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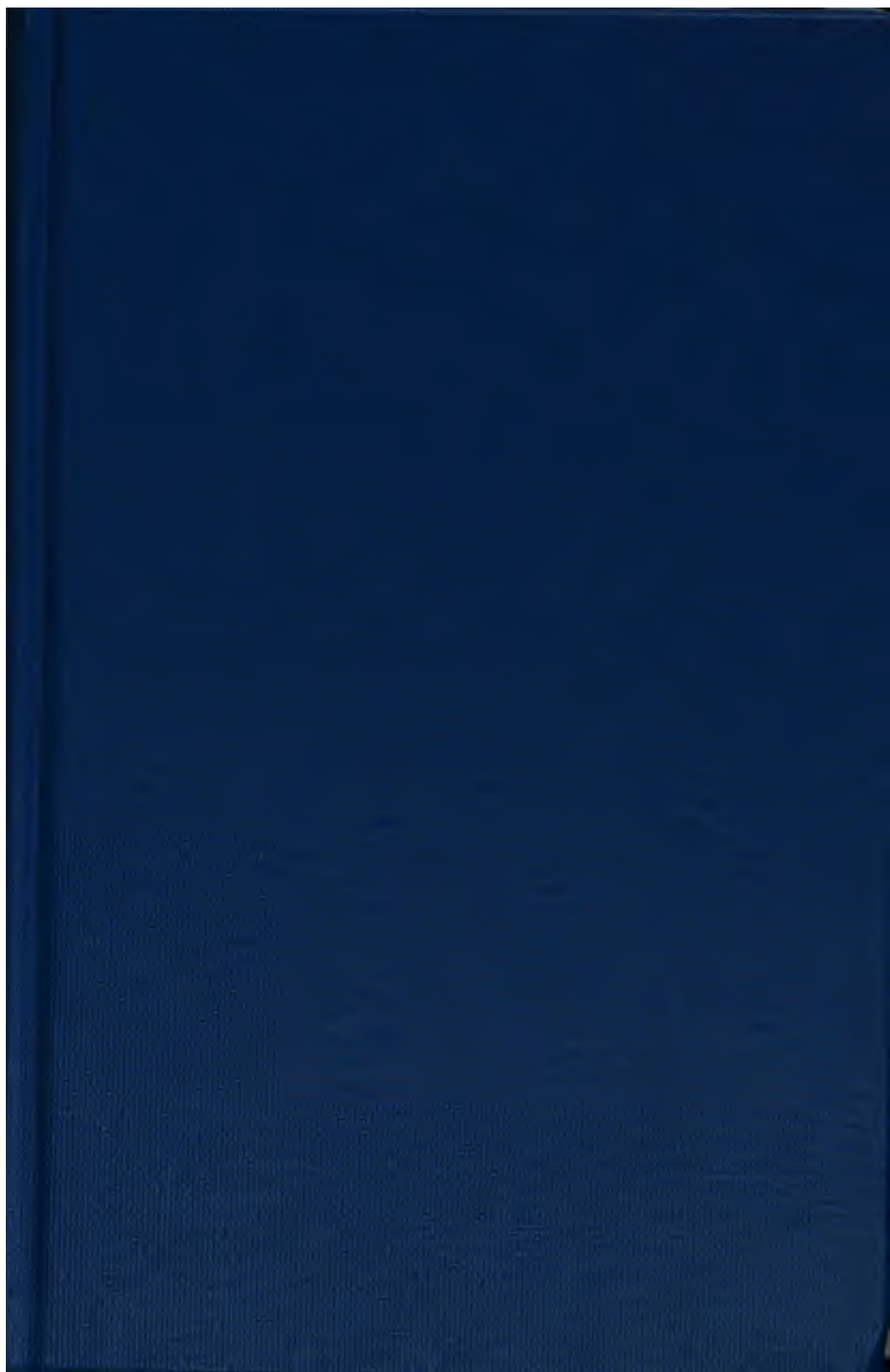
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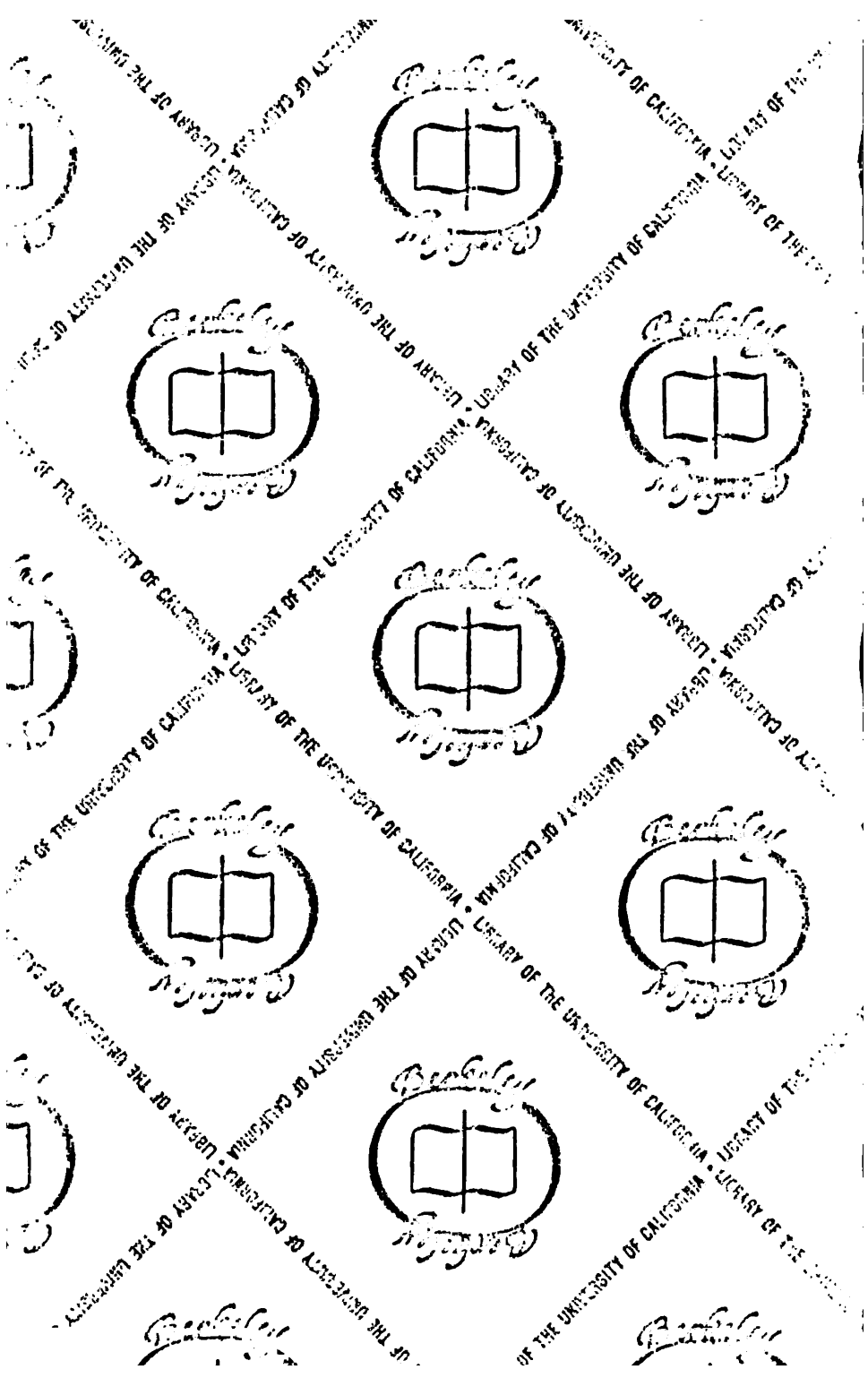
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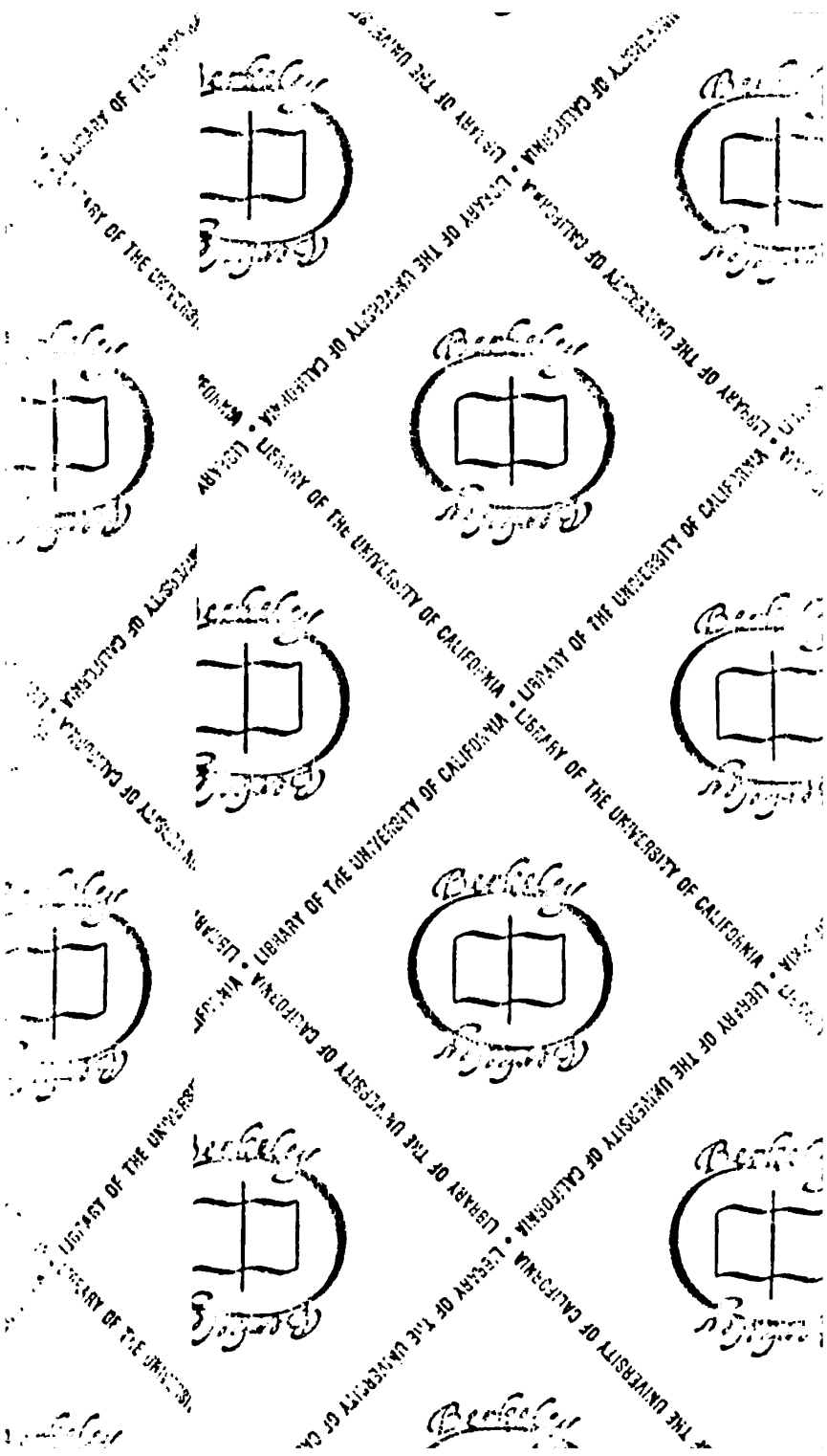
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Y
CYMMRODOR,

THE MAGAZINE

OF THE HONOURABLE

SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION.

PRODUCED UNDER

THE DIRECTION OF THE COUNCIL.

VOL. IX.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY

BY

WHITING & CO., SARDINIA STREET, W.C.

1888.

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Y Cymmrodor.

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Y Cymrodor.

VOL. IX.

"CARED DOETH YR ENCILION."

PART 1.

SELECTION OF WELSH POETRY, BY IAGO AB DEWI.

(Continued from Vol. VIII, p. 199.)

CYWYDD I ARGYOEDDI R BYD O AMRYW FEIEU.

Adrodd y gwir drwy Dduw gaf
A r y Byd ni arbedaf
A r y gwir mae rhagoriaeth
O m lladdir am wir ba waeth
I Uffern gynt a i ffwrn geu
Oer naid yr ai r eneidieu
Oddi yno o i ddaioni
Un Duw a i gnawd a n dug ni
Duw a garaf d eg orhoen
Duw droes y pumoes o r poen
Ac ni welwn gynnill-oes
Farw o Grist fu ar y groes
Achos a wnai difai fu
Enwog wr i n i w garu
Yn anonest a ninnau
Agos oll yn ei gasau
E roi Uftus ar osteg
Orch'mynion i ddynton ddeg

SELECTION OF WELSH POETRY,

A r deg i redeg i n rhan
 (O i ben Caf) heb un Cyfan
 Gwedd i deilwng oedd dalu
 Ac ym pryd trwy r byd y bu
 Bara chig fydd ni bydd ball
 Bara Dwr oedd bryd arall
 Afian ydoedd flinedig
 Arfer a r y gwener gig
 Caewyd hendai Cyttundeb
 Crefydd nid adnebydd neb
 Aml iawn y Cair llygrair llwyth
 Anudon a wna adwyth
 I faeddu Duw fe ddaw dyn
 Ffres gwedi ffrifio'i gydyn
 Aml dyngu mal y dengys
 I waed a chig Duw ai chwys
 Pan ofer dynger rhwng dau
 Pa lw heb ei weliau
 Afrad ar ddillad a ddaeth
 Afraid iawn o fradymaeth
 Pais gwr happus ac arian
 Pais a lwngc naw pwys o wlan
 Codi rhwff Cyd a rheffyn
 Castell am dag ell y dyn
 Cwrlo gwallt merch Carl ai gwyr
 Colles hon y call fynwyr
 Gwelir o r Cluft i gilydd
 Gwallt gosod Cyfar god fydd
 Britho llwyth am y gwythi
 Britho rhawn lle brethir hi
 Byd fydd ni adnebydd neb
 Ba ddyn heb ddau wyneb
 Byw ac aros heb gariad
 A bair twyll y mab i r tad

Oeri Cariad yw Cerydd
 A trafsau n ymgafsau fydd.
 Bardd awen bur a ddeall
 Bradwr llwyr yw r brawd i r llall
 Gan fyd gwen wy n llyd gwae ni
 Ac adwyth yn ymgodi
 Cyd goeliwn gyda i gilydd
 Cydwybod dar fod y dydd
 Caewyd a r wirion Cywir
 Cadarn ni fynn darn o i dir
 Y trahaufaf o r trawfion
 Oreu fydd yn yr oes hon
 A r wr mawr bob awr o bydd
 A i law n Cael ni lun C'wilydd
 O chaiff fo dan bolio byd
 Ei dy n wych dyna jechyd
 A gadu heb helpu hon
 Eglwys Duw n gleisieu duon
 A r fonwent oreu fynoch
 Anferth y ma'i n fuarth moch
 Rhai n eu ffwrr o n hoffeiraid
 Rhawn gynt am y rhai'n a gaid
 Un Duw ein tad a n da a n tir
 A r bwydydd ni arbedir
 A bychan lle hir bechwyd
 Ac i un bol ugein bwyd
 Ac ni chlywir gwir yw r gan
 Un a i gylla n wag allan
 Du oer o beth ydyw r byd
 Yn flinder yn aflendyd
 Balchder a briw y fter brad
 Balch-chwydd anllad rwydd lledrad
 Codes nid Cynnes Canol
 Cen fi gen gwae i fferchen ffol

Chwimllyd yw r byd ar ei ben
 Chwerw a fur a chras aren
 Ar fer ar drawfder fy drwch
 Wedi trawfder daw triftwch
 Y fy ddrwg ai fwydd a r waith
 Aed i Uffern fan diffraith
 Braw ydyw obry redeg
 Fry od awn main fro deg
 Duw o gof aeth dig iw fo
 Duw ei nerth rhaid in wrtho
 Ymogelwn ei gilwg
 Ymrown i droi mawr y n drwg

IEUAN TEW BRYDYDD *o Gedweli.*

CYWYDD Y CYRTIEU.¹

Duw fy n ben nid oes neb uwch
 Duw i m cof na dim Cyfuwch
 Duw iawn enw i gadw n ynys
 A i pherchenawg lwyddiawg lys
 Brenhines gynnes ei gwedd
 Bieu r ynys bur rinwedd
 A theg rym Elf-beth ai gras
 Ydyw eurnerth y d'yrnas
 Grasol Duw iw gwir groesi
 Y gwynaeth gyfraith i n Iaith ni
 Pur iawn i bob rhyw weiniaid
 Perffeith yw Cyfraith pe Ceid
 Y trachwant ai trocha hi
 Am hyn ni chair ddim honi
 Och wir Dduw hael ni cherdd hon
 Yn Rhugl heb anrhegion

¹ "Cywydd to the Courts [of Law]."

Gan fwyddwyr ar anfoddau
 Mewn chwant a i suddant nos Iau
 Un a rhodd drom yn rhwydd draw
 A i ffrynd a gaiff ei wrandaw
 Y stwrddi yn Stiwardaeth
 Yfpail yw Cwrt oes bla gwaeth
 Di iawn farn adwaen ei fod
 Di obaith Cael Cydwybod
 Yngwest nid at bwngc o wir
 At ewyllys y twyllir
 A rha'yny o wyr hynaws
 I droi drwy amnaid a r draws
 Ac ni throir er gwneuthur Iawn
 At ran y matter uniawn
 Un ynfyd i w lw n anfwyu
 Efc ud yr a n wyfg ei drwyn
 Gor efcyn a fyn a r fai
 Suddas arian ni s haeddai
 Baeli firy f blys arian
 A'i gyr o i gof ddyd egr gwan
 Cafglu a fyn dennyn der
 Costog Crin yn gwest Cr owner
 Part jncweiro ffalfro ffug
 Pyrfeu ereill pry farrug
 Minwl fribio a mynnu
 Mawn Coed yd a r min Ci du
 Chwaryddion yw r dynion dig
 Chwareu trwy bechu orig
 A u chwareu gwych a wiriwyd
 Yn llesg fal eirionyn llwyd
 Yn gwlwm dyna g wilydd
 A phan fynon rhon yn rhydd
 Eu Cwrt gwae r fainge o i hortio
 Barwn na farwn a¹ fo

¹ Yw.

Cyfraith rhont Caf warth i rhain
 A hon ei thorri i hunain
 Y Cam llawn yn iawn a wnant
 Ac yma r iawn a gamant
 Rhyfeddod a r bennod byr
 Na suddant aflan fwyddwyr
 Os uchel yw r gwyr fychion
 Uwch yw Duw n gwir Iechyd fon
 Gall Duw nef gallai Duw n wir
 Gamp rinwedd gwympto r anwir
 Accw rhifir y Cryfaf
 Yn ei gwymp yn wan y Caf
 Tebig yw r gyfraith fraith fry
 A i chredens i chwareudy
 A el yno Ceisio Cair
 Ynnill haws yw Cael anair
 Och oered ddiwedd chwaraeu
 Wrth dorri stol brith dristau
 O Duw n gof medd y dyn gwan
 O fair pa le r a i f arian
 Och o r drwg fu r chwareu draw
 Ir ty r aethant er truthiaw
 Ystag aeth gwr toft y Caid
 I law un o r baeliaid
 Talu gydag attolwyn
 Trwy roi Cost am entrio r Cwyn
 A ffys ar arian yn ffo
 I r twrnei rhad Duw arno
 Ynteu n chwareu dadleu dig
 Yn ddi boen ^a ffon dwybig
 Rhoi arian mwy yw r hiraeth
 Tost iawn wedd i r tystion aeth
 Rhai i r pot wrth ddiotta
 Rhai am ganwyll twyll nid da

Rhai i r blwch gwiliwch y ger
 Rhai r Cardieu rhai r Rec ord er
 Rhai i r tyngwyr gwyr gerwin
 Rhai i r bribiwr Criwr crin
 Y fi eler¹ wrth nof wyllo
 Arian a fyn iw ran fo
 Os gwan fydd gor escynwr
 A r gyfoethog euog wr
 Os Ceisir y fec iw fiwn²
 E fyddir yn hir heb hwn
 Yn chwareu er lleisiau r lles
 Tri ifod mewn trah'ufair
 O u ham fer eu r Cyrtieu Cair
 A u Cyfraith mewn pwngc afrad
 A u Cweryl yw moccio r wlad
 Yn ol y Cam eu a wnant
 Wedi chwerw ddadl Cyd chwarddant
 Aeth yr ynyll wrth rannu
 Do do i r chwareu-dy du
 Gwell i chwi r wlad rhad fawrhau
 Gyda ch erydr gyd chwarau
 Cym rwch gyngor rhagorol
 Ewch yn Un gwnewch yn ei ol
 Y gwyrda gwnewch gyd gordiad
 Wrth wir les a nerth i r wlad
 O Iesu mae Cas i mi
 O herwydd eich Cyngori
 A pheidiwch o lawn ffwdan
 A briebwyr rheibwyr bob rhan
 Eich aerod a garcherir
 A u haerod hwy biau r tir
 Ymgroef wech dyddiwch bob dau
 Och wyr rhag y fath chwarau

¹ The *gaoler*.² Execution.

SELECTION OF WELSH POETRY,

A ch aur rhudd Cedwch y rhai'n
 I ch anwyl byrfeu ch hunain
 A g edwch weilch beilch lle bon
 Yn egr a u pyrfeu n weigion.

