away discomfited she threw Colla an apple on which he
subsisted for a whole month : the apple grew no less while
his longing for the fairy grew greater and greater, when
at length she came again and addressed him in the follow-
ing *retoric*, which seems to consist of three hexameters
plus a line which as it stands seems a curtailed hexameter,
though it is readily reducible to a pentameter, for instance,
by omitting *du* :—

iv. Nall suide | saides | Condla | eter | marbu du|thainai |
     oc idnaid|in ĕca | ñathmair. | Totchuret|ar[1] bīi | bithbi |
     at gērat | do dāinib | Tethrach | ardot|chiat each | dia
     in dālaib | tathardai | eter du | gnathu | inmaini |

There is the seat where Colla sits among short lived mortals
Awaiting the terror of death. Thee the living claim, the ever living,
Thou art champion for Tethra's people : they behold thee every day
    In thy father's (?) assemblies among thy familiar friends.

---

[1] The MS. has *totchurethar*.

When Conn heard these words spoken by the fairy he sent
again to fetch Corán the druid, and the maiden addressed
Conn in the following *retoric*, which would seem to allude
to the subversion of druidism by St. Patrick. This time
it consists of five curtailed hexameters, two of four feet
each, and three of five, as follows :—

v.   A Chuind | Cheteathaig | druidecht nís | gradaigther |
              ar is bec | rosoich for | messu ar | trág máir. |
      firíen | co n-il mninteraib | ilib ad | amraib |
      motá ticfa | a recht | conscera | brichta |
      drúad | tardechta | ar bélaib | demnin duib | dolbthig.

      O Conn of the hundred Battles druidism is not liked,
      For small the honour it hath reached on the Great Strand.
      The just one with his retinues many, numerous and wonderful,
      Will soon come and his law the spells of base druids destroy
      Before the face of the demon, black and shape-shifting.

Then Conn addresses his son Colla in order to find what
effect, if any, had been produced on him by the fairy. Colla
confessed that though he loved his people, a longing for the
woman had seized him. Thereupon she appeals to him in
the following three *retorics*, of which the first consists of
two hexameters, the second of a shortened hexameter and
a complete one, and the third of a part-hexameter and a
pentameter, as follows :—

vi. Tathut | airunsur | álaib | fri toind | t eólchaire | o ḟadib |
       im loing | glano cond | rismáis | ma ro | ismais síd | bóadaig |

Thou hast a pleasing remedy (?) for the tide of thy longing . . . .
Should we get into my ship of glass soon should we reach Buadach's
       station.

vii. Fil tír n-aill | nad bu | messu do | saigid[1]
       atchiu | tairnid in | gréin n-gil | cid cían | ricfam ria | n-adaig.

There is another land which to visit it were well :
The bright sun I see descending : though far, we arrive before night.

_____

[1] This line should probably be a hexameter, some such words as *a
chondlai ruaid* having very possibly been dropped out at the begin-
ning.

viii. Is ed a | tír suba | tar menmain|cāich dodom|chela
     ni fil ce|nel and nam|mā || acht mnā o|cus ingen|a ||

It is a land of delight beyond the thoughts of man, the land I mean :
     No race is there but women alone and maidens.

When Colla had listened to these lays he sprang into the
coracle of glass and sailed away with the fairy : never
more was he seen in Erin, and nobody knew whither he
went.

This, however, is not the only fairy tale in which Irish
metrical rhetorics occur : take, for instance, that of the
Sick-bed of Cúchulainn, where we have, among others, the
following *retoric*, in which Emer Cúchulainn's wife is
represented coming to fetch him away from the fairy
maiden Fand, whom Emer and the women of Ulster, with
sharp knives in their hands, threatened in the following
words, addressed to Lóig Cúchulainn's charioteer : *see*
Windisch's *Irische Texte*, pp. 222, 223 :—

Fég a Lōig|dar theis oc coistecht frit|filet mnā|cōri ciall|mathi ||
    coscēnaib | glasgēraib | ina n-des|lāmaib ||
    co n-ōr | fria n-ucht|brunnib | cruth cāin ||
atchichi|ther amal | tecait | lāith gaile | dar [a] cath|cairptin |
    gle ro|sōi | gnē || Emer in|gen For|gaill ||

Then Cúchulaind tells Fand not to fear, and adds that he
will protect her against the young women in all Ulster :—

