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Y Cymmrodor.

Vol. XI. "Cared doeth yr encilion." Part 1.

THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN WALES.

By J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. (Scot.)[1]

In addressing a cultured audience such as the one assembled here this evening, it will perhaps hardly be necessary to dwell at any great length upon the desirability of arresting the destruction of the ancient remains with which every part of Wales abounds. The educated classes in most civilized communities recognize the value of accumulated knowledge derived from the past as an instrument of progress in the future, and they understand that the demolition of any ancient monument means the cutting off for ever of a possible source of information as to the history of man at the particular period when the monument was erected.

The mere recognition of this principle by the cultured few, however, is not the same thing as its recognition by the many, nor does it amount to putting the principle into practice. We have, therefore, to consider in what way the opinion of the minority may best make itself felt throughout

[1] Read before the Society on Wednesday, March 12th, 1890.

the whole community, and what are the most efficient practical means that can be adopted for ensuring the preservation of ancient monuments throughout the country.

In order to be in a better position to understand the subject, it may be worth while to take a retrospect of the various circumstances to which we owe the preservation of ancient monuments in the past, and on the other hand to examine carefully into the causes which tend to their destruction. The escape of many pre-historic remains is due to their being situated on waste land beyond the reach of the plough; but, as the area of cultivation increases year by year, their risk of removal increases likewise. The great and often useless labour that would be entailed in levelling the more important earthworks and tumuli has generally proved their best protection. Respect for the dead has no doubt prevented many a sepulchral cairn from being interfered with; and even where this feeling is not so strong as it should be, the peasantry in most districts have, or had, a wholesome dread of the evil consequences that would be certain to follow if a stone or other object round which superstitions have gathered were removed. There are, indeed, authentic instances of violent thunderstorms having interrupted the labours of some enthusiastic barrow-opener, and compelled him to beat a hasty retreat, such manifestations being looked upon by the common people as judgments from Heaven. Many remains, such as Roman pavements, owe their preservation to being covered with the *débris* of fallen buildings and earth. Other monuments have continued to exist on account of their usefulness when applied to an entirely different object from that for which they were originally intended. Endless instances could be given of crosses broken up and built into walls, of inscribed pillar-stones utilized as gate-posts, bridges over streams, stands for sun-dials, lintels of win-

dows, quoin-stones; and in one case an inscribed stone was found employed as a mangle-weight. Perhaps one of the most curious cases was that of an Ogham-inscribed stone, now in the British Museum, which was kept by its finder not because it was inscribed, but because he was a collector of oddly-shaped stones, and the one in question resembled a coffin.

Now, as to the destructive agencies. First and foremost we have the process of natural decay from exposure to the weather, sometimes accelerated by such sudden catastrophes as earthquakes, floods, or strokes of lightning. War has always been a fertile source of danger to all buildings, whether new or old; and country people are never tired of attributing their destruction to Oliver Cromwell, who, although he has a great deal to answer for, gets much undeserved abuse for things he never did. For one building that was injured in the Civil Wars a hundred have disappeared altogether on account of the materials having been carted away for the erection of more modern structures. For instance, the village of Avebury is almost entirely built out of the megalithic remains by the ruins of which it is now surrounded. Agricultural operations, as they encroach upon the waste lands, generally sweep away every ancient stone and earthwork that interferes with the work of the plough. Lastly, the fool who destroys through ignorance, the vandal through wilful stupidity, and the iconoclast through religious zeal—these, like the poor, are always with us; but perhaps the most destructive of all agencies is the small boy, more especially when armed with a stone. It is said that if boys' physical powers were at all proportionate to their love of doing mischief, the human race would soon cease to exist.

And now let us come to the practical side of the question, and see what attempts have already been made to stem the tide of destruction. I believe that Sir John Lubbock was

the first person who endeavoured to wake the public conscience with a view to legislating upon the subject, and in 1882 a Bill for the Better Protection of Ancient Monuments was passed through Parliament chiefly by his instrumentality. This Bill, commonly known as the Ancient Monuments Act, differs from the one originally proposed by Sir John Lubbock in not being compulsory in the case of the more important monuments. The chief provisions of the Act in the form it was passed are as follows:—

(1) To enable the owner of any ancient monument, by deed under his hand, to constitute the Commissioners of Works its guardians; the owner by doing so relinquishing no right which he previously possessed with regard to the monument, except that of being able to destroy it; and the Commissioners of Works, on the other hand, to maintain (i.e., fence in, cover in, cleanse or repair) the monument at the expense of the Government.

(2) To enable the Commissioners of Works to purchase any ancient monument.

(3) To enable owners to bequeath ancient monuments to the Commissioners of Works.

(4) To enable the Commissioners of Works to appoint one or more Inspectors of ancient monuments.

(5) To enable local magistrates to punish with a fine of 5*l.* or one month's imprisonment any person convicted of injuring or defacing an ancient monument.

(6) To enable other ancient monuments to be added to the schedule.

The Act concludes with the following definition of an ancient monument:—"The expression 'ancient monuments to which this Act applies' means the monuments described in the schedule hereto, and any other monuments of a like character of which the Commissioners of Works at the request of the owners thereof may consent to become guardians; and

'ancient monument' includes the site of such monument, and such portion of the land adjoining the same as may be required to fence, cover in, or otherwise preserve from injury the monuments standing on such site, also the means of access to such monument."

The schedule referred to is a list of 68 ancient monuments, of which 26 are in England, 3 in Wales, 21 in Scotland, and 18 in Ireland.

I do not know by whom this schedule was compiled, or upon what principle its author went in making the particular selection of monuments given, as many important specimens, and even classes of remains, are entirely omitted. The idea seems to have been to avoid the difficulty of defining and dating the various classes of monuments by giving a series of typical examples of each kind without any sort of arrangement. The monuments included comprise :—

Tumuli, chambered and otherwise;

Megalithic remains, such as stone circles and cromlechs;

Camps, dykes, and other military earthworks;

Vitrified forts;

Ancient British villages and hut circles;

Scottish Brochs or Pictish Towers;

Irish Rath Caves;

Rude pillar-stones with Ogham inscriptions or incised crosses;

Crosses of the 9th and 10th centuries with Hiberno-Saxon ornament or inscriptions.

Roman and Mediæval antiquities appear to be excluded altogether.

I think the schedule in its present shape is rather misleading, and requires careful revision.

The Ancient Monuments Act was put into operation soon after it was passed. The first thing was to appoint an Inspector, and no better selection could have been made

than General Pitt Rivers, D.C.L., &c., who has done so much to advance the studies of anthropology and archæology, both by the numerous costly excavations he has undertaken and by opening to the public the magnificent museum which bears his name at Oxford. In recording what has been done since the passing of the Act, I need hardly say that her Majesty's Inspector of Ancient Monuments has exerted himself to the utmost in order to induce owners to take advantage of the measure; and if the progress made has not been so rapid as might have been expected, this is due to the apathy of the public, the scant encouragement given by the Government to the scheme, and, above all, to the fact of its being only permissive in its operation instead of compulsory. Notwithstanding the various difficulties that have had to be contended with, a very fair amount of progress has been made during the eight years the Act has been in operation. In his address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association during the meeting at Bath in 1888, General Pitt Rivers reviewed the working of the Act up to that time. With regard to the permissive nature of the Act, he says:—"A Permissive Act naturally implies that there is some one in the country who desires to make use of it; whereas, as a fact, no owner has voluntarily offered any monument to be put under the Act, except one (Sir Herbert Maxwell), to whom I shall refer presently; all have had to be sought out and asked to accept the Act, and of the owners of scheduled monuments the larger number have refused."

A map accompanies the address as printed in the Report of the British Association, showing the monuments that had been placed under the Act up to 1887. They are 36 in number, pretty evenly distributed over England, Scotland, and Wales, although there are fewer in Wales than else-

where. The Irish monuments are under the guardianship of the Irish Office of Works, and therefore do not concern us. Of the 36 monuments under the Act, 24 were in the original schedule, and 12 added since, thus :—

	No. of monuments in original schedule.	No. of monuments in original schedule placed under the Act.	No. of monuments added to original schedule and placed under Act.
England . .	27	14	4
Wales . . .	3	1	0
Scotland . .	21	9	8

General Pitt Rivers thinks that the present Act would be improved if the Government were not made entirely responsible for the maintenance of the monuments in the schedule, because the Treasury always endeavour to curtail expenditure, and therefore additions to the list are not as a rule encouraged. He also deplores the fact that the archæological societies throughout the country have not rendered him more assistance. He says :—"At present local archæologists wash their hands of the matter, thinking there is a Government Inspector whose business it is to look after the monuments. This is a mistake; the proper function of the Inspector is simply to look after the monuments that are included, and to advise the Commissioners—not to obtain new monuments for the Act. I have done so because I was charged in a special manner with the organization and working of the Act on its first introduction, but it is beyond the proper functions of the Inspector. I have done it as a private individual, and any other private individual may do the same."

It is a great pity, I think, that the local archæological societies have not done more to assist in the preservation of ancient monuments, but the fact is that not much help can be expected in this quarter, because if any society is written to on the subject the letter is laid before its council, and, after some complimentary remarks, perhaps an abstract

resolution is passed, and there the matter drops, without any practical good resulting from it.

What is most urgently required at present is some machinery for communicating with the owners of monuments, in order to induce them to take advantage of the Act, and also for finding out what monuments in each district it would be most desirable to deal with. General Pitt Rivers has suggested the formation of voluntary local committees for these purposes, several of which have already been set on foot in England and Scotland with very satisfactory results. A committee at Aberdeen has secured two sculptured stones at Dyce; another in Forfarshire has obtained two crosses at Aberlemno; and others have commenced operations in Fifeshire, Gloucestershire, and Wilts. The following is an outline of General Pitt Rivers' plan[2]:—

"Committees to be formed wherever a suitable number of persons can be got together with sufficient enthusiasm to prevent their minding an occasional snub from the owners of the monuments. The area to be supervised by each committee to depend upon the possibilities of action in each case. Committees can be multiplied later on if they succeed. The committees to find out the monuments most worthy of protection, and to apply to the owners to allow them to be protected. Where it is desirable to obtain assistance from Government, then to get the owners to put the monuments under the Act, explaining to them at the same time the nature of the Act, and showing that private ownership is not interfered with by it. When these necessary preliminaries are completed, and the owner consents, H.M. Inspector of Ancient Monuments is referred to. He goes down as soon as circumstances admit of it, and takes plans, sections, drawings, and perhaps even a

[2] As explained in a letter to the author of this paper, dated October 16th, 1889.

model of the monument, and reports to the Office of Works. The First Commissioner will then decide what sum, if any, is to be granted in aid of the protection of the monument. The committee then carries out the work, on the completion of which, or as soon after as may be convenient, H.M. Inspector goes down again and examines and reports to the First Commissioner. A local subscription to be raised before applying for Government aid. The committee acting in aid of the Government undertaking will be possessed of a certain status in dealing with the owners, subject of course to the subsequent approval of the First Commissioner of Works in all cases in which Government aid is applied for. There may be cases in which it will not be found necessary to apply to H.M. Inspector at all, in the same way that the Inspector finds that a great deal of the work of protection can be done without referring to the Office of Works. Where it is thought advisable by the committees, a joint or simultaneous appeal might be made to the owner by the committee and the Inspector, by which means both local and Government influence would be brought to bear." I think that every one will agree that the plan thus sketched out is a very admirable one, and should be applied with as little delay as possible to the case of Wales. Looking at the schedule at the end of the Act it will be seen that only three ancient monuments are included out of the whole of Wales, namely, the Chambered Tumulus at Plâs Newydd, in Anglesey, Arthur's Quoit Cromlech, in Gower, and Pentre Evan Cromlech, in Pembrokeshire. Out of these only the last mentioned has been placed under the Act by Lord Kensington.

Now, as Wales is as rich as, if not richer than England in ancient remains of every kind, it is clear that there is a wide field open for getting more monuments in this part of Great Britain placed under the Act. But before this

can be done we must know what monuments exist in Wales. That is to say, that an archæological survey of some kind is an absolute necessity as the first step towards taking advantage of the Act. I have always maintained that a general archæological survey of Great Britain by Government should have preceded and not followed the introduction of a Bill for the Protection of Ancient Monuments. Something in the nature of an archæological survey has been carried out by the Ordnance Surveyors, but their work is necessarily very imperfect for want of technical knowledge. In the Geological Survey trained geologists are employed, but I have never heard of a specialist in archæology whose duty it was to supervise the plotting of antiquities on the Government Maps of the Ordnance Survey. Sometimes the Surveyors have a smattering of archæology, just sufficient, indeed, to show that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. I cannot help thinking that it would be a great advantage if there was some sort of co-operation between a committee of experts in archæology and the Ordnance Survey.

General Pitt Rivers holds that it does not come within the province of the duties of the Inspector of Ancient Monuments to make a preliminary survey in order to ascertain what antiquities exist in any part of the country, and which of them it would be desirable to place under the Act. This must be done by private enterprise, and is one of the *raisons d'être* of the local committees.

A good deal of the material for making catalogues of the various classes of ancient remains in Wales exists in the volumes of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and only requires a little trouble to put it into shape. Almost every inscribed stone and early sculptured cross has been described and illustrated by Prof. I. O. Westwood. The late Rev. E. L. Barnwell made megalithic structures his special study, and

there is hardly a single cromlech that he has not dealt with exhaustively. All that is wanted now is a small band of workers, each of whom will take up some particular class of monument and treat it in a similar manner.

Having found out what monuments require to be placed under the Act, the next question is how to induce the owners to consent to have them scheduled. This is not always an easy matter. Some are afraid that their rights will be interfered with. To them it should be explained that by scheduling a monument no right except that of destroying the monument is relinquished. The Government does not aim at the acquisition of the monuments for the nation, but is particularly anxious that the proprietors should look upon them as their own after they have placed them under the Act, and should assist in their preservation.

Another common objection raised by the owner is that he does not see the necessity for Government help when he is quite capable of looking after the monuments on his own estate himself. True, there can be no better guardian of an ancient monument than an owner who values it and cares for it; but he has no guarantee that his successor will follow in his footsteps in this respect, and by not scheduling a monument he is unable to take advantage of the power to get any malicious person who damages it severely punished. I have always thought that it would be a good thing if the owner of every ancient monument could be appointed its hereditary guardian and be answerable for its safe keeping, in the same way that the relics of the Early Celtic Church were protected and handed down from father to son.

We come lastly to the practical means adopted for the protection of an ancient monument when once it has been placed under the Act. As a preliminary to taking any steps for the protection of a monument, complete drawings of

the whole and sometimes models have to be made. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of the record thus obtained of the exact condition of all the most important ancient remains in Great Britain. Unfortunately the funds supplied by Government for this most necessary part of the work are quite inadequate. What has been done up to the present in this direction is due almost entirely to the private munificence of General Pitt Rivers. It would be very desirable to have an exhibition of drawings, photographs, and models of a typical series of ancient monuments, illustrating their development; and I cannot imagine any fitter person to organize such an exhibition than H.M. Inspector. We want to get the public generally to take an interest in the matter; and I feel sure that an exhibition of the kind proposed would do more than anything else to stimulate a desire to see the monuments themselves. The better known any monument is, the less chance there will be of its being damaged with impunity.

As to the actual precautions taken for protecting a monument, the Act states that the words "maintain" and "maintenance" include the fencing, repairing, cleansing, covering in, or doing any other act or thing which may be required for the purpose of repairing any monument or protecting the same from decay or injury. No mention is made of a custodian on the spot to look after the monument. I had an opportunity recently of seeing the plan adopted by the French Government for protecting the Dolmens, &c., of the Morbihan. Each monument was surrounded by a low stone wall of dry rubble masonry, and a small pillar erected in the ground gave the name of the monument thus:—

DOLMEN DE COURCONO
PROPRIÉTÉ DE L'ÉTAT.

In Great Britain a notice-board takes the place of this

stone. Notice-boards are always unsightly, and I think the French plan an improvement on our system.

It will be impossible to enter here into all the questions connected with the subject, but there is one which should not be passed over, and that is what should be done with semi-portable monuments, such as inscribed stones and early sculptured crosses, which, if left in their present positions, will inevitably perish eventually by exposure to the weather. There are only two alternatives, either to remove them from the sites they now occupy, and place them within some building, or to erect a structure to cover them over. Most archæologists are, I think, agreed on the following points :—

(1) All inscribed or sculptured stones should be protected from the weather.

(2) If an inscribed or sculptured stone occupies its original site, it should not be moved, but a structure built over it.

(3) If an inscribed or sculptured stone is not *in situ*, it should be removed, and placed within some building.

There seems, however, to be a divergence of opinion as to whether when a stone is removed it should be preserved in the locality, or placed in a local or national museum. I am personally in favour of keeping the stones in their own localities—if possible, in the nearest church. It would be quite impossible to get more than a small proportion of the sculptured stones given to any museum, and the remainder would have to be represented by casts. Such a collection would undoubtedly facilitate the study of the palæography of the inscriptions and the development of the ornament; but the space occupied would be very great on account of the size of many of the stones. As an alternative General Pitt Rivers suggested that models to the

scale of one-sixth of the original should be substituted. These models, supplemented by photographs and drawings of the ornamental details, would serve as well for purposes of study as a museum containing the stones themselves or casts thereof.

WELSH PLACE-NAMES:

A STUDY OF SOME COMMON NAME-ELEMENTS.

By J. E. LLOYD.[1]

With Notes by the Editor.

In a recent number of the Academy,[2] Mr. Elton makes the remark that the science of *toponomastique*, or the study of place-names, is still in its infancy. One is glad to have the fact recognized that such a science is possible, and that the application to historical purposes of the evidence supplied by local names may be conducted on something better than the old haphazard lines. Too long has this field of study been abandoned as the happy hunting-ground of that irrepressible person, the amateur etymologist. The progress of general knowledge in matters philological has banished this ingenious individual from many of his beloved haunts: it is rarely we hear him now derive the English *thorn* from the German *Dorn*, or the Welsh *caer* from the Hebrew *Kirjath:* but the derivation of local names at his own sweet will, without regard to rules of philology, is a luxury he still allows himself. He flourishes greatly in Wales. Not that among our hills there is a lower average of intelligence in regard to such matters than elsewhere: on the contrary, there is a very healthy and enlightened interest in the past of the country, and a little knowledge of that past, as contrasted with the dense

[1] Read before the Society on Wednesday, April 2nd, 1890.

[2] Feb. 8th, 1890.

historical ignorance of the English rural population. But it is just that little knowledge which leads the good man astray: he has heard that *gwy* is the old Welsh for 'water'[3]—at once he comes to the conclusion that *Cyn-wy*[4] or *Conway* is 'the first water,' *Ail-wy* or *Elwy* 'the second water,' and *Dyfrdwy* or *Trydedd-wy* (this is a little awkward, but the theory must not be sacrificed) is 'the third water.' Hardly a week passes but I have propounded to me, in all seriousness, by persons of good general intelligence, explanations of place-names not a whit less ridiculous than that of the "three waters."

I am glad, therefore, that there seems to be some prospect of our having in time a science of place-names, with laws of which educated people will recognize the authority. At present, I am afraid, as Mr. Elton says, that we are only just beginning, and have hardly gained any clear idea of our first principles. In *Words and Places*, by Dr. Isaac Taylor, the only English book, so far as I am aware, which deals systematically with place-names, there is a chapter on what is called "Onomatology," or the principles on which scientific investigation of the subject ought to be conducted. One feels inclined to quarrel with the term employed to describe the new science, on the ground that it contains nothing to indicate that the names to be investigated are *place*-names: "*onomatology*" ought certainly to include the analysis of personal names, a very interesting, but an entirely distinct study. This, however, is a mere trifle: it is more to the point that we have here an effort to formulate first principles for the new science in a manner not hitherto attempted. I take the following to be the chief propositions laid down by Dr. Taylor on the subject of place-names:—

1. Every place-name is significant, i.e., has an appropriate

[3] See note (*a*) at end of article. [4] See note (*b*) at end of article.

meaning in the language of the race which first made use of it.

2. The first step towards ascertaining this meaning is to trace the name back to the earliest extant form.
3. Where it is not possible to trace a name very far back, the analogy of names similarly formed must be used to explain it.
4. Nearly all names consist of two elements, the substantive element or *Grundwort*, and the adjective element or *Bestimmungswort*. The former designates the class, the latter the peculiarity of this individual in the class. Thus in *Bryn Cóch*, to take a Welsh instance, *bryn* shows the locality indicated to be a hill, and not a stream or valley, *cóch* gives the character of this particular hill, as a red or sun-parched one, conspicuous in this respect among the grassy heights around it.[5]

To these propositions no exception can of course be taken: it may, however, be complained that, as they stand, they are somewhat incomplete: they do not go enough to the root of the matter. I am not so presumptuous as to suppose I can furnish you with much better; but let me, by way of introduction to what I have specially to say about Welsh place-names, mention one or two points which seem to me worth working out by the next student who seeks to formulate the principles of this study.

Dr. Taylor's first proposition, that names of places are significant, means of course that they were not arbitrarily attached to localities without regard to meaning, as when names are given to children because they are hereditary in the family, pleasing in sound, or romantic in association, and not because of any particular meaning they convey. A place-name is a word, and not a symbol, just as personal

[5] See note (*c*) at end of article.

names were significant words in more primitive times. But Canon Taylor does not, it seems to me, lay sufficient emphasis on the simplicity of early place-names as distinguished from those of the modern world, or the fact that the names of localities were generally compounded quite unconsciously, and only became regular names after long usage. Nowadays, there is about most name-giving a very conscious air: the Arctic explorer who discovers a new inlet calls it "Jenkins Creek," and down it goes on the chart in honour of his friend and benefactor: the owner of the brand-new villa, commanding an extensive prospect of yellow brick and iron fencing and privet bushes, has "The Elms" inscribed upon his diminutive portals, because it looks well embossed in Old English characters at the head of his note-paper. Naming is now very largely an artificial process, and the names of the day betray their unreality by their inappropriateness or the awkwardness of their construction. In rural districts, however, where people are less sophisticated, name-giving of the old type still goes on, and one may watch a local name in the process of formation. A few years ago, a brick house of decidedly aggressive hue was built in a neighbourhood in Montgomeryshire where all building had hitherto been in the gray stone of the country. At once it became known, without any conscious process of naming, as *Y Ty Cóch*, and *Ty Cóch* I have no doubt it will remain until the end of the chapter.[6] In the parish of Llanbrynmair, again, the railway bridge which crosses the road to Newtown somewhat below Talerddig is known locally as *Pont Bell*, from the contractor who carried out the work, while on the same road, a little nearer Machynlleth, is *Craig Smith*, handing down the name of another contractor who in making the road had to cut through this rock. These names have

[6] See note (*d*) at end of article.

arisen by a purely natural process: they were not imposed by any authority from without, but gained currency in the district because their appropriateness, their value for purposes of distinction—the great end of name-giving—was at once recognized by all.

If this be, then, the true origin of local names, except in so far as they are modern and artificial, it is clear that any suggested explanation of a place-name must not only make sense in the language of the district, but must also be a form that is likely to have arisen in this way. Thus *Goitre* or *Y Goettref*, a name of which there are many instances in Wales, cannot mean 'the wooden village,' because in early days all villages were built of wood, and the name would in this sense not have been distinctive. It is 'the village in the wood,' as distinguished from some neighbouring *Vastre* or *Faesdref*, 'the village in the field.' *Ty Cerig* ('Stone House'), on the other hand, would have been a distinctive name, and as a matter of fact is extremely common.

The main purpose of name-giving, I have said, is to distinguish. In satisfying ourselves, however, that a local name fulfils this end, we have to bear in mind the very limited amount of travelling in early times, and therefore the narrow compass within which distinction was necessary. This tends to qualify Dr. Taylor's fourth proposition that a place-name consists of a substantive and an adjective element, the latter supplying the distinctive idea. Where only one object of its kind exists in a district, clearly no adjective element is needed to define it for the untravelled folk of that district. The hill-fortress of the region, for instance, would be known to them as *Y Gaer*, and only if there were more than one in the vicinity would it be necessary to speak of *Y Gaer Fawr*, *Y Gaer Wen*, and so forth. Names which originally contained an adjective-

element are often curtailed by the people who use them daily and have not to contrast them with others similarly formed.[7] Thus *Penrhyn Deudraeth* is locally clipped down into *Y Penrhyn*, and *Portmadoc* into *Y Port*: *Tywyn Meirionydd*—'the sand-flat of Meirionydd'—is now everywhere known as *Towyn*: *Y Wern newydd*, near New Quay, one of the resting places of Henry VII. on his journey to Bosworth Field, is called simply *Y Wern*.[8]

Place-names, being words, are of course subject to the ordinary laws of language. They undergo the process stupidly called phonetic decay: thus the *Demetæ* of Roman times give their name to mediæval *Dyfed*. They are altered from forms of which the meaning is not at once obvious into those of which there are abundant examples, as when *Glan-feiglo*, on the brooklet *Beiglo*, is transformed into *Llan-feiglo*. Similarly, *Gwynllyw-wg*, the realm of *Gwynllyw* Filwr between Usk and Rhymni, appears as *Gwaun-llwg*,[9] and sometimes as *Wentloog*, though really having nothing to do either with *gwaun* or *Gwent*. The primitive meaning of a name having been forgotten, an explanatory element is often added which is in fact already contained in the original form. Such pleonastic forms as *salt-cellar* find a parallel in the local names *Dinas Dinlle*, *Dinas Dinorwig*,[1] in which *Dinas* is really unnecessary, inasmuch as the *Din-* element expresses the fortress-idea: *din*, however, having become obsolete and given way to *dinas*, this was not perceived.