SIMWNT FYCHAN.

CYWYDD DUCHAN I WRAGEDD.

Mi a gefeis i m gyfoeth
 Sylwedd o waith Sely' ddoeth
 Gwr a roi geirwir wedd
 Air o ogan i wragedd
 Oer adwyth i wyr ydynt
 Anwadal gwam mal fel gwynt
 A ffyrdd distriw Cyffredin
 Yw gwragedd gwychedd a gwin
 Angylion ynt yugolwg
 O hir drin hy ar eu drwg
 Gwraig a wnaeth deuwaeth yw n dig
 Gwall ydoedd yn golledig
 Efa fu gyntaf i gyd
 Ucho anferth ei chyn fyd
 Herodias wedd at gas ddig
 O athrylith gythreulig
 Rhy fyrr o i gwaith rhyw fraw gwr
 Fy ddydd Ifan fedyddiwr
 A Samfon llew-fron wr llwyd
 O dwyll ei wraig a dallwyd
 Llauer gwr mewn llwyr gariad
 Llawn ei ftôr llawen ei stad
 Ac o herwydd gwraig hirwen
 Y troes y byd tros ei ben
 Ond taer mor an nattu riol
 A fydd maeden a phen ffol

Hi rydd an fad gariad gwyllt
 Ac nis Car o naws gorwyllt
 Ni fyynn a i Car feinwar fwyn
 Na i gynnig mwy na gwenwyn
 Ond mynych y chwenych hi
 Y rhodd a rwystrir iddi
 Ac ymhob Cam wrth dramwy
 Os go r afun hi fyn fwy
 Ni fyn rodd loyw fodd o law
 Yn ei ffwdan na pheidiau
 Na i b ostiauw ger llaw y llu
 Yn ei chalon na i chelu
 Mae n rhaid i gangen wen wych
 Gwiliwch hyn gael a chwenych
 Rhaid iddi farch drud farch dro
 Oll a myned lle mynno
 Aur a fidan Cyfanedd
 Neu gan mwy na gwin na medd
 Carol iw chan mol pe chai
 A Chywydd hi falch i ai
 Pe Cei a haeddai o hap
 Hynod fyddei ei han'ap
 O gwyl hon gael ei hynyd
 Yrru y gwr i wario i gyd
 Bychan ganddi roi bachell
 A chyr raedd gael chwareydd gwell
 A wariodd dwys haeddodd fen
 Erw o dir ar y darren
 Gwr diwair yn dwyn gair gwell
 Da a ochel ei dichell
 Goreu ffug i bob gwr ffel
 A gwas gwych geifio i gochel
 A mwyned a fydd meinael
 O i chymwynas i r gwas gwael

E gai labwft go libin
 Er of goi ei throi a i thrin
 E wastatta ei stowt-air
 Yn y fan Cefnwan y Cair
 Try fel y gwynt trafel gas
 Tan dafu at un diflas
 Am a wnel mewn Cornelau
 Ei hefcus heb rus fydd brau
 Coeliwch a dwedwch mai da
 Oni choeliwch hi wyla
 I beri i wr o bai raid
 Em liw-galch ammeu i lygaid
 Gwr Call ac a wyr Cell wair
 Ni chred ei gweithred na i gair
 Llawneid hon yw llunio twyll
 Heb ei arbed mewn byrbwyll
 Gormod heb ddim tafod da
 O fif iff a ddy fei fia
 Di rasol hudol yw hon
 Ceidwad yr holl hocc edion
 Drwg yw porth ei choroph o chaid
 Ac o i thrin gwaeth i r enaid
 O rhoed yn angen rheidiawl
 Ddrygion a ddaethon o ddiawl
 Gwrig neu ferch gorwag iawn fodd
 Yw r drwg i r gwyr a drigodd
 Rhai n ddifynwyr llwyr i n llaf
 A rhai utcyrn rhy atcas
 Rhai n flinion rhai n aflonydd
 A rhai n fwyn er hyn a fydd
 Ond i wragedd rhinweddawl
 Amgen fath mae gen nyf fawl
 Er hyn Dduw mae rhai n dda
 Doethion Duw a u bendythia

Am un Liwces Can Crefydd
 Sydd ar ben foddi y bydd
 Ni ddylyd pryd yn parhau
 Fyth ddilyn y fath ddelwau.

ROGER CYFFIN.

ATTEB I C'DD. RO. CYFFIN.

Clywais inneu llais annerch
 Gwag iawn fon goganu ferch
 Seinio Cywydd trwy fyn wyr
 A lladd y gwagedd yn llwyr
 A rhoi gwyr mewn rhagorieth
 Gwagedd i r fon edd a r feth
 Taeru oll nad da yr un
 A byrnio fod bai arnyn
 Heb feddwl trwf gwl trawf gam
 Gwr gwedd fath gwraig oedd ei fam
 Gwraig hefyd mynyd mwyniant
 Yma i w blas mam ei blant
 Am hyn d ly fei geirieu gwyn
 Dueddu gair da iddyn
 Caf ol yw r gwr ai ceifiai
 A dannod eu bod mewn bai
 Pe rhoid bai nid llai a r lled
 Yno r gwyr yn egored
 Y dau mwy wrth dramwy r dre
 I w bywyd yw eu beie'
 Yfed y Cawl di fawl fu
 Ac yna ei oganu
 Cob medd y fran fyfr dau fon
 Ddu gau pan gaffai ddigon
 Felly r gwyr a fall garant
 Ryw ferch wen ar ofer chwant

Hy naws Cur hono os Can
 Ond gwenwyn hwy goganan
 Arfer Can gwr o i wir fodd
 Ceifio merch Cafau ei modd
 Ni chad un ferch draferch dro
 Na i chusan heb ei cheisio
 Mynych y twyllwyd meinwen
 Trwy eirieu gwr yn troi gwen
 Garw dr eth yw r gwr a draetha
 Dwys iawn ddull nad oes un dda
 Gwraig Abram ddinam oedd dda
 Henwydd fiwr hon oedd Sara
 A Rebecca oedd dda ddoeth
 A i gweddi ar Dduw gwiwddoeth
 Siwfana dan fias iawn wr
 Bu feinir gywir iw gwr
 A Judeth wiw lyweth lan
 A ddugwyd yn ddiogan
 Anna mi Cofid nid Cel
 Di fionwaith oedd fam Sam'wel
 Anna eilfodd anwyl-ferch
 Oedd a gair a Mair ei merch
 Ni ddown o ben ei henwi
 Y da wragedd rhinwedd rhi
 Drwg oedd Efa gwaetha *gwid*
 Hynod wall hon a dwyllid
 Os twylled naws tywyll wg
 Y Cythrel *dirgel* fu r drwg
 Sattan ddifwyn lan ei fodd
 Garwa dull gwr a dwyllodd
 Nid yw gwraig mewn faig os a
 Gwn ond y llestr gwana
 Trwy wedd Efa troi ddifawl
 Trwy won Fair y troi i n fawl

Ystryw Cof os drwg Efa
 Mawl i Dduw Can mil oedd dda
 Lladd fal Peder fwyn weryd
 Dros un y gwenyn i gyd
 Er bod fwrn dan fwrn o fai
 Dwyfol yw'r lleill a difai
 O bydd gwraig yn ddraig ddrygnaws
 Ni wyddoch nad yw dda i chaws
 Gall fod er dwyn tafod dig
 Yn wawn onest wenwynig
 Cledd gwraig yn Coledd ei grym
 Blin-llaes yw tafod blaen llym
 Er ei drygnaws du naws dall
 Na fwriwch i fai arall
 Ir-ddawn pob ty a i urddas
 Gwraig gymen groen wen a gras
 Nid yw anfodd di unsaig
 Nid da brol nid ty heb wraig
 Pob gwraig dda ara' irwen
 A gar bod ei gwr yn ben
 Y gwyr peidiwch heuddwch hedd
 A ch gregan ar eich gwragedd.

DAFYDD AB DAFYDD LLWYD.

CYWYDD Y DEUDDG APOSTOL¹

Prydu a wna' fwynaf fawl
 I Bedr wr gwybodawl

¹ This poem comprises four divisions—1st, an address to the Twelve Apostles; 2nd, The Day of Judgment and its consequences; 3rd, an eulogium of Mary; and 4th, an appeal to men to propitiate her special favour.

Por thor a r eiddun addef
 Per a r y nifer o r Nef
 Ail yw Ieuan lan lonydd
 Apostol nid ffol ei ffydd
 Llun eryr mewn llan arab
 Lliwch-grair nai Mair yw r mab
 Trydydd Apostol tradoeth
 Andras gyweithas goeth
 Dioddef a wnaeth Duw eiddun
 Difai gof dau fu ar un
 Diloer lun mewn dolur loes
 Roi au r gradd a r war ei groes
 Y pedwarydd bid warant
 Apostol fydd ddwyfol fant
 I beri nef yn barawd
 Bartholomus weddus wawd
 Am gredu n wir trwy hir boen
 I Grist y tynwyd ei groen
 Ar boen a droes loes waywfyth
 Yn llawenydd beunydd byth
 Pennaf a gwiraf gwarant
 Pumed chweched seithfed fant
 Phylib nid prydd a fydd fo
 Degan gwyn a dau Iaco
 Adwaen mai Cefndyr ydyn
 I wir Dduw ac i wâr ddyn
 Pan gyfrifwyf fwy fwy fawl
 Wyth fed a nawfed nefawl
 Simwnt ail Edmwnt loywle
 A *Sudd*¹ awch ludd o wych le
 Degfed Thomas hoyw ras hir
 A r India yw ei randir

¹ I. ab D. has put *Jud* in the margin.

Pan aeth Mair eiddair addef
A i nifer at Ner y Nef
O i lleng hi a ollyngawdd
Aur i Domas er nawdd
Ei gwregis hi wiw Riein
Oreu modd o aur a main
Hwn y fydd iawn-rhydd anrheg
Ei warant ef a i rent deg
Mathew rym weddiau ras
Maith awen a Mathias
Llyma hwynt naw pwynt Nef
Y deuddeg fu n dioddef
Ni fynant eurf ant arfoll
Arbed aur a r y byd oll
Gwyn ei fyd Cyd Cadarn
Cain deddfawl cyn dydd y farn
A wnel urddas teir-jas teg
Yngwyli eu dyddieu deuddeg
Pan ganer lle Clywer Clod
Corn Ceufawr y Cyrn Cyfod
Pob dyn gofyn a gy fyd
I r lan o bedwar ban byd
Lle goddefawdd llwyr-gawdd llu
Gwawr oesoedd y gwir Iefu
Yna Cyfyd a aner
Addaf a i blant naw-Cant Ner
A llu Noe hen amgen oedd
Yn fore a u niferoedd
A llawer rhai a llu rhydd
Moesen a leinw r maesydd
Llawenydd a rydd ei ran
Lliw wybrol a llu Abr'an
A llu i Ddafydd yn llwyr
Brophwyd ni lyfswyd lafwyr

A rhod yr haul draul dra mawr
 A r lloer a ddigwydd i r llawr
 A r faith rhyw Blaned a r fer
 O r Nefoedd fry a n ofer
 A Phawl Apostawl y ffydd
 Ior mwyn a ddaw i r mynydd
 Ef a i ni fer per parawd
 A droes i r ffydd dryfsor ffawd
 Awn pe bai ddawn pawb a ddaw
 Yn yr Un-dydd i wrandaw
 Ei farn flin gadarn ei floedd
 A thrydar ei weithredoedd
 Uwch ei Ras Och wir Iesu
 Ofn tragwydd y dydd du
 Yno gwelwn ein gwiwlyw
 Yn ymddangos add fos yw
 Modd ar y groes garw loes ner
 Y gwahan wyd ddydd gwener
 A r goron hoelion hy lud
 O ddrain am ei ben yn ddryd
 A r gweli eu tonneu teg
*Rhydar*¹ a r gwaed yn rhedeg
 Yno gwae hwy rhai annoeth
 Ac yno Cryn pob dyn doeth
 Mihangel Uriel arian
 A r Cleddyfeu tonneu tan
 Dieu iawn ger bron Duw Ion
 Yn dethol y rhai doethion
 Ac yno n wir heb hiraeth
 I Uffern a r gethern gaeth
 Ac o Uffern hagr wern hŵr
 I garchar hir y Cyrchir

¹ I. ab D. has here in the margin *Rhaiadr q.*

Llidiog du bliniog dew bla
 Llu fattan mewn lliw fwta
 Da yw eu dadl a rhadlawn
 Deuddeg Apostol y dawn
 Yna bydd myn Crefydd Cred¹
 Lefein ar fryn Olifed
 Yna daw Mair air eirian
 Ai thafleu ai gleini eu glan
 Yn dyrchafael Cyn Cael Cwyn
 Ei dwylaw i adolwyn
 Ei Mab a i Harglwydd ai mur
 Er ei lefein a i lafur
 Ior gwiwddoeth er ei gweddi
 Nawdd a thrugaredd i ni
 Cawn ni ran trwy ferch Anna
 Yn lliw dydd yn y lle da
 Ac am hyn yn gymmenair
 Goreu modd i n garu Mair.

IOLO GOCH.

*A Gair Ddw'n Uchaf.*²

Yr hyn a dd'wedodd Duw ein Hathro,
 Fe ddylei ddyn ei dd'weyd a'i goelio;
 A'r hyn adawodd Duw heb ddwedyd,
 Fe ddylei ddyn ei adel hefyd.

IAGO AB DEWI. 1713.

Mehefin 16.

¹ *Myn* according to, *Crefydd* the religion, *Cred* of Christendom.

² The brace is I. ab D's.

³ Iago ab Dewi has inserted these four lines of his own by way of comment on the above poem.

CYWYDD O GYNGHORION DA, &C.

Drych yw r byd dirychor barn
 Duw fy geidwad dwys gadarn
 Deilli ed fu y deallwyr
 Dull gwan a fu n dallu gwyr
 Ystyr ddyd ystori dda
 Ydd ai ymeith oddi yma
 A th dda oediog i th adu
 A th gymar yw r ddaiar ddu
 Y byd aeth yn gaeth o r gwir
 I roi ennyd a r anwir
 Di feia di dy fywyd
 Dall o beth yw dull y byd
 Na fydd lawen wen jawn far
 O gwymp cym'odog neu gar
 Gochel dri pheth rhag methu
 Garw o fyd i gywir fu
 Y Cythrel du awel dig
 A r Cnawd a r byd *Cynodig*
 Ofna Dduw n gall a i allu
 A th frenin gorllewin llu
 Bid i ti bywyd di wall
 Bid yn wir bai dyn arall
 Ni cheir yden wych hediad
 Na cheir ond lle r heuir had
 Ni bu amlach bleidiach bla
 Swyddog er yn oes Adda
 Nac amlach bai nac ymlid
 Lladd a malis a llid
 Hefyd ni bu mae n gu gwg
 Amlach pregetheu amlwg
 Nac amlach llw afiach lleu
 Baich adwyth o bechodeu

Y firyf y fy eirwir
 A gudd er arian y gwir
 A r ustus hwnt a r osteg
 A wna air twnn yn wir teg
 Rhyfedd yr ymgyredd gwall
 Heddiw n ing hoyw ddyng angall
 Gwragedd megis goreu gwynt
 Dwfn iawn yn y defein ynt
 Gwyddan meddan ymroddiad
 Ewyllys Duw oll a i stad
 A dechreu r Tad o i gadair
 A pheth a wnaeth mab maeth Mair
 Prentyfied lloneid pob llan
 Am wir gorph Duw ymargian
 Nid Escob a wyr dyscu
 Na Doctor pen Cyngor Cu
 Y ddyfc aeth wrth ddewis gwyn
 Sion grydd fydd yn ei gwrei ddyng
 Duw fyned y Defeinwyr
 Yn fechgyn gwerin nid gwyr
 A phob rhyw eneth a i phen
 Yn mefsur areith Moefen
 Credwn yn Nuw Cariadol
 Caru dwy ffydd yw Cred ffol
 Duw o Nef da iawn ei waith
 A brynnodd bawb a r Unwaith
 Nid gweithredoedd salmoedd fail
 Yw n Ceidwad a n Cu adail
 Unig ffydd enwog o i phen
 A geidw pawb ac adwen
 Duw anwyl yw r da einim
 Ond Duw Duw nid da dim.

Syr OWEIN AB GWILIM.

CYWYDD I HENAIN.

Nid af ar goll dan gollen
 Weithian mi aethym yn hen
 Ni wnaif oed mewn un adwy
 Nid gwiw i ferch f'annerch fwy
 Nid oes ferch er f'annerchion
 Yn y fir a wrendy Sion
 Ni ddon i r fan er f'annerch
 I fwrw n fwrn arnaf un ferch
 Fy marf y fydd yn tyddu
 Yn 'glurwen frig felen fu
 Nid wyf hardd fe'm gwaharddwyd
 I r llan mae marf yn llwyd
 Aeth gwrid yr aur o r ddaurudd
 Crych yw f'wyneb am grudd
 Nid ofna y dyrfa del
 A myfi neb ymafel
 O daw rhif ni'm Cyfrifyr
 Gwaith lle bo gofyn y gwyr
 Fy nhraseu fy n fy nhrwsiaw
 Is cŵl drws i ddifcwil draw
 Fe fu r dydd na fynei r dyn
 Er eu twrf fyned erddyn
 Bum ddigrif ac afrifaid
 Yn awr fe ddarfu fy naid
 Yn falch iawn ar fwlch ennyd
 Ofer edd yw balchedd byd
 Ac ni wyddwn gwn gynt
 Er dim i m gorfyddid i
 Un ystyr yw einioes dyn
 A rhedeg trwy r llwyn rhedyn
 Doe n fab da iawn ei faeth
 Ac ar alw y gwrolaeth

Heddiw n wr rhwydd iawn harddwych
 Y fory bydd grydd yn grych
 Y forucher fe dderfydd
 Einioes dyn fel nos a dydd
 Dieu bod ar ol bydwedd
 Dynged i fyned i fedd
 Er pob Cyfoeth a moethau
 A r balchedd a r mawr edd mau
 Rhaid i bawb er hyd y bo
 Myn Dwynen fyned yno
 Ac yno heb ddrygioni
 Tri gein oes y trigwn ni.

SION CENT.

CYWYDD Y BENGLOG YN Y MUR.

Y Benglog di erbyn glod
 Ddall wyftyn hyll ddi yftod
 Gwradwydd gul arwydd a gas
 Wenllwyd grin wiw anlladgras
 Aur ni thal gyleh dy ddau-rudd
 Eryd y Corph priddlyd prudd
 Pwy a th roes nid o foes fu
 Yn gymmwys yn min gamu
 Drwy gas aml drwg o siomwaith
 Draw yn a mur oedran maith
 Gwared ar dy watwaru
 A th dynawdd o r dyfn glawdd du
 O'th ryw hwf a th roi hefyd
 O'th wael boen lle ni th wyl byd

Delw wyt a gas dolur
 Salw ei modd if law y mur
 Dwg er gor 'chguddio dy dal
 Daith o th bruddwaith i th briddwal
 Cywilidd mawr a r glawr gwlad
 Drych oerni edrych arnad
 Nid oes trwyn ond difwyniant
 I ti na thafod na dant
 Ac nid oes llygad na dau
 Wythran bell eithr yn byllau
 Nid oes Clust trwy ym ffust draw
 Nid oes ael na dwys eiliaw
 Na gwallt na thal fisial fieb
 Na chroenen Uwch yr wyneb
 Ni ellir yn ddi ddirwy
 Dy ddangos ym medw-glas mwy.

Attebiad.

Dirfawr dy gam am ymgein
 Dalm ym mardd dyleu a mein
 Gad yma wedi am mall
 Feistr finneu Cynghoreu Call
 Mi fum nid af mwy i fedd
 Yn nhorr erw yn hir orwedd
 Yn Cael Cur heb ddim Coel Ced
 A phrif ymwan a phryfed
 Cyd bo drwg di amlwg da
 Ac oer ym y Gaer yma
 Nid af er neid i eu of wy
 I m plas er rhoi fiapl i m plwy
 Gwell y pregethaf o m gwal
 Nag Awftin fant neu gystal
 Mae n odid Call deall dwyll waith
 A m gwelo a chwarddo chwaith

Gwae ddyn pwy am gwahodd i
 Anhap erioed ei eni
 Gwael wyf erbyn y Gwyliau
 Pan welad fy moeliad mau
 A thal gwastad jaith hoyw-liw
 A r drem gwallt ar drymm eu gwiw
 A min gynefin of eg
 A thrwyn Cyfartal twyn teg
 A thyfu gweni aeth hoywfaint
 A thafod Coeth doeth a daint
 A chael i m gor Uwch hoywlawr
 Cred merch a dwyn Cariad mawr
 A chael oed ym medw goed man
 Och Iesu wyn a chusan
 Haeddwn waeth heddiw yn wir
 Cas iawn wyf ni m Cuf enir
 Breuddwyd ydwyf o briddyn
 Rhwyfeu llaw ddeheu ddyn
 Llunio baich llawn o bechod
 Lle rhyfedd i falchedd fod
 Gwiria i Dduw dy garu
 Dygnedd yn awr diwedd du
 Yftod ddof yftad ddifalch
 Ystyr dy ddydd na fydd falch
 Nid oes o falchedd gwedd gwawd
 Gorwag ofcedd ond Cyscawd
 Synwyr nid oes ond soniaw
 O ddyn yr amfer a ddaw.

SION CENT.

CYWYDD YN ERBYN BALCHDER.