Nī tagar|a ar Cū|chulaind | ocus nī | contora | eter |
    tair[1] isin | creit cumach|ta || lasin sni di n-grīan|da ||
    form dreich|sea fod ēin || ardothes arcaind|sea[2] ||
    ar andrib | ilib im|daib || hi cethar|aird Ul|ad ||
    ar cia nos baigea|ingen | Forcaill a | hucht a co|malta
    im gnīm | co cumach|ta || bēs ni|lim lama|thair ||

Cuchulaind next addresses Emer, his wife, and says that

        [1] MS. *tairsiu*.   [2] MS. *ardothesarcainbsea*.

he avoids her as a man would avoid an estranged friend,[1]
that in fact he does not ward off the spear or knife wielded
by her unsteady hand or her anger in any way, as what
a woman could do would be of no avail against his might.
These were "brave words" that gave Emer the chance of
speaking to him direct, and winning him back, which she
succeeded in doing promptly :—

Notsechnaim sea a ben amal | sechnas each [fer] a | charait |
     Niru bimsea do | gæ crñaid | crithlámach |
Nach do seian tim | thanai di nach | t ƒerg treith tim | airethe·h |
     Ar is mór | dolig mo | nert | do scor ó nirt | mnā ||

The story called Bricriu's Feast has a number of *retorics*,
some of them somewhat longer than those which have
been here cited, and many obscure in point of meaning or
requiring important emendations in the text. I venture
to cite the following as being fairly intelligible without
many emendations : it represents Sencha calling the ladies
of Ulster to order after Bricriu had kindled their jealousy
of one another to a dangerous pitch. Sencha begins with
a hexameter, followed by three pentameters : then comes
another hexameter with two more pentameters and the first
verse repeated as usual, as follows (Windisch, p. 267) :—

Cotob sechaim a | láichessa | ana | aurdairce[2] | Ulad
     anat for | m-briatra bāg i || na banai ter fergñū si ||
     iccruadaib | comraic | thib || tria ñal le a n-glond ||
     ar is | tria chin | m-ban || bit fernai | fer dloch tai ||
fir i | n-irgalaib | inmad mār galgat | comhud fer glunni ||
     ar is di a m-brig aib || bæsaib | is bēs[3] dō ib ||
     do furebat | nadicc at || imsuidet | nadrair get ||
Cotob sechaim a laicesa | ana | urdairci | Ulad.

---

[1] I supply *fer*, but another emendation is possible, such as to make
carait 'friend' into *escarait* 'foe', which would give a somewhat
different sense to the passage.

[2] The MS. has *ána aurdairce aireyda Ulad*.

[3] The MS. has *bés*, not *is bés*.

Emer, singing the praises of her husband as against his rivals for the champion's portion, Conall and Loegaire, has the latter part of her utterance arranged as a *retoric*, consisting of a hexameter at the beginning, and another at the end, with three pentameters between, as follows (Windisch, p. 268):—

Ní faigbis|tar fer and | conmestar | a æs | a ás[1] a|anius. |
  a guth a|gæs a chen|él. || a anius | a urlab|ra. ||
  a ág a|gal a gais|ced. || a bruth a|búaid búadir|se ||[2]
  a foraim | a fómsig|e. || a déni|a tharpig|e ||
a fian | choseur co|cles nónbair | fri Coin|culaind[3] com|chosmail |

The accentuation *com|chósmail* is to be noticed, but it does not stand alone, as we have already had *du|tháinai*, *cath|cáirptiu* and *ciall|máthi*, to which plenty more could be added: compare also such personal names as *Noonan* from *Iumhainen*, genitive of *Inmhainu*. One of the differences between these Irish rhetorics and the compositions corresponding to them in Welsh is the comparatively frequent Irish use of the curtailed hexameter of five feet, but not fitting into the scheme of the elegiac pentameter; and another is the rarer use in Irish of the half-pentameter. We have, however, had it, and it occurs, for instance, in the following lines closing one of the *retorics* put into Emer's mouth, which ends as follows (Windisch, p. 264):—

At crothle | garmanlin|e[4] || at búan|aind bodel|bæ ||
  is ir|rechtaib | bo ocus dam | ocus ech | settai mná|Ulad ||
      uli co|nomthici|sea ||

    They are *crotalia* fit for a flax weaver's beam (?), they are
        cow-shaped Buananns:
An Ulster woman's treasures take the form of cows, oxen and horses—
        All of them until you come to me.