Passing by the points in which place-names simply afford illustrations of the general laws of philology, I recur to the question of the origin of these names by an unconscious process. A place-name being really a phrase out of a primitive sentence, just as if one took *Tŷ Cóch* out of such

[7] See note (*e*) at end of article.
[8] See note (*f*) at end of article.
[9] See note (*g*) at end of article.
[1] See note (*h*) at end of article.

a sentence as '*Mae o'n byw yn y tŷ cŏch*,' it is above all things important, if one would ascertain the original point of a place-name, to fix the meaning of its different elements at the time it first grew into a proper name. If this is neglected, we shall go egregiously astray: coming across a *Tre-wern*, we shall conclude that this *gwern* or 'marshy flat' was once covered by a thriving market town; the name *Cyfoeth y Brenin* will precipitate us into wild speculations about the site of the royal treasury; it will puzzle us to understand what point there could have been in calling a brook *Hir-nant*.[2] Only when we learn that *tref* anciently denoted a village or hamlet, that *cyfoeth* is Old Welsh for 'land or territory,' and that a common meaning of *nant* is 'a glen or valley,' do these names yield up to us their secret. A study of the primitive significations of the words employed in making place-names is therefore a necessary preliminary to the analysis of individual local names; and what I propose to do in the rest of this paper is, if I can, to fix the meaning of certain elements which enter largely into the formation of such names in Wales. The names with which I shall deal will be names of a particular class, those which denote human habitations, or involve the political and social organization of the Old Welsh. Names expressing merely physical characteristics, such as *Rhŏs Gŏch, Pennant, Esgair Hir, Aberystwyth*, I shall not touch, but take up those alone which testify to the presence of man. In attempting to ascertain the original sense of a name-element, it will sometimes be necessary to call in the aid of philology; but more real help will be gained from historical and topographical evidence, from observation of the use of the term in ancient Welsh documents, and from the circumstances under which it is found distributed as a name-element over the soil. This must be the excuse of a

[2] See note (*i*) at end of article.

student of history for invading what may seem at first sight to be a philological preserve.

I begin with *DIN* (sometimes corruptly *DYN*), of which *DINAS* is a derivative.[3] *Dinas* in modern Welsh is used as the equivalent of the English 'city,' but except in the case of *Dinas Mawddwy*, the diminutive borough of the commote of Mawddwy, I know of no place-name that would suggest that the old Welsh used the word in this sense. Wherever found (and it is a very common name-element), *dinas* appears in connection with the hill-fortress, British camp, or whatever we choose to call it, the large entrenched or stone-girt enclosure set on the crown of a hill which is so characteristic a relic of early British civilization. Such a camp you have at Pen*dinas*, near Aberystwyth, at Llwyn Bryn *Dinas*, near Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant, and at *Dinas* Penmaen on Penmaen-mawr. *Dinas* Dinlle is a huge artificial mound, round which trenches have been drawn as around the sides of the hills on which *dinesydd* were usually constructed. The simpler form *DIN* has been obsolete for centuries: the pleonastic *Dinas Dinlle* occurs in the *Mabinogion*, showing that even thus early the Welsh had forgotten that *Dinlleu* (the old spelling) meant 'Lleu's *dinas*,' from the mythical Lleu (or Llew) Llaw Gyffes whose history is related in the *Mabinogi* of *Math fab Mathonwy*. As a name-element, *din* is nevertheless still in many instances to be traced: as a prefix in *Dinlle*,[4] *Dinorwig*,[5] *Dinorthin*, *Dinorben* and *Dinefwr*[6]; as a suffix in *Gor-ddyn*[7] *Mawr*, *Y Creu-ddyn*,[8] *Castell*

[3] See note (*j*) at end of article. [4] See note (*k*) at end of article.
[5] See note (*h*) at end of article. [6] See note (*l*) at end of article.

[7] The correct form of this is *Gorddin*, whence *Gorddinog*, near Bangor. In its older forms *wordin*, *wardin*, it is common over a very large tract of and adjoining the Welsh border, where it is Anglicized into *-wardine*, *-erdine*, as in *Lugwardine*, *Ellerdine*, &c. The ancient form of *Marden*-on-Lugg was *Maordine*; and *Hawarden* (pronounced *Harden*) is spelt *Haordine* in Domesday.—Ed.

[8] Canon Silvan Evans informs us that the commote of this name in Cardiganshire is pronounced *Creuddyn*, not *Creuddin*.—Ed.

Moyddin, *Y Breiddin*, and the numerous *Garddens* of Powysland. We recognize it at once in the -DUNUM which is so common a substantive-element in the British and Gaulish place-names handed down to us by Roman historians and Greek geographers. *Lyons* in France and *Leyden* in Holland were originally *Lugudunum* or *Lleuddin*, i.e., *Din Lleu* written as one word. There was *Uxelodunum* (= *yr Uchelddin*), *Augustodunum*, *Juliodunum*, *Noviodunum*, *Vellaunodunum*, *Melodunum*, and a host of others. In Britain, *Londinium* probably belongs to the same class of formations: *Camulodunum*, *Dunium*, *Sorbiodunum*, and *Moridunum* are other instances. In Gaul the places ending in *-dunum* were regular towns elaborately walled in and styled by Cæsar "*oppida*": of Britain we are distinctly told by that author that it had no such cities. "What the Britons call an '*oppidum*' (i.e., no doubt a *dún* or *dinas*) is simply," he says, "a portion of the forest fenced round with a ditch and rampart, whither they are in the habit of retiring when they wish to repel the attack of an enemy" (*Bell. Gall.*, v. 21).[9] Their *dins*, he says in effect, are simply camps of refuge.[10] Of the words used among the Welsh to denote 'fort' or 'castle,' *din* or *dún* is the most widely distributed among the Celtic communities, and it would appear, therefore, to have been the primitive Celtic name, connected with the earliest period of Celtic civilization, a time when the strong places of a district were not continuously inhabited, but only used as places of shelter in time of special need. In Irish *dún* is a fort: instances of its occurrence in place-names are *Dundalk*, *Dungannon*, *Dun-*

[9] "Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt, quò, incursionis hostium vitandæ causâ, convenire consuerunt."—Ed.

[10] This exactly tallies with the fact that in two separate works of early date *din* is glossed or translated *receptaculum*, which we might in English render by 'a hold.'—Ed.

garvan, and *Dundrum*.[11] Similarly in Scotland we have *Dumbarton*[1] ('the Brythons' *dún*'), *Dumblane*, *Dumfries*, *Dunkeld*,[1] and *Dunedin*, an old name for Edinburgh.[2] As to derivation, *dún* is no doubt the Celtic representative of the old English *tún*, modern English *town*, and modern German *Zaun*, 'a hedge.' The *tún* (appearing as *-ton* in the names of modern villages) is the village settlement: earlier still, as the German *Zaun* and the Icelandic *tún* show, it was the hedge or enclosure thrown round the settlement. *Dúnaim* in Irish also means 'I enclose'; here we get then the root-idea which explains the Celtic and the Teutonic usages. Both *dinas* and *town* mean 'an enclosure;' but the former is the temporary resort in time of danger, the latter is the permanently protected home of a little community.[3]

I pass on to a more difficult word, viz. *CAER*. It is, in the first place, applied very generally to hill-fortresses which might with equal propriety, so far as one sees, have been styled *dinesydd*. Thus *Yr Hên Gaer*, near Bow Street in Cardiganshire, is a very fine British camp: so is *Caer Drewyn* near Corwen. In a number of cases, therefore, *caer* and *dinas* do not seem to be differentiated. *Caer* has, however, one special application: it is very frequently employed to indicate the sites of Roman camps or cities, a connection in which *dinas* is never found.[4] Thus Segontium

[11] In Irish *Dun Dealgan* (older *Dun Delca*), *Dun Geanainn*, *Dun Garbhain*, and *Dun Droma*.—Ed.

[1] In Irish or Gaelic *Dun Brettan*, *Dun Chaildeann* respectively.—Ed.

[2] See note (*q*) at end of article.

[3] See note (*m*) at end of article.

[4] *Din*, however, was apparently used to designate a Roman station in Cornwall. The Roman *Voluba*, near Grampound, is now called *Golden* (anciently written *Wulvedon* and the like), the first part of which word is certainly *Voluba* (*Guoloph* in Nennius, § 66; see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 152), and the second seems to be *din*; in the West of Cornwall it is hardly likely that we should find the English *-ton*. The

is represented by *Caer yn Arfon*,[5] Deva by *Caer-lleon* ar Ddyfrdwy, Isca Silurum by *Caer-llion*[6] ar Wysg, Venta Silurum by *Caer-went*, Conovium by *Caer-rhun*,[7] and Moridunum by *Caer-fyrddin*. *Caer-sws*[8] in Montgomeryshire and *Caer-gai* in Merionethshire were also Roman stations, though no ancient authority has handed down their original names. *Caer-fyrddin* is an especially interesting name, showing as it does how *Caer* came into use at a later period than *din*, when proper names consisted of distinct words (as in *Din Lleu*) and were no longer compounds (as in *Lugudunum*). *Moridunum*, 'the sea-fort' (probably), is a compound of the older type; the Romans no doubt found a *dun* here—a fortified height—when first they descended into the valley of the Towy. They proceeded to construct on the spot a camp, which grew into a city under the name of *Moridunum*.[9] This the Welsh as usual styled a *caer*: it became *Caer-forddin*, a name which plainly intimated that the Roman *caer* was something different from the Welsh *din*. Gradually, the original meaning of *Morddin* was

ramparts at Golden enclose 7 acres; the place called *Tredenham* (= *Tre Dinan*: see note (*m*), *infra*) close by seems also to refer to the Roman station.—Ed.

[5] See note (*f*) at end of article.

[6] This is the spelling of the *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Mabinogion* and tallies with the modern Anglicized Monmouthshire pronunciation, *Carleen*. *Caerleon*, as the name of this place, is believed to be an *English*, not a Welsh, orthography.—Ed.

[7] Supposed (very reasonably) to be so called after *Rhun* ab Maelgwn Gwynedd.—Ed.

[8] Anciently *Caer Swys*, as in Lewis Glyn Cothi's (*Gwaith*, I. iv. 15) "Dwy Bowys a Chaer Swys wen."—Ed.

[9] The form given by Ptolemy for 'Carmarthen' is *Maridunon*. The *Ridumo* of the *Peutinger Table*, which answers in position to *Seaton* in Devonshire, has been taken to stand for *Ridunio* and that for *Moridunio*, supposed to occur in a half-translated form in the modern name. Such forms as the prototypes of Welsh *môr*, Ir. *muir*, genitive *mara*, and the Latin *mare* might be easily confused by classical geographers.—Ed.

entirely forgotten, until it became possible to connect the name of the spot with that of the great enchanter of Celtic story, and it was accordingly altered to *Caer-fyrddin*.[10]

So among the Irish Celts, *dún* seems to have been the earlier form, and *cathair* a new one, denoting something different: this at any rate is the conclusion suggested by such forms as *Cathair duna iascaigh*[1] (Joyce: *Irish Names of Places*, First Series, 4th edition, 1875, p. 284). Once introduced, *caer* seems to have rapidly spread: as *cathair* (modern *cahir*) it is common in Ireland: *ker* is the ordinary Breton word for a house or village: such names as *Carvean*, *Carcurrian*, *Carwythenick*, *Cargerrack*, and *Carzantick* testify to its extension over Cornwall,[2] while *Carlisle*[3] shows that in Cumbria the same custom prevailed as in Wales of styling a Roman station *caer*. We have in this region the same element in other place-names, such as *Carstairs*, *Carluke*,[4] and *Carriden*.[5] *Caer* thus appears to be a late word, originally differing in meaning from *dinas*, and marking some change in the ancient British manner of living. The precise character of this change it is very difficult to determine. Little help is afforded by the derivation of the word, for *caer* seems, like *dinas*, to have originally denoted an enclosure. In spite of the connection with Roman sites, the derivation from Lat. *castra*, which some have suggested, is hardly tenable:[6] *caer* is rather a native word, a derivative of '*cae-u*,' to enclose, with which '*cae*' = in old Welsh 'a hedge, barrier, or circlet,' is also connected. In a similar way from *arc-eo*, 'to restrain, confine,' the

[10] See note (*n*) at end of article.

[1] The Irish name of *Caher* in Tipperary.—Ed.

[2] The commonness of *car-* in Cornwall, and its occurrence in places where there seem never to have been forts, suggest that it had come to mean in Cornish 'a house or village,' just like *ker* in Breton.—Ed.

[3] See note (*o*) at end of article.

[4] See note (*p*) at end of article.

[5] See note (*q*) at end of article.

[6] See note (*r*) at end of article.

Romans had *arx*, a fortress or *caer*. In some parts of Cardiganshire, I am told, *caerau* is occasionally used for *caeau*, fields[7]: the use of *caer y fynwent* in the sense of the churchyard wall, and of *caerau* in the sense of battlements, confirms one in the supposition that *caer* means an enclosed stronghold. But what was the mark of a *caer* as distinguished from a *dinas?* The only answer I can offer is that a *caer* was a permanently inhabited stronghold, whereas the *dinas* never seems on this side of the Channel to have denoted more than a mere camp of refuge.[8] Such is the conclusion suggested by the Breton use of *ker* for a village, and the application of the term to Roman stations.

CASTELL is considerably simpler to deal with. The Latin *castellum*, a diminutive of *castrum*, denoted 'a bastion, tower, or small fortification.' Adopted by the Welsh in the form *castell*, it was applied by them to a smaller type of stronghold than the primitive *caer* or *din*. Especially was it used to denote the fortified residences of the tribal chieftains who seem to have been everywhere in Britain the political successors of the Romans. These *castells* were usually of limited area, and in later ages often had walls of stone: such were *Castell Deganwy*, *Castell Dolwyddelan*, *Castell Dolbadarn*, and *Castell y Bere* near Towyn. The name was still retained as the castle grew under Norman hands into a very ambitious structure: after the substantial castles of the Lords Marchers came in due course the magnificent Edwardian castles, the stately towers of Harlech and Car-

[7] This use of *caerau* is found in one of Lewis Morris' poems in *Diddanweh Teuluaidd* (London, 1763), p. 199 (at p. 229 of the Carnarvon edition of 1817):

Fe redai 'r Bugail digllon,
Heb geisio Pont ar Afon;
Ac wrth ei bwys y crynnai 'r llawr,
Trwy *gaerau* mawr Tregaron.

—Ed.

[8] See note (*s*) at end of article.

narvon. *Castell* had become by this time a general name for 'fortress,' driving out both *dinas* and *caer*, and thus we find it applied, though most inappropriately, to the hill-fortresses of the primitive period. *Cefn y Castell*, near Breiddin Hill, and *Pen y Castell*, between Llanidloes and Llawr y Glyn, are instances of this misapplication. It follows that the name *castell*, unlike that of *dinas*, never affords by itself any clue to the character of the stronghold of which it is the name.[9]

A most important element in Welsh place-names is *TREF*. In modern Welsh *tref* is 'town,' but such a form as *tref ddegwm* for a township ought at once to suggest, what is as certain as anything can be, that *tref* has gone through the same change of meaning as *town* itself, and meant originally a village settlement. Only thus can we explain the profusion of *Tref*-names which greet us wherever we turn in the map of Wales, and the fact that nowhere do we find the form *Y Dref*, indicating that the object described was unique in that neighbourhood, but always forms like *Trehelyg*, *Tre-iorwerth*, *Uchel-dre*, *Tref-eglwys*, which imply that *trefs* were many and contiguous, and so had to be distinguished. *Tref*, in fact, was the equivalent in meaning of the Old English *-ham* and *-ton*, the Danish *-by*, the *villa* of the Middle Ages: it was the hamlet of kindred, dwelling together in a group of huts, perhaps at first in a single house, protected by a ring fence and tilling the lands and ranging the meadows and pastures around. The late Mr. Hubert Lewis, in his book on *The Ancient Laws of Wales*, has very carefully investigated the origin of the *tref* as a form of social organization: he connects the word with the Latin *tribus*,[1] and takes it to have signified, first a joint family, held together until the fourth generation from a

[9] See note (*t*) at end of article. [1] See note (*u*) at end of article.

common ancestor, then the rights and privileges attaching to membership of such a joint family—a usage seen in *treftad*, i.e., '*tref* or privileges or inheritance by right of one's father'—then the hamlet occupied by the joint family, remaining a compact settlement even after by process of time more than one joint family, one *tref* in the eye of the law, or one *gwely* in later language, had sprung up within it. A good deal of obscurity still hangs about the relation of the personal *tref* or joint family to the local *tref* or village: but the existence of the latter under the name *tref* is undeniable, and is the only point about which we need trouble at present. Whatever the real origin of the *cantref*, it is clear that, like the English *Hundred*, it was popularly supposed to be a collection of one hundred *trefs*, which must therefore, taking into consideration the size of the *cantref*, have been village settlements.[2] Passages in the Welsh Laws show that the *trefgordd* or '*tref* inclosure' (the older and more accurate expression for the local *tref*) had only one herdsman, one bull, and one herd attached to it: so that it must have been a mere hamlet. What is said as to house-burning in the Laws shows that in a *tref*, as in a modern village, the houses of different owners were grouped together in close proximity, so that a fire in one might easily pass to those on either side. Moreover the Dimetian Code says, "Let the first house burnt in the *tref* through negligence pay for the first two houses which shall take fire on that account, *one on each side*."[3] It would seem, therefore, that the houses of the *tref* were arranged, not in a cluster, but side by side in one long street, like the primitive huts of the Skye crofters. Supposing this to have been the usual arrangement in early times, we can under-

[2] See note (*v*) at end of article.

[3] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, by Aneurin Owen, 8vo. edition, i. 414.

stand how the Latin *vicus*, meaning originally 'a hamlet,' and connected with the Greek οἶκος and English *-wick*, came in towns to mean 'a street.' The fact that people's homes were not scattered over the lands they tilled, but were grouped together for safety in a village settlement or *tref* is further illustrated by the forms *adref*, *gartref*, *tua thref*, and *yn nhre'* for 'homewards' and 'at home.' *Tref*, then, in Welsh place-names, is a relic of the village or township stage of civilization which so long prevailed in this country, and which in Wales has only within comparatively recent times given way to the market town, the *llan*, and the farm.

PENTREF has an obscurer history. At present it is the ordinary Welsh word for a village, what in our day answers in external appearance to the Old Welsh *tref*. But the very fact that, in spite of external appearance, the old word *tref* is not used to describe a modern Welsh village, but is only applied to a market town, shows that under the superficial resemblance there is an essential difference. It lies no doubt in this—that a *tref* is an organized community; thus the term was deemed not an unsuitable name for the little market town, with its bye-laws and tolls and officers, but was conceived to have no meaning when applied to the modern village, a cluster of labourers' cottages with no organization whatever. Whatever *pentref* meant in Old Welsh, then, it meant something without organization. Accordingly the name does not once, so far as I am aware, occur in the Welsh Laws: it does not enter into the name of any township mentioned in the *Record of Carnarvon*, and, if it goes to form part of the name of any modern township, this is probably the result of some recent subdivision of an ancient area. I can indeed recall no instance of the occurrence of *pentref* in any ancient Welsh document: if the word (but this is unlikely) was not

unknown in Old Welsh, it must have denoted something quite insignificant, not likely to make its way into literature. It is obviously compounded of *pen* and *tref;* yet the meaning of the compound is not at all clear: it is not 'the chief town,' on the analogy of *pen-hebogydd,* 'the chief falconer'; for in that case, apart from the fact that a *pentref* is a *little tref,* the word would be feminine, as compounded from *tref,* which is a feminine noun. *Pen* is clearly the substantive, and *tref* the adjective element, and the only possible translation seems to be 'town's head' or 'town's end,' just as *Pentir* is 'Land's-end.' *Pentre-felin* is a very common form: of *Tre-felin,* on the other hand, I cannot at present recollect a single example. This is perhaps due to the fact that, as most *trefs* had a mill, it served no purpose to distinguish them by the name of *Tre-felin*—though the early form *Felin-dre* (*Velindra*[4] in Cornwall) suggests that at first, when mills were beginning to supplant the old querns worked by hand, this was not so. But if *Trefelin* was an unsuitable name for an independent township, each *tref* might well call the cluster of huts round its mill, which as standing by the water's edge would not be in the heart of the *tref* itself, *Pentre-felin,* 'the town end (or *pentref*) by the mill.' As to how *pentref* or 'town's end' came originally to mean a distinct cluster of houses, I can only offer this suggestion. The king's villeins, the *taiogiaid y brenin* of the Laws, had separate *trefs* allotted to them, into which no one else might intrude. But the free Cymry of the district, the *breyrs* or *uchelwrs* and their relatives, had, no less than the king, *taiogiaid* or *meibion eillion,* for whom no *trefs* were provided, though we are told in the Laws that they had *tyddyns* or homesteads and arable lands among them. Is it not possible that these *tyddyns* were grouped together at one end of the free *tref* to which they were attached, so as

[4] See note (*w*) at end of article.

to form a 'town-end' or *pentref*, an appendix to the real *tref*, a mere parcel of huts, without organization and without recognized place in the arrangements of the district? The name *pentref* might thus come in time to mean any little unorganized assemblage of dwellings, whether forming a real 'town-end' or not, and finally a village of the modern type.

I pass on to *MAENOR* and *MAENOL*. In the first place, it is to be remarked that, in spite of the superficial resemblance to the English *manor* and French *manoir*, this word is undoubtedly of native origin. *Mainavre* occurs in Domesday as the name of a township in the Welsh district of Archenfield: it could not thus early in the Norman occupation have crept into the language from without.[5] It is a name, moreover, which we find in some form or other throughout Wales, even in the least Normanised districts, such as Anglesey and Carnarvonshire, where it has been laid down as a rule of law that manors, in the English sense of the term, do not exist. *Maenol* is the North Welsh form, *Maenor* that of South Wales, a distinction which is observed also in the different codes in the Welsh Laws. According to the Venedotian Code (that of North-West Wales) the *maenol* is the village settlement which pays one pound annually to the king, i.e., it corresponds to the *tref* of South Wales. But though we are told that there ought to be twenty-four such *maenols* of four *trefs* each and four *trefs* in addition (i.e. fifty *trefs*) in every *cymwd* or half-hundred, we incidentally learn from another passage that there were only nine *maenols* altogether in the important *cantref* of Arfon. Moreover, there were *maenors* as well as *trefs* in South Wales, consisting not of four but of seven or thirteen *trefs*, and these villein-*trefs*. *Maenol Vangor*, too, a North Wales *maenol* mentioned in the *Record of Carnarvon* (p. 95),

[5] See note (*x*) at end of article.

was a cluster of 12 villein-hamlets, such as the South-Welsh codes describe. A notable fact, also, is that wherever *Maenor* or *Maenol* appear as place-names, they appear almost invariably with the article simply, or with an appendant proper name, and not with a qualifying adjective. *Y Faenol, Y Faenor, Manorowen,*[6] *Manorbeer* (which is in Old-Welsh *Mainaur Pyr* or *Byr*), *Maenor Deilo* and *Maner Ieuan* are the characteristic forms. *Vainor ucha* and *Vainor issa* are of course subdivisions of an ancient township of *Vainor: Faenol Fawr* and *Faenol Fach* represent similar divisions of a farm. If, then, we contrast the prevalent *Y Faenor* with the typical *Tre'r Ddôl,* we shall at once see that *maenor* and *tref* cannot be equated, that the *tref* is one of many, so that *Y Dref* is never found, while the *maenor* is an unique feature of the district, so that *Y Faenor* is the commonest form. Rejecting, then, the interpretation of the lawyer who arranged the Venedotian code, that *maenor* is a village settlement, there seems to be strong evidence in favour of the theory propounded in the late Mr. Hubert Lewis's *Ancient Laws of Wales*[7] that the word means (1) the *stone* (*maen*) -built residence of the chieftain of a district, in fact his *castell* or *llys*. This would establish a connection with *manerium* and *manoir*, which at first had the meaning of a principal residence, and only afterwards came to denote the jurisdiction and rights attaching to that residence.[8] (2) Next, *maenor* was used to signify, not only the castle itself, but also the villein-*trefs* or townships attached to it, upon

[6] *Manorowen* seems to be a bastard form. We cannot say when it was invented, but in Fenton's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 4, the place is called *Manarnawan*. Another bastard form is *Manoravon*, near Llandeilo Fawr. This was originally called *Maenorfaban* or *-fabon* ('Mabon's or Maban's *maenor*'), and the last part of it is correctly spelt on monuments in Llandeilo church.—Ed.

[7] P. 141.