Och ddyn balch heddiw n y byd
 A th fawr fai a th fyrr fywyd
 Nad adwaenid wyd an nun
 Dyftiad Duw dy stad dy hun
 A pheth wyt ddiffeith oedau
 Rhyw ing o ddull rhwng y ddau
 O b'le daethost dwbl deithoes
 A ph'le r ai pan ffaelio r oes
 O r llwch nid o r lle uchel
 I th wnaed gynt waith hen digel
 Ac yn llwch gwineu llychwyn
 Er dy ddaed yr ai di ddyn
 Mynych iawn un meinwych hy
 Clos tynn y Clyweist hynny
 Ac ychydig wych hediad
 Y mendieist di mewn dy stad
 Ir byd yn noeth y doethost
 Yn wan fyd ni wna hyn fofst
 O ba beth wan feth wynfyd
 Yr wyd falch pe aur dy fyd
 A noeth eilweith i waelod
 Y bedd yr ai heb dda rod
 I r pridd-dy oer prudd di wres
 A lliein heb un llawes
 Bydd dda Cael bedd bedd Ceu lwyd
 Ac o chai arch dyn gwych wyd
 Pa ham hyd ymhen pumwaith
 Yr wyt falch afreittiaf waith
 Wyt ti n deg fel tywyn dydd
 Wyt ti n gryf mewn twnn gryfydd
 Clwyf a dynn Culfyd annun
 Dy nerth a th Iechyd dan un

Ac o chei teg jechyd da
Taith heneint a th ddihoena
Os o fonedd *faf* fynu
Yr wyt falch o rai da fu
Dos i geisio d'escufiad
I feddeu r teidieu a r tad
A gwyl lle rhoed y gelein
Fe'th roir yr un fath a r rhai'n
A i goludog welediad
Wyt ar yftor deg o stad
Da i gyd oediog oes
A th ad an noeth yw d'ainioes
Neu ditheu hynod jeithydd
A edy r da pan dro r dydd
Wyt ti ddoeth at dda jeithoedd
A dyc wych mawr o dasc oedd
Praw dy fynwyr pryd son waith
Praw dy ddyfc parodeidd waith
Ddyn di fudd ni ddaw n d'afael
Ond a fyn Duw gwyn ei gael.
Synwyr fydol a i dolef
Sy ffolder yngwydd Ner Nef
Balchio ymrwyfo yr wyd
Blwch di raid balchder ydwyd
Cafsa pechod Cosp buchedd
Gan Dduw hwn gwyn ddihedd
Y ferch hunaf wrychionen
I Ddiawl o hil ddial hen
Yn y Nef ni mynei nawdd
Di wych ryw y dechreuawdd
Ni ddaw mwy yn nyddieu maith
Yn felus i Nef eilwaith
Porth y Nef gartref di gel
Yn ei drws fy n dra ifel

Rhaid ymoftwng rhag moefdaith
 I fynd i mewn fwynhad maith
 A 'mgodo ei hun magiad hir
 Wft angall a oftyngir
 A 'moftyngo lle bo barn
 Hwn a godir n gadarn
 A fynno fyw mewn iawn fudd
 I gael Nef galon ufydd
 Yn grist'nogion union jawn
 Dilynwn Crist hael uniawn
 Cyd bai fab Cudeb febyd
 Duw n Ior byw a dyn or byd
 A brenin oll breinieus war
 Naf diwid Nef a daiar
 Ei grud nid un gariad neb
 Fawr bur raswaith fu r prefeb
 Ni cheifiodd dir o hir-hynt
 Na thy gwych o henwaith gynt
 Ei farwolaeth fawr weli
 Fu r groes dros ein han foes ni
 Dyn an noeth od yw n anwych
 Fe fyddei pe gallei gwych
 Mae balchder mab y ddera
 Heb fyw at hap heb fyd da
 Cyn amled mewn fiecced fal
 Glytting i gael ei attal
 Ac yn y wifc heini waith
 Sidan drefnus weuadwaith
 Cas Duw ymhob Cwys daiar
 Tylawd balch at lid a bar
 Fe ddengys tywys tew-yd
 Mae gwagedd yw balchedd byd
 Tywyfen lawn dwbl rawn da
 Mae gwir am'od ymgryma

A r wag yn ei rhywogaeth
 I fynu faif hon fy waeth
 Edrychwn wrth ymdrechu
 A r len y ddaiaren ddu
 Lle n ganed i r llu n gnawdol
 A r lle r awn pe jeirll a r ol
 Dyfcwn hyn peidiwn a n parch
 O reolaeth yr Alarch
 Yr hwn o i falchder hynod
 O'i liw gwyn fel amlwg nod
 Cyfyd ei blu gwiw gnu gwar
 Ai holl efcyll lliwufgar
 Pan welo ei draed diwael dro
 Duon di wynion dano
 Ef a ostwng fwy yfyr
 Ei blu fel y ba fawl byr
 Hwn yw gwreiddyn garw oddaith
 Pob pechod di ar fod daith.

Tynwn y gwreiddin blin bla
 A i wieil frig a wywa
 O balchiwn balch awydd
 Byddwn feilch bodd i n a fydd
 Ynghroes ac ynghur Iesu
 Grist hyd fedd goreu stad fu
 Drwy r hwn y doir i r hoyw-Nef
 Neu ni ddoir yn ei wydd ef
 Duw i r fan da awr a fo
 Fendigeid Nef a n dugo
 A thyned fyth o honom
 Y balchedd ffrost balchwydd ffrom.

SION PHYLIB.

CYWYDD YN ERBYN ANUDONEDD A LLWON OFER.

Pand rhyfedd poen trwy ofid
 Y byd llawn bai wyt a llid
 Pan na thry ar hynny r rhod
 O bai anhawdd byw ynod
 Heb awr o hyd i barhau
 Heb ychydig bechodau
 Nid oes fodd Duw fy feddig
 Doed nawdd i n nad ydyw n ddig
 Gwas a phla heb deg hoff lwydd
 Gan ei ddig i n a ddigwydd
 Yma n y byd mae un bai
 Aeth yn oddeith ni weddai
 Un pechod hynod henyw
 Yn ymroi i ladd marwol yw
 A i gwnel a dig anial dwys
 Nid a ei bryd i Baradwys
 Ei deitl serch di attal son
 A i enw ydyw anudon
 Dyma bechod danod hen
 Du erchyll i r dywarchen
 A all am ein henfall ni
 Droï eneid i drueni
 Gŵyr dorri dau garw daer don
 Ar gyrch min o r gorch' mynion
 Y trydydd fe ddaw dydd du
 Ar nawfed er anafu
 I'n o gym'ryd byd di ber
 Dan nefoedd enw Duw n ofer
 Ac un arall gan eiriol
 O dystio n ffals destun ffol
 Llŵ cam fy n twyllo i gyd
 Llŵ ofer nid llai hefyd

Ni 'medu plag orwag wr
 Drud dynged o dy r tyngwr
 Gorchymyn gair jach am'od
 A roes i ni ras a nod
 Na thyngym da rym di rus
 Ond i w enw glan daionus
 Nac i w enw yn y genau
 Ond a fai raid a i fawrhau
 Ninneu ymhob trydar fiarad
 Yn ofer rhown ei fawrhad
 Na chym'rwn mwy bydd hwy hedd
 Ddim o i enw n ddi amynedd
 Llw gethin oll gwaeth na hen
 A dyn waed yw anudon
 Lladd Cyrph fel lluedda Caid
 Llw dyn yn lladd ei eneid
 Eisieu Credu 'n ficcr odiaeth
 Yn Nuw a wna hyn yn waeth
 Eisieu ofn Duw fy fan du
 Oes gwir ac eisieu 'i garu
 Ofni r wyf awen a red
 A r y gwir air agored
 Fod heb jawn gred rifedi
 Ger Nef yn ein hamser ni
 O hyn y Cair heb naccau
 Anudon wrth amneidiau
 Pedwar peth er meth ym myd
 Gwymp rhyfyg mwy pair hefyd
 Cas fel galanas neu gledd
 A chariad a dyn chwerwedd
 Ofn Cedyrn faingc gae-edig
 A chwant da ocheneid dig
 Peidiwn er bod y pedwar
 A r ran y byd a r un bar

Os o gas un ffals a gaid
 Cas hwn fy n Cashau eneid
 Os o gariad mewn adwy
 Credwn fod Cariad Duw n fwy
 Os ofn beilch farrug heb wedd
 Ofn Duw bid fwy n y diwedd
 Os chwant melusach yw hwn
 Atto n t'wyfo tenta fiwn
 O cai ddyn cieidd ennyd
 Holl dir o bell a da r byd
 O Ddu¹ ba les oedd iw blaid
 Oll hyn a cholli enaid
 Llw dda a ryddd llaw ddiwyd
 Llw wir bur fy n gwellau r byd
 Drwy lw y Cedwir y wlad
 A r Gyfreith heb freg afrad
 Llw a rydd oll yr eiddo
 A i fael i bawd fel y bo
 Llw fy n rhwymo tra bo byd
 Ffyddlonddeb hoffeid lendyd
 Llw gam hyll a gymhellir
 A wna gam i wanhau gwir
 A ddwg eiddo ddigeiddwall
 Yn llwyr llwyr y naill i r llall
 Llw gam nid yw well *y*² gwaith
 A ddwg einioes ddeu'gein waith
 Llaw n dwyn llw anudonawl
 Llw a ddwg y llaw i ddiawl
 A r Corph enwir Craff annian
 A r eneid dig i r un tan
 Medd Ifan fant am ddwfn son
 Nodir a wnel anudon

¹ *Duw* is intended.

² Has *ei* written above the *y*, the latter being underscored.

Gyda r Ci yn gadr Ceu-ir
 O r ddinas nefawl hawl hir
 Rhyfedd medd doethwr hefyd
 Rhwyf un balch tra fo n y byd
 Na ddua llaeth waeth waeth weithio
 Teth y fuwch lle teithia fo
 Drwg ai gwnel draig ogan wr
 Cythreulig Caeth reolwr
 Mae fon am feibion y fall
 Yn y gair un ac arall
 Ban oedd o u gwaith bu n ddig iawn
 Byth orwedd Naboth wiriawn
 A mwy fon gyfion gofiwr
 Am Ses'bel ddigel a i gwr
 Baich nid hawdd bu chwant tyddyn
 Brys hwnt a barasei hyn
 Dyna r drwg dan awyr draw
 Dyna air Duw n ei wiriaw
 Na rowch lw Cam orchwyl call
 Na i arw eiriol ar arall
 O thwng pob un yn uniawn
 Nid ing i neb dyngu n iawn
 Dyfod a wnawn drwy iawn draidd
 Dowys hynt i w fynydd fancteidd
 I r lle hwn er llawenu
 I n dycco oll un Duw Cu.

SION PHYLIB.

CYWYDD CYNGOR SION CELLI DELYNOR.¹

Celli fab Call oi febyd
 Cefaist barch Cofeist y byd

¹ The transcriber has lost a word in this title, for the poet clearly intended to advise SION CELLI, the Harpist, to abstain from his habits of excessive drinking. It should read *Cyngor i Sion Celli*, etc.

Gwisc ras ac urddas gerddawr
 Genyd mae r gelfyddyd fawr
 Ariandlws i gadw r drws draw
 A ddylei gwaith dy ddwylaw
 Dieu mae pyngc ieu mhob bys } : "twyll odl."¹
 Deu'gein mil digon melys
 Canu n hyfedr a fedri
 Cyweirio n deg d anrheg di
 Pur Athro pieu r wythran
 Paun Cwyreidd glod pen Cerdd glan
 Celli ber Call a burwyd
 Cloch fon telynorion wyd
 Un glod yn ei gael ydych
 A naw o Sion Eos wych
 Wyd ereu heb am'eu bod
 O th ofyn law a thafod
 A r godiad toliad wyt ti
 Am Grefws od ymgroesi
 Mae n eiddot myn ei addef
 Am d'arian dreian² y dref
 Ar dir nis Collir Celli
 Ymhob man mae d'arian di
 Yn fwyn wrth gychwyn i th gad
 Yn oen yn ddi anynad
 A el fe'i dyfc gwialen
 Yn ffol cynhwynol yn hen
 Y mae mryd ddiwyd ddeall
 Ddyfcu pregethu n gall
 Yfed a wna fuffed fal
 Ac yfed a wna gofal
 Yfed rhag fyched fy wych
 A chan y neb a i chwenych

¹ This is I. ab Dewi's insertion in the margin.

² I. ab D. has *a* placed above the *e*.

A charowfio echryfawl
 Yn annoeth a ddoeth o ddiawl
 Yn aflawen ben ben bod
 A bar Duw a bair diod
 Gwin fec a wna gwayw n y fiad
 Gyda fur godi fiarad
 Gair fur ac yn gras aren
 Garw poeth gwna guro pen
 Duw nis gad dyn nis gedir
 Dy ogan Sion degan fir
 Maddeu os jach meddwi Sion
 Maddeu lle bo rhai meddwon
 Ni roed meddwi gwae fi n fawr
 Ond i rogfyn ei ddrygfawr
 Sion na ddewis yn ddiod
 Sec a bair Cler heb air Clod
 Glan i t fydd glyn at feddwl
 Gyfau r nos na ddos yn ddwl
 Ac yfed nid yw gyfion
 Ond yfed rhag fyfych Sion
 Myn dri pheth ymendia r ffydd
 Mae n lân o mynni lonydd
 Edrych trwy na bych yn boeth
 A gofal am dy gyfoeth
 A gwrando rhag llithro n llwyr
 A thaw son o waith synwyr
 A dwg o Dduw digia ddiawl
 Ynot cirieu natturiawl.

IEUAN TEW.

MARWNAD IEUAN TEW BRYDYDD
 O CYDWELL.

Och wyr hwyr iwch eiriau heirdd
 Wedi r hen fyd a r hen-feirdd

Marweidd y Cair mawredd Càn
 Marwach a chaethach weithian
 Marw Ieuan Tew marwnad hir
 Brydydd goreu n y brodir
 Lle r aeth i bwl o r jaith ber
 Llyna brydydd llawn breuder
 Llawn ei ben o awen jach
 Ni all enni yn llawnach
 Lladdfa ei farw llwyr fyfyrion
 Llwyddodd a fyfyriodd fo
 Llafur mynwes Taliesin
 Llauer o fwynder o i fin
 Lle bai well pennill o i ben
 Na chywydd anwych awen
 Henuriad hen a i orwedd
 A i r awen fawr yn ei fedd
 A i wyddai ond rhai tra hen
 I fan Tew faint ei awen
 Adwaenwn hwn a henwir
 Er ystalm arhoes oed hir
 Awn ir tri mor a r tramwy
 Tros hwn ped arhoefei n hwy
 Huna ddeufardd iawn ddefawd
 Oeddem ni lle naddem wawd
 Hen iawn oedd e n un o ddau
 Hunaf vn heno finnau
 Er heneiddio rhan weddwawl
 O wir gorph mwyn argraff mawl
 Ni bu oni ddarfu i ddydd
 Awr wañach yr awenydd
 Rhodd Dduw oedd hardd i wiwddyn
 A rhoddiad oedd rhwydda dyn
 Rhoddiadeu Cerdd deg hy jach
 Ni bu roddion bereiddiach

Digymell y dug yma
 Drwy r jaith odidogwaith da
 Difas fryd dyfeis ei fron
 Dewis daionus destunion
 Dyfaliad Cynhaliad Cerdd
 Dyfal efcud felusgerdd
 Bydd hir oni welir weu
 Ail hyfrydol fwriadeu
 O achos bach o i ais bu
 Ddifyr gynnu fawr ganu
 O thrown oddiwrth wr ennyd
 At y beirdd fy n neutu r byd
 Ni chan y rhai'n achwyn y rhawg
 Dim o gan ond am geiniawg
 Ni wnan er aur glan ryw gler
 A wnai Ifan yn ofer
 Ofer yw Can o frig gwydd
 Wedi Ifan frawd Ofydd
 Llai Cywydd yn nydd a nos
 Llai i'n odleu n Llanidlos
 Bardd gerdd lawn bardd graddol oedd
 Bardd y Gwynn byrddau gwinoedd
 Aent hwy rai i Went yr hwyl
 Rhai i Fon hir yw f anwyl
 Nid aeth ef odiaeth ofyn
 O lys a gwys Lewys Gwynn
 Da fu le dwyfol Awen
 A da rhodd i Awdwr hen
 Da Duw i r Gwynn brigyn bro
 Ddedwydd wedd ddaed oedd iddo
 Detholei dy a thylwyth
 Defawg lin dywyfawg lwyth
 I w fail gynnes le ganu
 Eos tref Idlos tra fu

Cai r Gwyn gwr't caerog ennyd
 Ddethol bardd o wyth le byd
 Diddaneï bobl da ddeunydd
 Diddan oedd Ifan iw ddydd
 Caredig hwyr ei adael
 Carwn y Tew ciwreint hael
 Cariadus gweddus yn gweu
 Cerdd fwynwych Carodd finneu
 Nwyfeidd awen fyw n dduwiol
 Di nwyf i m fod yn ei ol
 Nefol pwy n ei ol o'n hiaith
 A fwyn eilia fanyliaith
 Nef gwr yn fyw a garwn
 Ifan Tew fo i eneid hwn

SION PHYLIP.

MARWNAD RHYS NANMOR.

O Iesu byth eifieu bardd
 Accw darfu Cadeir-fardd
 Yr ha' bu gwir rheibio gwawd
 A droes fanbridd dros f unbrawd
 Mae dwr oer om jad i r en
 Morfa r aeth fy marf freithwen
 Aber im grudd heb ddim gwres
 Yw glaw o wybr *galabes*¹
 Ar ol Rhys yr wyla' i rhawg
 Alwyneu o lif *Enawg*²
 Llethu Nanmor mewn Cor Cau
 Llé 'dd ar awen holl ddeau
 Llai o fryd llyfreu ydoedd
 Llai gymraeg holl Gymru oedd

¹ *Galabes* underscored with a dotted line.

² *Enawg* similarly underscored.

Colli vnweith cell angerdd
 Cael heddiw cwyn Cleddeu Cerdd
 Merddin a Godwin a gan
 Mwy son am Rys ei huſian
 Gwellau gywydd Gruffydd gryg
 Gwr a ddyblei r gerdd ddiblyg
 Diffael erioed ei flwr wen
 Dorri di oed droed awen¹
 Tros Rys torri S fy raid
 Torri dwbl R trwy dabl euraid
 Tyfiad parch fu r tafod per
 Twrf un gloch a i trwy fwyngler
 Mawr iawn wst marw un ustys
 Wbwb o ran be byw Rys
 Rhys glew Caid rhoi yfcol cerdd
 Rhys gwiw dengys gadwyngerdd
 Gwnai urddo a r gan eurddwbl
 Glew oedd i r Caib gladdu r cwbl
 Athrawi...²eidd llew uthreidd llathr
 Ac urddaseidd gerdd ddifathr
 Ymwanem deuem ein dau
 Ef yn wir a fu n orau
 Y lle'dd ai llywydd ydoedd
 A mifeu ym mraich Nanmor oedd
 Ni roi dolc ar y wawd yn
 Ni bu frith bin o i frethyn
 Gweuodd hwn yn gywydd hardd
 Gwe o felfed gafael fardd

¹ The following two lines are *cancelled* by I. ap. D.

"Dros Rys torri S sy raid
 Torri dwbl R mewn tabl euraid."

T in the margin

and the lines in the text substituted.

² *aeth* here cancelled.

Bwriei ddosparth Bardd hysbys
 Beirdd is erioed Bardd Syr Rys
 Bu nos yr wyl ben saer yn
 Bu r llynedd yn bwrw llinin
 Da Cefnei wawd Cyfiawn oedd
 Dros gred yr ysgwir ydoedd
 Bwyell gerdd ban baller gant
 Byth naddu beth ni wyddiant
 Bu wawd o i gerdd 'bado gair
 Bu ordd Ceudawd Bardd cadair
 Bu n hau awen ben hyawdl
 Bu Rhys *grud*¹ braisc ar Awdl
 Bu lwyn brigog blaen breugerdd
 Bu fraith a llof gordd y gerdd
 Awen Rhys yn yr oesoedd
 O bair y wrach berwi r oedd
 E saif dysc os ef a dau
 Ni wyrir un o i eirieu
 Ni ddaw Athro 'ddi eithr=Rhys
 Nac awdwr hen gwedi Rhys
 Nanmor o Faenor Tynyw
 Nenbren pob awen pe byw.

LEWYS MON.

¹ Underscored with a dotted line.*(To be continued.)*

THE PERSONAL NAME-SYSTEM IN OLD WELSH.

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If out of any Welsh mediæval document we take at random a personal name, the following statements will probably be found to hold good concerning it.

(1) It is a compound word, easily resolvable, for the most part, into two co-ordinate elements or roots ;

(2) These elements are members of a large class of similar forms, which may be combined almost at pleasure, in sets of two, to form personal names ;

(3) In origin these elements are nouns, brought together in the relation of nominative and genitive, and with a due regard to sense. In course of time, however, the system becomes more mechanical ; elements are united, to form new personal names, in a purely arbitrary manner, and without reference to their meaning.