---

[1] MS. *a æs ocus a ás ocus a anius.*   [2] MS. *a buadirse.*

[3] MS. *fo choinculaind.*

[4] This is the reading of the Egerton MS.: the *Book of the Dun Cow*, 102[b], has *garmíline.* Is it vain to expect Irish archæology to

Here Emer seems to have been speaking of the higher
civilization which she credited herself and her husband
with having promoted in Ulster; for a few lines before
she uses in the same sense words which resolve themselves
likewise into a hexameter and a half-pentameter, referring
probably to the *cumal* or female slave as a unit of value
in ancient Erin, the *cumal* in fact at the time of her life
when she was reckoned most profitable to her owner, as
follows :—

Iss i richt | mnã siũil | sedda | Ulad | nli cor rici ||
        mo chéle se Coincn | laind ||

Ulster men's treasures take the form of a woman brought to bed—
        Until you come to him, my consort Cúchulainn.

Trusting that the foregoing suggestions suffice to show
the applicability of the key of the Latin metres, roughly
speaking, to the Irish *retorics*, I may remark on the latter
that, while they are not without alliteration, they are
uncertain in the matter of rhyme, and sharply dis-
tinguished from the ordinary verses occurring in the same
stories, verses characterized both by rhyme and alliteration.
The latter kind was, perhaps, with the exception of the
deibhidhe, of a native growth which held its own: the
former was of a more recent introduction, and in the long
run it came to nothing. In Wales, on the contrary, it
luxuriated into our system of *mesurau caethion* or tram-
melled metres, and this would seem to have taken place to
such an extent that our oldest Welsh manuscripts have
preserved for us nothing in the *mesurau rhydion* or free
metres. Verse of the latter kind appears comparatively
late in Welsh literature, but it can hardly be imagined

throw some light on these cow-shaped Buananns ? *See* Cormac's
Glossary, s.v., *Ána* and *Buanann*, also Brynmor-Jones and Rhys's
Welsh People, pp. 42, 55.

that it came into existence late : the explanation probably
is that it was banished to a position of obscurity to make
room for the other, which succeeded in arrogating to itself
the privileges and dignity of literature. This would,
perhaps imply, that for a time there was a struggle
between a Latin school and a native school, and we have
possibly faint echoes of some such a struggle in some of
the bitter allusions made by the old bards to a class of
minstrels whom they accused of singing *cam vardoni*
'false poetry or incorrect verse'. *See* for instance the first
poem of the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, 108, 304), a
manuscript notorious for interlarding the Welsh language
with Latin words and phrases ; *see* also the poem entitled
Bustl y Beird "Gall to the Bards", which together with
others printed in the *Myvyrian*, i, 19-28, is commonly
ascribed to Taliessin, and incorporated in the late story
called "Hanes Taliessin", published in Lady Charlotte
Guest's *Mabinogion*, iij, 330-49, 365-83. There we have
what purports to be an account of the discomfiture of
Heinin at the head of Maelgwn's bards by the boy-bard
Taliessin. Those acquainted with recent Welsh literature
are familiar with the feud between the partisans of the
trammelled metres and those of the free metres : perhaps
we may regard it as in a sense a revival of a far earlier
quarrel.

Unlike the Irish *retoric*, the Welsh englyn, which may,
roughly speaking, be set over against it, seldom occurs in
our old stories : I can only recall a few occasions in point.
One of them has already been mentioned, namely, where
Gwydion sang three englyns to Llew Llawgyffes : *see* p. 137.
A little earlier in the same Mabinogi, p. 67, one meets
with another englyn which differs from those put into
Gwydion's mouth, in having only three lines, and resem-
bles them in giving those lines seven syllables each, neither

more nor less. It runs as follows, without one strong dactyl:

Tri méib | giluáeth6y | énn6ir. | (7)	False Gilvaethwy's three sons are these,
tri chen | ryssédat | kýwir. || (7)	Three honourable men in the fray,
bléid6n. hý | d6n. hýchd6u | hír.|| (7)	Bleiddwn, Hyddwn, Hychdwn the Tall.