[8] See the latter part of note (*x*).

which it depended for its food supplies. This is the use in the South-Welsh codes. (3) Thirdly, the term was extended to include the whole *cymwd*, or district of which the castle was the centre, free as well as bond villages. This seems to be the meaning in the *Mabinogi* of *Math fab Mathonwy*, where a host is said to have taken up its position '*yng nghymherfedd y ddwy faenor*' (the scribe was a South-Welshman, and hence wrote *faenor*, not *faenol*), "*Maenor Penardd a Maenor Coed Alun.*"[9] Penardd, a township near Dinas Dinlle, was, we are told in the Laws, the hereditary seat of a *canghellor*, whose jurisdiction would be the *cymwd* of Arfon uch Gwyrfai. Coed Alun, near Carnarvon (now called corruptly *Coed Helen*),[1] as it certainly was in the *cymwd* of Arfon is Gwyrfai, may well have been the *canghellor-dref* of that *cymwd*: in which case "*y ddwy faenor*" would be the two *cymwds* of Arfon, taking their names in this case, not from the river which divided them, but from their respective *canghellor*-townships.

TYDDYN appears in the older MSS. of the Laws as *tŷgdŷn*, which, as *tig* is the oldest known form of *ty*, point clearly to 'house' as the first element of the word. A distinction is made in the Laws between *tyddyn* and *tref*; and this is borne out by the fact that *tyddyn* does not enter into the name of any ancient township. It is not therefore the enclosure of houses, the protected village, but the single house, a part of the village.[2] According to the Welsh Laws, each co-heir, on the death of the ancestor who held together the family property, was entitled not only to land, but also to a separate *tyddyn*. Thus even in a *tref* consisting of the sons of one man only, there would be on the death of the father many *tyddyns*. But land and *tyddyn* are the

[9] I.e., 'Between the two *Maenors* of Penardd and Coed Alun.'—Rhys and Evans' Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 63.

[1] See note (*y*) at end of article. [2] See note (*z*) at end of article.

only immovable property specified: the *tyddyn*, therefore, included not only house but out-buildings, barn, cattle-shed, farm-yard, in fact all that was needed for the tillage of the land at the same time acquired. The houses, I have already said, were ranged in a long street: behind each house came the buildings and spaces attached to it, which with the house itself formed a *tyddyn* or homestead. When the necessity for defence passed away, *tyddyns* were erected no longer within the village stockade, but here and there around it, on the land to which they were attached. The necessity for a resharing of the land on the death of the last of a generation made the distribution of *tyddyns* vary from generation to generation, as long as the old Welsh land-laws were observed. These were not annulled by the *Statute of Rhuddlan*, which on the contrary says, "Let inheritances remain partible among co-heirs as hath hitherto been accustomed": consequently until Henry VIII.'s Act of Union repartition went on as before. That Act provided that after the Feast of All Saints, 1535, all lands in Wales should descend 'after the English tenure, without division or partition': primogeniture thus became the ordinary rule of succession, and just as Edward I.'s statute of *Quia Emptores*, by forbidding further subinfeudation, stereotyped the existing manorial divisions in England, so the Act of Union, by forbidding partition, stereotyped the existing divisions of the township in Wales. Each *tyddyn*-allotment of that day passed on as a small estate or farm, and, though enlarged by purchase or curtailed by misfortune, never fell back again into the earlier township. Thus *tyddyn* in modern Welsh means 'a farm,' and such names as *Tyddyn du*, *Tyddyn uchaf*, and *Tyddyn Inco* are found scattered all over the area of a township, and not at its ancient centre, which is generally occupied by a homestead bearing the original name of the *tref*.

When the story of the development of Welsh society has been fully told, much that is now puzzling in the place-names of the country will become as clear as day. I trust, however, that, even with the imperfect light at my command, I have succeeded in making some matters simpler than they have hitherto been for the enquirer unfurnished with a knowledge of Welsh history.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

By the Editor.

(*a*) *Gwy*, 'water,' has no existence in Welsh, we believe,[1] except as a fairly legitimate *inference* from the numerous Welsh river-names ending in *-wy*, anciently written *-gui*, as in *di rit brangui*, occurring in a record of Welsh boundaries written in the "Mercian hand" of King Offa's time on a page of the *Book of St. Chad* at Lichfield. In modern Welsh this would be *i ryd Branwy;* and possibly the South-Welsh river-name *Brân* is a shortening of the longer form *Branwy*. The idea of our average etymological charlatans that the termination *-i*, common in river-names, is a corruption of *-wy* (which idea causes *Llyfni* to be written *Llyfnwy* by self-styled *Ilenorion*) has no foundation whatever outside the minds of those artists, who, like the poor, are always with us in Wales. On the contrary, wherever we find mentioned either in the *Liber Landavensis* or in still earlier documents (e.g., in Harl. MS. 3859, printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 183, col. 1, where the river *Teifi* is called *Tebi;* and in Nennius, § 47, in the same MS., *Teibi*) a still-existing river-name in *-i*, it is always spelt with *-i*, and never with *-ui* or *-gui*, as a termination.

The word *gwy* or *wy*, 'water,' is supposed to occur in Cornish in *Beunans Meriasek*, ll. 3952-3, where the dragon of the story is said to be *in agen meske ov scumbla avel wy*, 'dunging amongst us like *water*' (but it has here been pointed out to us that *wy* may equally well mean 'an egg'); and we believe that the Cornish place-names *Melingy*, *Melangye*, *Belingey*, have been thought to contain the

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[1] The word *wy* in *Marwnat Corroi M. Dayry* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 198) is translated 'stream' in *op. cit.*, i. 254; but the line is imperfect in the text, and the rest of the translation thereof will not bear criticism.

element *gwy*, and to answer in sense to the Welsh place-name *Melinddwr*.

There is some evidence besides such forms as *Eboith*, *Ebowith*, *Ebouith* in Leland's *Itinerary* (ed. 1769), iv., part 1, fos. 52-3, and vi., fo. 24, and elsewhere (*Ebod* in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 148, which here correctly gives the reading of the MS.), the ancient names of the river now called *Ebbw* or *Ebwy*, that these river-names in *-wy* were anciently also written with a final *-dd*; for in the *Book of Taliessin* we have (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 131):

"Am wyth am edrywyth
Am doleu dynwedyd";

which seems to mean 'About the Gwydd (or Gwyth), about the Edrywyth, about the meadows of Dinwedydd.' Here *Edrywyth* must, on account of the rhyme, stand for *Edrywydd*, and this name seems identical with the *Edrywy* which gave its name to the *Traeth Edrywy* (see note (*f*), *infra*) and *Carreg Edrywy* at the mouth of the river Nevern (Pembrokeshire), mentioned in Lewis Morris' *Celtic Remains*;[2] see also the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, fos. 24ª, 34ᵇ top (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 17 bottom and 33 top), and the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii. 144). There is also a river *Trywi* or *Drywi* (so pronounced, not *Drowy*, as in the Ordnance Map) which falls over the cliff between Hen Fynyw and Llan Ina (Cardiganshire), and may stand for *Afon Edrywy*, corrupted into *Afon Drywi*.

Can *Gwyth* or *Gwydd* in the passage quoted mean the Wye?[3] It should be added that Canon Robert Williams translated the two lines cited (Skene, i. 527) 'About wrath, about the resolvent, about the man describing windings,' whatever this may mean; probably it meant less to the "translator" even than it does to us.

(*b*) There is, by the way, no evidence whatever that the form *Cynwy* ever existed. The name is invariably *Conwy* (*Conguoy*, *Annales Cambriæ* from Harl. MS. 3859, in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 166, col. 2) both in old MSS. and in modern pronunciation; and in the times of the Romans the forms were *Conovium* and *Canovium*. The form *Cynwy* was invented by the charlatans in order to make the first syllable of the word *Conwy* come by main force from *cyn-* in the sense of 'first,' 'primitive' (= German *ur-*), or 'primary.' The English countryman may of course in some particulars lag far behind his more highly illumined Welsh neighbour; but in our backward Eng-

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S. vv. Edrywi, Traeth Edrywi. See also his *Harbour Charts*.

[3] In the *Wigmore Chartulary*, *apud* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (1825), vi. 354ᵇ, we have the form *Glendortewyth* for *Glyndyfrdwy*.

land we don't as a rule derive the names of all our greatest rivers by main force from Anglo-Saxon! Do our Welsh "etymologists" (of the kind alluded to by Professor Lloyd) really suppose that Welsh-speaking people were the aborigines of Wales, any more than Anglo-Saxon speaking people were the aborigines of England? When (if ever) these ingenious persons have assimilated the results of modern ethnological research, and also the fact that of all place-names river-names are the most permanent and the least apt to be displaced by conquering invaders, they will then perhaps cease deriving *Dyfi* from *Dof-wy*, *Dysyni* from *Di-swn-wy*, or *Ogwy* from *Eog-wy*; *Ogwy* being itself a form which has no more existence than *Cynwy*, being simply manufactured by some person who takes an *intelligent interest* in the place-names of his country out of the real name *Ogwr*, which stands for * *Ogwyr*, * *Ogfur*, in Old-Welsh *Ocmur* (*Lib. Land.*, p. 204), whence the English name of the river, *Ogmore*.

(*c*) In *unenclosed* mountain land, we believe that *cŏch* generally refers to the reddish-brown colour produced by the withered bracken for more than half the year. The pale colour of withered grass we believe was generally designated *melyn* or 'yellow', as in *Ysgol* (or *Ystol*) *felen*, the name for the very precipitous slope of the Glyder Fawr which looks towards the vale of Llanberis. *Du*, 'black,' is largely applied to tracts covered with heather (as in *Llethr Du*, near Llangammarch, *Craig Ddu*, near Llanbrynmair), black being the fundamental colour of masses of heather, as seen at a distance, for the greater part of the year.

(*d*) By the first bridge over the Snowdon Llugwy above Rhaiadr y Wennol (called in English the Swallow Falls) is (or was in 1882) a cottage built in a very original style of masonry. This is called *Ty hyll*, 'the ugly house,' and the bridge by it *Pont ty hyll*. Of course such a name, if conferred at the present day in that naturally beautiful part of the country, would entirely fail in distinctiveness; for there almost every new house, large or small, vies with its fellow in mean or vulgar ugliness.

(*e*) Old Welsh names of *Caerau* or *Dincsydd* (like the infinitely better preserved Irish ones) were generally associated by history, tradition, or legend, with the memory of some personage, people, or event, e.g., *Dincadfael* in Llannefydd, *Caer Rein* in Archenfield (now Aconbury in Herefordshire), *Caer Rhun*, (*Caer*) *Deganwy* from the *Decantæ*, and *Dinorwig* (anciently *Dinorddeg*, *Dinorddwig*) from the *Ordovices*. The reason why we have not more of these interesting names on record, and why Wales so swarms with bald uninteresting names such as *Caer*, *Dinas*, *Y Gaer*, and the like (mostly curtailed from longer and distinctive ones) is that the Welsh have been as care-

less as the Irish have been careful in preserving their really old legends, traditions, and history, both in writing and in oral *llafar gwlad*.

Occasionally we find appended to *Din-* the name of the river on which the particular *din* was situate; as in *Din Ieithon*, a fortress on the Ithon in Maelienydd (now in Radnorshire), which is mentioned more than once in the Wigmore Chartulary, as quoted in Dugdale's *Monasticon*,[4] and which also gave its name to a commote *Swydd Dineithon*, whose name is generally corruptly written in the old lists of the Cantrefs and Commotes of Wales (see the last line of *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 328, and Leland's *Itinerary*, 1769, vol. v., fo. 17). Another instance of such a name is found in *Din Tywi*, a place somewhere on the Towy, mentioned in *Kulhwch ac Olwen* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 140, l. 3). We are not at present in a position to fix the situation either of Din Ieithon or Din Tywi.

(*f*) So *Gelli Ganddryll* (see Jones' *Brecknockshire*, ii. 390), in Latin *Sepes Inscissa* (Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*, § 26, p. 103), is now called *Y Gelli* in Welsh, *The Hay* in English, and in official English *Hay*. *Trefdraeth* in North Pembrokeshire, called in English Newport, seems to be short for *Tref Draeth Edrywy*, that being, according to Lewis Morris, the name of the neighbouring *traeth* at the mouth of the river Nevern. (See note (*a*) *supra*). *Caer yn Arfon* (Carnarvon), as pointed out by Professor Rhys in his *Hibbert Lectures* (1886), p. 272, note, must be short for *Caer Seint yn Arfon*, the old name, occurring in the *Mabinogi* of *Branwen ferch Lŷr* (Oxford Edition, p. 34, l. 23). And it appears from Lewis Morris' *Celtic Remains*, *s.v.*, that *Garth Branan* is the old name of the place now called *Garth*, close to Bangor.

Trallwm (the Welsh name of Welshpool) is short for *Trallwng Llywelyn* or *Trallwm Côch ym Mhowys;* the former name being the old literary name, derived from its patron Saint, the latter (we are told by Canon Silvan Evans) the modern popular name, also occurring in pedigrees, and once heard by ourselves in a folk-tale from Cilcwm, near Llandovery, according to which a dog went into one of the Roman miners' caves at Gogofau in Cynwyl Caeo, and emerged *hairless* out of the ground near "Trallwm Côch in Powys"; of the identity of which spot, however, our informant was as ignorant as we then were ourselves. *Trallwm*, by the way, means, or very lately meant, in Glamorganshire (see Lewis Morris' *Celtic Remains*, *s.v.*) 'a quagmire': a *Trallwng Tewdws* is mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis*,[5] *Trallwng Cynfyn* (now Trallwng, west of Brecon) in

[4] Ed. 1825, vi. 349, where it is spelt *Dinyeytha*.

[5] Spelt *Tralucg Teudus;* see p. 211.

Myv. Arch. i. 271, col. 2, and *Trallwng Elgan* in *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 274; the word also occurs in place-names in Radnorshire, Glamorganshire, and Carmarthenshire, and probably elsewhere.

(*g*) *Wentloog* is the modern Anglicized form now in common use for the district, or some part of it. We do not know that it *necessarily* has been produced under the *sole* influence of the name *Gwent*, for both *Gwynllywg* and *Gwynllyw* were anciently written with a *d* (*gwyn* 'white' is for *gwynn*, older *guind* = Irish *find*), as is shown clearly enough by the forms *Gundleus* for the man, and *Gundliauc* for the country, common in the Lives of St. Gwynllyw and his son St. Cadoc. (See for instance the latter in *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 22, 24; forms answering both to *Gwynllyog* and to *Gwynllywg* occur in those two Lives, but are frequently distorted in the printed edition).

The form *Gwaunllwg* turns out to be older than we supposed when we wrote note 3 on p. 118 of vol. vii. of *Y Cymmrodor*; for it occurs in a MS. written by Roger Morris of Coed y Talwrn in 1572, now belonging to Canon Silvan Evans, in the pedigrees which occur at fo. 43ª of that MS.

In a paper read by Mr. C. O. S. Morgan at the Newport meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association in August, 1885, and subsequently printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for October of that year, a truly marvellous explanation of the word *Gwentloog* was proposed (pp. 258-9). Mr. Morgan there adopts the form *Wentllwch*, a mere corruption of such forms as the *Gunlyuch* of *Lib. Land.*, p. 237, where the *-ch* is of course only another way of writing *-c* (now *-g*), very common in the orthography of the 12th century; and he then proceeds to explain this *Wentllwch* as meaning 'Gwent of the *Llwch* or lake,' and asserts that this was the name of the third division of Gwent, the other two being of course Gwent Is Coed and Gwent Uwch Coed!

At p. 261 we are condescendingly informed by Mr. Morgan that "Gwynllyw has been said to have given the name to this part of the country, which has sometimes been called Gwynllwg, but [*sic!* this is not English, but never mind!] which has no meaning;" and on p. 260 (there is some repetition in Mr. Morgan's article) that "St. Gwynllyw has been said to have given his name to the district; but it is not found so written, and the origin of the name *Gwentllwch* or *Wentllwch* is more probable, intelligible, and satisfactory." In reply to which it will be sufficient to say (1) that *Gwynllywg* (and likewise its sister-form, now obsolete, *Gwynllyawg* or *Gwynllyog*) is so written in its Old- and Middle-Welsh forms over and over again in the Lives of the Welsh Saints; (2) that not once in those documents, in the *Annales Cambriæ*, the *Liber Landavensis*, or any old MSS., is

it spelt with *Guent-* or *Went-*, but always with a first syllable which answers to the modern *Gwyn-* or *Gwn-*, the oldest known form being *Guinnliguiauc* in the *Annales Cambriæ* (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 167, col. 1); (3) that so far from *Gwynllywg* having no meaning, it means 'Gwynllyw's land', just as *Morganwg* means Morgan's, or *Seissyllwg* Seissyll's, or *Rhiellwg* Rhiell's, lands respectively; and (4) that *Gwynllywg* ever ended (as *llwch* 'a lake, pool, morass' certainly does and always did) in a phonetic *-ch* is shown to be utterly impossible by the occurrence of *Gwynllywg* in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, fo. 33[a] (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 30), in the form (*o*) *winllyuc*, rhyming with *kywluc* and *egluc*, which are in modern Welsh *kyflwg* and *eglwg*.

Another absurdity of Mr. Morgan's derivation is that Wentloog was never in Gwent at all, but first in Glywyssing, and subsequently in Morganwg, Gwent ending at the mouth of the river Usk, not (as Monmouthshire does) at that of the Rumney. In the same paper (p. 259) occurs a brilliant *pendant* to the above exquisite piece of etymology; *Teyrnllwch*, an assumed form of *Teyrnllwg*, the epithet of the first Cadell of Powys, being there explained as meaning *Teyrn llwch*, 'the king of the lake'!! (On *Teyrnllwg* see *Y Cymmrodor*, vii. 119, ix. 179.)

As to 'the three Gwents' (those of history, not of Mr. C. O. S. Morgan), they are mentioned in l. 17 of a poem printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, x. 236, and 'the two Gwents' at l. 13 of the same poem. The third was *Gwent Ganol*, or Middle Gwent, mentioned in Roger Morris' pedigrees above cited, and in Leland's *Itinerary*, ed. 1769, vol. v., fos. 5, 6. At fo. 6 occurs the following passage, which shows that the form *Wentloog* is older than Leland's time: "But this great Lordship, as the Walsch-men say, ys no part of the iii. Vencelandes. Yet it is cawlled in Walsch *Guentluge* (al. *Guenthloge*)." From which it is obvious that the *Walschmen* of Leland's day were better instructed on such matters than are their descendants.

(*h*) In Professor Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, 2nd ed., p. 302, *Dinorwig* is explained as standing for an older *Din-orddwig*, meaning 'Fort of the Ordovices.' But no older instance of the last-named form could be cited there than from Duppa's *Johnson's Tour in North Wales*, p. 198. We have now found evidence that a similar form was in use in about 1600, for at fo. 78[a] of a MS. written about that date, once belonging to Dr. Griffith Roberts of Dolgelly, and now to Mr. Bosanquet of Dingestow, the place is called *Dinas Dynorddeg*.

(*i*) But if two *brooks* meet, one of longer, the other of markedly shorter course, it would not be inappropriate to call one *Hirnant*, the other *Byrnant*. The comparative size of confluent streams is a fact that *saute aux yeux* nearly as much as the comparative size of confluent

valleys. As to *nant*, the general rule in Wales is that in northernmost Wales (in parts of which *aber* is used for 'a brook') *nant* is masculine, and means 'a valley or dingle,' whilst in South and Central Wales (as in the Vale of Dovey and at Dolgelly) it is feminine, and means 'a brook.' In *Endlicher's Gaulish Glossary*, of the 9th century (printed in Stokes' *Cornish Glossary, &c.*), *nanto* is glossed '*valle*,' and so is *nans* in the *Cornish Vocabulary;* and yet in Savoy, where the word survives in place-names, it means 'a mountain-torrent,' as in the *Nant Noir* near Servoz, and another near Trient; the *Nant Dant* near Samoens; the *Bon Nant* at St. Gervais; the *Nant Borant* (or *Bourant*) near Contamines; the *Nant d'Arpenaz* near Sallanches; the *Grand Nant* near Chamouni; and the villages of *Nant Bride* near Sixt. There is also a *Nant Brun* in the Tarentaise, and on it a place called *Deux Nants* where another brook joins it. We note in the French edition of Bædeker's *Suisse* (1869, p. 217) an exquisite derivation of *Nant*, viz., from the Latin *natare* 'to swim'!

Curiously enough the word *nant* does not seem known in Breton; though we believe it occurs in *Fouesnant*, a *chef-lieu de canton* near Quimper; but it is at least very rare in Breton place-names. It seems to occur in the name of a once well-known religious establishment in the Cotentin, where it would more probably come from the ancient Gaulish than from Old-Breton. *Nant* certainly occurs in the old name of the town of *Nantua*, in the Jura.

(*j*) *Dinas* is used in parts of Wales simply to designate a commanding position which was never fortified. It is thus used in the Llanberis valley, where at least one high hill, isolated from the main chains of mountains, is called *Dinas;* and one of the most precipitous escarpments of the Llanberis Pass (just above the entrance to Cwm Glâs) is called *Dinas Mot*. Similarly the steep hill behind Pen y Bont in the upper Irfon valley is called *Dinas Bach*, to distinguish it from the better known *Dinas* hill lower down the valley, near Llanwrtyd church. In the upper valley of the Towy and in those of its upper tributaries are several commanding, often isolated, hills called *Dinas*, none of them, it is believed, bearing any traces of fortification. It should here be noted that *Dinas* is masculine in South Wales place-names; and *Din* was also once of common gender, as is shown by the name *Dinmael*, which would be *Dinfael* if *Din* had there been feminine. The reason of these variations of gender is no doubt to be found in the original neuter gender of *dunon*.

Professor Rhys supposes the *-as* of *Dinas* to be the same as the *-es* in *llynghes* 'a navy,' which in Irish is *longes* and *longas*, meaning 'a voyage' (generally, 'a voyage to banishment'). The same termination is found in Gaelic *camas*, 'a bay, creek, the space between

the thighs' (from *cam*), which in the North of Ireland[6] (and we think in the Highlands) is *Camus*, in Lowland Scotland *Cambus*, in place-names; in Welsh place-names this is *Cemais*, pronounced *Cemmes*, which gives name to a hundred of Pembrokeshire, a little port in Anglesey (anciently called Porth Wygyr, from the Gwygyr brook, which there joins the sea), a parish on the Dovey, two on the Usk, and places on or near the Dysynni in Merionethshire and the Afon Lwyd in Monmouthshire. Possibly *Cemais* is also to be found in *Cabus*, on the serpentine Wyre in Lancashire, and probably (in a very old Welsh form) in *Camboise* Bay in Northumberland.

It may be as well to point out here that the spelling *Cemmaes* or *Cemaes* is not genuine, but the invention of some latter-day etymological triflers who derived it from *Camp-maes* 'a play-field' (*camp*, by the way, is a loan-word from English !), or from some compound of *maes;* that the word cannot possibly contain the element *maes* is sufficiently proved by the fact that if it were so derived it would necessarily be written *-mais* in Old-Welsh and *-maes* in Middle Welsh documents, whereas it is in both always spelt *-meis* or *-meys*, which in modern Welsh necessarily becomes *mais*, not *maes*. Thomas Williams of Trefriw and Lewis Dwnn spell the word correctly *Kemais* or *Cemais*.

The same suffix also occurs in *branes*, 'a host of crows' (*branhes*, *Iarlles y Ffynnon* in *Mabinogion*, Oxford Edition, p. 192), which seems identical with the place-name *Branas* in Edernion.

Besides *dinas*, there was a form *dinis* prevalent in Cornwall (where *dinas* is also found) and in Cumbria. Instances in Cornwall are found at *Pendennis*, near Falmouth, and in the forms given by Hals of the names of the places now in books and on maps called *Castle an Dinas*, e.g., "*Castle an Dunes* or *Denis*" in Towednack (see

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[6] In Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, written in the seventh century, mention is made of *Cambas* on the Bann, two miles above Coleraine, afterwards well known as *Cammas Comghaill*. This gave name to a parish called *Camus juxta Bann*, to distinguish it from another in Tyrone, *Camus juxta Mourne*. There is also a spot on the Suir, two miles N.W. of Cashel, where there was a ford called *Ath-an-chamais*, or 'the ford of the bend,' now replaced by *Camus* Bridge. (See Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 96-7; Joyce's *Irish Place-names*, Second Series (1875), p. 398.) Adamnan also mentions (p. 133) an *Ait chambas* in Ardnamurchan, in Western Scotland; and various modern names in the same district, containing the same element, are there given in a note.

Davies Gilbert's *Parochial History of Cornwall*, iv. 53), and *Castle Denis* for the well-known fort near St. Columb (*ib.*, i. 220; called *Castel an Dynas* in *Beunans Meriasek*, l. 2210). Bannister also gives in his *Glossary of Cornish Names Dennis Eia* ('St. Ie's or Ive's Dinas'), obviously meant for the spot called *Pendinas* at St. Ives.[7] In South-East Scotland the forms *Dennis* and *Tinnis* occur in the valley of the Tweed and elsewhere.

Whether this form is found in "bedin *dinus*" (*Gododin* in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 86) we will not undertake to say.

(*k*) Besides Dinas *Dinlle*, which is undoubtedly for *Din Lleu*, there is a *Dinlle Ureconn* mentioned in the well-known poem relating to the destruction of Vriconium in the *Red Book of Hergest* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 288). There seems every reason for identifying it with the camp at the summit of the *Wrekin*, which probably is simply the Welsh name *Dinlle Wrygon* in a shortened form. We do not think with Professor Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, 2nd ed., p. 314) that *Dinlle* here stands for *Din Lleu*, but rather that it is from *din* and *lle*, and to be compared with the curious word *Penlle* existing only (we believe) in place-names in Welsh Gower, where we have *Penlle 'r Gaer* (barbarously spelt *Penllergare*) and also a site of an old church called *Penlle 'r Eglwys*[8] near Ynys-penllwch; it is not wholly impossible that we have this word in *Pendle* Hill in Lancashire, unless that stands rather for *Penllech*, which we suspect it may do.

