All around the Wrekin.

BY

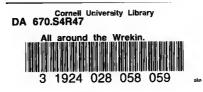Professor SIR JOHN RHÎS, M.A., D.Litt.,

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All around the Wrekin.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I.

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

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

Now the *Mabinogi* of Math ab Mathonwy informs us that Nantlle, in the same county, took its name from Llew Llawgyffes, whose older name was Lleu ;[1] but the Southwallian scribe of the *Red Book* was not familiar with that name or with the name of Dinlle ; so when he found Nantłłev and Dinłłev in his original, he made them into Nant y łłe6 and Dinas Dinłłef,[2] though the pronunciation meant was Nantłłeu and Dinłłeu, or rather, perhaps, Nant Lleu and Din Lleu. In fact, it was the compression of the two words into one, with the accent on the first, that brought about the shortening of the final

[1] Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 398-400.

[2] Rhys & Evans, *Mabinogion*, pp. 71, 78 ; see also ed. note, p. 312.

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

Y bed yngorthir Nantlleu	The grave in the upland of Nantlle—
Ny 6yr neb y gynnedfeu	Nobody knows its properties :
Mabon fab Modron gleu.	It is Mabon's, son of swift Modron.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1] It would be interesting to know whether the pronunciation *moudwy,* that is *moydwy,* is still to be heard in Dyfed or Morgannwg in case of the word forming a part of some obscure place-name.

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1] Hirschfeld, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIII, i, pp. 227, 249.

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

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

[1] See Holder, *s.v. Lugudunon*, ii, col. 313.

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

II.

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

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

[1] For both names see Mommsen's *Historia Brittonum cum Additamentis Nennii* (published in the *Chronica Minora Sæc. IV, V, VI, VII*), vol. III, i, 211.

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

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

[1] See the "Brychan Documents", carefully edited by the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans in the *Cymmrodor,* xix, 26.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This explains the etymological difference between the perfect *goruc* or *gorug*, and *goreu* 'did, *fecit*'. The former has by its side *gorugum* 'I did', and *gorugost* 'thou didst', but when this stem invaded the plural in such forms as *gorugam* 'we did', and *gorugant* 'they did', it was encroaching on the domain of *goreu-*, which, in its

instance *goufénn* 'I should know', probably for *gouz-venn*, and so in the case of *a(z)naout* = Welsh *adnabod* 'to be acquainted with', as to which see my *Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy*, p. 9. The thematic vowel belonging to the first part of *gwybod* and *gwyđfod* was probably *i* or *e* which we have in the Latin cognate verb *vide-o*. It emerges as *i̯* in the Medieval Welsh form *gwyđywn* 'I knew, *je savais*', *gwydyei* (Skene ii, 69), and *gwyđyad* 'he knew, *il savait*': compare the Cornish *gŏdhyen, gŏdhya,* and see Norris's *Ancient Cornish Drama*, ii, 263, 267.

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

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

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

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[1] For instances of such provection see a paper of mine in the *Revue Celtique*, ii, 331-3.

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

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

III.

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

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

'Chambort', *Nović-ritum* 'Niort and Nort'.[1] In Brythonic we have instances in such names as *Brigó-maglos*, *Briámail*, *Briáfael*, and the like to be mentioned presently.

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

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

[2] See, however, Meyer-Lübke, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

Alpine hut', with which compare the Welsh *tai* 'houses', Med. Welsh *tei* for *tegia* from *tegesa*.[1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> Staueĺĺ gyndylan yspeitha6c [?] heno
>   g6edy ketwyr uoda6c
> Eluan kyndylan kaea6c.

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

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

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

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

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

[1] See the *Grammatica Celtica,* p. 688[b.]

[2] See Windisch's *Táin Bó Cúailnge,* 2,893, 2,914, and *The Book of the Dun Cow,* f. 82[b.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1] See the *Archæologia Cambrensis,* 1907, p. 84.

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

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

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[1] See Nyrop's *Grammaire historique de la Langue française*, ii, 184-9.

[2] D. ab Gwilym, poem clxvi, has *Lleucu*, however, to rhyme with

poetic term for the sea, which, though of the same com-
position as the Irish man's name *Faelchú,* is a feminine.[1]

IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

V.

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

CVNOCENNI FILIV[S?]
CVNOGENI HIC IACIT

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

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

[2] See pp. 152, 154, 155, and others duly given in the Index.

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

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

Historically, the most important bearer of the name

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[1] See the *Rev. Celtique*, xiii, 290; *Ó Huidhrin*, note 597 to p. 109; *Book of Leinster*, ff. 325[l] 325[h] 326[c] 351[d].

[2] See the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1895, pp. 307-13; 1907, pp. 85-9.