Another englyn occurs in the *Mabinogi of Branwen*
(*Mab.*, p. 38), where Brân is described as about to be
entertained, together with his host, in a vast and strong
house in Ireland. Before that takes place his half-brother
Evnissien walks in, and notices a bracket on either side
of each of the hundred pillars of the building, and on
each bracket a leather bag. He approached one of them
and asked an Irishman what was in the bag, when he
received the answer " Meal, my friend". He feels about
until he finds a man's head in the bag: he squeezes it till
his fingers penetrate the skull into the man's brain. In
the other cases he asks the same question, obtains the
same answer, and proceeds in the same deadly earnest
until he has disposed of all the inmates of the bags except
one : here he receives the same answer " Meal, my friend",
but on feeling this, he found that it was a somewhat
different kind of meal, for the man in this last bag was
helmeted, being, as it would seem, the captain and leader of
the others. When Evnissien had quietly done with him,
he sang an englyn to the following effect[1] :—

[1] The MS. has the plurals *keimeit kynninyeit disgynneit*, but the
story as it stands requires the singular. If one retain the plural
one has to suppose the two hundred to have had two officers in
command of them, and not one. The englyn ends with *kytwyr cat
bara6t*, which I have shortened to *kytwyr bara6t* : compare *ketwyr
uoda6c* in the *Red Book*, Skene, ij. 282. If *cat* is left standing the
englyn will rank with those discussed at p. 123. It is not absolutely
necessary to read '*n y* for *yn y* or *amryrla6t* for the *amry6 rlu6t* of
the MS., but the first line as it stands is rather stiff.

Yssít 'n y | bóly hónn | amrývla6t | (8)		There is in this bag another meal :
kéimat kyn | nívyat dis | kýnyat ‖ (8)		A friend and helper alighting,
yn trín rac | kýtwyr bá | ra6t[1]	(7)	In fight his ready comrades leading.

The next instance to be mentioned occurs in the Story
of Kulhwch and Olwen (*Mab.*, p. 133) and is there ascribed
to Arthur, who is represented singing it to Cai on the
occasion of his bringing home the beard of a certain
Dillus whom he had entrapped on Plynlimmon. Cai is
said to have been so grievously offended by Arthur's fun
that he never more took any part in his wars however
hard pressed he might be. The englyn runs thus :—

Kynllý | van a | óruc kéi. | (7)		A dog-leash was made by Cai
o náryf | dillus uab | Éurei. ‖ (7)		Of Dillus' beard, son of Efrai :
Pei iách dy | ángheu uý | dei. ‖ (7)		Well were he, thy death would he be.

In all four cases the englyns happen to have the hexameter
bisected : *see* pages 107, 108. They seem to belong to an
early version of the stories where we find them.

When the Celts took Latin metres as their models the
quantitative element in Roman versification began to
evaporate in their hands, and the result looks so much the
less artistic ; but sooner or later the Celts introduced an
art of their own, an elaborate system of rhyme and alliter-
ation constituting what is in Welsh called *cynghaned* or
consonance. Thus the Latin frame, which has chiefly
occupied us in these pages, was provided with new bonds of
union, new muscles and sinews so to say, to knit the bones
together. How early this took place it would be hard to

[1] Here the rhyming of the first line with the third reminds one of
the Llanerfyl stone, with *Rostéce* rhyming with *pace*, supposing the
latter word had been written in full as the author had doubtless
intended when he began : *see* p. 91 above.

specify; but it cannot be an accident that the Llech Idris inscription shews what appears to have been intended as rhyme final and internal, as was pointed out at p. 120. This would seem to take us back to the sixth century, but repeated opportunities have offered themselves for pointing out that the metres had taken definite forms before they were subjected to strict rules as to rhyme and assonance, which have accordingly been here but sparingly discussed. This is all the less to be regretted as the Irish portion of the question has been treated in the *Grammatica Celtica*, and the Welsh one by the skilful hand of Professor J. Morris Jones in Meyer and Stern's *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, iv, 106-142, in so far at any rate as concerns Welsh accentuation, rhyme and alliteration, or all that constitutes what Welshmen understand by the harmony to which allusion has just been made.[1] It is right to direct attention to another part of the enquiry on which, however, it is not here proposed to enter, and that is the steps by which the feet of the old Welsh metres led up to the rules observed in the construction of sixteenth century verse, the rules in fact which are still in force in our poetry: that remains a field for further scrutiny. But it has been shewn here and there in these pages how in the various metres in question the counting of syllables has taken the place of the scanning by feet or bars consisting of a fluctuating number of syllables. In other words, as regards the older poetry, the lesson to be remembered is, that it is mostly to be studied in feet or bars rather than in syllables.