(*l*) The earliest mention of Dinefwr is in the boundaries of Llandeilo Fawr in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 75 (also in Cott., Vespasian, A. xiv., fo. 58 b), where it is called *gueith tineuur*, the word *gwaith* here apparently meaning a fort or its earthworks. Of course *Dinefwr* is to be analysed into *Din-efwr;* and it is always so spelt in all documents and so pronounced in the neighbourhood. The charlatans' orthography, invented by themselves, used to be *Dinefawr* or the like, and their "derivation" of the word (it is believed) from *Din Fawr!* It will hardly be credited that the bastard form *Dynevawr* is gravely adopted by M. Loth in his *Mabinogion*, vol. i., p. 122, note 2.

Din-efwr seems to bear exactly the same relation to *Eburo-dunum* (now *Yverdun*,[9] near the southern end of the Lake of Neuchâtel) as *Din-lleu* does to *Lugu-dunum*. With regard to *Efwr* (in Old-Welsh

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[7] See Leland's *Itinerary*, ed. 1769, vol. iii., fos. 7, 8.

[8] There is also a farm of the same name not far from Llandebie, in the parish of Bettws; and a *Penlle'r Brain* near Swansea.

[9] Also called *Yverdon*.

Ebur) it seems to occur as a man's name (1) in the case of *Eborius* or *Eburius*, the Bishop of York present at the Council of Arles in 314; (2) in the case of *Ebur*, the Bishop of Munster, whose death is mentioned in *Annales Cambriæ* under the year 501 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 153), and in the Irish Annals; (3) in one of the extracts from the poems relating to the Sons of Llywarch Hên, preserved in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (fo. 54ª, printed in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 61), where *llv ewur lluydon* 'the army of *Efwr* Llwydon' is mentioned. Here the dividing-mark between *llv* and *ewur* in the MS., which makes them into separate words, has of course been neglected by Mr. Skene, who prints *llvewur*.

Efwr occurs in composition in the name of the *Eburovices*, now represented by *Evreux;* probably the first element of this compound was derived from the old form of the neighbouring river *Eure*.

From the old form *Ebor* was, by aid of the common suffix *-ācum* (later *-awc*, *-og*), formed *Eboracum*, in Old-Welsh *Cair Ebroauc* (for an older **Eboravc*), shortened in the more modern form of the *Catalogue of Cities* (printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 183) into *Cair Ebrauc*, whence the modern Welsh for *York*, *Caer Efrog*. There seems little doubt that the original name was formed from the river-name which has now become *Ure* (for an older *Yor-*, occurring in *Jor-vaulx*, now *Jer-vaulx*); the *Ure* now only retains its name as far as its confluence with the Swale, the united stream, on which York stands, being now called *Ouse*, an English name which has doubtless supplanted the earlier Celtic one.

Ebur- also occurs in *Eburo-briga*, a town on the Armance, not far from Auxerre; *Eburo-britium*, a town in Lusitania; *Eburones*, a tribe in what is now Rhenish Prussia; and probably in the 5 places in Spain or Portugal, once called *Ebura*, *Ebora*, or Ἐβοῦρα, one of which is now *Evora*. The names *Hebro-magus* and *Ebro-dunum* (now *Embrun*), if these orthographies are correct, seem to come from a different source.

It should be noted that the Carmarthenshire word for a wild parsnip (still in use near Llandovery) is *efwr;* but it is hardly likely that this word gave its name to *Dinefwr*. The form *Dynevor* (with the accent on the first syllable) is of course a mere English barbarism; and the application of the name "*Dynevor* Castle" to the *residence* now so called is a modernism, that mansion having been till recently called *Newton* in English, and *Drenewydd* (still in common use in the neighbourhood) in Welsh.

With regard to *Efrog*, one of Geoffrey of Monmouth's mythical kings, who is also made the father of Peredur (= Perceval) in the Welsh Romance (but *not* in the French and German ones, some of

which make him son of *Bliocadrans* or *Gahmuret* = the Welsh **Bledcabrat*, **Cabret* = the modern *Bleddgwryd*, or *Blegwryd*, and *Cywryd*, or *Cowryd*, respectively; see note 1 on p. 219 of *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. x.), we believe him to be a mere *eponymus* from the name of the city of *Caer Efrog*, like *Lleon Gawr* from *Caerlleon* (Chester) and *Myrddin* from *Caerfyrddin* (see note (*n*), *infra*). With regard to the legend connecting Geoffrey of Monmouth's mythical king Peredur with Pickering in Yorkshire, we have not been able to trace it back beyond 15th-century chroniclers *à la* Geoffrey of Monmouth; we think Rous of Warwick mentions it. It is worth noticing that among the twenty sons of Geoffrey's king *Ebraucus* (ii. 8) there is no Peredur; whilst Geoffrey's Peredur is son of one *Morvidus* (probably = *Merwydd*, not *Morfydd*), but his family is connected with York (iii. 15—18).

(*m*) There was also a widely distributed diminutive form *dinan* (compare *castellan* in note (*l*), *infra*), apt to become *Dinam* or *Dinham* in place-names. In Cornwall we have the tautological form *Cardinham*, anciently called *Cardinan*, and in the Romances (in which it is named as a place where King Arthur held his court [1]) *Caradignan*, *Caradigan*, or the like, forms which our sapient commentators have conceived to stand for *Cardigan*, which before the Normans was no more the name of one particular spot than 'Oxfordshire' is now. In Brittany the name is probably found in the town of *Dinan*. In Wales it occurs as *Dinham* (anciently *Castell Dinan*,[2] *Lib. Land.*, 32, 43) in Monmouthshire, as *Dinam* in Anglesey, in *Llysdinam* in Breconshire (so called from the *dinan* which gave its name to *Swydd Dinan*, one of the three Commotes of the Cantref of Buallt), in *Mandinam* on a hill near Llangadock, and probably in *Llandinam* in Montgomeryshire. *Dinan* was also the ancient name of Ludlow or its castle, still preserved in a place there now called *Dinham*. A place called *Dinan* also gives its name to a township and to a spot

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[1] It is thus mentioned in Chrestien de Troyes' *Erec*, quoted in Lady Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion*, ii. 179 (cf. 182); and also in the *Roman de Fregus et de Galienne*, cited in the same place. It is there called *Caradignan*, but in Chrestien's *Perceval Le Gallois*, ll. 24,604, 33,621, *Caradigan*; *Baradugan*, *ib.*, l. 28,876, is probably meant for the same place.

[2] There is also a *Cestill Dinan* named in the boundaries of Llangadwaladr (Bishopston or Bishton near Caerleon) in *L.L.*, 173, which cannot be the same place; possibly a trace of the name remains in "Bishton *Castle* Farm."

known as *Craig Ddinan* in Llandrillo yn Edernion, and there is a *Melin Caerddinan* in Diserth, Flintshire. We see that there are at least three more places called by the name in Cornwall, viz., *Dynham* in St. Minver, *Dinham* Bridge in St. Kew, and *Tredenham* near Grampound (see note 4 on p. 24, *supra*); and in Brittany there is "a Roman camp called *Castel Dinam*, in the parish of Plouigneau," Finistère. (See Joanne's *Bretagne*, ed. 1880, p. 106.)

Another word derived from *Din* is *Llysdin* or *Llystin;* whether the *llys* in this compound bore its Welsh sense of 'a court or palace' or the sense of the corresponding Irish word *lios* 'a fort', we cannot say. *Llystin* occurs in *Llystin Wennan* (or *Wynnan;* it is a man's or woman's name) well known from the *Bonedd y Saint* (*s.v. Elhaearn*) as the ancient seat of the Powysian tribe of Cyndrwynin, and also often mentioned in old records; it was situated somewhere in Caereinion, but whether the *Caer* of this word and the *Llystin* were different names for one and the same place we do not know. There is also a township of Cilcain in Flintshire, whose correct name would appear to have been *Llystin Hunydd* (the last word is a well-known woman's name); it is called *Llysdianhunedd* in Thomas' *St. Asaph*, p. 458, *Lesthuuied* in *Domesday Book*, and *Llystynhynedd* in the marginal note on p. 71 of the *Extension of Domesday Book relating to Cheshire and Lancashire*. We fancy (but as yet have no proof) that the form *Llysin* or *Llyssin*, which gives name to a township in Llanerfyl and also to *Plás Llysyn* in Carno, and occurs, we believe, elsewhere, is but a softening of *Llystin*.

(*n*) There is the further question as to whether the name Myrddin had any more independent existence than that of *Lleon* Gawr, evolved out of Caer-*lleon* or Castra *Legionum*, and was not similarly evolved out of Caer-*fyrddin*. That the "Merlin" of northern legend (localized chiefly on the Tweed) has stepped into the shoes of a perfectly distinct person there can be no reasonable doubt—for in the fragment of the old Life of St. Kentigern, discovered by Mr. H. L. D. Ward of the British Museum in MS. Cott. Titus A. xix. (abridged by Bower in his *Scotichronicon*), the hero of the legend is called *Lailoken*, and the author adds "that *some* identified him with Merlin" ("eum qui *Lailoken* vocabatur. quem quidam dicunt fuisse Merlynum"). As to Lailocen, he is mentioned in chapter xlv. of Jocelyn of Furness' *Life of St. Kentigern*, as *Laloecen* or *Laloicen*, a fool at the court of Rhydderch Hael who possessed the gift of prophecy; in the Welsh Merlin-poems this word (there used as a name or epithet of Merlin) is made into *Llallogan*, which has been explained as meaning 'twin-brother'; but there is plenty of evidence that it was a personal name, for we find a *Lalocan* (this was pointed out to us by Mr. Ward) in

Cartulaire de Redon, 125, and the simpler form *Lallócc* occurs as a woman's name in Stokes' *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, p. 82 (*Lallóce o Senliuss*), p. 104 (*Lalloce sanctam*), p. 317 (*posuit in illo sanctam filiam Lalocam*, from *Book of Armagh*, fo. 12^{b}, 1).

Then again, if the Cumbrian "Merlin" has stepped into the shoes of Laloicen, the Merlin of modern Wales has similarly stepped into those of Emrys or Ambrosius. Here the process is simply transparent. The legends of "Nennius" (a work written in the first half of the ninth century) concerning the finding and consultation of Ambrosius (§§ 41, 42) have been simply copied in all the leading incidents by Geoffrey of Monmouth (vi. 17–19), with the difference that Nennius' 'Ambrosius' is called by Geoffrey 'Merlinus' or 'Merlinus Ambrosius.'[3] Geoffrey has of course slightly embellished and altered the minor details of the story; and in one instance a change made by him is really instructive; for he makes the 'fatherless boy' to be found, not at "Campus Electi (or *Elleti*) in regione Gleguissing" (which last name certainly comprehended no country *north* of the Towy), but at *Carmarthen*. This shows that Geoffrey had here in his eye the connection of *Myrddin* with Caer-*fyrddin*. He also adds that his mother was a daughter of the king of Dyfed; which exactly fits in with what he tells us in his *Vita Merlini*, that Merlin was a king in Dyfed, which province, it should be remembered, included Carmarthen as late as 1132, and in earlier times embraced all or most of the country between the Towy and Teifi rivers: see ll. 21–2:

> "Rex erat et vates: Demetarumque superbis
> Iura dabat populis, ducibusque futura canebat."

On the other hand, when Geoffrey in the same poem makes Merlin go out of his mind in consequence of the battle of Arderydd (in which he is followed by the Welsh Merlin-poems), the personage alluded to is not the Demetian Myrddin, but the Cumbrian Laloicen, of whom exactly the same episode is related in the fragment of Titus A. xix. and in Bower's *Scotochronicon*. With Geoffrey the identification of Merlinus and Laloicen was complete; but with the later Scottish writers it was still a matter of doubt.

As to the Ambrosius of *Nennius*, he can hardly be other than the historical Ambrosius Aurelianus of Gildas, as filtered through three or four centuries of Welsh legend. This is actually acknowledged in

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[3] In chapter 19 he is called "Merlinus, qui et Ambrosius dicebatur," and immediately afterwards "Ambrosius Merlinus." Previously he had been called simply "Merlinus."

Nennius itself; for Ambrosius' answer when he is asked his name, "Ambrosius vocor" (§ 42), is glossed in all the MSS. of *Nennius* 'id est, *Embreis Guletic*"; now *Gwledig* is an epithet answering to *Princeps* or *Imperator*, and no one but the historical Ambrosius can here be indicated.[4]

(*o*) *Carlisle* (the *s* has no more business there than it has in *Islay*) is in Welsh *Caer Liwelydd*. *Lliwelydd* occurs both as a man's and as a woman's name; as the latter it existed in S. Wales up to comparatively recent times. We may compare such names as *Caer Wrangon* ('Worcester'; and also the name of a place in Carmarthenshire close to Pencarreg); for *Gwrangon* or *Gwyrangon* occurs only as a man's name (in *Nennius*, § 37, and *Life of St. Cadoc* in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 94), and as the old and modern name (see *Lib. Land.*, p. 127) for the upper course of the Sychnant, the tributary of the Neath river down which goes the railway from Hirwain to Glyn Neath; which stream, like the *Meurig* in Gwent Is Coed and a host of other small rivers in Wales, probably took its name from some man.

The name *Gwrygon* in *Cair Guricon* (*Catalogue of Cities* in *Nennius*, § 76; see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 183), the Old-Welsh name of *Vriconium*, wrongly written *Uriconium* (whence our *Wrox-eter* and *Wrekin*), is only known otherwise to occur as a woman's name, viz., in the case of *Gurycon Godheu* (*Cognatio de Brychan* in Cott., Vesp. A. xiv.[4a]) 'Gwrygon of Godden,' the daughter of Brychan and wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd; Godden and Calchfynydd are very reasonably identified by Mr. Skene with Cadyow, near Hamilton (cf. *Cospatrick*, from *Gwâs Patric*), and Kelso[5] respectively. *Cair Celemion* in the Nennian *Catalogue of Cities* (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 183), a place which cannot be identified, is likewise so called from a woman's name; for *Celemion* was the name of the daughter of Tudwal ab Anarod Gwalcherwn (? *Gwallterwn*), who married Sanddef ab Algwn (or *Algun?*), and by him was the great-grandmother of Merfyn Frych, who died in 844. See No. XIX. of the pedigrees from Jesus College MS. 20 (*Y*

[4] When Nennius says (end of § 42) that Vortigern gave Ambrosius the *arx* (i.e., *Dinas Emrys*), with all the kingdoms of Western Britain, and himself retired to the North, we believe the historical Ambrosius to be referred to, and suspect the historical fact indicated to be a partition of power by which Vortigern took Lower, and Ambrosius Upper, Britain, as *Gwledig* or *Imperator*.

[4a] MS., fo. 11[a]; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 274.

[5] See Skene's *Four Books*, i. 172-3, where he points out that the old name of Kelso was *Calchow*, apparently a translation of *Calchfynydd*, and that a hill in the town is still called the *Chalk Heugh*.

Cymmrodor, viii. 87), where her name is spelt *Celenion* (leg. *Celemon* or *Celemion ?*), and the Cardiff copy of *Hanesyn Hen*, p. 64, where it is spelt *Keleinion*. In *Kulhwch ac Olwen* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 112, l. 24) we think we have the same name under the corrupt form *relemon*, given there as the name of a daughter of Cai; in the very corrupt form of the Nennian *Catalogue of Cities* printed in the same volume, p. 309, the above-mentioned *Cair Celemion* becomes *Kaer selemion*; and it has struck us that the same mistake may also possibly have produced *Selemiaun*, given as the name of one of the parents of Cadell Dyrnllug in Genealogy No. XXVII. of Harleian MS. 3859 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 181).

(*p*) Carstairs (anciently *Carstarras*) and Carluke are near the Clyde; the last part of the latter name is probably the Welsh man's name *Llwch*, and perhaps the place was named after the very Llwch Llawynnawg mentioned in connection with Eiddyn in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (fo. 47[b] end; printed in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 51), in the course of that curious poem about Arthur and his champions whose incompleteness is such a serious loss to Welsh Arthurian legend; the same *Lloch* or *Llwch* will be found in *Kulhwch ac Olwen* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, 107, 2 and 110, 12). A more historical *Llwch* was Llwch Llaw Enfawr (or Llawenfawr), the father-in-law of Cadifor Fawr, and lord of Cilsant; and in the *Englynion y Beddau* (*Black Book of Carmarthen*, fo. 33[b]; printed in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 31) the grave of one Llwch Llawenghin (*Llwch Llaneghin*) is mentioned.

In Cott., Vesp. A. xiv. (see *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 275), Gwgon Gleddyfrudd[6] is said to have been "the son of *Llawch*, the son of *Llucho*, the son of Cedig, the son of Ceredig of Cardigan"; but the later Jesus College (Oxon.) MS. 20 (see Pedigree No. XLVIII. in *Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 90) substitutes one name *Llawr* (itself a well-known Welsh man's name) for the two names *Llawch* and *Llucho*.

(*q*) Carriden is on the Forth, W. of Edinburgh, and is the site of a Roman station. Its old form, found in the *Capitula* or "Contents" of Gildas' *Historia* (which are not by Gildas), cap. ix., xi., is *Cair Eden*, and it is there called "civitas antiquissima"; it is apparently the *Eiddyn Gaer* of the *Gorchan Cynfelyn* in the *Book of Aneurin* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 96). The Welsh name for Edinburgh is *Dineiddyn*, occurring in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii. 148) and in *Gorchan Maelderw* (*ib.*, p. 102), or *Dinas Eiddyn*, which (*never Dinas Edwin*) is the form occurring in all the four old texts[7] of the

[6] N.B. The MS. here reads *Gugan cledyburdh*.

[7] Viz., the Hafod and Llanerch MSS. (now both belonging to Mr.

old *Bonedd y Saint*, *s.vv. Lleudat*, *Beuno*, and *Kyndeyrn*, under each of which headings they almost invariably mention the place as the abode of *Lleuddun Luyddog* (the *Leudonus* of the older *Life of St. Kentigern*, whence the territorial name *Lleudduniawn*,[8] the Welsh form which has got Gaelicized and shortened into *Lothian*.)

Eiddyn Vre ('the hill of Eiddyn') is found in *G. Maelderw* (Skene, ii. p. 105), and *Eiddyn Ysgor* both there (*ib.*, p. 98) and in the *Gododin* (*ib.*, p. 66). *Kyntedd Eiddyn* ('the court of E.') occurs in *Gododin* (*ib.*, p. 67); *Eiddyn* alone in *Gododin* (*ib.*, pp. 68, 86, 92), *Gorchan Maelderw* (*ib.*, pp. 102, 104) and *Book of Taliessin* (*ib.*, pp. 136, 149, 150), also in *Red Book Triad* No. 29 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, vii. 128), in the Welsh genealogies of Harl. MS. 3859 (see No. VII. in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 173; and cf. x. 248) and Hengwrt MS. 536 (see Skene, ii. 454), and in *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (8vo. ed.), i. 104.

The form *Eithinin*, *Eithinyn*, occurring in *Gododin* (*ib.*, pp. 74, *bis*; p. 79), *G. Cynfelyn* (*ib.*, p. 96), and *G. Maelderw* (*ib.*, p. 104, *bis*) may be a man's name; but if it stands for the modern *Eiddynyn* (as would certainly appear from the rhymes at p. 104), not *Eithinin*, the word may be a tribal designation derived from a man's name, *Eiddyn*, like *Cynferchyn* from *Cynfarch* (for which see Skene, ii. 454, Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 192). On the other hand, it is perhaps more probable that *Eiddyn* was the name of a district, and that Caer Eiddyn and Din Eiddyn and Clydno Eiddyn took their names from their situation in or connection with that district.

It is impossible either for the Welsh *Eiddyn* to come from *Edwin* (who is always called *Etwin*, *Edwin*, in Welsh), or the converse; but it seems highly probable that Edwin, on conquering the fortress, slightly altered the native designation so as to make it commemorate his own name under the form *Edwinesburgh* or its prototype, which was thenceforth adopted by the English.

(*r*) Professor Rhys informs us that "there is no other derivation"

W. L. Banks, of Plâs Madoc, Llanrwst), and the texts contained in Hengwrt MSS. 54 and 536; of all of which we have direct copies, made by ourselves or Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans, before us.

[8] The form *Leudonus* is found in chap. i. of the fragment of the old Life preserved in Cott., Titus A. xix., where he is said to have given name to the *provincia* of *Leudonia*, i.e., Lothian (see Bishop Forbes' *Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, p. 245). The form *Lleudduniawn* is found in Gwalchmai's *Gorhoffedd*, *Myv. Arch.*, i. 196[a], where it is spelt *Lleudiniawn*.

for *caer* and *cathair*[9] than from *castrum;* "but one does not see clearly why the *s* should disappear." As regards the Welsh form, we do not speak as philologists, but we presume the idea to be that *castrum* was softened locally into some such form as *caserum* or *caser,* and that the medial *s* was treated just as the Aryan *s* in such cases as *chwaer* for **svaser.* Professor Rhys has pointed out that the conversion of *initial s* into *h* was a phonetic change not extinct in Welsh till after the days of Roman supremacy in Britain; for the Welsh have made *sextarius* into *hestaur* (now *'stor*) and probably *sērum* (in the sense of *soir*) into *hwyr;* the genuine Welsh representative of *serus* being *hir.*

A well-known instance of the dropping of *medial s* in a native word since Roman times is found in *Trisantona,*[1] the old name for the river *Trent.* This becomes *Trahannon* in the best MSS. of the *Mirabilia Britanniæ* (e.g., Royal MS. 13 D.v.; see Stevenson's text, § 67, where he does not give the reading of this MS., but adopts the bad reading *Transhannoni,* caused by a 10th-century Welsh scribe taking the *tra* to be the Welsh preposition, and hence translating it into the Latin *trans*). In later Welsh this has become *Tarannon.* There is hardly room for doubt that in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii. 212), where people are said to camp *ar Tren a Tharanhon,* the Trent is meant, for *Tren* is otherwise well-known as the Welsh name of the Tern. The name *Tarannon* (pronounced *Trannon*) is preserved as that of the stream which flows through Trefeglwys to join the Severn at Caersws; we have no doubt that the charlatans have derived it from *taranu* 'to thunder.'

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[9] In the Old-Irish Glosses this word is spelt *cathir,* and glosses *civitas* (see Zeuss' *Grammatica Celtica,* 2nd edition, top of p. 809). It is to be distinguished from *cathair,* 'a chair,' borrowed from *cathedra,* like the corresponding Welsh *cader.* On *Caherconree* see note (*s*) *infra.*

In an Irish Life of St. Columba, as cited in Reeves' *Adamnan,* p. 191, note *c,* a place called *Caer-na-m Broc* (there conjecturally identified with *Burg* Head, in N.-E. Scotland), is mentioned. Stokes, in his paper *On the Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals* (Philological Society, 1890), pp. 32, 34, equates the *Caer* of this name with the Welsh *caer,* and likewise with the first part of the name *Ceirfuill* in Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots,* p. 6 (see facsimile of the MS., col. 2, opposite p. 1); this name, he suggests, may be equivalent to the *Kerpul* of Reeves' *Culdees,* p. 133, and both to the Welsh *Caer-pwll.*

[1] See Rhys' *Celtic Britain,* 2nd edition, p. 80, note.

Why the Irish should drop the *s*, while they retained the *t*, of *castrum*, is a point on which we can offer no opinion.

Caer in Welsh is feminine; but it is to be noted that in Cornish place-names *car-* very often does not alter the mutable consonant that follows it; as in the names *Carmeal*, *Carmellow*, *Carmelor*, *Carmerrance*, *Carminow*, and *Carbilly*, all in Bannister's *Glossary of Cornish Names*. Of these names *Carminow*[2] seems to contain the Welsh man's name *Mynyw*, *Menyw*, or *Menw* (for which see *Red Book Triad* No. 20 in *Y Cymmrodor*, vii. 126-7, and the Oxford *Mabinogion*, pp. 302; 107, &c.; 147); and *Carbilly* or *Carbilla* (which gives or gave name to at least four places in East Cornwall) is certainly for *Caer Beli*,[3] or rather *Caer Feli*, as it would be in Welsh. Now this shows *Caer* to have been in Britain of common gender, which is exactly what we should expect, if it were derived from the neuter *castrum*.

(*s*) It would be interesting to inquire how far *caer* and *din* are in Wales and Cornwall *both applied to the same places*. We would ask whether the fort in Llan Nefydd called *Din-Cadfael* by Lewis Morris in his *Celtic Remains*, and giving name to the township of *Dinas Cadfel* in the said parish, is not the same as the fort called *Y Gaer* on the 1-inch Ordnance Map, sheet 79?

Cardinham has been noticed in note (*m*), *supra*; Leland (*Itinerary*, ed. 1769, iii., fo. 4.) also mentions a *Cairdine* (in or near St. Breage in Kerrier), then a seat of the Godolphins. That both *cathair* and

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[2] *Carmynow*, or *Carmenow*; it is situate in the parish of St. Mawgan in Meneage.