We take Gurgeneu (modern Gwrgeneu), for instance, from Version B of *Annales Cambriæ*, under the year 1079 (Rolls Edition ; the actual date is 1081). This resolves itself without difficulty into Gwr + ceneu (modern cenaw) ; from the former element we have the names Gwr-gant, Gwr-gi, Gwr-nerth, Gwr-fyw, Gwr-ddelw, Gwr-ward ; from the latter Mor-geneu, Gwyn-geneu, Rhi-geneu. Gwr meaning a man, a hero, and ceneu a whelp, it is clear that the name is not intended to make strict sense : Welsh warriors of the olden time were accustomed to hear themselves admiringly styled

“gwyr” and “cenawon”,¹ and so the two epithets were strung loosely together to make a name which might appropriately be borne by a pugnacious young Welshman.

A few names of undoubtedly British origin depart from this, the all but universal type, so far as to substitute for the second element an adjectival suffix. Thus Buddug (the Boudicca of Tacitus, and the Boadicea of modern writers) is probably an adjectival form obtained from Budd (=victory, advantage). Even in cases of this kind, however, the noun-element usually comes from the common stock; Budd, for instance, does duty, in one form or another, not only in Buddug, but also in Budd-fan, Budd-wallon, Cad-fudd, and Bodu-gnatus.

A little investigation reveals to us the fact that this method of forming personal names runs through every age of Welsh history, coming to light, in fact, in the earliest historical records which tell us anything of the inhabitants of Britain. To make this clear, it is only necessary to trace one of our name-elements from century to century, beginning with comparatively modern times, and working our way back until the materials for further investigation fail us.

CYN- is perhaps the element which in all ages of Welsh history has been the most popular, and which therefore illustrates most vividly for us this continuity in the personal name-system. In the

xv Cent. we have *Cyn-frig* ab Gronw, a leading minstrel in the Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1451.

xiv Cent.—*Cyn-frig* Cynin, the name traditionally given to the “Eiddig” of Dafydd ap Gwilym.

xiii Cent.—*Kyn-an* (*Brut y Tywysogion—Myvyrian Arch-aiology*, 2nd edition, p. 650).

¹ Cynawon cadud, cadrfeib Maredu. — *Gwalchmai: Marwnad Madawg* ab Maredudd.

XII Cent.—*Ken-ewricus* (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium*, lib. II, cap. iv. = Cynwrig).

XI Cent.—*Ken-win* (*Ann. Camb.*, vers. B, sub anno 1068 [true date, 1069]. = Cynfyn).

X Cent.—*Cin-cenn* (*Ann. Camb.*, vers. B, sub anno 946. = Cyngen).

IX Cent.—*Cin-nen* (*Ann. Camb.*, vers. B, sub anno 854. In vers. C, Cengen. = Cyngen).

VIII Cent.—*Cin-cen* (mentioned as father to Griphiud in *Ann. Camb.*, vers. B, sub anno 814. = Cyngen).

VII Cent.—*Cin-gien* (Cadfan's Pillar at Towyn, ascribed to this or the following century).

VI Cent.—A period singularly rich in examples of CYN-.

- (a) Gildas has *Cune-glase* and *Maglo-cune* (both vocatives);
- (b) The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* gives us *Com-mail* and *Con-didan* (sub anno 577);
- (c) Tradition has handed down, through the medium of triads, saints' genealogies, and romantic tales, a multitude of other instances, as *Cyn-haiarn*, *Cyn-deyrn*, *Cyn-felyn*, *Cyn-drwyn*.

Beyond the sixth century the chain of evidence is less complete; but this is simply due to the absence of historical records. Such testimony as we get from inscriptions only confirms the theory that the Welsh inherited their personal name-system from the earliest historical times. We find the name *Cuna-lipi*, for instance, on a Carnarvonshire stone (Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 294), and *Cuno-cenni* on one found at Trallong in Brecknockshire (*Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, viii, 52-56). In this way we succeed in partially bridging over the gap that divides the CYN- names of the sixth century from the *Cuno-belinos* of the age of Augustus and the *Con-victolitavis* of Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.*, vii, 37), the

first undoubtedly, the second in all probability, but older forms of this element CYN-.

If this reasoning be correct, and the Welsh personal name-system be actually traceable as far back as the time of Cæsar, then we are naturally led to expect that we shall find a similar system to prevail among the other branches of the Kymric family; for we have carried our investigations up to a point at which that family may practically be regarded as homogeneous. As a matter of fact, Cornish and Breton names of the older class are formed precisely like Welsh ones; more than this, the same roots are used in all three languages, though, of course, in varying proportions and in slightly different forms. CYN- appears in Breton as *Con-* and sometimes *Cun-*. It forms such names as *Con-woion*, *Con-atam*, *Cun-march*; the *Chono-moris* of Gregory of Tours carries it back to the sixth century (Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, 2nd edition, p. 93). Cornish records supply us with *Con-au*, *Cen-myn*, *Con-redeu*, *Cen-huithel*, *Ceen-guled* (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. i, pp. 676-681), while an early Cornish inscription gives us *Cunovali* (*Celtic Britain*, p. 297), and thus links the recent evidence with that of the pre-Roman period.

By means of the special example CYN- we have thus been enabled to realise the historical continuity of the system throughout ages widely differing from each other. Let us now turn to another aspect—the general prevalence of the system in each and every age, its lateral extension, so to speak, as distinguished from its vertical extension through time. This it will be easiest to illustrate by drawing up a list of the name-elements most commonly employed, and ranging under each one the names, whether Welsh, Breton, Cornish, Gaulish, or old British, which seem to be referable to it. The following is an attempt at such a list, with no pretensions, however, to completeness, which could scarcely

be secured without a larger expenditure of time and patience than the importance of the results would warrant.

ARTH.—Arth-bodu (*Liber Landavensis*, ed. 1840, p. 77); Arth-cumaun (*Lib. L.*, p. 137); Arth-ual (*Lib. L.*, p. 182); Arth-bleid (*Lib. L.*, p. 236); Arth-gen (*Ann. Camb.*, vers. A, sub anno 807). To these we may probably add the well known Arth-ur.

=bear : as a name-element possibly of totemistic origin.

-BELIN or -FELYN.—Cuno-belinos; later forms, Con-velin (*Lib. L.*, p. 135) and Cyn-felyn. Llywelyn is also believed to contain the same root (*Celtic Britain*, p. 287).

Belenus is mentioned by Ausonius (*Burdig. Prof.* x) as a Gallic god.

BLED-, BLEIDD.—Bled-ris (*Lib. L.*, p. 176); Bled-ud (*Lib. L.*, p. 195); Arth-bleid (*supra*); Bled-bui (*Lib. L.*, p. 190); Bleid-van (*Myv. Arch.*, 2nd Ed., p. 6); Bled-gur (*Lib. L.*, p. 233).

=wolf : another animal-name.

-BRAN.—Con-uran (*Lib. L.*, p. 69); Lou-bran (*Lib. L.*, p. 135); Mor-bran (*Lib. L.*, p. 191).

=raven.

BUDD.—Arth-bodu (*supra*); Gur-vodu (*Lib. L.*, p. 153); Bud-van (*Myv.*, p. 6); Bud-gualan (*Lib. L.*, p. 156); Cat-uid (*Lib. L.*, p. 191); Bud-ic (*Lib. L.*, p. 123). Earlier forms are Boduo-gnatus (*Cæs.*, *B. G.*, ii, 23), Ate-boduus, and Bodicus (Gregory of Tours), the last being the masculine form of the Boudicca of Tacitus. Breton documents yield Cat-wodu, Eu-bodu, Tri-bodu (*Zeuss*, p. 22).

=victory, advantage. Cf. Irish *buaid* and modern Welsh *buddugol*.

-BYW, -BWY, -ABWY.—Jun-abui (*Lib. L.*, p. 71); Coll-bui (*Lib. L.*, p. 70); Lou-bui (*Lib. L.*, p. 71); Gwern-abui (*Lib. L.*, p. 72); Gur-bui (*Lib. L.*, p. 142); Ubel-uid (*Lib. L.*, p. 154); Jou-bui (*Lib. L.*, p. 166); Biu-hearn (*Lib. L.*, p. 166); Conui (*Lib. L.*, p. 169); Bled-bui (*supra*).

-CAR, CAR.—At-gar (*Lib. L.*, p. 138); Cyn-gar (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 109); Car-wen (*Myv.*, p. 68). Cf. Breton Guethen-car, Cowal-car, and Comal-car, cited by Zeuss, pp. 116, 132.

Connected with caru = to love. Caradog and Ceredig are adjectival forms.

CAT-, CAD-.—Cat-gen (*Lib. L.*, p. 124); Cat-gualatyr (*ibid.*); Cat-maili (*ibid.*); Cat-guocaun (*Lib. L.*, p. 126); Cat-gual (*Lib. L.*, p. 132); Cat-leu (*ibid.*); Guen-cat (*Lib. L.*, p. 137); Cat-gueithen (*Lib. L.*, p. 174); Cat-guaret (*Lib. L.*, p. 188); Cat-uud (*supra*); Din-cat (*Lib. L.*, p. 194); Cad-farch (*Myv.*, p. 420); Cad-afael (*Myv.*, p. 403). Cad-fan and Cad-wallon, two popular Welsh names, appear early in our history, the former in the Cata-manus of the Llangadwaladr inscription (*Arch. Camb.*, Old Series, i, 165), the latter as a tribal name in the Catu-vellauni of Cæsar's day. Breton parallels are Cad-nou, Cat-wodu, Mael-cat (*Zeuss*, p. 137); similarly in Cornish documents we find Cat-gustel, Cat-uitic (*Bodmin Gospels*, apud Haddan and Stubbs, i, 681, 682).

= battle, and therefore to be compared with Aer- in Aerthirn (*Lib. Land.*, p. 142), and Gweith- in Gweith-gno.

-CANT.—Mor-cant (*Lib. L.*, p. 137)—the original form of Morgan; Guor-cant (*Lib. L.*, p. 194); Mei-gant (*Myv.*, p. 121); Jud-cant (*Lib. L.*, p. 203). Cf. Cornish Cantgethen, Wur-cant, Grat-cant, and Mor-cant (H. and Stubbs, *ut supra*).

-CENEU.—Mor-cenou (*Lib. L.*, p. 136); Gur-ceniu (*Lib. L.*, p. 142); Ri-geneu (*Myv.*, p. 68); Gwyn-genau (*Myv.*, p. 426).
= whelp.

-CI.—Gwr-gi (*Myv.*, p. 398); Hoew-gi (*Myv.*, p. 6).
= dog.

CYN-, CON-, -CWN, etc.—Con-uran (*supra*), Cen-guariu (*Lib. L.*, p. 70); Cin-uin (*Lib. L.*, p. 70); Cin-uarch (*Lib. L.*, p. 77); Con-gual (*Lib. L.*, p. 77); Con-hail (*Lib. L.*, p. 137); Con-cenn (*Lib. L.*, p. 124); Con-daf (*Lib. L.*, p. 132); Con-

guare (*Lib. L.*, p. 133); Con-velin (*ut supra*); Cyn-uetu (*Lib. L.*, p. 139); Con-uiu (*ut supra*); Con-uor (*Lib. L.*, p. 177); Congueithen (*Lib. L.*, p. 179); Cyn-ric (*Myv.*, p. 5, v. ll. Kyn-ri and Cyn-frig); Cin-tilan (*Myv.*, p. 66); Cyn-drwyn (*Myv.*, p. 87); Cyn-ddilig (*Myv.*, p. 95); Cyn-llug (*ibid.*); Kyn-delu (*Myv.*, p. 129); Cyn-gar (*supra*); Cyn-an; Con-thigirn[us] (*Ann. Camb.*, vers. A, s. a. 612); Cyn-llo (*Myv.*, p. 422); Cyn-wrig; Cune-glasus (Gildas, *Epistola*); Maglo-cunus (*ibid.*), modern Maelgwn; Tan[g]-gwn (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 104); Cyn-van (*Myv.*, p. 7); Cyn-was (*Mabinogion*, Oxford edition, p. 107).

Zeuss connects this element with the root *cwn-*, to rise, as though it meant a summit, an elevation (*Gram. Celt.*, p. 92). Professor Rhys, while establishing a connection with the German Hun-, leaves the meaning an open question (*Celtic Britain*, p. 286). Possibly, however, we have here one of these dog-deities (cf. *cŵn* and Greek *κυν-ός*) to which elsewhere (p. 260) he alludes. Such a form as Cyn-fab might then be equated with Mac-beth.

-DELU.—Kyn-delu (*supra*).

= image.

DYFN.—Dun-guallaun (*Lib. L.*, p. 191); Dyfn-ual (*Myv.*, p. 17); Domn-guaret (*Lib. L.*, p. 199); Dofn-garth (*Lib. L.*, p. 160). The first of these names finds an exact parallel in the *Δομνοελλαυνος* of the Ancyran Monument; other early instances of the element Dumno- are Dumno-rix (*Bell. Gall.*, i, 3), Concenneto-dumn[us] (*ib.*, vii, 3), Domno-taur[us] (*ib.*, vii, 65), and Dumn-acus (*ib.*, viii, 26)—an adjectival form, which in modern Welsh would be written Dyfn-og.

This element is probably to be connected with the old Irish *domun* = world, and either originally meant simply tribe, or was applied to themselves by tribal rulers who had an exaggerated sense of their own importance.

EL.—El-hearn (*Lib. L.*, p. 77); El-guoredus (*Lib. L.*, p. 77); El-iud (*Lib. L.*, p. 138); El-guid (*Lib. L.*, p. 138); El-bodg (*Ann. C.*, vers. A, s. a. 809); El-gnou (*Lib. L.*, p. 193); El-

wyddan (*Myv.*, p. 91); El-gan (*Myv.*, p. 45); El-fan (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 100); El-ian (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 101).

ERP-, YRP- appears as a name by itself in *Lib. L.*, p. 72, and *Myv.*, p. 391. It forms at least one compound name, viz., Urb-gen (Nennius), afterwards written Urien.

EU.—Eu-tigirn (*Lib. L.*, p. 136); Eu-dolen (*Lib. L.*, p. 190); Eu-tut (*Lib. L.*, p. 264); Eu-dem (*Lib. L.*, p. 181); Eu-daf (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 118). In the modern name Owain, this eu- (originally ou) has become o-; the process of change may be traced in the examples Ou-gen (*Ann. Camb.*, vers. A, s. a. 736), Eu-guen (*Lib. L.*, p. 196), Yugein (*Lib. L.*, p. 230), Ywein, and Owain. In Breton charters we find Eu-bodu, Eu-hoiarn, Eu-monoc (*Zeuss*, p. 82).

Zeuss compares avi- in the Avi-cantus of an inscription at Nîmes (p. 82).

EUR.—Eur-dil (*Lib. L.*, p. 75); Eur-gain (*Myv.*, p. 424); Eur-olwen (*Mab.*, Oxf. ed., p. 112).

= gold. Used in the formation of female names only, gold being for women, as iron for men, the specially honourable metal.

-GEN.—Cat-gen (*Lib. L.*, p. 124); Guid-gen (*ibid.*); Gueith-gen (*Lib. L.*, p. 136); Sul-gen (*Lib. L.*, p. 137); Anau-gen (*Lib. L.*, p. 194); Haern-gen (*Lib. L.*, p. 197); Urb-gen (*supra*); Arth-gen (*supra*); Guern-gen (*Lib. L.*, p. 203); Mor-gen (*Lib. L.*, p. 254).

Cf. the Reitu-genus of an inscription referred to by Zeuss (p. 32), and the Camulogenus and Verbigenus pagus of Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.*, vii, 62).

-GWAS.—Con-guas (*Lib. L.*, p. 165); Mel-guas (*Lib. L.*, p. 174); Drut-guas (*Lib. L.*, p. 265).

= youth, serving-lad.

-GWAL.—Con-gual (*Lib. L.*, p. 73) = Cynwal; Cat-gual (*Lib. L.*, p. 132); Dyfn-ual (*supra*); Arth-ual (*Lib. L.*, p. 182); Tud-aual (*Ancient Laws of Wales*, vol. i, p. 104).

Cf. Breton forms Clutgual, Dungual, Tutgual, and Guidgual (*Zeuss*, p. 132).

In the earliest Welsh this element appears as -VAL-, as in the Cunovali of a Cornish inscription. Professor Rhys identifies it with the Teutonic *wolf* (*Celtic Britain*, p. 282).

-GWALLON.—Ri-uallaun (*Lib. L.*, p. 138); Jud-guallaun (*Lib. L.*, p. 168); Dun-guallaun (*Lib. L.*, p. 191); Cat-guollaun (*Ann. C.*, vers. A, s. a. 629). Cf. Breton forms Roenwallon, Maenwallon Tutwallon, Kintwallon, and Catwallon (*Zeuss*, p. 87).

Beyond a doubt connected with the ancient -VELLAUN-, seen in Cassivellaunus, Vercassivellaunus (*Cæs., Bell. Gall.*, vii, 76), and Vellannodunum. Identified by Professor Rhys (who, however, distinguishes *velaun-*, with one *l*, from the *veljon-*, which he supposes to be the archetype of -wallon) with the Irish *foll-naim* (= regnare) and the Welsh *gwlad*.

-GWARED.—El-guored[us] (*Lib. L.*, p. 77); Ri-uoret (*Lib. L.*, p. 194); Cat-guaret (*Lib. L.*, p. 206); Gur-wareth (*Ann. C.*, vers. B, s. a. 1252). Cf. Breton forms Sulworet, Catworet, Worethoiarn (*Zeuss*, p. 132), and Cornish Guruaret (H. and Stubbs, i, 682).

= protection, bulwark, the original force of *gwaredu* being "to defend", rather than "to deliver".

GWEITH.—Gueith-gno (*Lib. L.*, p. 137); Gueith-gual (*Lib. L.*, p. 170).

= battle. Cf. *aer-* and *cat-*.

GWEN.—*Guen-garth (*Lib. L.*, p. 138); Car-wen (*Myv.*, p. 68); Gwen-ddwyn (*Myv.*, p. 91); Gwen-abwy (*Mab.*, p. 109); *Gwen-doleu (*Mab.*, p. 301); Gwen-hwyfar (*Mab., passim*); Guen-hwyfach (*Mab.*, p. 301); Bran-wen (*ibid.*); Gwen-lian (*Mab.*, p. 113); Guenn-wledyr (*Mab.*, p. 112); *Guenn-ynwyn (*Mab.*, p. 298); Dwyn-wen (*Myv.*, p. 423).

Occurs chiefly, but not exclusively, in female names. In the above list, names of men are marked with an asterisk. No doubt the feminine of *Gwyn*.

-GWOCAUN.—Cat-gucaun (*Lib. L.*, p. 126); Ri-ogan (*Myv.*, p. 68). Cf. Breton Rinwocon, Iudwocon, Iarnwocon (*Zeuss*, p. 132).

Cf. Voconius, a name cited by Zeuss from an inscription (p. 773).

GWYDD.—Guid-gar (*Ann C.*, vers. A, s. a. 630); Guid-gol (*Lib. L.*, p. 69); Guid-ei (*Lib. L.*, p. 70); Guid-gen (*supra*); Guid-nerth (*Lib. L.*, p. 137); Guid-con (*Lib. L.*, p. 155); Gwydd-no (*Myv.*, p. 69); Gwydd-uarch (*Myv.*, p. 426); Saturn-guid (*Lib. L.*, p. 273); Auall-guid (*Lib. L.*, p. 217).

The last instance given seems to point to gwydd = trees, as the root made use of in names of this kind. So *Zeuss*, p. 128. But gwydd also means knowledge, insight (Lat. vid-[eo], Greek *ἴδ.*, Sans. vid, Germ. wiss[en], and Eng. wit), a meaning which has far more point than the other as applied to personal names.

GWYN.—Ked-wyn (*Myv.*, p. 420); Gwyn-lleu (*Myv.*, p. 426); Gwyn-genau (*Myv.*, p. 426); Tec-wyn (*Myv.*, p. 430); Gwenwyn-wyn (*supra*); Gwyn-gat (*Mab.*, p. 107); Coll-wyn (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 229).

The masculine form of Gwen. It does not appear to have been a popular name-element in primitive times, inasmuch as all the instances here given are from comparatively modern sources.

-GWYSTL.—Ar-guistil (*Lib. L.*, p. 69); El-gistil (*Lib. L.*, p. 70); Gur-guistil (*Lib. L.*, p. 137); Tan-gwystyl (*Myv.*, p. 724). Cornish forms are Tancwoystel, Anaguistl, and Methwuistel (H. and Stubbs, i, 677-682).

= pledge, surety. Thus, when a Welshman named his daughter Tangwystl, he called her, prettily enough, a "pledge of peace".

GWR.—Gur-docui (*Lib. L.*, p. 74); Gur-dilic (*Lib. L.*, p. 137); Gur-guistil (*ibid.*); Gur-hauial (*ibid.*); Gur-vodu (*supra*); Gwr-gi (*supra*); Gur-march (*Lib. L.*, p. 176); Guor-hoidil (*Lib. L.*, p. 180); Gur-bui (*supra*); Gur-cant (*supra*); Gur-ceniu (*supra*); Gur-wareth (*supra*). This form is variously written in Breton, as Guorgomet, Worlowen, Wrmaelon, Gurwant, Gorloios, and Vurwal (*Zeuss*, p. 133).

In Cornish it appears as Wur, *e.g.*, in Wurlowen, Wurcant, and Wurdyllic (*H. and Stubbs, ut supra*).

The Vercassivelaunus and Vercingetorix of Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.*, vii, 76, 4) make it fairly certain that we have here the intensive prefix ver-, represented in modern Welsh by gor-. So, too, we should gather from the older Welsh names Guorthigern (*Nennius*), and Guortepir (Pedigree of Owain ap Hywel Dda in Williams's edition of *Ann. Camb.*). In later times, however, to judge from the fact that Gwr and not Gor is the popular form of the root, a confusion arose between this prefix and another Gwr (Lat. vir), the oldest form of which was probably VIRO-, as in Viromanus (*Zeuss*, p. 773. = Gwrfan).