[1] For suggestions from the point of view of the comparative and historical study of metric *see* Loth's "Vers à rime interne", an article published in the *Revue Celtique*, xx, 62-8, and representing details discussed in the second volume of that Celtic scholar's *Metrique galloise*.

xii. Elegiac Features Transmitted.

Lastly, whatever the channel was through which the literary Celts of this country derived their knowledge of Latin versification, and however unlike their models their own imitations may have been, it does not appear that they worked in a wholly mechanical way. At any rate it is very remarkable that one finds the englyn throughout bearing the stamp and impress of the elegiac couplet; and more especially is this palpable still in the pentameter part of it. I open a student's handbook to Latin verse and I read as follows, for instance, concerning the elegiac couplet :—"The metre itself was an offshoot of the heroic metre, framed (a) to avoid the monotony and the fluent roll of the Hexameter, and developed so as (b) to afford facilities for expressing the antitheses and emphatic repetitions of amatory and epigrammatic poems, for which heroics were less suited."[1] A little later in the same school book I read as follows :—"The Pentameter, as the base of the couplet, must be weighty: verbs will often have to be introduced, so as to make a complete clause; and the end of it must not be a weak word." All this and a good deal more might be cited as applying with striking precision to the two half-pentameters closing the principal kind of englyn in modern Welsh poetry. Every Welsh bard of the present day knows full well that the success of an englyn depends on what antithesis, pithiness or wit he can contrive to pack into those two brief lines. This applied also within the narrower limit of the old three-lined englyn with only a single half-pentameter. As an illustration may be cited a passage in the *Black Book* dialogue forming poem xxxiij, where Gwyn ab Nûd, after mentioning

[1] This is quoted from Nixon and Smith's *Parallel Verse Extracts* (London, Macmillan, 1893), pp. lxviij, lxix.

various memorable battles in which he had been present, sums it all up in the following pair of englyns (Evans, 49ᵇ) :

Mi awum lle llas milvir pridein.	I have been where fell Prydain's warriors
or duyrein ir goglet.	From the orient to the north :
Mi. wi. wiw. vintev. ym bet.[1]	I am here, they in the grave.
Mi awum lle llas milguir bridein	I have been where fell Prydain's warriors,
or duyrein ir dehev.	From the orient to the south :
Mi. wi. wiv. vintev yn aghev.[1]	I am here, they in death.

We have already found that the scribe of the *Black Book* knew next to nothing about the metres of the poetry he copied ; and these two englyns further shew how slovenly he was in the matter of orthography—sometimes he transcribed his originals into his own spelling and sometimes he forgot to do so : thus we have here *milvir pridein* and *milguir bridein*. Now the points with which the two half-pentameters have been peppered are probably not quite accurately given ; but I can hardly suppose that he inserted them spontaneously : it is far more likely that he had most of them before him in a manuscript written by somebody who was fully alive to the staccato nature of the pentameter and its notation. Indeed so staccato is the last part of some of our englyns, that it is not always easy to give a faithful representation of the accent in writing. This may be said also, perhaps, of an Irish line like one of those just cited :—

> Glē ro|sōï | gnē | Emer in|gen For|gaill ‖
>
> Clear the change of countenance
> in Emer. Forgall's daughter.

It is almost needless to quote illustrations from Latin itself, but take for instance the well-known contrast struck by Claudian between the man who stays at home at the

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[1] The MS. has "y. bet" and "y aghev".

centre of things in the Roman capital, and his neighbour who travels abroad :—

> Plús hábet | híc ví | tæ ‖ plús hábet | ílle ví | æ ‖
> The one more life hath seen, the other more milestones.

The jostling of stress syllables tends to impede the movement, but the verse has the charm of playful antithesis, not to mention the sense of musical time which it may have wakened in an educated Roman, a quality replaced in Welsh by the *cynghaned* or the chime of similar syllables, which differs wholly from the loose English idea of alliteration.