[3] John of Cornwall, in "Merlini Prophetia cum expositione Ioannis Cornubiensis," has the following interesting note on the words *fatale castrum*: "*Fatale castrum* dicit illud municipium in partibus nostris quod in Anglico dicitur *Aschbiri*, in Britannico *Kair belli*, et ut placet quibusdam et *castel uchel coed*" (Greith, *Spicilegium Vaticanum*, pp. 104-5, cited by Stokes in *Revue Celtique*, iii. 86). Here *fatale castrum* seems to be a gloss on *Kair belli*, if it be the case (as Professor Rhys once suggested to us before he knew of the above passage, and has since printed in his *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 37-8, 91) that *Beli* originally meant the god of death, his name being connected etymologically with the Irish word which we find in *atbél* 'peribo.' The place meant is probably Saltash, the older (English) names of which were *Asche* and *Ascheburgh*; not far off, in the parish of Anthony, is a place called *Carbeal* or *Carbele*. The other group of *Beli*-names, including *Carbilly Tor*, is considerably to the westward.

caer were used to designate the forts connected with mythical or prehistoric personages is sufficiently shown by such names as *Caherconree*,[4] from *Curoi Mac Daire* (on Slieve Mish, between Tralee and Dingle, where there seems to be no fort at all; see O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 212, note *t*); *Pen Caer Llin* above Llanbedr y Cennin on the Conwy; *Caer Dathal* (probably from the Irish name *Tuathal;* as *Dathal* rhymes with *ardal*, the orthographies *Dathyl, Dathl,* are wrong) in Arfon, which we have some reason for identifying either with the celebrated Tre'r Ceiri, or with Pen y Gaer not far off. To identify "Caer Dathal *in Arfon*" with Pen Caer Llîn (called by Pennant, the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and others, *Pen Caer Helen;* see note (*y*), *infra*) above Llanbedr y Cennin, at the end of *Arllechwedd* furthest from Arfon, as have done Pughe and others who merely copy him, is about as brilliant a piece of geography as would be the placing of London in Herts or Bucks! It is clear to any one who will read the passages of *Math ab Mathonwy* found at p. 59, l. 12; p. 63, ll. 2, 10-12 of the Oxford edition of the *Mabinogion*, that *Caer Dathal* was in Arfon, and that Arllechwedd was, to the author of that *Mabinogi* as to all down to the comparatively recent period when the blurrer and forger of Welsh history enters on the scene, perfectly distinct from Arfon; the oldest occurrence of *Arfon* for the modern "Carnarvonshire" that we know of is in Sir John Price's *Description of Wales* (the oldest MS. of which, Cott., Caligula A. vi., is in the British Museum, and dated 1559).[5]

(*t*) There is also the form *castellan* (cf. *dinan*, in note (*m*), *supra*), a diminutive of *eastell*, not uncommon in Wales. One *Castellan*, where there are no traces of a fortified building (or any building at all, we believe, except a modern hovel) is a little north of Garth in Breconshire; it is very near Caerau, where there is a high artificial mound, and remains of buildings or roads (supposed to be Roman) have been dug up in the fields around. There is a second *Castellan* to the N.W. of Llandovery (not marked on the 1-inch Ordnance Map), a third, we are told, in North Cardiganshire, and a fourth in N.E. Pembrokeshire, which once gave its name to a parish church mentioned in Pope Nicholas' *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (1291).

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[4] See the first footnote on note (*r*) *supra*.

[5] It was edited ("afterward augmented and made perfect") by Humphrey Lloyd, and is printed in Powel's *Historie of Cambria*, 1584, pp. 1—22 (and we presume in all subsequent editions of that work; in the Merthyr edition of 1812 it occupies pp. i.—xxiv.). It was printed in a separate form by William Hall at Oxford in 1663, where it is said to have been merely "perused" by Humphrey Lloyd.

Castell itself is used in parts, just like *dinas*, to designate an imposing natural position. For instance, up the valley of the Gwennol, E. of Llandovery, the moors of Neithgrug (of course made into *Noeth grug* by the Ordnance mapsters, followed by Murchison in his *Siluria* and the *race moutonnière* of guide-book hacks) rise into a rocky and precipitous height called "*Castell* Craig *yr wyddon*" (*not gwyddon*, as the Ordnance mapster, or *derwyddon*, as the local *illuminés*). Here one of the oldest natives tells us there was a cave, now stopped up, into which some persons venturing in search of treasure saw a chest *a llun brân erni* ('with the *shape* of a crow upon it') and had their lights mysteriously extinguished. Then again, not far from there, where Cefn Arthen (or Cefn Erthan) comes down on the Cwm Dwr at the mouth of Cwm Glyn, there is a rocky escarpment known as *Cestyll* or *Castell*, we forget which.

(*u*) Having regard to the generally unscientific, not to say insane, character of most of Mr. Lewis' efforts in Welsh etymologizing, it is as well to inform the general reader that the equation of the Old-Welsh *treb* with the Latin *tribus* is one that has been proposed by and is accepted among Celtic philologists, for instance, by Whitley Stokes. The Anglo-Saxon, Old-Norse, and English *thorp*, and the German *dorf* are cognates, and the Anglo-Saxon *thróp*, *threp* 'village' and the Lithuanian *trobà* 'a building' are possibly connected, Mr. Stokes informs us.

It is worth while noting that in at least two place-names *Tref* (see Rhys' *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 406) is a comparatively modern substitution for a prior *Din* or *Caer*; viz., in *Tremeirchion*, near St. Asaph, formerly called *Din Meirchion*, and *Tregoning*, in the parish of St. Breage in Kerrier, Cornwall, which is called "*Cair Kenin*, alias *Gonyn* and *Conin*" by Leland (*Itin.*, ed. 1769, iii., fo. 4), equivalent to *Caer Gynin* in Welsh; there is an important fort there, on a hill called *Pencair* in Leland's time.

(*v*) The Welsh *cantrefi* or 'hundreds' vary so much in size that we cannot believe that *cantref* preserved the same meaning through all the stages of early Welsh history. Some of the variations of size in the *cantrefi* are to be explained by the relative fertility and therefore populousness of different parts of Wales: for instance, we can quite see why the hundreds of Anglesey or of parts of what is now called Pembrokeshire should be relatively small in area; but this principle will not account for some instances where very large areas with a considerable proportion of lowland soil are styled *cantrefi*. Striking instances of this are furnished by the two *Cantrefi* north of the Towy in what is now Carmarthenshire. The first of these, embracing the whole area from near Tregaron to near Carmarthen, was called

Cantref Mawr ('the Great Hundred'), and contained no less than seven commotes or *cymydau*. Now there is sufficient evidence to show that in early times this *cantref* belonged to Demetia or Dyfed, but that it was conquered in the 8th century, with two other *Cantrefi* S. of the Towy (the adjacent one called by contrast *Cantref Bychan* or 'the Little Hundred'), by or before the time of Seissyll ab Clydog, king of Ceredigion, from whom the district of Ystrad Tywi, comprising the said three *Cantrefi*, was called, together with Ceredigion, *Seissyllwg* or 'Seissyll's Land.'[6] Another ancient hundred of modern Car-

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[6] See *Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed* in the Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 25: "Ac y gwledychwys ynteu Pryderi seith cantref Dyuet yn llwydyannus garedic gan y gynoeth a chan pawb yn y gylch. *Ae yn ol hynny y kynnydwys tri chantref Ystrat Tywi. A phedwar cantref Keredigyawn. Ac y gelwir y rei hynny seith gantref Seissyllwch.*" The last sentence, which means: 'And after that he (Pwyll) added (to Dyfed) the three Cantrefs of Ystrad Tywi, and the four Cantrefs of Ceredigion; which are called the seven Cantrefs of *Seissyllwg*,' and its interpretation, have been surprisingly bungled by M. Loth in his *Mabinogion*. At vol. i., p. 63, he translates the passage: "Ensuite il ajouta à ses domaines les trois *cantrevs* d'Ystrat Tywi et quatre *cantrevs* de Seisyllwc." This translation (?) is arrived at by means of an unhappy homœoteleuton, through which he omitted the words: *Keredigiawn. Ac y gelwir y rei hynny seith gantref*, as will be seen by a comparison with the text and correct translation given above. After this blunder *in limine*, M. Loth proceeds to inform us in a note that *Ystrad Tywi* here means 'the valley of the Towy,' being apparently ignorant of the technical sense of *Ystrad Tywi*, in which it no more denotes 'the valley of the Towy' than *Ystrad Alun* denotes 'the valley of the Alun.' Then he goes on to tell us that *Seissyllwg* means Cardigan. But this is not all; for in a note on pp. 27-8 of the same volume part of this passage is translated with the substitution of "Carmarthen" for the *Ystrad Tywi* of the original text; whilst a little lower down we are told that the seven cantrefs which made up ancient Dyfed "only comprise the modern county of Pembroke."

Would M. Loth, who equates Ystrad Tywi with Carmarthenshire, and Dyfed with Pembrokeshire, be surprised to hear (1) that a whole commote of ancient Ystrad Tywi, namely Gower, is now in Glamorganshire? (2) that a whole hundred (and a very large one) of the seven hundreds of Dyfed, to wit, Cantref Gwarthaf, and half of another, namely, Emlyn, are now in Carmarthenshire? and that according

marthenshire was included in Dyfed; it was called *Cantref Gwarthaf* or 'The Upper Hundred,' and contained no less than eight commotes. The name 'Upper Hundred,' be it noted, can only have been given it after the mutilation of Dyfed by Ceredigion; for previously it could under no aspect have been said to be "the *Upper* Hundred" of Dyfed. We suspect that the (*relative*, and therefore probably not very old) names of *Cantref Mawr* and *Cantref Bychan* (the former N., the latter S. of the Towy) are also posterior to Seissyll's conquest, though the *Cantref Bychan* was not apparently conquered from Dyfed. However soon after 750 or 800 (between which dates Seissyll lived) these three *cantref*-names were imposed, we believe that at the period of their imposition *Cantref* had got to be used in a non-technical sense, and we suspect in that of a mere 'district' or 'province.'

(*w*) Canon Silvan Evans believes *Velindref* to be (in many, if not in all cases) a corruption of *Vileindref*, 'Villein's *tref*,' a term mentioned in the Welsh Laws. It would be interesting, with reference to this suggestion, to have a collection made of all the instances where *Velindre* occurs in Wales or Cornwall, and to know whether the name is always found on sites where water-mills (for windmills are of comparatively recent introduction into Wales) still exist, are recorded to have existed, or might have existed.

(*x*) The case is very much stronger than this. *Maenor* occurs in one of the documents in the *Book of St. Chad*, already quoted by us (see note (*a*) *supra*) as written in the Mercian hand of the time of King Offa, which begins: "Ostendit ista conscripsio nobilitatem mainaur med diminih *et* mensuram *eius*": i.e., 'This writing sheweth the nobleness of the *Mead Maenor of the Monks* and its measurement;' of which document the "facsimile" opposite to p. 275 of the work known as *Liber Landavensis* is not a facsimile at all. Even our English historians will hardly be prepared to sustain the hypothesis that the Welsh borrowed a Norman-French word prior to A.D. 800! The word *mainaur* is very common in the *Liber Landavensis* as an element of place-names in S. Wales.

As to its origin, the termination *-aur*, now written *-awr*, was (see

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to the *Liber Landavensis*, the county town of Carmarthen was in Cantref Gwarthaf, i.e., in Dyfed, in 1132?

The moral of all which is that we should take the trouble to *read* our texts before we either translate or comment on them, and, before writing on the ancient topography of a country, should master the rudiments of that topography.

Y *Cymmrodor*, ix. 265) in common use in Middle-Welsh to form the plurals of a few words; and Professor Rhys once suggested to us that *mainaur* originally meant 'stones,' and hence a space enclosed by boundary-stones. He compared the Gaelic *clachan*, the plural of *clach* 'a stone' (=Welsh **clag*, whence the plural *clegyr*,[7] used in parts of N. Wales to designate a rocky spot; cf. *clôg* in place-names and in *clogwyn*), which is the ordinary word for 'a village, a hamlet where a church is,' and we need hardly say has been utilized in support of their dreams by the Druidomaniacs. Is the first part of the Cumberland term *mean-field*, i.e., 'a field in which the several shares or ownerships are known by meer-stones or other boundary marks,' of English or Welsh origin?

The accepted derivation of *manor* (see Skeat's *Concise Etymological Dictionary*, ed. 1887) is from Old-French *manoir* 'a mansion,' *manoir* 'to dwell' (from Latin *manēre*). The Welsh *aw* is in Old-Celtic *ā* now *ā* would not, we believe, make *oi* in French. The Breton *maner* means the same as *manoir*, and seems a mere loan-word; of the existence of *mainaur* in Cornwall or Brittany we have as yet found no certain evidence, but as we have Breton *tier* as a plural from *ti* 'house,' and other such forms (see Y *Cymmrodor*, ix. 265), so we might presumably have **mener* from *men* 'stone.' But is there anything to show that the words *manerium*, *manoir*, come from Brittany or from Breton?

Since writing the above we find that there is a *Manorgwidden* (*-gwidden* = *gwidn* = W. *gwyn* 'white') in Cornwall, mentioned in Bannister's *Glossary of Cornish Names* (*s.v.*); we do not know where it is situated.

(*y*) The older people in Carnarvon still say *Coed Alun*. *Helenomania* is one of the perversest fads of our North-Welsh village-etymologists; it consists in altering every possible place-name, or part thereof, which contains the sequence of consonants *l* (or *ll*) and *n* into *Helen*. A well-known instance is *Dolwyddelan*, meaning 'Gwyddelan's meadow' (cf. *Llan-wyddelan*, *Bod-wyddelan*); this, in defiance alike of the ancient forms and the modern pronunciation of the name, is coolly altered by our Helenomaniacs into *Dolydd Elen* to make the word mean 'Helen's meadows'; and people actually still exist who date their letters from "Dolyddelen"!

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[7] This word is exactly equivalent in sense and approximately so in form to the Irish *clochar*, common in place-names under the Anglicized form of *Clogher*, and denoting "a place abounding in stones, or having a stony surface." (Joyce's *Irish Place-names*, 1st Series, ed. 1875, p. 413.)

Another flagrant piece of Helenomania was perpetrated by Pennant, or by his same Welsh advisers who made up for him the utterly fictitious names of *Caer Hen* for *Caer Rhun*, *Arddwy* for *Arddu*, *Traeth Wylofaen*[8] (*sic*) for *T. Lafan*, *Cegid* (river) for *Cegin*,[9] &c. We allude to the alteration of *Pen Caer Llîn*, the remarkable fort above Llanbedr y Cennin, in the Vale of Conwy, into *Pen Caer Helen*. The place is still called *Pen Caër Llin* (though often also *Pen y Gaer*) in the neighbourhood, but some local antiquarian writers, and contributors to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, know better, and call it *Pen*

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[8] A similar folk-etymology of *Traeth Lafan* is to be found in a valuable memorandum (in Latin) containing the answers of one "G.R.," a correspondent of Edward Llwyd's, to the questions of the latter; where we find, amongst a batch of the like pretty dreams, wisely prefaced by an *ut aiunt*, and characterized in the margin as "ingeniosa vulgi figmenta circa locorum nomina": "*Traeth yr Lafan* à *traeth oer lefain*." (See *Arch. Camb.* for 1860, 3rd Series, vol. vi., p. 237.) In the unpublished Dinorben Fach MS. (17th century) of *Bonedd y Saint*, the place is called (p. 233) "*y traeth aflawen*, yn y ddwy Gyfylchi."

[9] The little river *Cegin* is so called from the spring where it rises in Llanddeiniolen, called *Ffynnon Cegin Arthur* 'the Well of Arthur's Kitchen;' apropos of which the late Dr. Wynn Williams once told a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Society that when the water of the spring came up with more bubbles than usual, the natives used to remark that a great deal of cooking was going on in King Arthur's kitchen below! A similar instance of a stream being named after the spot where it rises is to be found in the *Glaslyn* at Beddgelert, which rises in the well-known tarn of *Glaslyn* under Snowdon; here the modern name has supplanted the old name of the river, which is called *Ferlas* in the Conway Charters (see Williams' *History of Aberconwy*, p. 168),—a name still preserved in a place called (on the map) *Ferlas*, below Aberglaslyn.

For the fictitious names cited from Pennant's *Tours in Wales*, see Rhys' edition, i. 17, iii. 129 (*Caer Hen*); ii. 326 (*Arddwy*); iii. 30 (*Traeth Wylofaen*, also *Traeth Telaven*); iii. 82 (*Aber Cegid;* correctly spelt at ii. 323, where the origin of the name is explained). *Pen Caer Helen* will be found at iii. 130. Then there is that ineffable forgery *Bwlch Agricla* 'Agricola's Pass,' at ii. 26; and where did Pennant get his *Tre'r Yrys* (for *Eryrys* or *Erryrys*) on the same page, his "*Teberri* Castle," i.e., *Castell y Bere*, at ii. 239, or his *Trelacre*, for *Talacre*, i. 17?

Caer Helen. The modern alteration of *Coed Alun* into *Coed Helen* is equally arbitrary and charlatanic.

The *Elen* (not *Helen*) who in Welsh legend was connected with Carnarvon and with the road now called *Sarn Helen* (in parts also *Sarn Halen*) was the wife of the legendary Maxen Wledig, concocted out of the historical emperor Maximus; her name has apparently been converted into *Helen* through confusing her with *Helena*, the mother of the Emperor Constantine.

(*z*) In *Revue Celtique*, vi. 49, Professor Rhys has a note about *tyddyn*, as follows: " . . . *tyddyn* 'a house with the land around it, a small farm,' which I had long suspected of having *dd* for *j* and of standing for *tegj-inn*, when I found the necessary proof the other day in the old form *tegdin* in the Welsh Laws,—the word is commonly shortened to *tyn* in names of farm-houses all over Wales, such as *Tyn Llwyn*, *Tyn Simdde*, etc." Professor Rhys regards *tegj-* as standing for *tegi-*, the stem of a genitive **tegi(s)os* = Gr. *τέγεος*; and the *-yn* as the ordinary Welsh singulative termination. We may perhaps here mention that the Basque *tegi* 'place, abode' looks like a loan-word from some case of the Old-Celtic word for 'a house.' With reference to Professor Rhys' equation of *Tyn* with *Tyddyn*, it would be interesting to know how places now called *Tyn* are spelt in old documents; of his instances *Tyn Simdde* could hardly mean 'the house in the chimney,' but such names as *Tyn Llwyn*, *Tyn Coed*, &c., might very well be from *Ty'n Llwyn* or *Ty'n Coed*, in the sense of 'the house in (*Ty yn*) the bush or wood'; and this, we believe, is the usual explanation.

THE SETTLEMENT OF BRITTANY.

By W. Edwards, M.A., of Merthyr Tydvil.[1]

This subject has received considerable attention in France, and especially in Brittany itself, but has not been thoroughly or scientifically treated in any English work; and the purpose of my paper is to give in small compass the conclusions of De la Borderie, De Courson, and Loth, whose exhaustive investigations have entitled them to be regarded as the chief authorities on the question.

I need not dwell at length upon the resemblance between the Breton and Welsh languages, and the still closer affinity between Breton and the now extinct Cornish. All three have been identified as belonging to the Brythonic section of the Celtic. Considering the influence of phonetic decay, and of a long intercourse with alien nations, it is surprising that Welsh and Breton should have retained such a similarity as they now exhibit even to a non-philological ear. The commonly-related stories about their mutual intelligibility are not, however, to be credited. Many words are very like in the two languages, but these are not so numerous as to make communication easy; and if a Welshman has ever made himself understood by a Breton, it must have been by dint of great cleverness on the part of both interlocutors. In any case, the Welshman travelling

[1] Read before the Society on June 4th, 1890.

in "Bretagne bretonnante" finds the country strangely familiar to him. If the words which he recognizes in the common speech are few and far between, the place-names everywhere remind him of Wales—Landivisiau, Lampaul, Hennebont, Morbihan, Kerpenhir, Bangor, Tregastel, &c. He imagines also that he sees in the faces of the country-people a frequently-recurring Welsh type of physiognomy —round, dark-eyed, and rosy-cheeked.

The theories that would account for the existence, across the Channel, of a language which has so evident a kinship with Welsh and Cornish, are the following:—

(1) That Breton is a development of the old Gaulish, a remainder *in situ* of the language which was spoken by the inhabitants of Gaul before the Roman invasion.

(2) That Breton is simply a British dialect transplanted with a colony from Britain at some distant date.

The first theory given is plausible enough, and although it has never had many supporters, it is perhaps necessary to examine the grounds on which it could rest. These are chiefly of *a priori* character, but are by no means deficient in plausibility. It does not at first sight seem at all improbable that in the Armorican peninsula there should be a survival of a Gaulish dialect, just as the projections of Cornwall and Wales have enabled the natives of those parts to escape assimilation with the English, in one case for many centuries, in the other for a period still indeterminate. It is true that the Armorican peninsula was not mountainous; but forests and marshes might serve to protect the relics of a liberty-loving race, such as we know the old Armoricans to have been. But we have to consider whether Gaulish could have been the original of a language of a Brythonic type. Tacitus says in the *Annals* that "the language of the Britons is not very different from that of the Gauls;" and the great Celtic grammarian Zeuss believes, from the very

scanty data which are available for comparison, that the old Gaulish must have been very close to the old Welsh. If I mistake not, our chief authority, Professor Rhys, who started with the opinion that Gaulish was not Brythonic in its character, now holds [2] that it was so. The means of comparing the early stages of the Celtic languages are extremely meagre, and often seem to resolve themselves into a question of *p*'s and *q*'s.[3]

The assertion made by Tacitus cannot be lightly set aside. The resemblance which struck Tacitus must have been of a practical kind, that is to say, it implied the possibility of communication. That there was a frequent intercourse between the Gauls and the Britons we know from Cæsar and Tacitus, as well as from earlier writers. The island was colonized from Gaul in the first instance. Some of the British tribes, as the Atrebates and Parisi, had probably been settled in recent times from metropolitan states bearing the same names on the continent.

M. Loth makes a different use of Tacitus' statement. If, he says, the difference between Gaulish and British was great enough to be described as "not *very* great," surely Giraldus Cambrensis, writing in the twelfth century, could not have found the Breton language all but intelligible to the Welsh people of his time.[4] Whatever difference

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[2] This is so. See his *Celtic Britain*.—Ed.

[3] See, for instance, Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, 2nd ed., pp. 213-4, and his Rhind Lectures on the Early Ethnology of the British Isles, now being printed in piecemeal form in the *Scottish Review*.—Ed.

[4] This passage is very inaccurately given in a footnote to p. 92 of Loth's *L'Émigration bretonne en Armorique*, and has elsewhere been misquoted. We therefore give the original here from Giraldus' *Descriptio Kambriæ*, Book I., chap. vi. (*Works*, Rolls edition, vol. vi., p. 177): "Cornubia vero, et Armorica Britannia, lingua utuntur fere persimili; Kambris tamen, propter originalem convenientiam, in multis adhuc *et fere cunctis* intelligibili." Two other MSS. omit the

existed in the first century would have been immensely increased, according to all experience of the operation of linguistic growth and decay, by the twelfth century. Hence M. Loth concludes that Breton cannot be derived from Gaulish.

Perhaps I should mention a third theory, which was held by the late Mr. T. Wright. According to him the British dialects had been entirely supplanted by a form of Latin before the Romans evacuated the country, and the existence of the Welsh, and formerly of the Cornish language, can only be accounted for by a migration from Armorica in the 5th century.[5]

We shall best decide the question by following the method of M. Loth in his book *L'Émigration bretonne en Armorique*. It will be useful first to glance at the history of the Armorican peninsula during the early centuries of our era. When Cæsar commenced his campaign in Gaul, the peninsula was divided between five states or tribes, the Redones,

italicized words, and one has *et fere*, but omits *cunctis*. It will be seen from these various readings how open to qualification any statement of the mutual intelligibility of Welsh on the one hand, and Cornish and Breton (rightly regarded by Giraldus as being in his time virtually the same language) on the other, was considered 600 or 700 years ago. Now, of course, the difference between the languages is immensely greater, largely owing to the inordinate borrowing from French which has taken place in Breton.—Ed.

[5] See *Arch. Camb.* for 1858 (3rd Series, vol. iv.), pp. 289-305. This "theory" is as groundless and worthless as everything, or nearly everything, that the late Mr. Wright advanced or wrote on Celtic subjects. Mr. Wright's scholarship in matters of Welsh history was about on a par with the Latin and Scriptural scholarship which led him into those two famous blunders—the first of which consisted in reading the last word of *fungar vice cotis* as "*totis*," and translating the whole 'I will discharge all functions in turn,' and the second in translating *lepra Syri* 'the leprosy of *Syrus*'! (See the clever and amusing article *Antiquarian Club-books*, in the late Rev. Richard Garnett's *Philological Essays*, pp. 122-3).—Ed.