-HAFAL.—Guor-hauval (*Lib. L.*, p. 196); Kyn-haval (*Myv.*, p. 421). In Breton we get Wiuhamal and Leuhemel (*Zeuss*, p. 111).

Hafal is the Irish samal, Lat. simil-is, = same, like. Hence as a name-element it probably stands for "likeness, image". Cf. -delw above.

-HAIARN.—El-hearn (*supra*); Haern-gen (*supra*); Biu-hearn (*Lib. L.*, p. 166); Cun-hearn (*Lib. L.*, p. 176); Tra-hacarn (*Myv.*, p. 142); Tal-haiarn (*Nennius*); Llwhacearn (*Myv.*, p. 427). A very common element in Breton and Cornish names: thus among the former we have Wiuhoiarn, Worethoiarn, Iarnguallon (*Zeuss*, p. 132), Iarnhaitou (p. 149), Roienhoiarn (p. 152), and Hoiargen (p. 137); among the latter Iarnwallon (*H. and Stubbs, ut supra*).

= iron, the material out of which the best weapons were made.

The epithet probably came into fashion in the prehistoric period, when, as we learn from Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.*, v, 12), iron was scarce, and reckoned a precious metal.

IUD.—Iud-ris (*Ann. C.*, vers. A., sub anno 632); Iud-guoll (*Ann. C.*, vers. A., s. a. 842); Iud-nou (*Lib. L.*, p. 70); Iud-on (*Lib. L.*, p. 71); Id-nerth (*Lib. L.*, p. 124); Iud-guallon (*Lib. L.*, p. 145); Iud-hail (*Lib. L.*, p. 166); Iud-guoret (*Lib. L.*, p. 174); Iud-cant (*supra*); Id-loes (*Myv.*, p. 426). Cf. Cornish Iudhent (*H. and Stubbs*, i, 682), and Breton Judlowen and Judwocon (*Zeuss*, p. 132).

LOU-, LEU.—Lou-bui (*supra*); Lou-bran (*supra*); Lou-ronui (*Lib. L.*, p. 175); Lou-march (*Ann. C.*, vers. A., s. a. 903); Cat-leu (*Lib. L.*, p. 132); Mor-leu (*Lib. L.*, p. 193); Gwynlleu (*supra*); Lewelin (*Ann. C.*, vers. B., s. a. 1023); Leuhaiarn (*Lib. L.*, p. 153). Cf. Cornish Loumarch and Lywci (*H. and Stubbs, ut supra*), and Breton Leuhemel (*Zeuss*, p. 111).

= lion.

-MAN.—Gor-uan (*Lib. L.*, p. 69); Bud-van (*Myv.*, p. 6); Bleid-van (*ibid.*); Cyn-van (*Myv.*, p. 7); Tec-uan (*Myv.*, p. 430); Doc-van (*Myv.*, p. 423); El-fan (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 100); Cad-fan (*supra*).

MÆL.—Broc-mail (*Lib. L.*, p. 124); Maglo-cun[os] (*Gildas*); Teyrn-uael (*Myv.*, p. 67); Caran-mael (*Myv.*, p. 91); Fern-uail (*Lib. L.*, p. 186); Mael-daf (*Ancient Laws of Wales*, i, p. 104); Mor-fael (*Myv.*, p. 425); En-vael (*Myv.*, p. 404); Doc-vael (*Myv.*, p. 423); Cyn-fael. Common in Breton, as Arthmael, Maeloc, Gurmahilon (*Zeuss*, pp. 114, 102).

This element was originally dissyllabic, and contained a *g*, as in the Taximagulus of Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.*, v, 22). Other ancient instances are Maglus (*Livy*), Magalus, Conomaglus, Vinnemaglus, and Senemaglus in various inscriptions; Professor Rhys identifies it with the Irish mal, a hero (*Celtic Britain*, p. 297).

-MARCH.—Cin-uarch (*Lib. L.*, p. 77); Cad-farch (*supra*); Gwydd-uarch (*supra*); Gur-march (*supra*); Lou-march (*supra*); Ryth-march (*Myv.*, p. 608).

= horse. Another totemistic name.

MOR.—Mor-guid (*Lib. L.*, p. 115); Mor-bran (*supra*); Morcant (*supra*); Mor-cenou (*supra*); Mor-gen (*supra*); Mor-leu (*supra*); Mor-fael (*supra*); Cin-uor (*Lib. L.*, p. 177); Mor-daf (*Mab.*, p. 304); Mor-deyrn (*Myv.*, p. 428); Mor-march (*Lib. L.*, p. 273); Mor-eitig (*Myv.*, p. 191). Cf. the Cornish names Morhath, Morcant, and Moruiw, and the Breton Morwethen (*Zeuss*, p. 152), Morman, and Mormoet (p. 111).

Zeuss identifies this element with the Irish *már*, Welsh *mawr*, and the suffix *-marus*, so common in old Celtic names (pp. 94 and 16). But (1) *-marus* is invariably a final element, as in *Viridomarus* (*Cæs.*, *Bell. Gall.*, vii, 39), and *Comboiomarus* (*Livy*), while *mor-* usually precedes, as in *Morgan* and *Mordaf*. (2) Adjectival name-elements are rare in Welsh, *teg* and *gwyn* being almost the only instances. (3) *mor-*, and not *mar-* or *mawr-*, is the spelling employed in the oldest Welsh, *e.g.*, in the *Cunomori* of the Fowey stone (*H. and Stubbs*, i, 163). On the whole we seem to be on safer ground in connecting *mor-* with the *Moritasgus* of *Cæsar*.

-NERTH.—*Guid-nerth* (*supra*); *Id-nerth* (*supra*); *Tut-nerth* (*Lib. L.*, p. 150); *Gwr-nerth* (*Myv.*, p. 123); *Cyf-nerth* (*Anc. Laws*, i, p. 622).

= strength. Cf. *-ward*.

-NO, -GNOU, -NOU.—*Iud-nou* (*supra*); *El-gnou* (*supra*); *Gueith-gno* (*supra*); *Gwydd-no* (*supra*); *Clid-no* (*Anc. Laws*, i, p. 104); *Tud-no* (*Myv.*, p. 430); *Mach-no* (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 81. Cf. *Penmachno* in *Carnarvonshire*). The Breton form is *-nou*, as in *Haelnou*, *Budnou*, *Arthnou*, *Cadnou*¹ (*Zeuss*, p. 137).

-RI.—*Tut-ri* (*Lib. L.*, p. 271); *Jud-ri* (*Lib. L.*, p. 273); *Ri-geneu* (*supra*); *Ri-guallaun* (*Lib. L.*, p. 138); *Ri-uoret* (*Lib. L.*, p. 194); *Clot-ri* (*Lib. L.*, p. 168); *Ri-hoithil* (*Lib. L.*, p. 141); *Mou-ric* (*Ann. C.*, vers. A., s. a. 849); *Rot-ri* (*Ann. C.*, vers. A., s. a. 754); *Bled-ri* (*Myv.*, p. 603). The Breton forms are *Ri-* (*Rianau*: *Zeuss*, p. 133), *Rin-* (*Rinwocon*: *ib.*, p. 132), *Roin-* and *Roiant-* (*Roinwallon* and *Roiantwallon*: *ib.*).

= king. Exemplified in many of the older names, *e.g.*, *Ambiorix*, *Cingetorix*, *Orgetorix* (*Cæsar*).

¹ *Cadno*, a personal name of the ordinary type, is curiously enough in many parts of Wales the regular name for a fox, elsewhere known as "llwynog". As the name itself bears no obvious reference to the qualities of the animal ("battle hero" would perhaps render it roughly), it is possibly of the same type as the Teutonic *Reynard*, coming to us from a Welsh beast-epic of which we have no other trace.

SUL.—Sul-gen (*supra*); Sul-uui (*Lib. L.*, p. 151); Sul-haithuai (Giraldus Cambr., *Itin.*, ii, 1); Sul-idir (*ib.*). This is an element which also appears in Cornish (Sulmeath, Sulcæn, *H. and Stubbs*), and Breton (Sulworet, Sulwoion, *Zeuss*, p. 132).

This element must be identified with the god Sul, whose name appears in Dydd Sul (Sunday). In support of this view it is only necessary to quote instances of the way in which other day-deities are similarly laid under contribution. We have (1) *Llunwerth*—Bishop of St. David's in the ninth century; a doubtful instance, inasmuch as *Ann. Camb.* (vers. B., a. a. 874) has *Llanwerth*, and *Brut y Tywysogion* *Lwmbert*. R. de Diceto, however, has *Lunverd*. (See *H. and Stubbs*, i, p. 208.) *Luncea* (a Cornish instance, *H. and Stubbs*, i, p. 681). (2) *Ioubiu* (*Lib. L.*, p. 163). *Ioude* (*Lib. L.*, p. 254). (3) *Saturnguid* (*Lib. L.*, p. 273). *Saturnbia* (*ib.*). One is tempted to inquire whether this British sun-god is not the Sul of Aquæ Sulis.

-TAF.—Con-daf (*supra*); Eu-daf (*supra*); Gwyn-daf (*supra*); Mael-daf (*supra*); Mor-daf (*supra*); Cawr-daf (*Myv.*, p. 389); Dall-daf (*Mab.*, p. 106).

This element appears in the Cumatami of an Irish inscription (*Zeuss*, p. 92).

TANG.—Tang-wystl (*supra*); Tang-wn (*supra*); Tang-no (father of Collwyn, the founder of one of the xv Tribes of Gwynedd).

= peace.

-TEYRN.—Con-thigirn[us] (*supra*); Teyrn-uael (*supra*); Mor-deyrn (*supra*); Eu-tegirn (*Lib. L.*, p. 136); Aer-thirn (*Lib. L.*, p. 142); Vor-tigernus (*supra*). Cf. Cornish Wendeern (*H. and Stubbs, ut supra*).

= ruler.

TUT.—Tut-bule (*Lib. L.*, p. 271); Eu-tut (*supra*); Tud-wal (*supra*); Tut-nerth (*supra*); Tud-no (*supra*); Tut-ri (*supra*); Tut-hed (*Lib. L.*, p. 191); Tut-mab (*ib.*). Cf. Cornish Tidherd

(*H. and Stubbs, ut supra*), and Breton Tutwallon (*Zeuss*, p. 87) and Tutgual (p. 132).

= country, tribe. Hence Cæsar's Teutomatus (*Bell. Gall.*, vii, 46) probably means "good to the nation".

In its main features the Welsh name-system is of course by no means peculiarly Welsh, but rather Aryan. Greek names, for instance, were formed on a plan closely resembling that which has just been described; in Demo-sthenes, Demo-kritos, Neo-kles, and Nausi-kles we recognise the same shuffling together of the stock of name-elements as we see in Tud-nerth (the Welsh equivalent of Demo-sthenes, Tud-ri, Rhi-wallon, and Cad-wallon. Anglo-Saxon nomenclature is of the same type: Æthel does duty in a host of compounds, such as Æthel-berht, Æthel-red, Æthel-stan, Æthel-wine, and Æthel-wulf; -wine enters into a number of others, such as Ead-wine, Os-wine, and Æsc-wine. Similarly in German we have Gott-fried and Gott-lieb, Fried-rich and Hein-rich, Mein-hard and Bern-hard, all formed on the same general principle; and a great number of Irish and Gaelic names also conform to the same model. Thus, among the results of an examination of the Welsh personal name-system, we may place first—

(1) The establishment of a fresh link of connection between the Brythonic or Kymric race and the Aryan world at large. But this in itself is scarcely more valuable than if we were to discover a new proof of the Copernican theory: it is only making "assurance double sure". A more instructive result of our inquiry is

(2) The proof afforded of the solidarity of Welsh, Cornish, and Breton as members of one Brythonic family.

Nothing can help us better to realise the intimacy of the connection existing between the communities speaking these three languages than the fact that they had a stock of name-

elements in common, not merely inheriting from common ancestors a particular method of forming new names, but using in the application of that method precisely the same material.

A third result is

(3) The establishment of unbroken continuity between the mediæval Welsh and the Britons and Gauls of the earliest historic times.

The interval between the Claudian conquest and the final delimitation of Wales under Offa is filled with race-movements and revolutions, as yet only partially understood. How Roman supremacy affected the tribes of the mountainous west; what part was played by the Northern Kymry in the general dissolution and rearrangement of communities in the fifth century; who the Welsh were, ethnologically speaking, in the time of Alfred the Great—these are questions which the industry and skill of historians and ethnologists may yet answer, but which so far have had little light thrown upon them. Here is one fact, however, which in any inquiry of the kind must be taken into account—the personal name-system of the Britons is identical with that of the Welsh, running right through the period of confusion. No explanation of that period, then, can be satisfactory which neglects to provide for the due maintenance of continuity between præ-Roman and mediæval Wales.

In conclusion, let me add that I am far from supposing that the system described above includes all that can be said about Welsh personal names. There are, indeed, several other classes of names, each with its tale to tell about the past of the race—the monosyllabic names, such as Nudd, Pwyll, Math, and Don; the borrowed names, such as Emrys, Edern, Tewdwr, and Dafydd; the adjectival names, such as Madog, Caradog, Buddug, and Dyfrig. In any endeavour to evolve the history of the Welsh people out of their personal

names, these must be taken into account ; they must not, however, be allowed to obscure the central system, that of widest prevalence, the continuity of which is the main thing to be vindicated.

Perhaps I should add, in self-defence, that I do not pretend to be a philologist, and that all I have attempted to do in this paper has been to collect the materials which philology supplies in illustration of an historical problem—the origin of the Welsh personal name-system.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WELSH VERBS.

BY MAX NETTLAU, PH.D.

THE present paper has been compiled upon the methods used in my articles on the Welsh vowels (*Beiträge zur cymrischen Grammatik*, I), in that upon the Welsh consonants (*Revue Celtique*, to appear in Jan. 1888), and in that upon the Welsh pronouns (*Y Cymmr.*, vol. viii). The study of the Welsh verb is attended with greater difficulties, both internal and external, than that of the pronouns; for while these isolated words can easily be traced through the successive periods of the language, we have, in the case of every verb, to distinguish between the characteristic form of its stem and the verbal terminations. The syllables forming the latter were dropped in Welsh, according to the laws governing the phonetic treatment of final syllables, and the actually existing endings are the result of the different sounds characteristic of the stems, modified by the influence of the lost original terminations. A classification of verbs is therefore the first requisite, and the solution of this problem will, in all likelihood, be furnished by the variety of terminations still existing in some parts of the verb. Cf. 3rd sing. Pres. -awt, -it; Pr. Sec. -ei, -i, -awd; s-Aor. -es, -as, -is; plur., -assom, -yssom, -som; pass. -ir, -awr; Part. Pret. Pass. -et, -it, -at; etc. But by the analogical prevalence of some of these endings the scheme of the Welsh verb has been, during the history of the language, reduced to such a degree of uniformity that only by a full collection of Middle-Welsh materials, which are at present accessible only to a

limited extent, coupled with an equally methodical scrutiny of the Cornish and Breton languages, could the necessary foundation for further procedure be obtained. For this task the materials at present at my disposition are inadequate. I propose, however, in the following paragraphs to review some other less noticed questions respecting the Welsh verb. Evander Evans's *Studies in Welsh Philology*, and Rhŷs's article on the Verb in the *Revue Celtique*, vol. vi, are the most useful papers extant dealing with this portion of Welsh grammar.

The arrangement of these paragraphs is made to conform to that in the *Grammatica Celtica* (pp. 2505-606).

A.—PRESENT INDICATIVE ACTIVE.

§ 1. Evander Evans (*Studies in Cymr. Philology*, § 13) first recognised -ydd as a termination of the 2nd pers. sing., corresponding to the regular Cornish (-yth, eth) and Breton (-ez) terminations:—pyr nam dywedyd, *B. of Tal.*, p. 145; ti a nodyd—a rygeryd—o pop karchar, p. 180; truan a chwedyl a dywedyd, *B. of Herg.*, p. 231 (Skene); etc. Also in old proverbs: gwell nag nac addaw ni wneydd. I found in Add. MS. 14,921 (16th cent.), modise fidei quāre dubitasti . . . hyny yw tydi o ffydd wan pam y ofnydd (corrected by another hand into ofnydi).¹ Davies (*Gramm.*, 1621) gives cery as a Dimetian and poetical form for ceri; and Rhŷs (*Rev. Celt.*, vi) restores diwedy in *B. of Carm.*, p. 57, by means of the rhyme. I suppose -i and -ydd to be the endings proper to the verbal j-stems; they are doublets, like -i and -ydd, -edd, in the nominal jo- and jā- stems, caused by different accentuation, and contain the secondary ending -es, like Ir. asbír. *Ber-es

¹ E. Evans (*Stud.*, § 16) gives from Huw Llwyd of Cynfal (*Cymru Fu*, p. 352, a book which I do not know): nac a ofnith moi gefnu (whose desertion thou wilt not fear), which he holds to be the 2nd sing. Opt. in -yth instead of -ych.

would have given *ber, like *beret, and was probably lost by this coincidence. In the later language cari is used, like carwch, tarawch, for cerwch, tarewch, etc. (Rowlands, *Gramm.*, 216).

§ 2. The various existing types of the 3rd sing., using the same verb as an example, are : dodid, *dodod, dod, dyd, *dodo, doda, dodiff, dodith. -id and -od (-it, -awt, -ot) are those which present the greatest interest. They are known from the old Brythonic glosses : cf. istlinnit, *Juv.* ; dodiprit, *Lux.* ; doguolouit, *Orl.* ; crihot, *Lux.* ; cospitiot, fieriot, *Orl.* Evander Evans (*Studies*, § 5, 14, 19) gives numerous examples of -it and -awt from Middle-Welsh texts ; cf. also *B. of Oarm.*, 4 : chwerdyt bryt 6rth a garo ; dyg6ydyt gla6 o awyr ; megyt tristit lleturyt llwyr ; chwennekyt meuyl ma6reir ; 29 : ottid, tohid, gulichid, gwasgarawt, llwyprawd, etc. (*Evans*). Evans's most interesting remark is : "The Irish -id of the 3rd sing. Pres. Ind. Act. is not used in subjoined verbs, that is, in verbs following certain particles, among which are the negatives ni and na and ro ; this idiom obtains also in Welsh" (§ 14, 1873). He goes on to quote sentences like the proverb: trengid golud, ni threing molud (*Myv. Arch.*, iii, p. 177), and says that he found -id only in absolute verbs. The Ir. 2nd and 3rd sing., asbir—beri, asbeir—berid contain different sets of endings : *beres—*beresi, beret—*bereti (see *Beitr. zur vergl. Sprachf.*, viii, p. 450). So we have in Welsh: cymmerid (*bereti), carod (*carāti), and cymmer (*beret). The subjoined forms of the simple verb are used in Irish, as in Welsh, if the verb is enclitic, after the negations, etc. This accounts for the disappearance of the absolute forms, which were analogically supplanted by the subjoined ones.

§ 3. Very curious are the examples given by Evans (§ 19) for the 3rd sing. of the s-Pret. (-essit, -yssid, -sit), which, in the examples given by him, have to all appearance the meaning of the active (pregethyssit, kewssit, delyssid,

llygrassyd, etc.). These forms are evidently based upon the secondary preterite (dalyassei, cawssei); but they may have sprung from an analogical imitation of *didid*: *ni dyd*, by **cewssid*: *ni cafas* (?).—The present in *-id* is often translated as an imperative. Davies (*Gramm.*) has: imp. *cared*, non *nusquam cerid*: *cerid duw fi*. The proverb: *chwareid mab noeth, ni chwery mab newynawg* (*Myv. Arch.*, 2p. 843), is given in *Y Traeth.*, iii, as *hwareuid m. n.* in South Wales, and *chwareued m. n.* in North Wales. In proverbs *-id* often survives; cf. *Hengwrt MS.* 202, Prov. 64 (14th cent.): *dighit rýwan elit rýgadarn = Myv. Arch.*, 2p. 843: *diengid gwan, elid rhygardarn*; *ib.*: *elit ýsgubaŕ gan dryc torth = Myv. Arch.*, 2p. 845: *elid ýsgubor gan ddrygdorth*, etc.—On *-aw, -o*, see Evans, *Stud.*, § 17.

§ 4. The following verbs ordinarily form the 3rd sing. (subjoined form) by so-called inflection of their vowel or vowels. The following enumeration is probably very incomplete.

A: *pair, gaill, pairch, llaim, saiff, ceidw, geilw, lleinw, teifl, deil, ymeifl*; *efe a deail* (*Barddas*, i, p. 30). *E*: *gwyl*. *O*: *try, ffy, cly, cny, tyrr, rhy—rhydd, gylch, llysg, trych, cyll, dyd* (*gwrthyd*), *cysyd, deffry, cyffry, dichyn* (Davies); *a ddiylch*, Add. MS. 14,973, f. 106b (*dieylch, Casgl. Didr.*, f. 520a). The inflection extends over more than one syllable!: *envyn, B. of Herg.*, col. 1101; *erys, ervyll, Williams, Hgt. MS.*, ii, p. 332; *gedy, tery, eddy, gwerendy* (*gadaw, taraw, addaw, gwarandaw*); *ef a edy, Y S. Gr.*, 192; and *edeu, B. of Herg.*, cols. 632, 823; *yd emedeu, Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 151; *a dereu*, pp. 53, 232; *gwerendeu*, p. 36; *a warendeu*, p. 85, etc.; *ettyl, gweryd* (*gwarded*), *derllyn, merchyg, gweheirdd, ni wesnyth, ettib* (*atdeb*), Add. MS. 15,059, f. 209b.