To take a modern instance or two, let me call attention to Ieuan Brydyd Hir's lines on seeing the ruins of Ifor Hael's court, especially the two following half-pentameters : *see* Silvan Evans's edition of his works (Carnarvon, 1876), p. 51 :—

Drain ac ysgall mall a'i medd,   Thorns and evil thistles thrive,
Mieri, lle bu mawredd.   Brambles, where majesty reigned.

Another of these englyns touches on the poet Ab Gwilym's grief at the death of his friend, the royal owner of that court, and points a melancholy contrast thus :—

Y llwybrau gynt lle bu'r gân   Paths once dear to song
Yw lleoedd y ddylluan.   Now of the hooting owl the haunt.

Or take the following closing couplet of an englyn to a kiss, sung by one who only died a few years ago :—

Y nwyd ennyn, nod annerch,   Thrill-giving note of greeting,
Cais y mab, ac[1] cisian merch.   Sought by him, wanted by her.

But to render such lines into English with any degree of

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[1] *See* Eifionydd's collection, p. 151. This englyn is somewhat marred among other things by the author's having treated the grammarians' spelling of the conjunction as the real word, which has for centuries been *ag*, not *ac*, as a bard who had enjoyed leisure to study Medieval Welsh poetry would have doubtless known.

success requires a lighter, cunninger touch than mine, and as for the Prydyd Hir, for example, he has left an English version of his above-mentioned englyns on record to shew how unsuccessful he could be as his own translator. The Welsh are often challenged to render their poetry into English, and one would rejoice to see it done, but let us be interpreted by men who will not let the aroma of the original evaporate in the process.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 7. *Allt Kynetha*. For this name *see* the Survey of the Lordship of Kidwelly, made in 1609, and quoted by Mr. Edward Owen in the fifth volume of the Minutes of Evidence taken by the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire (1895), pp. 647, 648, 650. It was "a mountayne called *Althkanatha* lyinge within the parishe of Kydwelly", and "one crosse att a place called *Althkanatha*" served to mark the boundary of the borough of Kidwelly. Previously (at p. 644) Mr. Owen had mentioned a resident of one of the estates belonging to the Monastery of Talley, in 1463, as bearing the name *Kenetha* ap John.

P. 12. For *ét* in the scanning read *et*.

P. 14. For *filius* in the scanning read *filius*, and so on p. 21.

P. 19. With the remarks on *Ercilinci* should be read the footnote to p. 86.

P. 30. In the scanning read | prop'rávit | : and in the last paragraph modify the guess as to date expressed, by a reference to the date of the Grutne Cross at p. 65.

P. 34. For Pau | lini | in the scanning read Pau | líni | .

P. 37. For | múlier re | read | múlier re |.

P. 41. For | cive(s) read | cíve(s).

P. 45. For | Idnerth | read | Ídnerth | .

P. 59. For Dobunnos and Enabarr read Dobunn and Enabarr, or else Dobunnos and Enabarros.

P. 64. Another meaning given to *aches* by the Welsh poets was that of water, tide or sea. This reminds me of a sentence quoted by Professor Kuno Meyer from the *Book of Leinster*, fo. 186[a], to the effect that the Irish poets "thought that the place where poetry (*éicsi*) was revealed always was upon the brink of water": *see* Meyer and Strachan's *Ériu* (Dublin, 1904), p. 185. Had Burns no similar folklore in his mind when he wrote to his Ochiltree friend ?—

> "The Muse, nae poet ever fand her,
>   Till by himsel' he learn'd to wander,
>   Adown some trotting burn's meander."

To the reference, on the same page, to Zimmer's remarks on the prefixes *ad* and *ate*, add one to a somewhat different view suggested by Strachan in *Ériu*, p. 173.

P. 66. Talori in the scanning has not been accented, as I am

uncertain where the stress should fall: most likely it should be Tálori.

P. 73. Not to depart from the analogy of our other inscriptions, one had better treat *emereto* not as dative, but as standing for a nominative, namely, *emeretos*. Then construe provisionally thus, "The monument of Vitalianus: he was *emeritus*". To the footnote add a reference to the third edition of *Celtic Britain*, p. 256, where the distribution of Ogmic inscriptions in South Wales is summarized: and note more especially the group identified with Brecknock, that is, in part with the ancient realm of Brychan; for he is said to have been a descendant of Vortigern: *see* "The Life of St. Nennoca", in the *Acta Sanctorum*, June, vol. i, pp. 408, 409.