Namnetes, Curiosolites, Ossismii, and Veneti. Their territories may roughly be identified as follows: The Redones occupied the east or base of the peninsula, the Namnetes the banks of the lower Loire, the Veneti the south, the Ossismii the west or extremity of the peninsula, and the Curiosolites the north.[6] The leading state seems to have been the Veneti, who had extensive commerce with the British Islands and the Phœnicians, and possessed a considerable marine, as is shown by the reception which they gave Cæsar. Publius Crassus claimed to have reduced them to submission; but when a few months later they were required to furnish supplies for the Roman legions, they seized the messengers as hostages, and persuaded the other states of the peninsula to join in a great Armorican combination, and fight for the liberties which their forefathers had bequeathed to them. Their forces were rapidly concentrated; and we are informed that a contingent was sent by their British allies, for which friendly office Cæsar resolved to punish the latter in the following year. Cæsar complains "that in almost all the Gallic wars the Britons had sent assistance to the enemy." The Veneti muster 220 vessels, whose make and sea-going capabilities are described by Cæsar with great respect. A memorable naval battle followed just outside the Morbihan. Victory was with Cæsar, and the Imperator states that in one battle the war with the Veneti and all the coast nations was practically over, for the whole military and naval force of the enemy had been concentrated to meet him. Cæsar orders the council of elders to be put to death, and all the

[6] The towns of Rennes (in Breton, *Roazon*), Nantes (in Breton, *Naoned*), and Vannes (in Breton, *Gwened*), and the village of Corseul (near which part of an octagonal Roman building is still to be seen), W.N.W. of Dinan, preserve the names of four out of these five tribes. —Ed.

rest to be sold into slavery. If Cæsar's account of this campaign is not exaggerated, the inhabitants of the peninsula were completely subdued and deprived of all power of resistance. Henceforth Armorica forms part of the Roman Empire, and is included, according to the *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii*, in the *Tractus Armoricanus*, which extended through all north-west Gaul, and therefore considerably beyond the limits which are interesting to us. The history of this part of Gaul during the Roman occupation is almost a blank, so far as written allusions are concerned; but we know from the list of towns in the *Notitia*, and from the remains of Roman roads and buildings, that the occupation was as thorough as it was in the rest of the country.

M. Bizeul, who is one of the leading authorities upon the ancient Roman geography of Gaul, is so impressed by the extent of the Roman remains that he refuses to accept the hypothesis of a British migration in the fifth and sixth centuries. There could have been no room in the country, in M. Bizeul's opinion, for such an extensive migration as is postulated by the commonly received theory. He remarks:—"It is due to a stupid error that our legend-writers, our chroniclers, and the modern authors who have taken them for guides have described the Armorican peninsula as a sort of desert in the fourth, fifth and even in the sixth centuries, when the object is to deposit on our soil these pretended immigrants from over the channel, of whom they wish to make the first founders of the Breton kingdom, by dint of fables and other nonsense; as if all these remains and relics which we find to-day were not the most incontestable proof of the long continuance of a dense population; as if all these peoples, which at the time of the conquest of Gaul occupied the peninsula, had suddenly disappeared; as if, in short, the

Romans, whose handiwork we recognize everywhere, had formed these establishments and laid down these roads in a country denuded of inhabitants. Our geographical studies tend to rebut such a deplorable error." M. Bizeul's premiss may be turned against himself, for the more completely he proves the peninsula to have been Romanized, the more unlikely would be the survival of a Gaulish dialect, and the more necessary therefore it becomes to assign an external origin to the Breton. He seems to have concluded too much from the character and abundance of the Roman works when he argues that they prove the continuance of a dense population down to the fourth or fifth century. The long duration of the Roman rule gave sufficient time both for the growth of a large and prosperous community, boasting all the accompaniments of civilization, in the shape of substantial monuments, &c., and for a period of decay and depopulation. We are not, however, left to mere conjecture on this point. M. de la Borderie points out that none of the Roman coins and medals found in Brittany bear a date between 306 and 460, while there are over twenty that may be ascribed to the preceding centuries. The whole history of the Roman Empire during its disintegration makes us familiar with the idea that large tracts of country had been rendered bare of inhabitants, and had been withdrawn from cultivation owing to the exacting demands of the prefects, who had to furnish a toll of revenue to the emperors without regard to the ability of the district to bear the drain. This may have been the fate of the western part of the peninsula, a supposition which derives support from other considerations to be touched upon later. Towards the east there must have been a thicker population, for we find the Armoricans actively engaged in evicting the Roman governors (about 408), as the Britons were doing at the same time. They

hold their ground against the invading German tribes after the latter have overrun a large part of Gaul, and only consent to surrender their independence when the conquerors themselves yield to the influence of the Gallic church.

Up to about 450 A.D. there are only Armoricans in the peninsula, of whom, in the opinion of M. Loth, it may be asserted that they had lost all trace of their old Gaulish dialect as completely as the remainder of the inhabitants of Gaul had done, although this does not preclude the possibility of a Gaulish element being found in the language which finally prevailed.[7] The Roman dialect which ultimately became the modern French or Provençal had, at the date given, come into universal use. This is M. Loth's conclusion. The complete victory of Latin over the vernacular is difficult to explain except on the hypothesis that the bulk of the population lived in or very near the Roman towns, which exercised therefore a highly concentrated influence upon the Gauls themselves, and finally upon their barbarian conquerors. Also it must be remembered that in adopting a form of Latin the Gauls imposed upon it several characteristics which harmonized the new speech with the genius of the vernacular, and made the transition more natural. The periphrastic forms were largely introduced in lieu of the inflexional, the distinction of the neuter gender and the case-endings were abolished, and in the general process of accommodation it is probable that many Gaulish words were continued in use.[8]

[7] We do not in the least believe that it has been shown, or ever can be shown, that Gaulish was extinct either in all Brittany or in remote and wild parts of the rest of Gaul in the fifth century. We cannot see why it may not have lingered on in such districts for centuries after we last hear of its existence.—Ed.

[8] A larger number than is generally supposed exist in French, e.g.,

If it is too much to state that Gaulish as a separate idiom had become entirely extinct at the date under consideration, it seems at any rate to have been proved that in the closing years of the Roman domination Armorica was, as regards language, in the same position as the rest of Gaul. There is no evidence to show that Gaulish lingered in the peninsula longer than in the main body of the country, and even if there were no other obstacles to the theory that Breton represents the old Gaulish, this difficulty alone would be almost insurmountable.

In the second half of the fifth century there suddenly emerges on the scene a new people, for mention is made for the first time of *Britons*. Henceforth a distinction is made between two nations living side by side in the peninsula, the Britons and the Romans, and their respective territories are designated Britannia and Romania. The Romans are the Armoricans, Roman in language and culture, and on the point of being merged in the Frankish kingdom, while the Britons speak a Celtic dialect, and cover the country with place-names which differ entirely in sound and form from those used in the east of the peninsula. The earliest authentic mention of a Briton in Armorica seems to be that of Mansuetus "a bishop of the Britons," who is said to have been present at the council of Tours in 461 (Labbe, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, published in 1672). Again, Jornandes (*De Rebus Geticis*, 552) relates that "Euric, King of the Visigoths, perceiving the frequent changes of Roman governors, tried to occupy all Gaul in his own right. Learning this, the Emperor Anthemius forthwith asked the help of the Britons, whose

mègue 'whey' (Irish *medg*, Welsh *maidd*), the stem of *bris-er* 'to break' (Irish *brisim* 'I break), *lucet* 'whortleberry' (W. *llus*), *bruyère* 'heather' (Low Latin *brugeria*; cf. Irish *fraoch*, W. *grug* for **gwrug*), *verne* or *vergne* 'alder' (W. *gwern*, Irish *fearn*), &c.—Ed.

king Riothimus, coming with 12,000 men, arriving from the ocean, was received into the state of the Bituriges."[9] MM. Loth and De la Borderie believe that this army must have already been lodged on the territory of the peninsula; for it is not probable that Anthemius would have invoked the aid of the insular Britons, themselves in the throes of a struggle against the Saxons. But at the date assigned (468) the Saxons had pushed very little beyond the eastern sea-board;[1] and there is not much difficulty in supposing

[9] "Euricus ergo Vesegothorum rex, crebram mutationem Romanorum principum cernens, Gallias suo jure nisus est occupare. Quod comperiens Anthemius imperator, protinus solatia Britonum postulavit. Quorum rex Rhiothimus cum xii. millibus veniens, in Biturigas civitatem oceano, e navibus egressus, susceptus est."—*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, lxxxiii. The chief city of the *Bituriges*, Avaricum, is now represented by *Bourges*.—Ed.

[1] Here must be borne in mind the distinction between a temporary devastation or foray and an invasion directly resulting in permanent conquest. The following passage of Gildas' *Historia* describes the first devastations of the Saxons after their ill-fated invitation by Vortigern to repel the Picts and Scots, and their subsequent threat to turn their arms against the Britons, narrated in § 23, which the passage we quote immediately follows:

"Confovebatur namque, ultionis justæ præcedentium scelerum causa, de mari usque ad mare ignis orientalis [*al.* orientali] sacrilegorum manu exaggeratus, [et] finitimas quasque civitates agrosque populans, [qui] non quievit accensus, donec cunctam pene exurens [*al.* excurans] insulæ superficiem rubra occidentalem trucique oceanum linguâ delamberet" (§ 24; the words *simply* bracketed are not in all the MSS.). The passage is thus translated by Giles: "For the fire of vengeance, justly kindled by former crimes, spread from sea to sea, fed by the hands of our foes in the east, and did not cease until, destroying the neighbouring towns and lands, it reached the other side of the island, and dipped its red and savage tongue in the western ocean." This is a clear statement that, before Gildas wrote these words, the Saxons had reached some point of the sea towards the West; possibly he only refers to the first invasions of the West-Saxons in Hants or Dorset, which were on the western sea as compared to East Kent, where the Saxons first landed; possibly, again, he refers to some forays previous to the battle of Badbury

that the Briton auxiliaries had come from the western or southern parts of the island.[2] The sudden appearance of a ready-made army of so large a size does not seem to fit in with the general theory that the migration was due to the pressure of the invasion. It seems more likely that the colony, if already formed, had its origin in the establishment, on forfeited territory, of a garrison of British soldiers, amenable to Roman martial law, and therefore convenient for Anthemius' purpose. Whatever may be the explanation, we have, at any rate, the fact, if the notices are

Hill (see pp. 74-7, *infra*, and note 9 on p. 76), which may well have reached the marshes and lagoons which then fringed the Bristol Channel where the isthmus between it and the English Channel is narrowest, say near Ilchester or Ilminster.—Ed.

[2] On this point the following passage from the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, a work of the 11th century, where a very early communication between *Strathclyde* and Armorica is mentioned, is well worthy of attention. It should be borne in mind that St. Patrick was certainly born in the second half of the fourth century, and that thus the foray into Armorica mentioned here, if in any degree historical, might very well be an indirect consequence of the first invasions of the two Britains by the Picts and Scots in 360:

"Now this is the cause of Patrick's coming at first to Ireland. There were in exile seven sons of Fechtmaide, to wit, seven sons of the King of Britain, and they went to ravage in Armorica. It came to pass that some Britons of Strathclyde [St. Patrick was a native of Strathclyde] were on a journey to their brethren, that is, to the Britons of Armorica; and in the ravaging were slain Calpurn, son of Potitus, Patrick's father, and his mother Concess, daughter of Ocbass of Gaul. Patrick, then, is taken in the ravaging, and his two sisters, namely, Lupait and Tigris. Fechtmaide's seven sons then put to sea; and Patrick and his two sisters were with them in captivity."—*Tripartite Life*, Stokes' Rolls Edition, p. 17. It occurs to us that *Fechtmaide* may represent some form of the Welsh name *Gwaithfoed*, and that *Ochas* may possibly be a corrupt form for **Ochdas* = the Welsh name *Eudas* (also spelt *Ewedas*), given twice by Giraldus (*Itinerarium Kambriæ*, i. 4; Works, vi. 50: and *De Invectionibus*, vi. 4; Works, i. 157), the last part of which name reminds one of *Gildas*.—Ed.

credible, that Britons make their appearance for the first time in Armorica about the middle of the fifth century.

The account given by Geoffrey of Monmouth, partly on the authority of Nennius, of the foundation of a powerful Breton kingdom by Maximianus and Conan towards the end of the fourth century is, of course, not worthy of examination, as it forms part of a narration evidently mythical.[3]

It is now expedient to turn our attention to the state of Britain at the same epoch. We do not need to seek for proofs that the occupation of Britain by the Romans did not lead to the same complete assimilation of the inhabitants as in Gaul. The mountainous configuration of the western

[3] This "Maximianus" is taken from the Emperor Maximus of history. *Nennius* (§ 27) does not mention Conan, but simply says that the Emperor, having slain Gratian, instead of letting his soldiers return to Britain, gave them large tracts of land in Gaul; and that it is from them that the "Armorican Britons" are descended: but the tracts there indicated seem to embrace a far larger portion of Gaul than even the old Armorica, which they evidently include. Geoffrey (Book v.) gives us a detailed account of Maximianus' victories in Armorica, and makes him (chap. 14) give it to Conan Meriadoc, his wife's cousin. Thirdly, the genuine Welsh traditions found in the tale called *The Dream of Maximus* differ from Geoffrey in making Maximus' wife *sister* to Cynan, who is neither there nor anywhere else in genuine Welsh tradition called "Meriadec" (= *Meiriadog*); otherwise the account given in the Welsh tale of the conquest and settlement of Armorica, *so far as it goes*, resembles Geoffrey's. Cynan and his family have a place in Welsh historical tradition, where Stradwenl, the daughter of his brother Gadeon, is the wife of Coel Hên, alias Coel Godebog (who has nothing to do with the ridiculous "Coel of Colchester," father of the fabulous *British* Helen of Geoffrey, v. 6). Whereas Meriadoc (to be distinguished both from the saint of that name and from the hero of the romance in MS. Faustina, B. vi.) seems to have been quite distinct from Cynan, and to belong exclusively to Breton tradition, in which he occurs more than once without the addition of any "Conan." He is apparently the *Meriadus* of Marie de France's *Lai de Gugemer* (ed. Rochefort, i. 98, &c.)—Ed.

parts of South Britain would, of course, partly account for the preservation of the British dialect in Wales and Cornwall, but it is difficult to suppose that even in the less protected centre and south the Latin language could have been universally used by the mass of the natives; otherwise the Saxon conquerors would have yielded, like the Franks, to the glamour of a superior civilization, and adopted in a more or less modified form the language of the conquered. The Romans settled in Britain a hundred years later than in Gaul, their position here was never so secure, owing to the greater distance from the centre of the empire, and the natives probably did not so easily fall into the ways of Roman municipal life.

Even in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis the Welsh "do not live together in towns, nor villages, nor camps, but remain in the woods, each man by himself. In the forest margins they are used to erect not great palaces, nor sumptuous and extravagant structures of stone-work towering up to the sky, but dwellings of wattled-work, which serve for a year's use only, and cost little money or trouble."[4] It does not follow from the elaborate system of roads connecting well-built towns, from the elegant villas and baths, and all the other evidences of Roman civilization, that the Britons at large had lost all their national traits, including their language. The facts are against such a theory. The Welsh language shows traces of having yielded but slightly to the influence of Latin, as only 500 or 600 words can be proved to have been borrowed from

[4] *Descriptio Kambriæ*, Bk. i. ch. 17: "Non urbe, non vico, non castris cohabitant; sed quasi solitarii silvis inhærent. In quarum [eisdem] margine non palatia magna, non [*al.* nec] sumptuosas et superfluas lapidum cæmentique structuras [in altum erigere], verum tecta viminea, usibus annuis sufficientia, modico tam labore quam sumptu connectere mos est."—Works (Rolls Edition), vi. 200-1. (The words *simply* bracketed are not in all the MSS.)—Ed.

that language; and many of these are ecclesiastical terms. It has been said, in fact, that the only foreign influence which had modified to any appreciable extent the language, the laws, or the customs of the Britons was that which had been exercised by the Church. It is a moot point as to when the Christian religion first made its way into Britain; but it is supposed to have been nominally at least triumphant before the end of the fifth century. The British Church distinguished itself by a vigorous independence in the matter of certain rites and customs in respect to which the Roman pontiffs were anxious to obtain a Catholic uniformity. Augustine is sent to require their submission on these points, one of which is the mode of calculating the date of Easter, the other a peculiar form of tonsure. The British bishops meet Augustine on the frontier, and refuse their submission, according to the well-known story, because he remains seated on their appearance, thereby showing an un-Christian arrogance which disqualifies him from being their primate. They will have nothing to do with him, not even will they join in a mission to spread the Gospel among the Angles.[5] Between the lines of the narrative is to be seen a stubborn national spirit which was largely anti-Catholic in its tendencies. Bede remarked that the Britons were accustomed to hold as nought the religion of the Christian Angles, and treated them just as if they were heathens. We shall find the same traits in the Breton church a century or two later; an indication of relationship corroborative of the migration.

For some documentary evidence of the fact of the migration let us consult the pages of Gildas. By his own account he was born in the year of the battle of Mount Badon, the date of which was 493, according to M. de la Borderie's

[5] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 2 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 150).

computation.[6] His father was Caunus or Caw, a prince of the Strathclyde Britons, who held his court in Arecluta, somewhere on or near the river Clyde.[7] Gildas was sent, when seven years old, to the monastery of St. Illtud or Llanilltyd Fawr, where he was the fellow-pupil of Samson,

[6] See M. de la Borderie's admirable paper in *Revue Celtique*, vi. 1-13. And see note 1 on p. 70, *supra*, and note 9 on p. 76, *infra*.—Ed.

[7] *Arecluta* becomes in later Welsh *Arglud*, which gave its name to the *Silva Arglud*, mentioned in the unprinted *Historia Meriadoci* in MS. Cott., Faustina, B. vi. (written in the early fourteenth century). *Arglud* means 'on (or opposite) the Clyde.' If Mr. Skene's very probable identification of *Mons Bannauc* with the last element of the place-name *Carmunnock*, near Glasgow, is correct, and the *mons* itself identical with the Cathkin Hills, then Caw's kingdom was placed by Welsh tradition in the modern Renfrewshire; for in a legend found in the *Life of St. Cadoc* (see *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 58) Caw's kingdom is placed *ultra montem Bannauc* (see Skene's *Four Books*, i. 173-4). That the *Mons Bannauc* formed an important political frontier is shown both by the above passage, where (*C.-B. Saints*, p. 56) St. Cadoc is said to have come to a certain city *citra montem Bannauc*, and by the passage of *Gorchan Maelderw* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 101; and cf. p. 65 top) where "a son of Cian" is said to be "from beyond Bannawg."

Gildas' father is called *Nau rex Scotiæ* by Caradoc of Llancarvan (§ 1), *Navus Rex Pictorum* (answering to the *Cau Pritdin* of the *Life of St. Cadoc, sup. cit.*) by another life, *Can rex Albaniæ* (leg. *Cau*) by John of Tinmouth, as given in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fo. 156ᵃ, and *Caunus* (probably a mistake for *Caun-us*, i.e., *Caw-us*) by the monk of Rhuis; in Welsh he is always called *Caw* or *Cadw*, but the latter form seems due to a confusion with the distinct name *Cadwy* or *Cado* (see note 5 on p. 89, *infra*). As for the form *Nau*, there is no doubt that such a name existed in Welsh and Irish; but here it is probably a mistake in transcribing *Kau*, a name which occurs under the older form *Cavo* on the Llanfor stone. It is not clear how Caw got the name of "Caw of Twrcelyn" (in Anglesey), which is found in *Hanesyn Hen*, pp. 12-13, 46-7, where are also given the names of his seventeen or twenty-one children, some of them daughters, and many of them commemorated as saints in Anglesey. Caradoc gives him twenty-four sons, but the monk of Rhuis only mentions four of his children besides Gildas, three of whom, however, were saints in Anglesey.—Ed.

Paul Aurelian, Maglorius, Lunarius, and our national saint, Dewi, all of whom, except the last, are prominent in Brittany as bishops or preachers. During the life-time of Gildas the Saxons were gradually stretching their dominion to the Dee and the Severn; and about the middle of the sixth century the Cornavii, whose territory lay between the Dee and Severn, and the Dumnonii, who held the present counties of Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset, were beginning to feel the pressure of the invading bands.[8] M. Loth seems rather to have anticipated the date, for he holds that these tribes were attacked as early as the year 509. It is true that the battle of Mount Badon, fought in 493, marks a high point in the tide of the Saxon advance. At that moment the heathen invaders must have made an inroad right across the territory of the Durotriges, towards the eastern border of the Dumnonii; but their defeat threw them back for fifty years.[9] The battles of Searoburh (Old Sarum), Beran-byrig (Barbury Hill, near Swindon), and Deorham (Dyrham, near Bath), took place in the second half of the sixth century.[1] Gildas could not, therefore, have seen the conquest of even the central parts of S. Britain. But he had probably seen many fugitives from the east, and learned from them the overwhelming character of the invasion, and the direfulness of its accompaniments. In the *De Excidio* he commiserates the sufferings of his people, while upbraiding

[8] See note 1 on p. 70, *supra*.

[9] See note 1 on p. 70, *supra*. Mount Badon was probably Badbury Hill in Dorsetshire, not very far from the coast. It is nearly if not quite impossible, for phonetic reasons, that Mons *Badonis* can now be represented (as Mr. Skene thought) by *Bouden* (or *Buden*) Hill in Linlithgowshire.—Ed.

[1] In 552, 556, and 577 respectively. Before the last battle was the battle of Bedford, in 571, which is said to have given the English the country between Bensington on the Thames in Berkshire and Leighton Buzzard (if that be the place meant by *Lygeanburig*) in Bedfordshire.—Ed.

them for the vices for which those sufferings were a divinely ordained penalty. Gildas gives a short history of Britain, the value of which is much diminished by his own confession that he has to depend upon information obtained over the sea, "*transmarina relatio*," because the ancient writings of his country (*if there were any*, he doubtfully adds) had either been burnt by the enemy, or had been carried far away in the fleet of the exiles.[2] This mention of "exiles" tallies with another passage in the *De Excidio*, which runs as follows :—"Some of these miserable survivors of the British nation were caught in the mountains and slaughtered in their hundreds. Others, spent with hunger, came to the enemy and surrendered themselves as slaves for ever ; if, indeed, they were not done to death there and then—a far more gracious fate. Others made for regions over the sea, with a loud wailing, singing under the swelling sails, instead of a time-song, the refrain 'Thou hast given us like sheep [appointed] for meat, and hast scattered us among the nations.'"[3]

[2] Gildas, *Historia*, § 4: "Igitur . . . illa tamen [*al.* tantum] proferre conabor in medium, quæ temporibus imperatorum Romanorum et passa est et aliis intulit civibus longe positis mala; quantum tamen potuero, non tam ex scripturis patriæ scriptorumve monimentis,—quippe quæ, vel si qua fuerint, aut ignibus hostium exusta, aut civium exsilii [*al.* exsulum] classe longius deportata, non compareant [*al.* comparent],—quam transmarinâ relatione, quæ, crebris irrupta intercapedinibus, non satis claret." It will be seen that Gildas here only refers to events which took place under the Roman emperors, not to events with which he was contemporary or nearly so.—Ed.

[3] Gildas, *Historia*, § 25. The quotation is from Psalm xliv. 11 of the Authorized Version (= xliii. 12 of the Vulgate), and the original of the passage is as follows : "Itaque nonnulli miserarum reliquiarum in montibus deprehensi acervatim jugulabantur; alii fame confecti accedentes, manus hostibus dabant in ævum servituri, si tamen non continuò trucidarentur, quod altissimæ gratiæ stabat in loco; alii transmarinas petebant regiones, cum ululatu magno ceu celeusmatis vice, hoc modo sub velorum sinibus cantantes : 'Dedisti nos tanquam oves escarum, et in gentibus dispersisti nos, Deus.' Alii [a] mon-

These passages give a direct testimony to the fact that there was a migration in consequence of the Saxon inroads;[4] but it was not in accordance with Gildas's general style to specify the land to which his countrymen had fled. He avoids proper names as a rule; and the details which could be verified by means of other accounts are scarce in his writings.

Taking up the slight sketch of his life which we commenced, Gildas remained at Llanilltyd until he was fifteen years of age. He then (says one of his biographers, the monk of Rhuis) went to Gaul, and after seven years' sojourn in that country he returned to Britain with a great pile of books; for he had been imbued by his master Illtud, him-

tanis collibus, minacibus præruptis vallati [*al.* vallatis] et densissimis saltibus, marinisque [*al.* marisque] rupibus vitam, suspecta [*al.* suspectam] semper mente, credentes, in patria licet trepidi perstabant."—Ed.

[4] See note 1 on p. 70, and pp. 74-7, *supra*. Additional evidence of the migration is furnished by Gildas' contemporary Procopius, who obviously means some part of Britain by *Brittia*, though he duplicates the island into two, *Brittia* and *Brettania*; possibly by the former he meant Lower, by the latter Upper, Britain, and believed the Bristol Channel to be a sea dividing the two. The following is the passage of Procopius referred to, taken from *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, lxxxiv.: Βριττίαν δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἔθνη τρία πολυανθρωπότατα ἔχουσι· βασιλεύς τε εἷς αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ ἐφέστηκεν. ὀνόματα δὲ κεῖται τοῖς ἔθνεσι τούτοις Ἀγγίλοι τε καὶ Φρίσσονες καὶ οἱ τῇ νήσῳ ὁμώνυμοι Βρίττωνες· τοσαύτη δὲ ἡ τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται οὖσα, ὥστε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ πολλοὺς ἐνθένδε μεταναστάμενοι, ξὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν, ἐς Φράγγους χωροῦσιν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνοικίζουσιν ἐς γῆς τῆς σφετέρας τὴν ἐρημοτέραν δοκοῦσαν εἶναι.