¹ Cf. from *Ll. Gw. Rhydd.*: *y gwetwery*, p. 72; *a phan vyrryyssynt hwy*, p. 203 (*bwrw*); *gwerendewch*, p. 218; *pann ymwehenynt*, p. 52; *gwerendewis*, p. 110; *yr honn y gwyssyneitheisti yn llauryus*, p. 149. MS. *Cleop.*, B 5: *gwesseneithýt*, f. 114b; *pei gedessýt yn vew*, f. 129a; *a werchetwýs*, f. 135b. MS. *Tyt.*, D 2: *e gweheneýst tý*, f. 48b. Cf. also old Breton *ercentbidite gl. notabis* (*Bern.*), from *arganfod*.

Geill represents *galjet; these j- stems are not to be confounded with the derivative j- stems, of which the 2nd sing. gwyddydd is formed. A part of them are old; cf. Breton quell—W. cyll, etc.

The formation of this person and that of the 3rd sing. s-Pret., the Part. Pret. Pass., and in a certain degree the 2nd preterite, form sets common to many verbs, and will permit the establishment of verbal classes, if the materials are fully collected. For there are numerous neologies and dialectal preferences for certain endings, and the same will more or less be the case in Cornish and Breton. So we have dyd—dodes—doded; llysg—llosges—llogged; etc., but geilw—gelwis—gelwid; ceidw—cedwis—cedwid; teifl—tewlis—tewlid; caiff—cafes—cafad; etc.

§ 5. These old inflected formations (dyd) are dying out, and in the modern language the types cara and ceriff, cerith, are common. -a is taken from the derivative verbs in âf (-aaf *-agaf, Ir. -aigim); see Evans, *Stud.*, § 15. -iff is printed in *Aneurin* and *Taliessin* (gogwneif hessÿlhut gwgynei [leg. gogwÿnei ?] gereint, "posterity will accomplish what Gereint would have done", *B. of An.*, p. 89; ef gōneif beird byt yn llawen, *B. of Tal.*, No. 37 = *Myv. Arch.*, 2p. 52a); but I have not found it in Middle-Welsh texts.

Salesbury, *New. Test.*: amyhaiff, f. 39a; aiff, f. 84a; gwnaiff, f. 157b. *Gwel. Ieuan*: nyd eiff ef, f. 377a; efo eiff, f. 387b; ef eiff, f. 392b, etc. Griffith Roberts, *Gramm.*, p. 60 (262): ceriph ne car. *Y Drych Christ.*: efa wanheiph ag eiph yn lesc, B1; ni edewiph, B2b; ef a wneiph, C1b, etc. Some writers use it excessively often, like Charles Edwards in *Hanes y Ffydd* (1677); but in the literary language it is avoided.

In modern dialects -iff (and -ith) are common.

Cf. Davies, *Gramm.*: jam dudum vulgo ceriff, periff, rhoddiff (following ceiff). Richards, *Gramm.*: seffiff, torriff, lleddiff. *Iolo MSS.*: fe a wnaeff, p. 283; a wnaiff, p. 284; a ddielyff, *ib.* Add. MS. 14,979 (17th cent.), f. 173a: ni wnaeff ddim yn i amser, . . . ni wnaiff ddim . . .; E. Llwyd: pw y binnag a edrichif (*Arch. Brit.*, Pref.). Add. MS. 15,005, f. 32b: lleddiff; f. 49a: hi ddwidiff, etc. Hope, *Cyf. i'r Cymro*, 1765: os misaiff ddwad, p. viii

("if he fails to come"). *Lex Cornubrit.*, p. 121*b* (North-Welsh): dyff or deyff for daw. *Yr Arw.* (Pwllheli): mi yiff, 17, 7, 56; y gnyiff o (ni chyiff, 2, 10, 56). *Y Bed.* (Monmouthsh.): fe leiciff, viii, p. 107, etc.¹

§ 6. I have found -ith only in texts of this century. Rowlands, *Gramm.*, 480, has the colloquial endings -iff, -ith, or -yth.

Cf. *Yr Arw.*: dyudith (says), sonith, gofynith, 20, 1, 59. *Cab f'ew. Tom.*: mi eith, p. 33 (= fe á); gneith, p. 46; os na newidith o i ffordd, p. 33; ne mi 'drychith o ar f'oli, p. 106; thewith hi byth yn dragowydd (ni th.), a mi 'ddawith ddwad rwsnos nesa, p. 137. *Ser. Cymru*: na cheith, i, p. 252; os na ofalith e, i, p. 272; cheith (ni ch.), *ib.*; etc.

§ 7. -iff has been explained as an erroneous abstraction of a termination from ceiff. Caffael, cafael, cael, exist; from the two sets, caffaf, ceffi, ceiff, and câf, cei, câ, cei and ceiff were selected; and in consequence of the preference for these two forms, eiff, gwneiff, parheiff were first analogically formed, and afterwards -iff was transported even to car: ceriff. This is clearly proved by the presence of *e* for *a* (ceriff: ceri, car), which could not have been caused by infection at so late a date, but is the old infected *e* of the 2nd sing. Seiff, from sefyll, sefyd, is caused by the coexistence of caffaf and cafaf. -ith may be a phonetic change of -iff; cf. benffyg—benthfyg; dattod—dathod—daffod; dethol—deffol. But if it be genuine, as it can of course by no means represent an old dental ending, it may have been taken from aeth, gwnaeth,

¹ In the MS. \mathfrak{A} of the Laws (ed. Owen) gwataf is often printed for the 3rd sing. Cf. pp. 501, 506, 507, 509, 510, 527: os gwataf tyst . . . ; onys gwataf yr amddifynwr yr krair . . . ; ony wataf yr a. yr kr. . . . ; ac o gwataf ef hyny . . . ; o gwataf ef, etc. In this MS. *f* and *ff* are used for both *f* (*v*) and *ff* (*f*): a fa le ymaen, p. 502; eff, wyff, p. 497; addeff, p. 509. There occur also wyntef, p. 528; atof, p. 523 (= atto); weydy hyny, p. 529; argloyd, p. 527; yewn, p. 524. Gwataf, if not, in spite of its frequent recurrence, an error, is either gwata (*f* not pronounced) or gwataff (cf. eff), a form not elsewhere met with. Perhaps -af is written for -eff, and this for -eiff, *a* in final syllables being pronounced *e* in certain dialects; cf. oedren, anhowddger, rwen, rheiteich, etc., in the late Powys. Add. MS. 15,005.

etc.; not directly, since they are preterite, but, as I suppose, the alteration of -iff into -ith was caused by the influence of aeth, etc., pronounced aith or āth, iff and the erroneously detached *-ith of aith being both regarded as real terminations, and -ith thus partly replacing -iff. Even ceiff is ceith in dialects; see § 6.

B.—CONJUNCTIVE AND OPTATIVE.

§ 8. There is a growing tendency in Middle-Welsh to supplant the terminations of the optative by those of the conjunctive, *i.e.*, oe (oy) and wy in the 1st and 3rd sing. and 3rd plur. by o, with the exception only of the 1st sing., in which -wyf and -of are both used. Oe occurs only in the oldest MSS., and in the North-Welsh Laws.

Cf. (1st sing.) MS. *A*, p. 58: nydoes kenyvi atalloeſ yeguiſ (*sic*, to you) namin vimarc ahunnu nys taluaſ (*sic*) ycgui ac nis gustlaf. (3rd sing.) *B. of Carm.*, 18: creddoe (guledýchuy, 16; dirchafuy, 18, etc. *B. of Tal*, 18: molh6y, roth6y, 19). 3rd plur. -oent occurs very often in MS. *A*: eny kahoent, p. 5 (*gymeront*, MS. *D*); pan uenoent, p. 10 (pan y mynho, *D*); palebennac edemkahoent er efeyryat ar dystein ar enat (*ymgaffo*, *D*), pan ranoent er anreyth, p. 16; ar e gladoet ackauarfoent ac Aruon, p. 50; bed a deuetoent, p. 389 (*dywett6ynt*, *G, U*); dim or a deuetoent (*dywett6ynt*, *G, U*); guedy edemdauoent, p. 397; kinguibot bet a dewedoent, p. 73 (beth a dýwettoent, *B. D. K.*; dýwettwýnt *C*), etc. (pp. 51, 55, 65, 74, 127, etc.).

In MS. *Tít.*, D2 (= *B*) -oent seems always to be used. Cf. ac na wnelhoent dým namýn can e gýghor, f. 4a; pan gýmerhoent, pan venhoent, f. 5a; pan ranhoent hvý, f. 7b; pa le bennac ed emgaffoent, f. 15a; mal e delehoent, f. 21b; pan emchuelhoent, f. 60b, etc. (more than 24 times).

MS. *Calig.*, A3 (= *C*): Ac o gwedý e datkanoýnt ýdaw ef; hýt en e lle e delýoent ý heprwng, f. 168b; ket anawoent, f. 198a; pan delhoent, f. 190b; na phlyccoent, f. 191b; a kýmeroent, f. 194b; hýt e delwýnt pellaf, f. 169a; mal e delýwýnt, f. 173a; kaffwýnt, f. 178a, etc.

Addit. MS. 14,931 (= *E*): pan uýnhoýnt, f. 4a; pan ranoent, f. 6a; pale býnnac ýdýmgafoýnt, f. 12a (= *B*, f. 15a); a gýfarfoent, f. 17a; val ý mýnnoýnt—talhoent—cýmeront, f. 21a; lle ý dýlýoýnt, f. 21b; ket as dýcoent, f. 24a; pan deloýnt, f. 30a; pan elhoýnt, etc.—na wnelh6ýnt, f. 3a; hýt ý dýlýuýnt, ýd ergythuýnt, etc.

MS. *H* (Owen, *Laws*): dylyoent, dyloent, galloent, dywettoent, pp. 736, 741, 760, 768.

§ 9. -wynt is common in the South-Welsh recensions of the *Laws*, and in Southern Middle-Welsh MSS. generally.

Cf. MS. *L* (*Dimet. Code*): ac yn górandas ygneit a delhóynt or flat yr llys, p. 180 (delhont, six other MSS.); yr hynn auo petrus gantunt ac a vynhóynt . . . y amlyccau, p. 180 (uýnhont, MSS. *N, P, Q*), p. 199, etc. MS. *Harl.* 958 (= *T*): a wnelhóynt, f. 17a. MS. *Cleop.*, A14 (= *W*): pan fohóynt or wlat, f. 49b, etc. *Ll. Gw. Rhydd.*: val y caffwynt wynten, p. 98; a arwydocaant y kenedloed a delwynt rac llaw, p. 277; pona coffawynt, p. 279; llawer o betheu ereill a deloynt, p. 283 (doyn, p. 276; moy, p. 279). MS. *Cleop.*, B5: a vrefwýnt, f. 63a; a vñhwýnt hwý, etc. MS. *Jes. Coll.* 141: megys na allwynt adnabot. . . , f. 144a, etc. (a Northern MS.)

§ 10. -of (not in *Zeuss*, p.² 512): *Ll. Gw. Rhydd.*: yny gysgof, p. 137; or a ouynnof udunt, p. 260. MS. *Tit.*, D22: a wnelof i, f. 11b. In the modern language *o* is introduced in all persons (-of, -ot, -o, -om, och, -ont). -wyf is still used (e.g., gallwi, *Cann. y Cymry*, 1672, p. 481; byth na delw i, *Seren Cymru*, ii, p. 505; tra bydw 'i 'n gneyd, *Oab. f'ew. T.*, etc.). In *Grammars* (Rowlands, Williams ab Ithel) carwyf, -wyt, -wy, -yw, -ym, -wym, -ych, -wych, -ynt, -wynt are given (used as Pres. Indic.). I doubt whether these forms have any real existence; it will be remembered that the same forms of wyf (I am) are suffixed to all pronouns instead of the older endings (-of, -af, -yf).

§ 11. -o- is certainly the reflex of the **ā* of the conjunctive, and *oe* has always been referred to the optative; but the phonetic proof of this is very difficult. *Oe* (later *wy*) may be *(i)*ē*, the Cornish and Breton -i- **ī*- of the non-thematic optative, and both may have exceeded their proper places (the sing. and the plur.) (?). -i- is not wanting in Welsh. *Zeuss*, p. 2583, gives gwell gwneif a thi (melius faciam erga te), *Aneurin*, p. 62 (ed. Williams), without adding any note; ni bydif ym dirwen, *B. of Tal.*, 31, 32, 33, 34 (ny bydaf, 39); acos ytbydif ym gwen, 37, *Myv. Arch.*, 2p. 50b; a minheu

bydif, *B. of Tal.*, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, 28, p. 91, n. 3. To these forms belongs also the 2nd sing. in -yt (*Zeuss*, 2p. 512) and -ych, with ch of the pers. pron., 2nd pers. plur. We may assume that at the time when the old -t of the 2nd plur. was replaced by ch, the same was analogically done with the more recent -t of the 2nd sing. (from ti). In certain cases, indeed, if two forms are identical, though of different origin, the rational change of one of them may cause a merely analogical change of the other one; and besides, in this case both are forms of the 2nd person. Davies, *Gramm.*, gives cerych and carech; Rowlands and Spurrell, dysgych, -ech, -ot; *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, a wyppch di, p. 214; Addit. MS. 31,056 (17th cent.), pen fwriech di nhw ymaith, f. 10b. -ech is caused by the coexistence of carech and cerych in the 2nd plur. of the secondary preterite,—an example of the kind of analogy mentioned above.

C.—SECONDARY PRESENT.

§ 12. 2nd sing.: Davies, *Gramm.*, says: carit amabas, cerit amares, poet. -ut, -yd; semper fere -ud. -et is the ordinary form of the modern dialects, influenced by the 2nd plur. -ech. In the plural both -ym, -ych, -ynt and -em, -ech, -ent exist.

Cf. *Cann. y C.*, 1672: pe caet ti, p. 406. Addit. MS. 14,973: letty a gavyd pemedred i ofyn, f. 105b. *Yr Arw.*: mi fasat, ouddat, mi rouddat (yroeddet), 26, 2, 57; pen ouddat ti, 11, 12, 56, etc. (*e* becoming *a* in final syllables in the Venedotian dialects). *Cab. f'ew. Tom.*: roeddet ti, p. 22; na baset ti; os gallset ti (gallasswn); mi gowset ti, p. 30 (cawsswn); ni chlywset ti, p. 61. *Seren Cymru*: cymeraset ti, ii, p. 47; pam na aharadet ti, p. 146; ceset ti, p. 248 (cafael).

§ 13. The 3rd sing. offers similar problems to the 3rd sing. Pres., for there exist -ei, -i, on one side, and -ad on the other, which cannot have had the same termination. -i was first recognised by Evander Evans (*Studies in Cymr. Phil.*, § 26), and has been further discussed by Rhÿs (*Rev. Celt.*, vi). Doi and cai occur in Middle-Welsh prose texts; cf. *B. of Herg.*: pa

doi arnat ti, col. 759; *Ll. Gw. Rhydd.*: na doi ef, p. 130; y doi ynteu, p. 154; a doi, p. 154; ny doy, p. 207; y tygawd ynteu y mynnei ef hihi oe hanuod. canys cai oc eu bod, p. 154. -ei becomes at an early date -e in the colloquial language, as is proved by orthographies like na dýwettev neb onadunt (*Oleop.*, B 5, f. 6b), kadarnhaeu (*S.*, p. 599, *Laws*), a gaffeu (p. 594), peu—veu (p. 597), -eu and -ei being at this period (15th cent.) both pronounced -e, and therefore liable to be exchanged. J. D. Rhys, *Gramm.*, p. 128, has gallé. Davies says: vulgo profertur care, carase, but not before this century, an observation rendered doubtful to me by the orthographies above given.

§ 14. -ad, -iad, is restricted to a few verbs. Bwyad, oedd-yad, gwyddyad, adwaenyad, pieuad occur; see Zeuss, ²p. 602, Rhys, *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 47n. Cf. *B. of Herg.*: ymb6yat, cols. 1221, 1223 (Talhaearn Brydyd Mawr, flor. 1380); ny wydyat hi, col. 1108, etc.; *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: a racatwaenat, p. 5; nys gwydyat, p. 20; *Cleop.*, B 5: y gwidiat, f. 24a; na wydiat, ff. 32b, 37b; na wydyat, f. 37a. Rhys gives gwyddad as a South-Welsh form (N. W. gwyddai). It is almost the only one of these forms found in later texts; cf. Add. MS. 12,193 (1510): nev pwy a wyddiad achos, f. 13b; na wyddiat, f. 22a (*Translation of Rolewinck*); Salesbury, *N. T.*: canys ef a wyddiat f. 46a; pe gwyddiat, f. 40, etc.; canys adwaeniad ef hwy oll, f. 134a; also in Add. MS. 14,921 (*Translation of Maundeville*); Add. MS. 31,055 (ni wyddiad ddrwc dros dda, f. 34a); *Cann. y Cymry*; etc. Y (j) appears also before other verbal endings, especially often in *Y Scint Greal*.

Cf. gwydyat (more than 30 times); a wydywn, pp. 231, 243, 300, 367; oedywn, § 57; yr oedywn, pp. 239, 340, 422; ny dathoedywn i, § 48; val yd oedewch chwi, p. 386; ti a aethyost, § 13, 19, 44; gwnaethyost, § 12, 18; a aethyant, § 7, 15; a doethyant, § 10, 15; a wnaethyant, § 2; pei at vydewch, p. 143; a phei bydewch, § 56. Y is sometimes superfluously written in this MS.; cf. aelyodeu (limbs), § 2; twrneimeyint, § 20, 21; mi a wasanaethyais, haedyest, § 15, 19, etc.

In other MSS.: *Book of Tal.*, 5: ny wydyem and wydem; *B. of An.*: gwýdyei, 69, 19; *B. of Herg.*: ydaethyant, col. 1094; *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: doethywch, p. 260 (kawssodyat *leg.* kawssoydat? cawssloedat, p. 224); *Hgt.*, 59; gódynt, *R. C.*, viii, p. 9.

§ 15. The explanation of these endings is still extremely uncertain. -iad is considered as belonging to the *ā*-stems, and its *d(t)* and the absence of any inflection justify the assumption of the ending -to. -i and -ei may have only lost a syllable ending in *t*, otherwise *t* would have been kept; so they probably ended in *-e-t, and -i, -ei are the remains of the characteristics of the stem with the derivative *j*. -i is to be explained as the -i of the 2nd sing. (see § 1); -ei is regarded by Rhŷs as the ending of the *ā*-stems; I should take it to be the reflex of *-ǎj-et. The existence of the doublets -i and -ydd in the 2nd sing. Pres. enables us to concede the possibility of such forms having existed in this termination, and I really think -awd, -odd, to be a relic of them. Stokes first explained -odd from *-ǎjet; -ei is either *-ǎjet, which I do not believe, or *-ǎjet.

§ 16. -odd is replaced by -oedd from, as far as I can see, the 15th century in South Welsh, or more accurately, perhaps, in Gwentian texts only. Cf. from the *Book of Treu Alun*, near St. Asaph, written by Gutyn Owain: a gynnalioedd, p. 629 (twice); Owen, *Laws: a camgynnalioedd*, a lithroedd, pp. 629, 630. In Salesbury's *N. T.*, -awdd, -odd, and -oedd are indiscriminately used, but in the part translated by Huet -oedd, -oydd predominate. In the Gwentian MS. Add. 14,921 -oedd is the common ending, several times curiously written -edd; *Llyfr Achau* (Breconshire), 1604: priodoedd, p. 8; a wleduchoedd, p. 63, etc.; *Homil.*, 1606: pan weddioedd hi, ii, p. 267. Owen Pughe ordinarily writes -oedd, as does the periodical, *Y Greal*, 1806-9. In vol. i of *Seren Gomer* (1814, fol.) several columns are filled with letters and controversies on -oedd and -odd, but I have not found any dialectal remarks

of any service in them. -oedd is of course caused by oedd (was) in such combinations as aethoedd, dathoedd, gwnaethoedd, with the meaning of active preterites.

§ 17. The plur. endings -ym, -ych, -ynt (-int), and -em, -ech, -ent, are so far obscure as to fail to show by their phonology to what classes of stems their difference is due. They seem to correspond to the Irish second and third series. From the 15th century -eint, -aint, occur frequently in the 3rd plur., especially in later Gwentian texts.

Cf. Ll. Gw. Rh.: traweint, p. 184 (trewis, p. 185; tereu, 3rd sing.); a lauuryeint, p. 213. *MS. Cleop.*, B5: aethasseint (sec. s-Preter.); *MS. Tŷ.*, D22: tr6 yrei y buasseint, f. 7a; ar y messur y buasseint, f. 8a; ysawl a ymardelweint; etc. *Medd. Myddfai*: a ddylaint and a ddylynt, p. 296; a ddywedaint (Owen, *Laws*, p. 661, written 1685 in Glamorgan). *Barddas*, i: ag a ddodaint, p. 40; oeddeint, p. 32; gweddaint, p. 42; a elwaint, p. 52; gwerthaint, p. 64; medraint, gadwaint, etc. Davies says: poetice -aint and -ain.