P. 76. Both lines of the Whithorn inscription should have been accented or else neither: *see* p. 78.

P. 86. For | iacit read | iacit.

P. 88. Line 9, for *finish*- read *finishing*.

P. 93. For **TVWVLO** read **TVMVLO** : the *mu* form a ligature.

P. 97. Compare a Tullylease cross which is given in Miss Stokes's *Christian Inscriptions*, ii, 54, plate 30, as reading : *Xps*: Quicumque hunc titulum legerit orat pro Berechtuire. This is supposed to date from the ninth century: ours is cruder work, but the similarity is striking.

P. 102. Manitius, in his *Analekten zur Geschichte des Horaz im Mittelalter* (Gottingen 1893), has a chapter headed *Horaz in Deutschland saec.* ix *und* x, at the end of which he mentions various quotations from Horace dating from that period, and among them he refers, p. 33, to two from Ode iv, 7, and he adds that most of the quotations in point are to be found in the Paris *Florilegia* and in Vincent of Beauvais's collection: but the Celts of this country must have been acquainted with the Ode centuries earlier.

P. 114. In the footnote the word *paladr* has, owing to an oversight in re-arranging some of the pages, been used before its definition is given ; for the latter *see* p. 139.

P. 120. Insert in the gap the heading : PENTAMETER ENGLYNS AND OTHER VARIANTS.

P. 124. The sentence ending in the middle of line 20 is too strong : it should read "with a scansion which could hardly be expected in the earlier portion of an englyn".

P. 132. As regards the phonetics of englyn 47, the more probable explanation is that the *l d* of *Eidal diessic* were pronounced *llt* or *lld*, for we do not distinguish between *llt* and *lld* any more than we do

between *st* and *sd*, or *cht* and *chd*, the dental not being perceptibly voiced in such a combination.

P. 147. In the scanning, for dúý read dúy.

P. 149. The Irish couplet was cited for its assonances, and I forgot to call attention to the ingenious combining in it of assonance and alliteration : l-echt, f-echt f-ir. This has been fixed in Welsh as what is called *cynghanedd sain* or ' sonant consonance ', of which Robert Davies gives as an instance, *loc. cit.*, p. 146,

> Gof*al* yn lle cynn*al* can
> " Worry instead of cherishing song."

And we have had an early instance in the case of the Grave Englyn No. 25, which begins thus (p. 110) :—

> Bet Alun Dyw*ed.* yn y D Rewr*ed* DRAV.

It is treated commonly as distinct from the *cynghanedd lusg* or ' trailing consonance'.

P. 155. The verses of three dactyls connected with those forming group 2 under the heading "Curtailed Hexameters" on pp. 70-74, should be added to the traces mentioned on pp. 124, 125, of scansion according to the reckoning in classical Latin. We should have an instance, on p. 41, in the line —

> Cánti | óri | hic iác | it, &c.

But I am now disposed to think that for Celtic purposes such a scanning cannot stand : an alternative has in this instance been suggested. A similar case would seem at first sight to occur on p. 23, in the scansion—

> Gúrụgnim | filịụ | Cuụríd | Cíni, &c.

It is not certain, however, that the vocable forming the third foot was not here accented Cúụrid, but even if it was Cuụríd, as I am disposed to think, the accentual stress on that name would, according to Celtic rule, be less forcible than the stress on the defining word Cíni. In other terms the accentuation would approach that of a single word, Cuụridcíni, with a tendency to a secondary accent on *cu*, which would go to neutralize the stress on *urid*.

P. 176. As regards an educated Roman's sense of metrical quantity I have here and in sundry other places taken for granted, as I knew no better, that the Celts were unable to appreciate the quantitative element in classical Latin verse. It would probably be more correct to say that the Romans had lost the sense for that quantity before the Celts had a chance of learning from them. Quantitative rhythm was not indigenous to Latin, but introduced from Greek : *see* p. viij above. The fact, however, that for a while it conquered Latin prosody is evi-

dence that the pronunciation of Latin at the time of that conquest
formed an environment not altogether uncongenial to it: at any rate
that must have been so with Latin as pronounced by educated people
in the capital. But in the course of time the language so changed
that an educated Roman's pronunciation of it ceased to be a direct
help to him to compose verse in the classical metres of Virgil and
Horace. When he did it, and did it successfully, it was a feat of
antiquarian knowledge and skill acquired by closely studying how
those and other poets of the classical period had sung. This subject
has been discussed with acumen and sound sense by Mr. Charlton M.
Lewis in his thesis on *The Foreign Sources of Modern English Versifi-
cation* (Berlin, 1898).[1]