"Three very numerous nations possess Brittia, over each of which a king presides; which nations are named Angili, Phrissones, and those surnamed from the island, Brittones; so great indeed appears the fecundity of these nations, that every year vast numbers, migrating thence with their wives and children, go to the Franks, who colonize them in such places as seem the most desert parts of their country."

Presumably Procopius refers to the *Bajocassini Saxones* (see Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, v. 26, x. 9) or Saxons of Bayeux, who were settled there before 578. Is it possible that any of these Saxon colonies of early France were in any way the result of reverses of the Saxons in S.W. Britain, by which they were driven out of lands that they had conquered?—Ed.

self a renowned scholar, with an insatiable thirst for knowledge, which he had apparently gone abroad to gratify.

In following the remainder of Gildas's career we have to choose between two distinct lives, one written by Caradoc of Llancarvan in the twelfth century, the other by a monk of Rhuis (near Vannes, in Brittany) in the eleventh. Caradoc relates that Gildas undertook the charge of the monastery at Nantcarvan for a year at the request of Cadoc the abbot. At the expiration of that time they agree to live a secluded life for a season, and Gildas establishes himself on a small island called Ronech, Cadoc on another close by called Echni;[5] these are identified as the islands now

[5] "Ronech et Echni" is the reading of the 13th-century text of Caradoc's *Life of Gildas*, in the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. No. cxxxix., which Stevenson, taking his text from the Burney MS. 310, written in 1381 (at least a century later than the Corpus MS.), collated with another MS. of the 16*th* century (Royal MS. 13 B. vii.), thought it unnecessary to collate on account (he says) of the close agreement of the C.C.C.C. MSS. with the texts used by him!

The C.C.C.C. MS. (for facsimile copies of most of the proper names in which we are indebted to the Rev. F. L. Denman, of C.C.C.C. and of Oundle, Northants) reads (besides *Echni* for *Echin*, § 9) *maritimam* for *maritamaneam* (§ 4) of the printed text, *Trifuni* for *Trifini* (§ 4; = *Triphun map Clotri*, Harl. MS. 3859 in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 171); *Mynau* for *Minau* (§ 5; = Welsh *Manaw*); *Ierosolimam* for *Hierosolymam* (§ 7); *Gualiam* for *Gualliam* (§ 7); *Gualie. Gildaf* (*sic*) for *Walliæ, Gildas* (§ 9); *Meluas* for *Melvas* (§§ 10, 11); *Guennimar* for *Guennuvar* (§ 10; for *Guennimar* read *Guenuimar* = *Gwen(h)wyfar*); *Cornubie et Dibnenie* for the loathsome gibberish *Corunbiæ et Dibueniæ* (§ 10; *Dibnenie* = **Dibnennie*, for an older **Dibnenti-e* = *Dyfneint*); *Glastigberi* (with the *e* inserted above the line) for *Glestingberi*, and *Glastigberia* for *Glastiberia* (§ 14). Lastly, the verses given in a note on § 13 as concluding the Life in Archbishop Ussher's MSS. also conclude it in the C.C.C.C. MS., but read *Nancarbanensis* for *Lancarbanensis*, *emendat* for *emendet*, and *illi* for *ille* (which last won't scan). All the above readings of the printed text (exclusive of the verses) purport to be those of the Burney MS., except *Guennuvar*, which is from the Royal MS. (the Burney MS. here reading *Guennimar* with the Corpus MS.), and *Gualliam*, for which the Burney MS. has *Galliam*.

known as Steep Holm and Flat Holm, near the south coast of Glamorgan. Gildas, spending his time in prayer and fasting, is so unfortunate as to attract the attention of a band of pirates, who rob him of his servants and his humble furniture, and make his further residence on that desolate spot impossible. He takes refuge, not at Nantcarvan, as one would have expected, but in the much more distant monastery of Ynys Gutrin (Glastonbury), where he died some time after. In Caradoc's narrative there are some interesting notices of King Arthur, which show him in rather an unheroic, if not in a commonplace aspect. This is in favour of the antiquity of the materials from which Caradoc derived his account,[6] but the *finale* is

From the above it may be gathered how far Mr. Joseph Stevenson's statement of the close agreement of the Corpus and Burney MSS. of the Life is a true statement; and how far the enunciation of such statement is consistent with the hypothesis that he had himself ever looked at the Corpus MS.

The Corpus MS. agrees with the Burney MS. in reading *Pepidiaue* (§ 4), *Hueil* (§ 5), *cadentia* and *Guennimar* (§ 10), and *Vnisgutrin* (§ 14).

We may add that *Echni* is the reading of the MS. in the passage printed in *Lib. Land.*, p. 127; and that *Ronech* (Flat Holme), which seems to stand for *Ronec*, i.e., '(The Isle) of Seals,' is called "(insula) *Rore*" in the *Life of St. Malo* (preserved in Royal MS. 13. A. x., of the 11th century, and Bodley MS. 535), chap. 12, and "insula quæ *Reoric* nominatur" in Florence of Worcester under the year 915 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 570D); the corresponding passage in the C.C.C.C. MS. of the *Saxon Chronicle* calls the island *Bradan-relic*, a name also occurring in another MS. of the Chronicle under the year 1067 as *Bradan-reolic*. In the first of these passages of the *A.-S. Chronicle*, the other MSS. have *Steapan-reolic* (i.e., Steep Holm) for *Bradan-relic;* is this *Relic* or *Reolic*, applied to both the islands, like *Rore* and *Reoric* cited above, a phonetic modification of *Ronec?* *Ronec* would be *Roneg* in modern Welsh, in which we only have *moelron* for 'a seal,' though in Irish the simple *rón* is still the term in ordinary use.—Ed.

[6] This antiquity is especially confirmed by the fact that he makes

not trustworthy, and is supposed to be an interpolation in the interests of the monastery which claimed to be the place of Gildas's death. The Breton biographer, on the contrary, places the latter half of Gildas's life in the south of Brittany, where he again appears as a lover of solitude, his asylum this time being the island of Houat, one of a small group near Quiberon. He was, however, allowed to enjoy his pious retirement but for a short while. His fame as a saint and

(§§ 10, 11) the Melwas of genuine Welsh tradition assume the *rôle* which in the Romances (which must have been current in some shape in Caradoc's age) belongs to Lancelot or Modred. Mr. Skene's statements in *Celtic Scotland*, i. 117, by which he tries to prove that the Welsh Life was and the Breton Life was not influenced by Geoffrey of Monmouth, are simply untrue. It is *not* true that the Welsh Life "*transfers* Gildas' birth to Strathclyde," for the Breton Life had already said that he was born in "Arecluta, which took its name from the river Clut" (see note 7 on p. 75 *supra*), by which the Clwyd can hardly be meant, as is imagined by Mr. Skene. Nor is it true that the acts of the Welsh Life "identify Cuillus [of the Breton Life], his father's eldest son, with Geoffrey's Howel, king of Alclyde." They call Cuillus (§ 5) *Hueil* (and he is called the same in *Kulhwch ac Olwen*, Oxford *Mabinogion*, 107, 109, and in *Hanesyn Hên*, pp. 13, 46); and the identification of this perfectly distinct name with *Hywel* is due not to Caradoc, but to John of Tinmouth (see Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fo. 156^{b}) and to ignorant transcribers of or commentators on Caradoc. Nor was Geoffrey's Howel "king of Alclyde;" his only connection with that place was that he stayed there whilst invalided, and was besieged there by the Picts and Scots (Bk. ix. chaps. 3, 5); and he is always called by Geoffrey (see ix. 12, 16, 19; x. 6; xi. 1) the king or duke of the Armorican Britons. He was (ix. 2) the son of a certain Dubricius king of Brittany, and Arthur's nephew and companion in arms, and his death is not mentioned; whereas Caradoc's Huail was son of Caw, and killed by Arthur in the Isle of Man, a place not mentioned in connection with Geoffrey's Howel. So much for Mr. Skene's special pleading If "Howel" is identifiable with any figure of genuine Welsh tradition, it is with Hywel ab Emyr Llydaw. We may add that in *Kulhwch*, p. 109, we are told of the cause of the quarrel between Huail and Arthur; and that Geoffrey does not so much as mention either Huail or Caw.—Ed.

scholar had preceded him; and he was induced to come to the mainland, where, on the peninsula of Rhuis, his first monastery was founded.[7] This was, there is no doubt, a copy of similar institutions in Britain. The buildings of a British monastery are supposed to have been of wood. The church, refectory, and the other offices, with the monks' cabins, each of which was separate, formed a quadrangle, while in the interior of the enclosure was situated the abbot's residence on a slight elevation. The whole was surrounded by a rampart and fosse, and at some distance were scattered some smaller cabins for solitary retirement, when such was desired for a season. To erect a monastery was not a work of expense or difficulty, and there is no occasion for surprise in the frequency of these institutions and the large number of monks contained in some of them, as in the well-known example of Bangor Is Coed.[8] Gildas died at the island of Honat in 570, after an active life, which was not by any means confined to the narrow sphere of the monastery which he founded at Rhuis. Other establishments in the west, as well as in the south of Brittany claim him as a founder, and he is the patron saint of several churches which bear his name.

This solitary case of a Briton passing over to the Armorican peninsula does not go far towards establishing the fact of an extensive migration; but Gildas was not a pioneer. He found a strong colony of Britons already established in a district which came afterwards to be known as *Bro-Waroch*, from Waroc or Waroch, a chieftain who was renowned for his successful resistance to the Franks. Waroch's kingdom, or *comté*, was originally of small dimen-

[7] Now St. Gildas-de-Rhuis. In Breton Gildas is called *Gweltas*.—Ed.

[8] See Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 2, where he states that the monastery there was said to have been divided into seven *portiones*, none of them containing less than 300 monks.—Ed.

sions, stretching from the river Ellé to the inlet known as Morbihan or 'The Little Sea'; but under his aggressive rule its bounds were pushed eastwards as far as the Loire.

The dialect spoken in some parts of the district of Guérande (on the right bank of the Loire, near its mouth) is still Vannetais Breton.[9] Gregory of Tours (in his *Historia Francorum*, written about the end of the sixth century) gives an account of Waroch's exploits, which may be assigned to the last quarter of the sixth century.[1] In the Breton life of Gildas the saint has relations with a prince named Waroch, whose identity with the above hero is not quite certain, as the latter seems to have flourished a little too late to have been contemporaneous with Gildas.

M. Loth thinks it probable that the colonists of Browaroch might have come from Wales.[2] The Vannetais dialect differs from those spoken in Cornouaille, Léon, and Tréguier in having, among other peculiarities, the form of comparison in *-et* which is also found in Welsh.[2a] On the neighbouring island of Belle-Isle there is a parish called Bangor.[3]

[9] The allusion is to the Breton of the Bourg de Batz, still spoken by a few hundred people isolated in the midst of a French-speaking population; no other Breton is now spoken south of the river Vilaine or in the department of Loire-Inférieure.—Ed.

[1] See *Historia Francorum*, v. 26 (A.D. 578), ix. 18 (A.D. 587), x. 9, 11 (A.D. 590), for his exploits. In x. 9 he offers his "nepos" as a hostage, and places his son Canao in command of an army; at v. 16 (A.D. 577) his father Macliavus' death is mentioned. (See, too, Gregory's *Liber in Gloria Martyrum*, 60.) Gildas died in 570.—Ed.

[2] It has been suggested with some probability that Riothimus' 12,000 Britons, or some of them, were the original settlers in the Vannetais, or rather in the neighbourhood of Guérande (*Gwen-ran*). —Ed.

[2a] See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 272-3.

[3] We may here mention that there is no evidence known to us that *Bangor* was in genuine Welsh a generic term for a monastery of any

All the direct historical evidence bearing on the migration comes to us through the lives of saints. The oldest MSS. giving these are not older than the tenth century, leaving a considerable gap to be bridged; but some of them can be proved, or at least strongly presumed, to have been copied from much more ancient documents, so that we are practically brought within reach of the actual events described. One mark of the antiquity of the matter as opposed to the age of the transcription may be the form assumed by the proper names in the MS. It is known when the *p*, *k* and *t* were first softened, when the final vowel in the first part of a compound word was dropped. If a MS. gives *Catoc* for *Cadog*, or *Arthimaglus* for *Arthmail*, the date may be asserted to be prior to the eighth century.[4]

sort. No use of the word in this sense can be found before the comparatively late class of documents of which so many are printed in the *Iolo MSS.*; nor was *bangor* (in this sense) the only word that the writers of those and similar documents, who apparently lived between 1500 and 1700, deliberately concocted and added to the Welsh language. The last part of *Bangor* (a name which occurs *four* times in Wales, and sometimes, as on the Teifi and Rheidol, at places where no monasteries are known to have existed) is believed by Professor Rhys to be from the same source as the Irish *cuirim* 'I put or place.' The word *bangor*, in the sense of 'the top row of wattles in a wattled fence,' is still in use under the form *mangors* (with the English plural termination) at Gwynfe in Carmarthenshire, and from it is derived a verb *bangori*, also in use there, but corrupted by false analogy into *blân-gori*. These words are unknown near Llandovery, where *pleth-wrysg* or *pleth y wrysgen* is used for *bangor* or *mangors*.—Ed.

[4] In Britain these names in *-maglus* must have been pronounced *-mail* by the time of Bede, who died in 734, for in the eighth-century MSS. of his works (*Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 2) we find the form *Brocmail* for a name which is written *Brohomagli* on the stone at Voelas.

An older form of the name *Briafael* (see note 6 on p. 92, *infra*) than any hitherto recorded occurs on a stone discovered last autumn at Chesterholm on the Roman wall, and reading "Brigomaglos iacit . . . cus," figured in the Proceedings of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Antiquarian Society, vol. iv. (1889), p. 172, whence the cut is reproduced in *Revue Celtique*, xi. 344. The name occurs in a later form

By this kind of test the *cartulaires* of Redon and Landévennec are found to possess a special value.[5] The *Cartulaire de Landévennec* is chiefly interesting in containing the life of Winualoë, or Gwennolé.[6] It was composed

in the inscription on the stone at Llandyfaelog Fach in Breconshire, "Briamail Flou." Another later-Old-Welsh form was *Bramail*, occurring in a ninth-century entry in the *Book of St. Chad* at Lichfield and also in the *Liber Landavensis*, the exact modern continuator of which is found in *St. Bravel's*, the local pronunciation of St. Briavel's in Gloucestershire. The modern literary form *Briafael* occurs in the name of a place called *Kelli Uriauael*, mentioned in the *Englynion y Beddau* (*Black Book of Carmarthen*, fo. 34ᵃ, Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 32).

As to these forms *-magl* and *-mail*, cf. also note 2 on pp. 246-7 of *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. x.—Ed.

[5] I have had the opportunity of looking at the printed editions of these MSS. through the kindness of a fellow-Cymmrodor, Mr. Llywarch Reynolds, of Merthyr, who has also placed me under a great obligation by lending me nearly all the other books which I have used.

[6] It is not generally known that there is a church possibly dedicated to this saint in Wales, viz., Wonastow, near Monmouth (locally pronounced *Winnastow*), anciently (see *Liber Landavensis*, p. 191) called *Lannguarui* (that, or *Lannguariu*, is the reading of the MS., though the printed text alters it into *Lann Gungarui*), and still called in Welsh, by one of the few remaining Welsh-speaking natives of central Monmouthshire, *Llanwarrw;* thus the English would appear to have preserved the first, the Welsh the last part of the saint's name. In his *Additional Notes to the Liber Landavensis* (p. 11, top), the late Mr. Thomas Wakeman says that "Wonostow is called in old writings Llanwarrow, Walwaristow, Wonewalstow, and Owenstow;" we think, however, that the last name is equivalent to the *Owenstowne* of Additional Charter 7156 at the British Museum, and an English translation of the well-known *Treowen*, near Wonastow. *Lann Guorboc* (the place on whose name Mr. Wakeman's note is written, *Lib. Land.*, 153–4) is certainly not Wonastow; it is in Erging, not in Gwent uwch Coed, *Guorboc* being a scribal error for *Guorboe*, and the place meant being the church of *Garway* in Herefordshire, spelt *Garewy* in what is described as a continuation of Matthew of Westminster in Royal MS. 14, C. vi., fo. 255ᵃ, col. 2, where one "Thomas de *Garewy* iuxta Grossum Montem" (i.e., Grosmont) and his brother Stephen are mentioned. In modern literary Welsh the name *Gurboe* would be *Gwrfwy*.—Ed.

about 880 A.D. by a monk called Wrdisten. He is very particular to state that he has copied whatever seemed to him most accurate and trustworthy in "memorials left by our fathers of worthy and venerable memory," and that he has discarded all old wives' fables. His standard of what constitutes fable is not ours, but we can give him credit for speaking the truth according to his lights, and this cannot be said of most monkish biographers.

Wrdisten expressly states that it was a matter of common belief in his time that the Britons came to Armorica during the Saxon invasion, and in consequence of it, and of another calamity, the plague, which was simultaneously ravaging the unhappy island. He largely quotes Gildas, and supplies the missing link in the narrative of the latter; for he mentions the countries to which the refugees repaired, viz., his own country, the lesser Britain, Ireland, and the Belgian territory: but very few went to the two last, "panci et multo pauci."

It appears from the life of Winualoë that this saint founded the monastery of Landévennec, and was the son of a certain Fracan, one of the kings of the isle of Britain, who landed with his family at Bréhec, near the present town of St. Brieuc. He established in the neighbourhood, which was covered with forests and quite uninhabited, a little collection of homesteads, to which was given the name of *Plou Fragan*. It should be remarked that the word *plou*, which is the equivalent of the Welsh *plwyf*,[7] is not found in any Welsh or Cornish place-names, but in Brittany over 200 parishes are designated by names which commence with it. They were all probably formed by petty princes, who brought with them their families and dependents—the elements of a small patriarchal society. By degrees these

[7] It is a loan-word from Lat. *plebs, plebis*.—Ed.

would unite and form a *comté* or kingdom for greater security.

Fragan and his wife Gwen (to return to Wrdisten's account) had two sons, and as the colony prospered, the worthy couple desired to have a third son in order to express the figure of the Holy Trinity. The pious wish was soon granted. The representative of the Third Person was Winualoë, the future founder of the abbey of Landévennec. When he reached the age of manhood he crossed over Domnonia with eleven companions, to the edge of the inlet now known as the *Rade de Brest;* and there on a small island he founded his abbey, called, according to M. de la Borderie, *Lan-tevenec,* because of its well-sheltered site.[8]

The biographer, in completing the account of Winualoë's career, introduces the reader to the third of the divisions of Brittany, *Cornubia,* now *Cornouaille,*[9] of which Grallon was the first king. Grallon comes to visit Winualoë when the fame of the saint had reached him. The interview convinces him so thoroughly of Winualoë's saintliness and spiritual insight, that he constitutes him his guide and mentor for the rest of his life, and supports him in organizing an ecclesiastical system through Cornouaille. Hence ultimately the diocesan district, which has for its centre the present cathedral city of Quimper (= *Cymmer*).[1]

[8] "*Lan,* église ou monastère; *téven,* abri; le *locus apricus* de Wrdisten n'en est que la traduction." But "apricus" conveys almost the opposite meaning to 'sheltered,' viz., 'open to the sunshine,' and this sense would, as Mr. Phillimore points out to me, be given by the Welsh *tywynnog.*

[9] *Kerné* in modern Breton; but the old form (answering to Cornish *Curnow,* Old-Welsh *Cornou,* later *Corneu*) survives in the French name of the little town of *Concarneau,* called in Breton *Conk Kerne*—presumably to contrast it with *Le Conquet,* near Brest, which they call *Conk Leon.*—Ed.

[1] From the meeting of the Odet and the Steir in the city; so *Quimperlé* is for *Kemper Ellé,* being situate at the meeting of the

M. de la Borderie wishes to prove that Fracan was one of the early settlers, and rests his case upon the following quotation from Wrdisten:—"Inter hæc autem vir quidam illustris . . ., nomine Fracanus, Cathouii regis Britannici viri secundum seculum famosissimi consobrinus, . . . Armoricam, rate conscensa, aggreditur, enatato cum paucis ponto Britannico, tellurem."[2] From the context it would appear that "inter hæc" must refer to the Saxon invasion and the pestilence which accompanied it. The emigration commenced, therefore, according to M. de la Borderie, about 450-70; for he identifies the plague with one which, from Gildas's account, appears to have followed the attacks of the Picts and Scots, and not with the plague of 545. The ground is here rather uncertain, for MM. de la Borderie and Loth both make a point of the connection between the names *Cornubia* and *Domnonia* and the names of the British tribes similarly designated. It is assumed, since the northern and western divisions of Brittany bore these titles, that they must have been colonized by the Cornavii and Dumnonii respectively.[3] As has been shown in an earlier

Ellé and Isole, the united stream or estuary below the confluence being known as the Laita. The word *Kemper* is, we believe, now completely obsolete in the Breton language, where, according to the dictionaries, *aber* would be used for a *cymmer*, or confluence of two approximately equal streams.—Ed.

[2] See the quotation given from the *Cartulary of Landévennec* by the late M. Le Men in *Arch. Camb.* for 1864 (3rd Series, vol. x.), p. 41. This saint's Life has been printed from this and other MSS. in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. vii.; one of the MSS. is in the British Museum (Cott. Otho D. viii., fos. 86b–95a), and reads (fo. 87a, col. 1) *Cathouij* in the passage quoted above.—Ed.

[3] Professor Rhys once told us that he suspected the true form to be *Cornovii*; a sepulchral slab to one *Ceornovia*, found at Ilkley, is figured in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xl. 424 (part iv., 1884).

It seems to us a far-fetched hypothesis to assume that Cornouaille, or *Kerne*, took its name from the almost entirely inland tribe of the

part of the paper,[4] the above tribes could not have felt the stress of the Saxon invasion before the middle of the sixth century at the earliest. Yet Grallon is described by Wrdisten as "Moderator Cornubiorum."

The Britons living in the east and south-east of the island might have commenced to take refuge in Armorica any time after 450 A.D. The migration probably took place in successive waves. The Dumnonii and Cornavii, having the longest warning, were able to leave Britain more nearly in tribal formation than their predecessors, and, arriving perhaps in stronger numbers, at once established their predominance in the districts which bore their names. As for Wrdisten's use of these names, it was possibly determined by the habit of his own time, so that Fracan's place in the migration may still be preserved.[5]

Cornavii, when opposite Brittany there was the seafaring population of *Cernyw* or Cornwall. The uncritical stuff which M. de la Borderie talks about the Welsh Triads in his *Les Véritables Prophéties de Merlin* shows that he can't have studied them; if he had, he would have seen that Penryn Awstin or Aust Cliff (spoken of in one of them as being opposite Aber Taroci, or the mouth of the Troggy Brook in Monmouthshire) is there defined as being *in Cernyw*. See *Red Book Triad* No. 56, in *Y Cymmrodor*, iii. 61, vii. 131; Triad No. xxiii. of the Hengwrt MSS. 54-536 collection (see Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 458-60). This looks rather as if *Cernyw* or **Cornovia* was the ancient name for the whole promontory south of the Severn estuary and west of Gloucester.

We think that we need not invoke the *conquests* of the West Saxons to account for the *earlier* stages of the Breton migration. The incursions and devastations of the Saxons, Picts, and Scots began in A.D. 360; and these, coupled with the break-up of the Roman Empire and the withdrawal from Britain of the Roman forces, must have caused a break-up of the social organization over all or most of the more civilized parts of Britain. Then, as to actual war, what did the non-Romanized inhabitants of Britain ever do but cut each other's throats whenever they had no common enemy to contend against or were not kept under by some very strong hand?—ED.

[4] See p. 70 *supra*, and note 1 thereon; also pp. 74—7, *supra*.

[5] Prof. Renan, when he received the members of the Cambrian

Wales seems to have produced a plentiful supply of saints and bishops in those days, and could afford to export a surplus to the newly-formed colony of Britons in Armorica.

Archæological Association at his house at Perros Guirec in August, 1889, informed them that his ancestors came over with Fracan; and he named Cardigan as the quarter from which they hailed, on what grounds it did not appear. [See *Arch. Camb.*, 5th Series, vol. vii. (No. 26), p. 171.

M. Renan can have had no solid grounds for his assertion. The saint who came from Ceredigion or Cardigan (he is called *Coriticianæ regionis indigena;* see *Analecta Bollandiana*, ii. 161, &c.) was St. Brieuc. But Fracan is stated in the extract from St. Winwalwy's Life given *supra* (p. 88), to have been cousin to a king called *Cathouius*, who is certainly identical with Cadwy the son of Geraint, who ruled in South-Western Britain, not Wales. He is mentioned—

(1) In the *Life of St. Carantoc* (or Carannog), where (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 99) it is said, *apropos* of an episode relating to the foundation of Crantock church in Cornwall, that "at that time *Cato* and Arthur ruled in that country, living at Dindraithov," a place known from Cormac's *Glossary*, s.v. *Mug-eime*, to have been in *Cernyw*. *Dindraithov* is the reading of the MS. (Cott., Vesp. A. xiv., fo. 93[b]), misprinted *Dindrarthou;* it is the *Cair Draitou* of the Nennian *Catalogue of Cities* (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 183), and Cormac calls it *Dinn Tradui* (= the Welsh *Dindraethwy*).