These endings seem to be borrowed from the verbs in -âf (*-agaf), like the -a of the 3rd sing. Pres. *Cf.* a uuchocceynt, *Ll. Gw. Rhydd.*, p. 191; a wneynt, *B. of Herg.*, col. 720, etc.

D.—THE S-PRETERITE.

§ 18. The 1st and 2nd sing. -eis, -eist, are altered in the modern dialects according to the phonetic changes proper to the vowels and diphthongs of final syllables. So we find -es, -est, in South Wales, except in the Eastern Gwentian dialects. *Cf.* Salesbury, *N. T.*: mi a weles, mi wyles, f. 378b; ti y creest, *ib.* *Ser. Cymru*: gadewes I, iii, p. 226; mi gwmres, p. 524; pwy welest ti, ii, p. 364; pan glwest, p. 524; wedest ti, i, p. 232 (dywedaist), etc. *Y Tyw. a'r Gymr.*: ond wetas I, i, p. 95. *Aberdare, Y Gwl.*: halas i (3rd sing., fydda), 30, 6, 1860, etc. In the Northern dialects -is, -ist occur from the 16th century down. The explanation of them is uncertain, but they are not due to any analogical neo-formation, since

the same change of *ei* into *i* occurs, in these very dialects, in plurals of nouns like *llygid* (in Denbigh, Flint, and Merioneth, Williams ab Ithel), *ifinc*, *bychin*, etc., and in *cymmint*, *isio*, *iste*, etc. (see my *Beitr.*, § 92). Davies reproves them ruthlessly: *ceris*, *cerist*: *summæ imperitiæ*, *poetice solum μιμητικῶς vel εἰρωνικῶς*.

Cf. Salesbury, *N.T.*: *roist* (?), f. 41*a*. Add. MS. 14,986, 16th cent.: *rois*, f. 15*b*; *rois*, f. 29*a* (*ceres*, f. 32*a*). Add. MS. 15,059, 17th cent.: *mi gollis*, a *gefis*, f. 223*b*. Add. MS. 31,056: a *rois fy myd*, f. 17*b*; *y doist*, f. 10*b*; 15,005: *os cefist*, f. 136*a*. *Yr Arw.* (Pwllheli): *mi a rois*, *na welis i*, 17, 7, 56; a *ffen dois*—*mi glywis*, 31, 7, 56; *ni welis i mono chi*, 13, 10, 56; *na welist ti*, 11, 12, 56; *cefis*, *syrthis*, 26, 2, 57; *mi deffris*, *mi ail drychis arna ti*, *torist*, 9, 4, 57. *Cab. few T.*: *mi gymris*, p. 73; *mi glowis*, p. 49; *glywis*, p. 7; *mi gymist dy*, p. 137 (*cymmeraist*); *roist*, p. 89; *deydist*, *gelwist*, etc.

§ 19. The ending -ost (-os-t) is proper to *buum*, *bûm*, and was thence extended to *daethum*, *gwnaethum*, etc., which follow the conjugation of *buum*. In old MSS. -ost is found also in other verbs; cf. *o buosty ema ty haythost*, MS. *A*, p. 71; *ny cheuntoste*, *B. of Carm.*, 5; *royssosti*, *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 129. On the other hand these few anomalous verbs are in later times assimilated to the *s*-Pret.; cf. *wyddest ti*, *Y Cyfaill Dyfyr*, 1883 (Powys); *ti wyddest*, *Ser. Cymru*, ii, pp. 48, 184; *a fuest ti*, i, p. 272, iii, p. 184; *na fuest tithe*, ii, p. 423, etc. Rhûs, *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 20, gives “*bues-ti*”, or rather, “*biës-ti*”, as the colloquial form in parts of South Wales, and compares Corn. *fues*, *ves* (*Z.*, 2p. 562). Since these forms in -est are altogether wanting in older MSS., as far as I know, I think it more probable that they represent a literary **buais*; see § 18. Williams ab Ithel gives *Venedot. bum*, *Dimet. buo*, *bues* (1st sing.); Spurrell, *Gramm.*, 3189: South-Welsh *buais*, *bues*, *buo*; Rowlands, *Gramm.*, 2248: *buais*, *buais*. Cf. *Ser. C.*, *mi fues*, i, p. 411; iii, p. 103. *Gwnais*, *dais*, are also given; even *eisym*; for in Davies’s time, as he says, *cersym*, *caresym*, *archesym*, *ceusym*, began to be formed, com-

binations of the *s*-Pret. with the endings of the perfect in -um (later -ym).

§ 20. The ending -ast is of extremely rare occurrence, and open to certain doubts. I have found doethast, *Rev. Celt.*, vii, p. 450; y deuthast, *B. of Herg.*, Mab. Ger. ab Erbin (gwdast, *Mab.*, iii, p. 88 [Guest] ?); pan vwryast ti, *Hengwrt MSS.*, ii, 323; na dywedast, *M.* (Owen, *Laws*, p. 516); Salesbury, *N. T.*: a ddaethast ti, f. 12*b*; canys beth a wyddas¹ ti, wreic, a gedwych di dy wr, neu beth a wyddos ti, wr . . . , f. 250. As gwybod and dyfod are each represented twice among these few examples, the assumption of -ast as a real termination gains somewhat in probability; the change of -ost and -ast is either an analogical imitation or a real instance of the interchange of *o* and *a* in the verbal terminations (-om, -ont) in Welsh itself (buont: buant), and in Welsh compared with Corn. and Bret. (Bret. queront: W. carant, etc.); see § 26.

§ 21. The 3rd sing. ends in -es, -is, -as, -wys (-ws). The first three of these endings are the reflex of the *o*-, *j*- and *ā*-verbs, and the Part. Perf. Pass. in -ed, -id, -ad (*-eto-, etc.) ordinarily corresponds to their formation. The regular relations, however, between these two sets of forms and the 3rd sing. Pres., the plural of the *s*-Aor. (-assom, -yssom, -som), the old passive, certain infinitives, etc., are so often altered by analogical neo-formations that it would require full collections from Welsh texts and a comparison with the other Brythonic languages to ascertain the genuine formations.

Cf. a few forms in -es: adoles, agores, annoges, anfonos, arhoes, bodes, canmoles, colles, cyfodes, cyffroes, cynghores, ymdangosses,

¹ This orthography (wyddas ti) is very common with Salesbury. Cf. ny wyddos ti, f. 155; ac a weles ti, f. 147; etc. In *Hgt. MS.* 202, f. 118*b*, col. 2, line 22 (of the photograph in *Y Cymmr.*, vii), gorugos occurs (before a following vowel), an unique example, and not sufficient, I think, to justify the assumption of the separate existence of -os at that time.

dehogles, diffodes, dodes, esgores, etholes, ffoes, gosodes, gwrthodes, hoffes, holltes, lloaces, paratoes, porthes, priodes, rhodes, sodes, torres, troes, trosses, ymchweles; in *-is*: edewis, erchia, ketwis, dyrcheuis, delis, kynhelis, dechreuis, diengis, enwis, gelwis, genis, gwerendewis, cyulenwis, menegis, peris, seuis, tewis, trengis, trewis (all from *Ll. Gw. Rhydd.*). Gwelas occurs at least 31 times in the texts printed from this MS., and 24 times in the *Mab.* (1887); also welat, *Ll. Gw.*, p. 206 (2); *Mab.*, col. 734; but gweles exists 18 times in *Ll. Gw.* (pp. 302, 305, 309, written welais, pron. *-es*), and also in other MSS., e.g., *Hgt. MS.* 59: weles, p. 417, viii, 5, 19; welas, p. 431 (*Rev. Celt.*, vii); etc.; gwelaa, gwelad are the commonly used forms. Peir, peris, paryssei (*Ll. Gw.*, p. 113), or dieing, diengis, diengid, dihagyssai (*B. of Herg.*, col. 164), form a regular series of the *j*-class.

§ 22. The existence of the termination *-wys* (*-ws*) makes the collection of the primitive forms more difficult; for *-ws*, which occurs also in the oldest Venedotian MSS., became at a later date a characteristic of the Southern dialects, in which it supplanted the genuine endings. Cf. *deuenus*, MS. *A.*, p. 1; *a uarnus*, p. 13; *e lluydhaus*, *e delleghus*, p. 50; *talus*, *pan vrhaus* (*gwrhau*), p. 48; MS. *B.*, pp. 473, 469; etc. It is frequent in *Ll. Gw. Rhydd.*, written *-wys* and *-ws* (pronounced *-ws*). Davies, *Gramm.*, says: *demetice -ws*; E. Lhuyd, *A. Br.*, p. 239: S. W. *-ws*, *-es*, *-ys* (*-is*); L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,934, f. 25*b*; Pughe, Hughes, Williams; etc.; *Y Traeth*, iii, p. 11: S. W. *rhows*, *cafes*, *rhanws*, *prynwys*, *cwnws*, *ffustws*, etc. In *Barddas*, *-wys* and *-wyd* are excessively common (*gwelwys*, *cafwyd*, etc.). In modern texts from Ebbw Vale, Monmouthshire, in *P. C.* 28, 29, *-ws* is often used; in *Y Bed.*, etc. In my opinion, as I stated in *Obs. on the Pron.*, § 67, *-wys* is shaped after the model of *-wyd*; *-es*, *-is*, *-as*, and *-ed*, *-id*, *-ad*, being exactly parallel in formation; and *-wyd* would seem to be an abstraction from *bwyt*, the Part. Perf. Pass. of *bod*; possibly from **b(i)v-eto-*. This erroneous abstraction was facilitated by the employment of this *bwyt* to form passive participles of *gwneuthwr*, etc. (*gwnaethpwyt*, etc.). The 3rd sing. *-oedd* for *-odd* (see § 16) offers

an analogy to this influence of the verb substantive on the verb.¹

§ 23. In the plural we have three series of endings : -assom, -yssom, -som ; -assoch, etc. ; and correspondingly in the secondary *s*-Pret., -asswn, -ysswn, -swn, etc. The following verbs reflect more or less constantly the old *o*-conjugation ; cf. from texts :

B. of An. : nyt atcorsant, p. 96. *B. of Tal.* : digonsant, p. 127. *Tit. D 2* : ný digonsant, f. 45a. *B. of Herg.* : a ducsyant, col. 165. *Ll. Gw.* : ducesant, p. 203 ; megys y kymerssom ni, p. 209 ; a gymeryssant, p. 225. Add. MS. 19,709 : pan welsont 6y, f. 64b. *Cleop. B 5* : rýwelsei, f. 8a ; ný welsit (pass.) y chýffelyb, klýwasei, f. 10a. Dechreu, cafael (cawssom) ; and the verbs in -aw (infinitive) : ymada6essant, *B. of Herg.*, col. 595 ; val y hedewasynt, trawsey, *Ll. Gw.*, pp. 88, 254. Salesbury, *N. T.* : gwelsont (often), cawson, f. 8b ; dechreysont, f. 18a ; cymersant, f. 391a ; clywsam, f. 179a. Gambold, *Gramm.*, 1727, gives tawsom (tewi, *s*-pret. tewis), clywsom, gwrandawsom.

Notwithstanding these regular forms, which are further proved to be old in many instances by the Part. Pret. Pass. (see § 31), we find a gymeryssant, *Ll. Gw.*, p. 144 ; clywassoch, p. 77 ; nychlywyssyant, *B. of Herg.*, col. 643 ; Salesbury, *N. T.* : cafesont, f. 159 ; ducesant, f. 179a (-esont, f. 185a) ; pan welesont, f. 208b ; *Myv. Arch.*,²p. 601 : a welasant (N. W., *Han. Gruff. ab Cyn.*) ; Add. MS. 15,056 : a welasant, f. 2a (O. Jones) ; also *Barddas*, i, p. 236 ; etc.

§ 24. It will be, I fear, impossible to define the exact limits of -y-ssom, for no verb exists using exclusively -yssom, etc.,

¹ There occur, curiously enough, though in different texts, in the same verb—a fact which prevents my regarding them as undoubted clerical errors—forms of the 3rd sing. in -os :—MS. Z (Owen), p. 526 : a gawos (1480) ; Salesbury, *N. T.* : ni chafos (f. 342a, Richard Davies) ; Add. MS. 14,986, f. 15a : i kafos. I never found -os with any other verb. Of course, if these forms really exist, they are the result of momentary combinations of *cafaw* and *cafodl cadd*, for no other orthographies in these texts would justify our regarding *s* as a phonetic orthography for *dd* (like *s* for *th* in MS. A).

and whilst in Middle-Welsh texts -assom, etc., predominates, the case is just the contrary in texts of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Cf., e.g., *B. of Herg.*: dihayssai, col. 161; ymchoelyssant, 166; y kychwynyssant, col. 561; dodysson ni, col. 725. Add. MS. 19,709: disgynyssai, magyssai, f. 25a; karyssai, f. 19b; ymwanhanyssant, na phallyssam, lladyssôn, eistedyssant, treulyssant, bodyssant, etc. *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: pwy a royssai, pp. 122, 130 (roesai, p. 71; roessant, p. 73; rodaaswn, p. 80); dyrchauyssant, pp. 65, 145; kanyssant, p. 65; ymgadarnhyssant, p. 50; ymrwymyssant, p. 84; cyrchyssant, pp. 102, 131; ffoyssant, pp. 126, 128; cladyssant, p. 117; gouynyssant, p. 137; ymgyweiryssant, p. 145; ymhoylyssant, pp. 139, 146; gorchymynyssant, p. 137; trigyssant, p. 146; gwisgyssant, p. 138; archyssai, p. 120; paryssai, p. 113 (-ant, p. 128); lladyssai, pp. 125, 128; dalyssai, p. 147; rydhayssai, p. 131; rydywedyssei, p. 130; annonyssai, p. 124; a detholyssant, gordiwedyssant, chwardyssant, cussanyssai, ranyssant, priodyssai, hwilyssant, etc.

§ 25. In texts of the 16th and 17th centuries -yssom, etc. (written -ysom, -esom, -isom, dialectal orthographies expressing the different pronunciation of y) are the common endings.

Salesbury has, e.g., ymovynesei, roesei, roesont (*Gwel. Ieuan*: roisont, f. 396b; roysont, f. 385b; mi a rroysym, f. 375b); canesam (and canasam), bwriesom, govynesoch, neidiesoch (*marg. dawniesoch*), gwatworesont, a wnethesei, etc. *Gwel. I.*: canysont, pan agoryssay, f. 379b; agoryssai, *ib.* (agorassey, f. 382a; agorasay, f. 380a); etc. *Lewis Dwnn's Pedigrees*: a sgrivenysant, p. 7; mynyswn, p. 9. *Llyfr Achau* (1604): a wledichison, a enillyssont, p. 60; cf. also the *Homilies* (1606); *Marchawg Crwydrad* (17th cent.), etc.

At the same time, or a little later, -som, -soch, -sont become the colloquial forms, and they are the only endings used in the modern dialects. Cf. Add. MS. 14,921 (16th cent.): ymladdson, f. 53a; lladson, f. 46a; besides ni diodysson, f. 20a; dodysson, f. 46a; ef a fynse and ef a fynysse, ff. 22b, 9a (kymersson, f. 4b; klywson, 1st pl., f. 13a). *Cann. y Cymry*, 1672: lladson, p. 26; pan gotson, p. 32 (codi); maethson, p. 227; y gallse, p. 139; ni haeddon, torsom,

p. 63, etc. Examples of -som, -soch, -sont and -swn, etc., -sem, -sech, -sent (in Carnarvonshire 'sam, etc., *Sweet*, p. 444), are not necessary, as there are no exceptions. So modern Welsh coincides in this point with the Breton and Cornish languages, whilst the older language keeps up the distinction between the three series. Carsom : caras followed of course gwelsom : gwelas. Davies gives elswn, delswn, gwnelswn, as Powysian forms.¹

§ 26. -om and -ont, corresponding to the Breton and Cornish endings, are comparatively infrequent in Middle-Welsh, but are the common modern Welsh endings, a fact which must, I think, be attributed not to the ancient interchange of -om and -am, but to a transference of the vowel of the 2nd plur. -och to these terminations. I cannot make out the reasons of the former duplication of endings, since we have also -ant, Bret. -ont, in the Pres. Indic. ; -ach, Bret. -oc'h, in the comparative, and interchanges of *o* and *a* in Welsh itself (see my *Beitr.*, § 55). Cf. *B. of Herg.* : rywelsom, col. 733 ; a dodyssom ni, col. 725 ; a ga6ssont, 742 (a ga6ssant, 743) ; a gly6sont, 724 ; kychoynnysont, 561. *Ll. Gw. Rh.* : ac am nas cawssont dic uuant a thrist, p. 167 ; yd adawsont, p. 167. Both -om and -am, -ont and -ant, occur also in the Pret. bûm, aethum, daethum, etc. ; cf. buam, buant, *Mab.* (1887), often ; a wdam ni, col. 743 ; a 6dom ni, col. 742. *Ll. Gw. Rh.* : val y buont, p. 106 ; a vuont, p. 162 ; uuont, p. 161 ; yd aethont, pp. 167, 173 ; a deuthont, p. 168. In later texts always, cf. Salesbury, *N. T.* : gwyddom ; ac ymaith yr aethon ein dau, *March. Crwydr.*, p. 5 ; ni addoethon, p. 15 ; ni aethon, p. 140 ;

¹ *Sweet, Spoken North Welsh*, pp. 446, 448, mentions the plur. rhoddson, rhoithon, rhoison (Sec. Pres. rshown, rhôt, rhôy, rshown, rhowch, rhôn, *rhoythan* ; s-Pret. rhois, rhoist, rhoddodd, *rhôth*, rhôs [rhôys?]), and *danghothson* (dangos) ; forms which the assumption of complex analogical influence might render plausible, but which are too little known to allow of a judgment on them.

y buont, p. 6; etc. Sometimes *aw* is written for *o*: ymnerthasawnt (Salesbury, etc.) pronounced *o*.¹

E.—PASSIVE.

§ 27. E. Evans (*Stud.*, § 6) first drew the attention of philologists to the various old passives in -etor, -itor, -ator, etc., which, though mentioned in the grammars of Pughe and Williams ap Ithel, had been ignored by Zeuss and Ebel. On edrychwyr and the other deponents see Rhŷs, *Rev. Celt.*, vi, pp. 40-49, also in *Y Traeth*, 1884.

The following forms occur: *dýgettaur*, *B. of Carm.*, 7; *B. of Tal.*, 5(2); *kymyasetor* 30, *lloseta6r* 5, *golchetta6r*, p. 166, *crybwyll-eter* (Evans); *kenhittor* *kirn*, *B. of Carm.*, 17, *megittor* 17, *keisitor*, p. 157(2); *llemittor*, *B. of Herg.*, p. 305 (Sk.); *cwynitor*, *gweinydiawr*, *gwelitor*, *clwytor*, *telitor* (Ev.); *traethator*, *B. of Tal.*, p. 131; *molhator*, *ib.*; *kwýnhýator*, *B. of An.*, p. 86; *gwelattor*, *canhator* (Ev.); *brithottor*, *B. of Carm.*, 9.

Passives in -awr (Zeuss, ²p. 529) are *guarwýaur*, *B. of C.*, 17; *ergela6r*, *ergelha6r*, *B. of Tal.*, 5; *dotta6r*, *gyrra6r* (a *metta6r* am *dotta6r*—yn sawell ymgyrra6r—ymrygia6r o la6), p. 136, *gorffowyssa6r*, p. 165, a *uolha6r*, p. 165, *dydycca6r*, p. 166(2); a *emdaflawr*, na *pharawr*, *B. of An.*; *etmycka6r*, *B. of Herg.*, p. 222; ni *chaffa6r*, p. 235. Many other examples will be found in the poems of the earlier mediæval bards.

Except in these *old poems* and others in the *Book of Hergest* these forms occur, to my knowledge, only in *Arwydon cyn dyd brawt* (*Ll. Gw.*, p. 274, *gwelhitor*), and in late Gwentian texts, as *Barddas*, i (pwý arweinittor y treigl hwnnw? p. 244, ar a welittor, p. 246, *gwydditor*, *bythawr*, p. 152, a *deall* a *dichonawr* *arnaw*, p. 330), and the *Thirteenth Book of the Welsh Laws*, written in 1685 in Glamorganshire (-awr only): *mal y gallawr ymgynnal*, p. 635, *onis gwaretawr*, p. 636, a *wnelawr*, p. 647, na *phai heb hyny y bythawr*, p. 648, *gallawr*, p. 647, a *ddotawr*, p. 650, a *gatwawr*, p. 655, a *gymerawr*, pp. 659, 677, *barnawr*, p. 674; evidently in most cases modern forms (*dodi*, *cymmerid*, etc.)

¹ Cf. *B. of Herg.*, col. 164: *g6edy darua6t hyny (darfod)*; *Ll. Gw.*: *drossawm*, p. 212. D. S. Evans, *Llythyr*, § 197, mentions that Dafydd Ionawr wrote -awn, -iawn, -awd, for the plur. terminations -on, -ion, -od!

F.—PART. PRET. PASS.