Pillar of Eliseg, shewing the Concenn Inscription.

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

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

(1) ☩ COHCEHH FILIUR CAT TELI CATTEL

(2) FIL ☩IUR BROhCMAIL BROhCMAL FILIUR

(3) ELIREꝫ ELIREꝫ FILIUR ꝫUOILLAYC

(4) ☩COHICEHH ITAQUE PROHEPOT ELIREꝫ

(5) EDIFICAUIT hUNC LAPIDEM PROAUO

(6) RUO ELIREꝫ ☩IPRE ERT ELIREꝫ QUI NECR

(7) XIT hEREDITATEM POYOR·IPC·· MORT

(8) CATEM PER UIIII·· E POTERTATE ANꝫLO

(9) ———————— IU ꝫLADIO RUO PAR·TA IU ISHE

(10) ———————— IMQUE RECITUERIT MAHER CR·-P

(11) ———————— =M DET BEHEDICTIOHEM RUPE

(12) ———————— ·� ELIREꝫ ☩IPRE ERT COHCEHH

(13) ———————— TUR–·c·· E MEIUHꝫE-MAHU

(14) ———————— EAD REꝫHUM RUUM POY

(15) ———————— =ERꝫ IUBAUI·R€ QUOD

(16) ———————— ·/ ·-R≡ AIFUCAUEH

[40]

(17) ———————————————————— ...i'r.-eip-_mopcem

(18) ————————————————————————————

(19) ·————————— ...ILE--K-) mopαRchiαm

(20) ————— ccil mαximyr 6riτταμμιαε

(21) ——— μμ pαρcεμ— — mαчμαμμαμ

(22) — 6Riτчα-τ-m Filiчr ϛчαRτhi

(23) — q̈чε 6εμεd— ϛERmαμчrq̈чε

(24) —=pepeRiτ εiτε-iRα Filiα mαximi

(25) — ϛirqчi occidiτ Reϛεm Romαμο

(26) Rчm + coμmαRch Piμxiτ hoc

(27) chiroϛRαfч̄ Reϛε rчo porcεμτε

(28) concεμμ + 6εμεdicτιο d̄μι iR coμ

(29) cεμμ εε r̄n ī τοτα Fαmiliα ϶iчr

(30) ετ ī̄n τοτα εαϛιομ̄ε pouoir

(31) чεqчεiμ ——

[41]

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

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

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

(1) †Concenn filius Cattell Cattell   (i)
(2) filius Brohcmail Brohcma[i]l filius
(3) Eliseg Eliseg filius Guoillauc
(4) †Concenn itaque pronepos Eliseg   (ii)
(5) edificavit hunc lapidem proavo
(6) suo Eliseg † Ipse est Eliseg qui . . . . .   (iii)
(7) . . . . hereditatem Pouo[i]s . . . .
(8) . . . per viiii[1] [an*nos*] e potestate Anglo-

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

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

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

inscriber has taken more room, and the average falls to 24. The whole inscription was divided into paragraphs, with a cross placed at the beginning of each. The third of the paragraphs begins with *Ipse est Eliseg qui,* etc., a very Celtic construction, meaning 'It is Eliseg who' did so and so. The paragraph seems to relate how Eliseg added to his dominions by wresting from the power of the English a territory which he made into a sword-land of his own, 'in gladio[1] suo'.

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

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

is mentioned as a son of Maximus in Pedigree ii, which makes Dimet an ancestor of Concenn through Eliseg's mother Sanant. Maximus is said to have been a native of Spain, but Dimet's name is of importance as indicating a connection between Maximus and Dyfed, the country of the ancient Demetæ, perhaps through his supposed British wife, the Elen Lüydog of Welsh legend. Add to this the fact of that legend associating him with Caerleon and Carmarthen, and, above all, calling a Dyfed mountain top[1] after him *Cadeir Vaxen* 'Maxen or Maxim's seat'. *Annan* is probably to be corrected into Aunun, given as Anthun son of Maximus in Ped. iv. It is the Latin *Antonius*, with the *nt* reduced into *nn* as in *Maucann*, by the side of *Maucant* in Ped[s]. xxii and xxvii: it is otherwise spelt Annhun or *Anhun* as already mentioned. The MS., Jesus College xx, gives Maximus (*Cymmrodor*, viii, 84, 86, 87) three other sons all with their names derived from Latin *Owein*, older spelling *Eugein* = *Eugenius*, *Custennin* = *Constantinus*, and *Dunaôt* = *Dōnātus*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VITALIANI
EMERETO

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

[1] See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1895, pp. 307-13, and the *Cymmrodor*, vol. xviii, = 'The Englyn', pp. 72-4.