(2) In the *Genealogy of St. Winnoc* ("ex MS. S. Vedasti," believed now to be in the public library at Arras), quoted by Dom Morice, *Preuves*, i. col. 211, where he is called *Cathov filius Gerentonis.*

(3) In No. X. of the genealogies from Jesus Coll. MS. 20 (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii. 86), where he is called *Cado mab Gereint mab Erbin;* Cado's son *Peredur*, there mentioned, seems to appear in *Kulhwch ac Olwen* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, 108, 2) under the strange guise of *Berth Mab Kado*, where we suspect the scribe had before him some such form as (*i* or *o*) *bereth'*, the *-ur* being expressed by the usual contraction for those letters.

(4) In the same tale (106, 21) and in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* (159, 27) he appears in *ac Adwy mab Gereint*, a scribe's error in transcribing *a Cadwy m. G.*

(5) In No. 90 of the Triads collected from various MSS. by Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt (*Myv. Arch.*, ii. 19, col. 1), where *Gadwy* (leg *Cudwy*) *fab Gereint* is said to have been one of the three men (*al.* the three in Arthur's court) who were best towards guests and strangers

The fact that Illtud, the master and trainer of so many British ecclesiastics, was himself born in Brittany, may have determined some of them to go thither. One of the most illustrious of these is Samson. While at Llanilltyd he is consecrated a bishop for his piety and good works, and soon afterwards he received an angelic command "to depart from the land and his kindred; for he was predestined to be a magnificent founder of monasteries beyond sea, and a glorious governor among the people." He tells Dubricius, the Archbishop, that he has been divinely ordered to proceed to the Armorican territory of the British race; and the Archbishop consents all the more willingly (if a mutilated passage is correctly interpreted) because Samson knew the language of the country. Samson founded the monastery of Dol, which was soon made the centre of a diocese.

Teilo pays a visit to Brittany, with all his clergy and

(*osp a phellenig*). This Triad is not in the 13th-14th century collections which are preserved to us.

The names *Cado* and *Caw* were early confused, as is mentioned in our note 7 on p. 75 *supra*. Thus in *Kulhwch ac Olwen* Caw is called *Kado o prydein* at 123, 1, and *Kaw o brydein* at 142, 23, where *Brydein* is the usual Middle-Welsh corruption of *Brydyn* (probably arising from the fact that *Prydein* and *Prydyn* were or might be both anciently spelt *Priten* or *Preten*), Caw being correctly called *Cau Pritdin* in the *Life of St. Cadoc* (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 58). (In Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 150, it seems tolerably clear that, for the sake of the internal rhyme, *prydein* must be altered to *prydin* = *Prydyn*, to rhyme with *eidin*, which *certainly* = *Eiddyn* [not *Eiddin*]. Similarly, just below, *yscOn* is probably to be amended to *yscyn*.) Then, in the old *Bonedd y Saint*, Gwrei and Gildas are called "the sons of *Caw*" in the Llanerch MS., in Hengwrt MS. 536, and in the "Book of Burgh of Mawddwy"; but in the Hafod MS. (see *Myv. Arch.*, ii. 25) sons of *Cadw*. *Cado* was also adopted in Welsh (comparatively late) to represent the Latin *Cato*, who is called *Cado Hen* in *Red Book Triad* No. 3. (See *Y Cymmrodor*, iii. 53 Oxford *Mabinogion*, 297; and cf. *llyuyr Cado* in Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 226.)—Ed.]

people, to escape from the plague, presumably that which ravaged the island in the middle of the sixth century, and returns when the danger is past.

Cadoc's visit was also of short duration. An interesting account of the church of St. Cado, on a small island off the south coast of Brittany,[6] and of the memorials of the saint which are contained therein, will be found in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 5th series, vol. vii. (No. 25), pp. 72-4. Maclovius[7] (Malo) was already bishop in the land of Gwent before he left these shores, and founded the monastery of Lann-Aleth.[8]

[6] The Breton forms of this saint's name, *Cado*, *Cazou*, *Cazout*, do not correctly represent the Welsh *Cadoc*, which is found in the name *Pleucadeuc*. We believe *Cado* and *Cazou* to be cut down from the name *Catbodu* (which would now be *Cadfoddw* in Welsh), stated in the chapter of the *Life of St. Cadoc* (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 69) where the foundation of the *monasterium* on the island in question is described, to have been the name that the Bretons gave to St. Cadoc; the name of the island is there said to be *Inis Cathodu*. St. Cadoc's proper name (see *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 27-8) was Cadfael, and he is regularly called so in Irish hagiological literature. (See for instance the Life of his disciple St. Finnian of Clonard in Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, i. 393, where will be found the remarkable legend, omitted in St. Cadoc's Life, of the miraculous drying up of the lake on whose site Llancarvan and another *villa* called *Melboc* or *Melboi* were to stand.) *Cadoc* is a diminutive formed from the first element of *Cadfael* (in Old-Welsh *Catmail*) by the addition of the suffix *-oc*, exactly in the same way as *Brioc* (now *Brieuc*) was formed from *Briomaglus* (now *Briafael*). (See note 4 on p. 84 *supra*.) Probably the Breton name for the saint simply arose from an arbitrary substitution of *-boddw* for *-mael* as the second element of his name.

There was a life of St. Cado preserved in Brittany, which has now unfortunately disappeared. (*Cartulary of Quimperlé* in the Paris *Bibliothèque Nationale*, MS. No. 5283, p. 79; cited by Loth in his *L'Émigration bretonne en Armorique*, p. 244.)

[7] The names given in the old Lives of St. Malo are *Machutus*, *Machu*, and *Maclou*. The exact relation between them is not clear; *Malo* comes, of course, from the last of them.—Ed.

[8] The city of *Aleth* stood on the promontory, now called *La Cité*, which juts out from the town of St. Servan into the estuary of the

Other emigrants are Paul Aurelian, with his disciples Tigernomaglus and Cetomerin, Briomaglus or Briocus (St. Brieuc), Tutwal, Gurval, and Ninnoc; but the complete list would be lengthy. M. Loth states that all the Breton saints of the sixth century are either emigrants or the sons of emigrants. He shows also that the Breton bishoprics, with the exception of Nantes, Rennes, and Vannes, were founded by British emigrants and developed from the monasterial system peculiar to Britain. These new bishops, for a considerable time, held aloof from the councils of the province, and behaved much in the same way as the early British bishops with regard to the questions of the tonsure and the date of Easter. There was a tendency to decline co-operation with the dominant church, and a jealous watchfulness was maintained against interference with the peculiar customs which, as it is presumed, the emigrants brought with them from Britain.

As to the extent of territory which was covered by the settlement, it may be determined by an examination of the names in various parts. In that part of the peninsula which would be cut off by a line from St. Brieuc to the mouth of the Vilaine the place-names are Breton, and this region may probably be taken as corresponding with the area in which the Britons were so densely settled as to obliterate the traces of the original Gallo-Roman inhabitants, who, if not exterminated in the struggle for supremacy, were probably speedily merged in the greater mass of their conquerors.[9]

Rance. On the neck of the peninsula is a church still called *Notre-Dame-d'Aleth*. The form *Kidaleta* (urbs) in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*, xii. 4, seems to represent *Civitas Aleth*, or rather *Ciwed Aled* or some such form. St. Germans, in Cornwall, was also called *Lann Aled*.—Ed.

[9] It must not be inferred from this that none of the place-names east of this line (which *substantially* represents the boundary be-

It need not, however, be supposed that the settlement was everywhere made by the force of arms. From some of the incidents in the lives of the saints it may be gathered that large tracts of country in the north and west of Armorica were in a deserted condition,[1] and therefore presented favourable opportunities for the peaceful establishment of saints arriving with large bands of followers, ecclesiastical and lay.

To the east of the boundary given above there is a zone running from north to south in which the names are Gallo-Roman, but show an arrested development towards the

tween the French and Breton languages at the present day; for the exact course of which see Loth's *Émigration bretonne*, p. 193, and Courson's *Cartulaire de Redon, Prolegomènes*, xlv.) are Breton. On the contrary, an examination of the large-scale French Staff Maps (which we have before us as we write, and which are on a somewhat smaller scale than our Ordnance Maps of one inch to the mile) shows us that there is an immense number of Breton place-names, alike of parishes, hamlets, and farms, to the east of this line. The Breton names of the smaller places are very numerous just east of the line, and then the Breton names of all classes gradually thin out eastward till at length we find nothing but French place-names. But along the north of Brittany Breton names occur quite fifty or sixty miles east of the line in question. Round Dinan and St. Malo, for instance (about forty miles east of the line), there is, to say the least, a considerable sprinkling of pure Breton names to be found, both in the names of parishes (such as *Pleudihen*, *Pleuguenenc*, *Le Minihic-sur-Rance*) and of smaller places (such as *Coetquen*, *Dinard*, *Roténeuf*—correctly *Roténeu*, for an older *Roténeuc*—and another *Minihic*, near Paramé). And further to the east again, such names of parishes as *Ros*, *Roz*, *Lanrigan*, *Trémeheuc*, *Lanhelin*, and apparently *Baguer*, *Plerguer*, *Cuguen*, and *Combron* (the old name of *Combourg*)—some of these quite sixty miles east of the present limits of Breton—tell their own tale. Then south of the Vilaine, Breton names abound in the now French-speaking districts around Guérande, where, says Loth (*Émigration bretonne*, p. 193), Breton was spoken "*il y a un siècle ou deux.*"—Ed.

[1] Cf. the passage from Procopius quoted in note 4 on page 78, *supra*; see also p. 67, *supra*.—Ed.

ordinary North-French form.[2] From this it is concluded that the outer boundary of the zone marks the maximum limit of the Breton territory, from which the Bretons were forced back by the Norman invasion at the commencement of the tenth century, and that between the two lines their tenure had previously been that of a conquering aristocracy, the cultivators of the soil being chiefly of Gallo-Roman extraction.

It might be asked why the emigrants were not known as Cymry; but this name is not met with in any British MS. older than the laws of Howel Dda, and only came into use after the period of the migration.[3]

[2] The reference is to the names in *-ac* found in such abundance in the zone referred to, especially in the neighbourhood of Redon in the southern portion thereof; such as *Messac*, *Tinténiac*, &c., &c. These names are derived from the ancient Gaulish suffix *-ācum*; now this suffix is *-oc* in Old-Breton (and Old-Cornish), *-ec* or *-euc* in modern Breton (*-ic* in modern Cornish); whilst to the east of the zone where Breton was spoken in the ninth century it has become *-é* or *-ay*, as in *Martigné*, *Fougeray*. In Welsh it is of course *-og*, anciently *-auc*, and in the oldest monuments *-ōc*, *-āc* (Loth, *op. cit.*, p. 196-9).

The death-blow to the Breton language in the intermediate zone referred to (in some parts of which we should imagine from a study of the place-names that the Bretons had formed at some time or other a really large proportion of the population) was given by the Norman invasion of the 10th century; for the character and effects of which see Courson's *Prolegomènes*, xliii.—v.

Eastward, again, of this intermediate zone was a large tract conquered by the Bretons, and forming part of Brittany in later times, which seems never to have been anything but Gallo-Roman in race and language. The western limit of the Breton language in the ninth century (i.e., before the Norman invasion) is represented in M. de Courson's admirable map by a line extending from Donges on the estuary of the Loire to the mouth of the Couesnon. The greater part of the departments of Ille-et-Vilaine and Loire-Inférieure is outside this line.—Ed.

[3] It would only be the emigrants into Brittany from Wales or Cumbria who *could* have been known by this name; for there is no evidence that the name *Cymry* ever included the *Cornish*-speaking

It is not, of course, within the scope of my paper to follow the later fortunes of the Lesser Britain, nor even to touch upon the manner in which the several small principalities were brought under the rule of a single king.

Summing up all the evidence, direct and indirect, which has been sketched in the preceding passages, viz., the antecedent probability of the migration, owing to the peculiar state of the countries affected; the statements found in Gildas that many of his countrymen were forced to abandon Britain; the ancient records relating to the departure of individual emigrants from this side of the Channel, and their arrival and settlement on the other; the similarity of the tribal and national names in the fifth and sixth centuries,

peoples of south-west Britain who gave their language, and to a great extent their territorial names (*Cernyw* and *Dyfneint*) to modern Brittany. Linguistic evidence shows that the Welsh-speaking emigrants into Brittany must have been quite a minority in the great mass, though of course they *may* have exclusively occupied certain districts whence their dialect was subsequently ousted by the prevalent one, leaving, perhaps some, perhaps no, trace behind it in the grammar, phonetics, or vocabulary of the modern Breton dialects of the hypothetical districts in question.

The list of the Counts of Cornouaille (preserved, in various forms, in the *Chartulary of Landévennec* and elsewhere) mentions among them (and not among the earliest) one *Diles Heirguor* (al. *Hergu*) *Kembre*, which seems to mean "Diles, the ravager (= *herwr*) of *Cymru* (or the *Cymry*)"; or perhaps *heirguor* may mean rather an outlaw or fugitive, and *Kembre* designates the place of his origin.

In Cornwall the word *Cymry* only occurs as a name for Wales; Lluyd in his *Archæologia Britannica* giving *Kembra* for 'Wales' and *Kambrian* for 'Welsh.' It has been suggested by Norris, *Cornish Drama*, ii. 390, that "kemat [*sic* MS.; leg. *keniat*] combrican" (both contractions in the MS. can be read either *m* or *n*), by which *liticen* is glossed in the *Cornish Vocabulary* of Cott. Vesp. A. xiv., fo. 7^{b}, may mean 'a Welsh singer' (or musician); but in that case the force of the termination *-an* is hardly clear.

For further particulars on the history of the name *Cymry* see note (*a*) at end of article.—Ed.

and the sudden disappearance of the names of the old Armorican states; the existence of a language and system of place-names which have so close an affinity to the British; and finally, the resemblance in the national traditions and the national love of poetry and song, it seems impossible to doubt the main fact of the migration, although some difficult points are left unsolved.

As to the precise date of the migration and the successive stages by which the Breton nation was built up, we must be content with approximate theories. The page of history is, as it were, turned over too abruptly for me to obtain a satisfactory idea of the process. We are shown the final result rather than the mode of growth, although the patient investigation of the authors whom I have so often quoted has thrown some light even on the latter.

NOTE (*a*).

The most ancient use of the older forms of the name *Cymry*, in any composition whose date *in its present form* we can exactly fix, is found in Ethelwerd's *Chronica*, a work written between 975 and 1011. In narrating the ravaging of the territories of the Picts and Cumbrian Welsh by the Danes in 875, Ethelwerd (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 515) uses the words *Pihtis Cumbrisque;* while in the corresponding passages the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (of which Ethelwerd's compilation is mainly an abridged translation) has "the Picts and Strathclyde Welsh," and Asser (who wrote before 910) "Pictos et Stratcluttenses" (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 478). Thus it will be seen that to Ethelwerd "Strathclyde Welsh" (or "Strathclyde-men") and *Cumbri* were convertible terms.

The Anglo-Saxon form of *Cumbri* is twice found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, each time with reference to *Cumbria*, not *Cambria* or Wales. Under the year 945 King Edmund is said to have devastated *Cumbra-land* and handed it over to Malcolm, king of the Scots (by the way, the Scots had established an offshoot of their own dynasty on the throne of Cumbria forty years previously!); here the *Annales Cambriæ*, in narrating the same event, say (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 169) "Strat Clut vastata est a Saxonibus." Also, under the year 1000, Ethelred II. is said to have harried nearly all *Cumbraland*. The ancient earldom of Cumbria extended

over districts, such as Galloway, not inhabited by Cymry, and stretched as far south as the river Derwent in the modern county of Cumberland. One authority, indeed, states that Cumbria extended as far as the Duddon, so as to include Copeland; while further east the Scots claimed that it reached as far as Stanmore in Westmoreland (see Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 204[1]). Modern Cumberland was formed out of (1) the greater part of the southern fag-end of Cumbria (including Carlisle), which was separated from the rest of the earldom and annexed by William Rufus in 1092, and (2) other districts which did not form part of Cumbria. Writers of guide-books and local historians are apt to assume that the *Cumbraland* of the *A.-S. Chronicle* means the modern Cumberland; they might as well say that ancient Northumbria was equivalent to the modern Northumberland!

Terra Cumbrorum is used for Cumbria by the author of the *Life of St. Cadroe*, ascribed to the 11th century (see Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 116[2]); and in the early part of the following century we find Duncan (the father of Malcolm Canmore), who was king of Cumbria, twice spoken of as *rex Cumbrorum*. In the 12th century Jocelyn of Furness, in his *Life of St. Kentigern*, uses for *Cumbria* the variant form of *Cambria* and its derivatives. In chap. xi. he mentions the *regio Cambrensis*, *regnum Cambrense*, and *regio Cambrina* (al. *Cambria*); in chap. xxix. he also speaks of *Cambrina regio*, and of Rederech or Rhydderch Hael, the well-known king who ruled at Alclud or Dumbarton, as reigning over *regnum Cambrinum;* whilst in chap. xxxi., when describing St. Kentigern's return from St. Asaph to Cumbria, he actually speaks of his having arrived "*de Wallia ad Cambriam.*"[3] *Cambria* is also found for the county of Cumberland in a document printed in Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 230. On the other hand, Ailred of Rievaulx, Jocelyn's contemporary, and the *Chronicle of Carlisle* both call the

[1] See also *The Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, p. 340-1.

[2] Immediately afterwards "Loida civitas" (i.e., Leeds) is mentioned as being the "confinium Normannorum atque Cumbrorum." Here by *Normanni* the Danes are presumably meant, but the statement is a somewhat startling one; for the utmost claims of Cumbria (see the preceding paragraph) in the direction of Leeds are not recorded as reaching further than Stanmore. But perhaps some of the people in the mountainous districts of north-western Yorkshire retained the name *Cumbras* in memory of their origin for some time after their political union with Northumbria?

[3] See *Lives of St. Ninian*, &c., pp. 181—3, 212-3, 216.

earldom *Cumbria*, and the former calls its people *Cumbri*; and David, prince of Cumbria, in his Inquisition into the possessions of the see of Glasgow in 1116, styles himself "princeps *Cumbrensis* regionis," and the country *Cumbria*.

John of Tinmouth's *Life of St. Petroc* (who was a native of Glywyssing in S. Wales), as printed in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fo. 266ª, calls him *natione Cumber* (not *Camber*). But there seems to be no *early* use of *Cumbria*, *Cambria*, or *Cymry* for modern Wales or its inhabitants in any documents preserved to us except in the older Welsh poems and in the Welsh Laws. As to the latter, they date back to the first half of the 10th century, and some passages of the former are probably considerably older, even (if we make allowance for orthographical and grammatical modernizations) in their present form; but it is as a rule impossible to tell exactly which passages either of the Laws or of the poems form part of the original works, and which are added or altered by later editors: for neither Laws nor poems exist now in any MSS. older than the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries.

The same general remark will apply to *Cormac's Glossary*, a work originally composed by Bishop Cormac of Cashel, who was slain in 903, but of which no MS. (except a fragment which is found in the 13th-century *Book of Leinster*) now exists older than the 15th century. Cormac frequently quotes Welsh words, and calls them *Combrec*, i.e., *Cymraeg*. The word occurs under the various forms *Combrec*, *Combrecc*, *Combréc*, in the following articles of the *Glossary*, to which references are given from Stokes' *Three Irish Glossaries* for the text, and his *Cormac's Glossary* for the translation: *Brocoit*, *T.I.G.*, p. 6; *C.G.*, p. 19: *Cruimther*, *T.I.G.*, 9; *C.G.* 30: *Coinfodorne*, *T.I.G.*, 13; *C.G.*, 40: *Cuisil*, *T.I.G.*, 14; *C.G.*, 43: *Salcuait*, *T.I.G.*, 41; *C.G.*, 151.

Otherwise writers in Irish do not seem to use *Cymry* or its derivatives; and the Irish Annals in their earlier entries speak of the Cumbrian princes as "kings of Alclud" (i.e., Dumbarton), and in their later entries as "kings of the Britons," or "of the northern Britons."

But the facts that the name *Cymry* is of native origin, meaning 'compatriots,' and that it is applied to the Welsh of both Cambria and Cumbria, which had been *finally* separated by the Northumbrian conquests of the latter half of the 7th century, show unmistakably that the name must have arisen as a common national appellation previously to that final separation. Perhaps the name arose during the final national struggle (in which there is every reason to believe that the northern as well as the southern Cymry took part) of the Welsh, in alliance with Penda of Mercia, against the Northumbrian

power, between 632 and 656; but there is no reason why it should not have arisen still earlier, say during the previous contest with Ethelfrith, or even at a yet earlier period when the whole force of the Roman province of Upper Britain may have been united against the invader, before his conquests had reached so far to the west.

For a valuable *résumé* of the history of the words *Cumbria* and *Cumbri*, see Mr. Skene's "Notes on Cumbria" (of which we have made extensive use) in *The Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, pp. 330—5. And cf. also Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, 2nd edition, pp. 139—140, 143—4.

To the above notes we should like to add that the adjective *Combronensis* (for which M. Loth suggests in his *Émigration*, p. 89, that one should read *Combrogensis*) also occurs in the *Life of St. Ninnoca*, written in 1130, and preserved in the *Chartulary of Quimperlé* (now, according to M. Loth, the property of Lord Beaumont); of which chartulary good recent copies are to be found in the archives of Finistère at Quimper and in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, "Lat., No. 1427" (*Émigration*, pp. 26, 89; but at p. 251 the number is given as 5283, and a reference is also given there to another MS. in the same library, "Franç. 22,321, p. 749"). In this *Life*, printed in *Acta Sanctorum, Junius*, i. 407 (June 4), Brochan, the father of St. Ninnoca, is called "rex Combronensium" and his kingdom "Combronensis regio." We may add that it is pretty clear from the context of the *Life* that St. Ninnoca came from some part of what is now Scotland, or some neighbouring territory, not from modern Wales. Her father Brochan was very probably also the father of the numerous children given in the various texts of *Cognatio de Brychan* to the Welsh Brychan Brycheiniog, but there said to be connected with Cumbria or its neighbourhood, viz., (1) his sons Cynon, Rhun, and Arthen, and his daughter Bathan or Bethan, all said to be commemorated or buried in Manaw or Mannia (by which Manaw Gododin, the well-known district stretching along both sides of the Forth below Stirling, is just as likely to be meant as the Isle of Man); (2) his four daughters who are said to have married northern princes, viz., Gwrygon, wife of Cadrod Calchfynydd, Gwawr, wife of Elidyr Lydanwyn, Nyfain, wife of Cynfarch Gul, and Lluan, wife of the Gafran who died in 558 (see *Annales Cambriæ* in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 155) and was father to the celebrated Aidan mac Gabran; which Aidan (if we are not mistaken) is said in the *Life of St. Molaise* (or Laisren) to have had a British mother. The statement that Brychan Brycheiniog himself was buried "in insula que uocatur Enysbrachan que est iuxta Manniam" (Cott., Vesp. A. xiv, fo. 11^{b} top) or "in Mynav in valle que dicitur vall Brchan" (*sic*; Cott., Domi-

tian, A. i., fo. 158[b]), must needs also refer to a northern, not to a strictly Welsh, Brychan.

We may add that some evidence of the existence of a district called Brycheiniog in southern Scotland is furnished by the occurrence of that name in a list of localities of which all the other identifiable ones are in Scotland, viz., that given in the following passage of the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 150); in which passage we have already suggested (in the note on p. 91, *supra*) that *Prydein* is to be read *Prydin* (i.e., *Prydyn*, 'Pictland') and perhaps *ysc6n yscyn*, for the sake of the internal rhyme :—

"Ym prydein yn eidin yn adeuea6c.
Yggafran yn aduan *brecheina6c*.
Yn erbyn yn ysc6n gaena6c."

Here (over and above the conjectural *Prydyn*) *Eiddyn* can only be the district east of Manaw Gododin, which gave its name to Caer Eiddyn, now Carriden, and Din Eiddyn or Edinburgh (see pp. 50, 51, *supra*); whilst *Gafran* can only mean the territory of the "Cinel Gabran," the clan (descended from the Gafran mentioned above) who occupied Cantire, thence called in Welsh (see *Myv. Arch.*, i. 280[b]) *Pentir Gafran* or 'the headland of Gafran,' shortened into *Pentir* (the exact equivalent of the Irish *Ceann tire*, whence our *Cantire* or *Kintyre*) in the Gododin (Skene, *op. cit.*, ii. 86, 91). As to the *Erbyn* of the passage quoted above, it may perhaps have been the curtailed name of a district, now represented by the last part of the place-name *Lockerbie* in Dumfriesshire; which word, according to this theory, would have lost a final *n* just as have Gowrie, Athrie, Biffie, Altrie,[4] and many other Lowland place-names in *-ie* —Ed.

[4] See *Book of Deer*, vi., li., liii.

ERRATA IN VOL. IX.

P. 158. Note 1 requires some modification. The battle of *Cocboy* or *Chochui*, called in English the battle of Maserfield, the Welsh name of which is there discussed, is called by Cynddelw in the poem of *Can Tyssiliaw* (*Myv. Arch.*, i. 245, col. 1) *Gweith Goguy* 'The Battle of *Coafi* (or *Cogfy ?*)'

P. 298, l. 2 of "MSS. of Dimetian Code," *for* . . . *read* 57.

ERRATA IN VOL. X.

P. 19, l. 1, *for* orm *read* form.

Do., note 8, l. 1, *for* on *read* in.

P. 219, note 1, 4th line from end, delete the full stop after "Wace," and add a full stop after "Bledhgwryd": next line, substitute a comma for the full stop after "*Brut*."

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