In the course of it the author shows by a reference (*loc. cit.*, pp. 7, 23)
to a treatise on music, by St. Augustine (A.D. 395-430), that as early as
the beginning of the fifth century " the difference between long and
short syllables was no more practical to the average Roman than it
is now to the average Englishman". Going back, however, to a time
about the middle of the third century, he comes to a Christian poet
named Commodianus,[2] who appears to have belonged to a transition
period. He wrote with due regard to such distinctions of quantity
as were made by Latin pronunciation in his time. Among other
things " the quantity of accented syllables seems to have been appre-
ciated by the unaided ear": so for Commodianus " the central point
of interest and attention in his rhythm was the thesis of the metrical
foot", and there he was careful to be correct, while the length of
syllables in arsis was a matter of comparative indifference to him and
doubtless to those for whom he considered he was singing (*loc. cit.*,
pp. 18, 20, 22). One of the results of this system of prosody was
that the sixth foot of Commodianus's hexameters is found to be
correct from the classical point of view, and also the end of the first
hemistich which always closed with a cæsura in the third foot. This
left the scanning of the line at times doubtful (*loc. cit.*, p. 23), some-
what as in the case of some of our instances both in the inscriptions

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[1] For calling my attention to Mr. Lewis's work I am indebted to
the kindness of my friend, Professor W. P. Ker. I am sorry that
I did not know of it sooner, but perhaps it is as well that I should
have tried my task without any lead from a specialist. Not the least
useful portion of Mr. Lewis's work is the Bibliography with which
he has furnished his researches.

[2] His poems form Volume xv of a *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasti-
corum Latinorum*, published (*ex recensione* B. Dombart) by th Vienna
Academy, under the title of *Commodiani Carmina* (Vienna, 1887).

and in the englyn. But one of the things of interest to the Welsh
reader is that Commodianus took care that in the thesis of the
fifth foot he used a syllable which bore the stress accent: that
is to say, the accentual run of the two last feet was ⏑ – – | ⏑ – , as also
in the majority of our instances. Take, for example, his *Carmen
Apologeticum*, a poem of some 1060 lines, of which the first line runs
thus :—

> Quis poterit unum proprie Deum | nósse coel|órum | .

Or take at random other lines, such as 828 and 973 :—

> Qui Petrum et Paulum prius pun|íuit in | úrbe | .
> Neque gens ulla quidem poterit re|sístere | cóntra | .

Commodianus, it will be seen, has in the fifth foot what I have
ventured to call the strong dactyl, but in some of our Celtic instances
one seems to recognise the weaker dactyl – ⏑ – with or without a
deviation from the prevalent scanning of the sixth foot : *see* pp. 34, 35,
136, 137, 148. When or how this departure from the rule established
by the majority of instances began, has been left an open question.
Perhaps it may be reckoned as a sort of parallel to the inversion of
the flat feet of the heptameter : the oldest instances we have of these
last are—

> fília | Pater|níni | , p. 91.
> hómo | plánus | fúit | , p. 93,

which give us the accentual sequence ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | , whereas we
have iambic movement in an englyn, for instance of Ab Gwilym's.
See page 138 above :—

> Am ér|yr bró|yr húd :

Or take Simwnt Vychan's instance on page 139, where the inversion
is less complete :—

> y dék|af o | ddýn býw | .

Compare also the suggestion at p. 115, that the flat feet are some-
times found superseded by a regular dactylic cadence.   Much may
be learnt generally on this metrical change from what Lewis has
to say of the inversion of the trochaics in the Ambrosian hymns
of Adam of St. Victor, and on the similar treatment of iambic lines

Index to Proper Names in the Englyns of the Graves.

The references are to the numbers of the Englyns as they stand in the Black Book of Carmarthen. *It is often difficult here to tell proper nouns from appellatives, so the more doubtful cases have been provided with a ? suggesting that query.*

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