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

VI.   .

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[2] See my *Manx Phonology*, pp. 118-23 ; and as to Welsh *đ* from
ị or *y*, my British Academy paper *Celtæ & Galli*, p. 13, note.

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

[1] Stokes's *Martyrology of Oengus*, p. 110, à propos of April 1.

[2] O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 238.

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

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

All this would seem to imply that the name was
Eslestach, when the spelling with *z* was first applied to
it: Irish reduces *sd, st, ds,* and *ts* all to *ss* or *s,* though how
early it happened in the case of *sd, st,* it is hard to say.
The name might in that case be regarded as a contraction
of some such a longer form as *Eselestach,* derived from
Eselest or *Eseles.* I suggest this because we have at the
top of Ped. xxiíj, a name *esselis,* the initial letter of which,
like other initials in the Nennian Pedigrees, the rubricator
neglected to insert. I guess it to have been an *h* to help
to make up *Hesselis,* which, with the accent on the first
syllable, would be liable to be contracted in Irish to *Eislis*
or *Eisles*—there was an Irish name *Aneisles, Aneislis*—
whence probably our Welsh name *Elis,* spelt also *Ellis* with
English *ll.* The only other name which the *-esselis* of the

things connected with the letter *z* in Irish is that one of the Ogam
symbols, not yet found in an ancient inscription, namely, the 14th, is,
in a tract on Ogmic alphabets in the 14th century MS. of the *Book
of Ballymote,* named *zraif,* ff. 309ᵃ· lines 21, 45; 309ᵇ· l. 33; 310ᵃ· l. 40.
O'Donovan, in his *Grammar,* p. xxxii, treats this as *straif,* and inter-
prets it as "the sloe tree"; for it belongs to an alphabet which has the
individual symbols called by tree-names. From this arose the
untenable notion that the Ogam in question stood for *st* or *z.* The
sound originally meant was probably that of *f* or *ph,* a phonetic
reduction sometimes of Indo-European *sp* or *sp'h.* This *f* has since
been mostly changed into *s,* and the symbol is lost in favour of the
Ogam originally representing *s.* The change into *s* took place
initially, while *f* still remained as a non-initial, and the man who
first called the *f* Ogam *straif* could, doubtless, not find an instance of
its use as an initial, so the name *straif* may be regarded as aptly
chosen. In Irish, initial *f* stands, since the eighth century or
thereabouts, mostly for the provected sound of *v* or *w,* and not for
an original *f* at all; but among other instances of *f,* derived from
original *sp,* and still remaining *f* in Welsh (now written *ff*), may be
mentioned Irish *seir* 'a heel', nominative dual *dá seirith,* but accusative
tria adipherid 'through his two heels' (Stokes's *Celtic Declension,* p. 26):
the Welsh is *ffer* 'the ankle', Greek σφυρόν, the same. See also
his *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz,* p. 299, where he cites 'bó trí sine' 'of a
cow of three teats', otherwise 'bó triphne', where *sine* and *-phne* are pro-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[2] Who were the five chiefs *o Wydyl Ffichti* mentioned in the short poem, xlix, in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, 205) ?   The number,

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

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

[1] See the *Historia Brittonum*, *loc. cit.*, p. 193, and Zimmer's *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 71.

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

[3] See the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, i, 257, and Aneurin Owen's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, ii, 742-7.

APPENDIX I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX II.

"Swansey, Sept. 14, [16]96.

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

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

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

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

"Worthy S^r, Your most obliged and humble servant,

"EDW. LHWYD."

POSTSCRIPT: *see p. 7.*

My address in the Transactions of the Oxford Congress for the *History of Religions* touches ground covered by this paper: see II, 211, where I have suggested correcting *Eueyd* into *Eved,* and equating it with Irish *Ogma,* Gaulish *Ogmios.* The form required is *Euvyđ,* which would be written *Euuid* or *Euuyd*: it occurs as *Euuyd,* and, misread, as *Eunyd.* See Skene, ii, 200, 303, and Stephens' *Gododin,* p. 377 *(Eunydd)*; also Skene, ii, 108, where it is *Ie6yd,* with an intrusive *i.* The points of the equation are: (1) Gaulish and Brythonic *Ogmios* was pronounced *Ogmíios,* and *íi* makes *yđ* in Welsh; (2) *gm* or *ghm* behaves like *lm,* which becomes *lv* in Welsh, but remains *lm* in Irish; (3) *Og* or *ogh* becomes in Welsh *ou,* later *eu.* So *Ogmios* has its exact equivalent in *Euuyd* in Welsh. Space fails me to give analogies, to discuss texts, or draw conclusions.