§ 28. Rhŷs, *Rev. Celt.*, vi (*Some Welsh Deponents*, 9), tries to explain the now existing use of these forms in -et, -it, -at, -wyt to denote the perfect passive, by assuming them to have been originally deponent participles; the passive form of bod, giving the passive meaning, having been omitted. This theory, of course, does not affect their passive character in point of formation, which has in part been very largely altered by the subsequent effects of analogy, and corresponds in a certain degree to that of the *s*-aorist. Llâs and gwŷs (*Zeuss*,²p. 531) are remains of the old participles in -to- (*s* from **d-t*). Williams (*Dosp. Edeyrn*, § 717) gives llâs as a Gwentian form. It is very frequent in the Middle-Welsh MSS., but lladdad and lladdwyd are not wanting (cf. lladŷyt, *B. of Herg.*, cols. 685, 841, 842(2), etc.). Gwŷs occurs in modern Gwentian dialects; cf. wys neb i 'ble, *Y Tyw. a'r G.*, ii, p. 241, etc. Gwyddys is a combination of *gwydded and gwys; cf. ni wyddys, *Hgt. MSS.*, ii, p. 327; Davies, *Gramm.*, etc. A single instance of such a neo-formation—if not a clerical error—is also lladass, *B. of Herg.*, col. 841 (besides llas and lladŷyt, *ib.*).¹

§ 29. We find forms in -s compounded with bwyt, -pwyt, formed from nearly all the verbs which append the termina-

¹ If we notice words like gorddiwedd and gorddiwes, etc. (see § 32), it is difficult not to assume a similar connection between lladdu and lleassu; leas (letum, caedes, Davies, *Dict.*) is not infrequent in Middle-Welsh; cf. cyn leas, *B. of Tal.*, 41; o leas cledeu y teruynir, *Ll. Gw.*, p. 283; leas, MS. Tit. D22, f. 13a; rac drycket gennyf gŷlet lleassu (to become slain) gŷas kyn decket a thi; pŷy am lleassei i heb y peredur, *B. of Herg.*, col. 679; pan allo lleassu paŷb uelly, col. 680; pan ymleasso, *Didr. Casgl.*, p. 248 (*Oderic's Travels*): if he kills himself. In *Myv. Arch.*,²p. 11b (*Gododin*), gwnelut leadut llosgut is printed, and ladut is given from the other MSS. Leadut is an unique form. Probably the old lleassut was replaced by the later lladdut; hence the confusion of the transcriber.

tions -som, etc., and not -assom, -yssom, to their Welsh stems to form the *s*-aorist; e.g., dechreusom—dechreuspwyt. Dywespwyt occurs more frequently than any other of them, and is said by Davies (*Gramm.*, p. 197) and Williams, etc., to be a Dimetian peculiarity. Notwithstanding this, which the later MSS. indeed tend to affirm, it is also found in MSS. of the Venedotian *Laws*, viz. MS. *Tit.* D2 (=B), a dýwespuýt, ff. 40b, 42a; rydýwespuýt, f. 48a; MS. *Calig.* A3 (=C), redýwespuýt, f. 178b. But it is incomparably more frequent in S. W. MSS.

Cf. dýwesp6yt, Owen, p. 172 (3 MSS.), p. 212 (7 MSS.), pp. 188, 253, etc.; *B. of Herg.*: dywesp6yt, col. 317; Add. MS. 19,709, f. 47a; *Cleop.* B5, f. 227a 2; *Tit.* D22, ff. 7a, 15a, etc.; Add. MS. 22,356 (=S): de6esb6yd, p. 195; deesb6yd, p. 550; d6esb6yd, p. 693 (dý6esp6yt, p. 212). (*Sal., N. T.*: dywetpwyt, f. 4a; dywedwyt, dwetpwyd, f. 380a; doytbwyd, f. 380b; doytpwyd, f. 38a); Add. MS. 14,921 (16th cent.): dwesbwyd, f. 38a; wespuwyd, f. 28a, etc. (7); wesbwyd, f. 34a; a ddwedabwyd (*sic*), f. 41a; *Medd. Myddfai*: a ddywespuwyd, §§ 94, 97, 98, etc.; *Barddas*, i: wespuwyd, p. 208, etc.

§ 30. In *Harl.* MS. 958 (=T), f. 40a, is written: kÿhÿt ac y dÿwedasp6yt 6rÿ. A clerical error may certainly be surmised here, the transcriber having possibly intended at first to write dÿwedas—sam (we have said), and omitted to erase -as- after writing -p6ÿt. But if we recall “a dywedadoed”, MS. *Cleop.* B5, f. 247a 2 (*Dares Phrygius*), and “wal y dawedadoedit idaw”, *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 269, we may with confidence hold dywedas- to be a combination of dywedad- and dywes-; cf. gwyddys. Similar neo-formations are mynassoedd, planassoedd, rodassoedd. Cf. y mynassoedd Ch. ymhoelut oe nerthu (Ch. would have returned to help him), *Ll. Gw.*, p. 108; y gwielin a blanasoed voesen yno, p. 246; rodassoed, MS. *B* of *Brut y Tywys.*, p. 290 = roessoed in the *B. of Herg.* I am unable to accede to the obviously more simple opinion that mynassoedd: mynasswn (second *s*-aorist) is an imitation of aethwn: aethoedd, doethwn: doethoedd, etc., owing to the

numerous forms which exist in -ad-oedd, -yd-oedd, evidently containing participles. On these see E. Evans, *Stud.*, § 20, and Rhŷs, *l. c.* Cf. MS. *Cleop.* B5: archadoed, f. 230a 1; Add. MS. 19,709: ny orffo**g**ys**s**g**ys** corineus or ruthur hono yny oed kan**m**g**y**af **y** elnyon yn anafus ar ny ladadoed onadunt, f. 15a; *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: mal y barnadoed idaw, p. 270; nym ganadoed yna, p. 263; y kaffadoed, p. 265;—rynydydoed, *B. of Herg.*, col. 841; dysgydoed, *Ll. Gw.*, p. 135; ganydoed, pp. 135, 142, 154; *Y S. Gr.*, p. 377; Add. MS. 19,709, f. 40b; etc.

§ 31. Forms similar to dywespwyd occur further in:

Glywed: a glywspwyd, *Y S. Gr.*, p. 246; ny chlywyspwyd, *Yst. Gwl. Ieuan Vend.*, p. 327.

Dechreu: dechreuspwyd, *Y S. Gr.*, p. 291.

Rhoi, rhoddi: rossoedit, *Brut y Tyw.*, MS. B (Dimet.), p. 192; y rossoed, *Y S. Gr.*, p. 236; a rassoedynt, p. 399; a roespwyd, pp. 238, 354; rodassoed, roessoed, see § 30; Salesbury, *N. T.*: a roed, *marg.* roespwyd, f. 237a; a roespwyd, *marg.* roddet, f. 227b; rhoespwyd, f. 293a, *R. D.*, f. 317b; rroespwydd (*sic*), *Gwel. Ieuan*, f. 381a.

Cafael: 1. *Y S. Gr.* (a MS. abounding in these formations): a gawsssoedd, pp. 303, 382; mi a gawsssoedwn, pp. 231, 278, 322; pei cawsssoedut, p. 247; kawsssoedyat, p. 406; nych, p. 208; c., pp. 306, 313; *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: kawsssoedyat, p. 224 (*leg.* kawsssoydat?); y cawsssoedat, *ib.*

2. Pei cassoedyat, *Y S. Gr.*, p. 297; ny chassoed hi, p. 412; pei cassoedynt, p. 429.

3. *Didr. Casgl.*, f. 398: ac ymgaru yn va**r** awnaethant yn y byt h**o**nn t**r**g**y** weithredu bei *kathoedynt* gyfle a meir**o** vuant heb gyfessn y p**o**nk h**o**nn**o** . . . ; Sal, *N. T.*: pa vodd y cawsei ef, *marg.* cathoddei, f. 148a; *Y Drych Christ.*: 1585, a gathoedhei, f. 30a.

Cathoeddwn is formed after the model of gwnathoeddwn, etc. In the modern dialect of Carnarvonshire this imitation, caused there probably by the *s*-aorist of aeth, doeth, etc. (és

coinciding in appearance with *cês, I had*), took place on a large scale. Sweet, p. 450, gives, Sec. Pres.: *kawn, køythat, kây*, pl. *køythan, -ach, -an*; *s-Aor.*: *kefis, kês, kêst, kafodd, kâdd, kâth*, pl. *køython* and *køyson*, etc. (like *awn, ewn, øythwn* ?); *ât, ây*, pl. *øythan, ân* (?), *øythach, -an*; *øis, ês, øist, êst, âth*, pl. *øython, øyson*, etc.

4. *Y kaffadoed, Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 265.

5. *Cespywd, Bardd.*, i, p. 268; Evans, *Llythyr*, 162.

Gwoled: *gwelspanwyt, Sal., N. T.*, f. 259*b*; *y welspanwyt, f. 386a.*

Cymeryd: *y gymerspanwyt, Sal., N. T.*; *Gwel. Ieuan*, f. 386*b*.

Gwneuthur: *gwne-spanwyt, Barddas*, i, p. 250; *gwne-spanwyt, ib.*

§ 32. *Gwes-, dywes-* in *dywespanwyt* cannot be an old participle in *-to-*, since *t(*vet-)+t* is known to become *th* in Welsh. So it must be the result of **vet-+s*, like the *s*-future of *gwared*: *gwared*, Perf. *gwarawd*, *s-Fut.* *gwares* (**gwo-ret-s-*), *Rhÿs, Rev. Celt.*, vi; so *dywed, dywawd* (*dywod, dywad*), **dywes*. These forms in *s* of *dywed* do not seem to have been all lost, for it is just of this verb, and, as far as I know, of no other in the same texts, that *s*-aorists like *dywessont* occur. It is perhaps not practicable to regard them all as clerical errors, for why should clerical errors occur in the same word in different texts, and in that word alone? At the best one may look upon the more recent of them as recent formations caused by *dywespanwyt* itself.

I have found, *B. of Herg.*: *y dywessont*, col. 864; *Ll. Gw. Rh. (Y Grogllith)*: *Pony ychyna deneist dyhun, heb y vrenhinea bot y gweithredoed yn betruster y dyweist. heb y iudas*, p. 262 (a corrupt passage); MS. *Æ* (Owen, p. 515): *a ddewast di*; MS. *H* (*ib.*, p. 763): *dywedeist* and *dyweist*; *Salesbury, N.T.*: *dywesont*, f. 170*b*; *ry ddywesei*, f. 174*a* (*y dywetsai ef, a ddywetsont*, ff. 42*b*, 68*b*; *a ddywetsant*, f. 46*b*; *ddywedsant*, f. 70*b*); etc.

Dyweist: *dywesam*, probably like *careist*: *caryssam*, is perhaps due to a wrong separation (*dyw-esam*); *dywessom* is

not affected by the existence or non-existence of *dyweist*. Perhaps the coexistence of *rhoddi* and *rhoi* (but cf. also Bret. *reif*, Corn. *ry*) is due to the formation of an old *s*-aorist: **rhossom* (1st pl.), or a *t*-Part. **rhos*, the existence of which the above-quoted *rossoedit*, *rossoed*, tend to establish. In **rhossom* the *d* (of the root **dō*) perished in its encounter with *s*, and hence *rho-*, like *gwel-* of *gwelsom*, seems to have been wrongly abstracted and transferred to other tenses. I suppose *arhosi* and *arhoi*, also 3rd sing. *erys* and *ery*, etc. (Ir. *arus*), have been differentiated by the same analogical influence of an erroneous separation in an *s*-form.

§ 33. As far as this point phonetic laws empower us to go. For what reason the *s*-form *dywes-* was introduced in the place of an old Part. Perf. Pass. I cannot ascertain. It is, however, clear that the other *s*-forms (*clywspwyt*, etc.) are imitations of *dywespwyt*, caused by *dywessom*: *dywespwyt*. All these verbs have commonly *-som*, and not *-assom*, *-yssom*, except *rhoddi*, *rhoi* (see § 23). *Rhoespwyd*, *cespwyd*, *gwnespwyd*, have to all evidence *-es-* directly taken from *dywes-*; while *rhossoedd*, *cawsssoedd*, are imitations of the principle of *dywes-*. *Rhoespwyd*, *cespwyd*, have advanced a degree further, and imitate it even literally.¹

§ 34. As to the single participle in *-ed*, *-id*, *-ad* and *(-eid)*, *-wyd*, the first three must be separated from *-wyd*, which is a South-Welsh termination, replacing more or less all others in certain texts.

Cf. *y rodad*, *Cleop.* B5, f. 161*a* (ordinarily *rhodded*); *y rrowd*, *Sal.*, *N. T.*, f. 382*b* (Huet) (Add. MS. 14,978, f. 79, *trowd*); *rhoddwys*, *Cann. y C.*, p. 404, *Trioedd Barddas* in *Poems Lyr. and Past.*, ii, p. 238, etc. L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,945, f. 273*a*, transcript of an old MS.: *pan wneithbwit*, *ac y distrywt*, *y gwisgywt* (*leg. wyt*). In modern S.W. : *rhow'd*, *aw'd*, *caw'd*, *gwnaw'd*, *clow'd* (*Y Traeth-*

¹ *Rhoes*, however, may be an old Part., and *rhoes-* a doublet of *rhoddes-*, combined of **rhos* and *rhodded*, like *gwyddys*.

odydd, iii, p. 11), *clywspwt*, *bwriwd*, *clwyfwd*; *Y Bed.* 10, p. 8, etc. -wt is written far less often than -ws for -wys, since its connection with the Verb. Subst. was still more or less transparent. For a hypothesis on -wys and wyt, see § 22.

G.—INFINITIVE.

§ 35. The infinitives in -o, Middle-Welsh, -aw, represent an older -*ām-, like *llaw* (hand) from *plāmā. *Llaw*: *unllofyauc* (*Mab.*), *llofrudd*, *rhaw* -iau and *rhofiau* (infin. *rhawio*, *rhofio*), *crawen* and *crofen* (crust) are doublets of a kind which must also be expected in the infinitive, and there are indeed traces of infinitives in -of. Cf. *gwallaw* and *gwallawf*, *findere*, Davies, *Dict.*; *gwallo*, *gwallofi*, *gwallofaint*, Spurrell, *Dict.* *Gwallofi*, *gwallofaint*, contain *gwallof* (ʃ kept in the *inlaut*) + -i, -aint. So probably also *cwyno* and *cwynof-ain*, to wail; *cwynof-aint*, wailing; *wylo*, to weep; *wylof-us*, *wylof-aeth*, *wylof* (Sp.), weeping. -if (frequent as -im in the old Brythonic glosses) occurs (see *Rev. Celt.*, ii, p. 135) in the *Mab. Kihwch ac Olwen*; cf. *ae dodi ar eu hol. ac aruoll aoruc bedwyr ae odif ynteu*, col. 825; *kymryt aoruc ynteu yr eil llechwae6... ae odif ar eu hol, ib.*; and three other times, *ib.* I have not found it elsewhere in texts. In *gweinif-iad*: *gweini* (Sp. has also *gwenif*, ministrations), *f* is kept in the *inlaut*.

§ 36. The infinitive of the verbs in -aaf, *-agaf, ends in -äu, but also sometimes in -a. Davies, *Gramm.*, gives *bwyta* and *llewa* as South-Welsh forms; also Hughes, 1822, p. 32: S.-W. *bytta*; *Y Gwyliedydd*, 1828: S.-W. *para*, *gwella* (= *parhäu*, *gwellhäu*). *Bwyta* (and *byta*; see my *Beitr.*, § 103) occur, however, in all dialects; cf. *buyta*, MS. *A*, pp. 15, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30, etc.; *Sal., N. T.*: *bwyta*, ff. 40a, 59a; *Add. MS. 14,913* (16th cent., S.-W.): *bytta*, f. 84a; *Sweet, Spoken North-Welsh*, p. 423: *byta*; *Yr Arw.*: *i futa*, 20, 1, 59; *mi futa i*, *Cab. f'ew. T.*; *byta*, *Seren Cymru*, i, p. 373, iii, 447. This verb offers certain other particularities too. *Bwytavssawch*, *y bwytawssant*, *Y S. Gr.*, § 68, may be forms not to

be relied on. In *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 265, wynteu ae kymerawss-anthwy is printed, caused, if not an error, by the coexistence of gadawssant, and, *e.g.*, a adassant, MS. *A*, p. 1, MS. *C*, p. 105; gadassant, *B. of Herg.*, col. 705. The optative bwytafwyf occurs in Salesbury's *N. T.*, f. 124*a* (twice bwytafwyf), and in Add. MS. 14,986, f. 33*b*: ond kyn i bwytafwy ddim bara. Davies, *Gramm.*, quotes bwytathwyf (corrupte), following, in his opinion, rhothwyf for rhoddyf. This neof ormation (if *th*, *dd*, *f* are not simply exchanged, as they are in many other words) seems indeed to have sprung from an erroneous abstraction of -thwyf in rhothwyf, since the other forms of rhoddi, rhoi are partly used without *dd* (rhoddaf, rhoaf, rhôf, etc.). In grammars (Gambold, Rowlands, etc.) the 3rd sing. bwytty, G., bwyty, R., pery (of parha, parhäu), R., are given, like gwrendy, gedy, tery, eddy, of gwrando, gado, etc. (Middle-Welsh gwerendeu, gedeu, tereu, etc.).¹ So bwyta partly follows the analogy of the verbs in -aw, -o. Spurrell has ciniaw, cinio, ciniawau, dinner; ciniawa, to dine. Many infinitives in -a are formed from substantives, and express a collection of the thing which the substantive denotes ("verba colligendi", Davies): cneua, afaleua, ytta, gwiala, coetta, cawsa, ceiniocca. They contain real plurals, like afaleu, cneu, gwial, etc.

§ 37. E. Evans (*Stud.*, § 27) first noticed the Infin. cadwyd (besides cadw); an imitation of dywedyd, dychwelyd, in his opinion. Dywedyd, on the other hand, occurs not infrequently in very old texts for dywedyd; also cyscwyd; *B. of Tal.*: a Gddostti peth byt—pan vych yn kyscbyt.

Cf. MS. *A*: deueduyt, pp. 43, 46, 52; dewedyt, p. 66; deueduit, p. 63; deveduit, p. 70; deueduyd, p. 52; dewetduyd, p. 71; dewetuyt, p. 70; dewedyt, p. 70. MS. *Til. D2 (=B)*: dýweduēt, ff. 18*a*, 19*b*;

¹ Cf. *Lew. Gl. Cothi* (ed. 1837): chwery, tery, p. 41; ni thery, e dery, p. 102; pery, p. 134 (*ib.*, a dau, p. 31; D. ab Gw.: ni thawaf, o thau, p. 253, from tewi).

deweduet, f. 20*b*; dýweduyt, f. 63*a*. *Calig.* A13 (= *C*): dewedwýt, f. 152*a*; dýwedwýt, f. 179*a*. Add. MS. 14,931 (= *E*): dýweduyt, f. 12*b*. *Harl.* MS. 958 (= *T*, Dimet.): dýwed6ýt, f. 20*a*. Add. MS. 14,908, a 17th cent. MS. of *Br. y Brenh.*: doydyd, f. 20*a*, besides the old dýwedwyt, *ib.*

Also in old derivatives: Pa dywed6ydat oed h6nn6, *B. of Herg.*, col. 740; dywedwydyat, a babbler, *Y S. Gr.*, p. 171; ar eu dywedwydyat, talkativeness, p. 179; Add. MS. 14,912, f. 49*b*, dywedwyda6l. In the translation of *Dares Phrygius*, in the old MS. *Cleop.* B5, dywedwydawl is written (ff. 228*a* 1, 229*a* 1), where in the later MS., *Jes. Coll.*, 141, the modern dyweddiadawl has been introduced (f. 19*a*). See also *Pughe's Dict.* s. v.

So the older yachwyawdr (*e.g.*, iachwyawdyr, *Y S. Gr.*, pp. 240, 260, 268; iach6ya6dyr, *Tit.* D22, f. 185*a*; yachwyawl, *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 264) is now iachawdwr (saviour). I cannot say whether dywedwyd is formed after the model of cadwyd, though the pronunciation of cadw as cad seems to support this explanation, for cad, cadwyd, 3rd sing. ceid (pron.), dyweid might easily have given rise to the wrong notion of an ending -wyd (-vyd).

§ 38. In later Welsh -ud, -yd, -id tend largely to replace the infinitives in -u, -i. The verbs dywedyd and ymchweyd (in Middle-Welsh ending in -ut), which occur so very frequently, were the models of these neo-formations. *Salesbury, N. T.*, has, *e.g.*, gwneuthur (gwnauthur, f. 105*a*; gwnevthur, f. 240*a*; gwneuthr, at y C.; gwneithr, f. 377*b*, *Huet*); gwneuthu, f. 91*a*, gwneuthy, f. 215*b*; and gwneythyd, gwneuthy'd. He prints also wneythy'r, d'anvon, etc. In the modern dialects gwneyd is the common form: cf. *Yr Arw.*: gneud, gnyud, 17, 7, 56; *Cardigansh.*: gneid, *Y Cymmr.*, v, p. 122; *Aberdare*: gneud, gneithir, *Y Gweithiwr*; *Ebbw Vale*: wedi gnêd nyna (= hyn yna), *P. C.*, 28 (*ib.*: gwêd, to say). Gneyd is an imitation of dyweyd, gweyd, used in the same dialects; see § 42.

J. D. Rhys, 1595, gives in his *Grammar*, p. 128, mynnud. *Yr Arw.*: carud, 18, 12, 56, perud, tawlud, canud, yn agwenud (*ysgrifennu*),

prydnawnud, 17, 7, 56, collid, 12, 2, 57. *Cab. f'ew. T.*: gwerthud, heuddud, penderfynud, gyrud, medrud, tynud, sychud, gallud—cnoid, cospid, collid, troid, rhoid, etc. Cwrddyd (*e.g.*, *Y Gwron Cymr.*, Caerfyrddin, 20, 5, 1852) for cwrdd is reproved, *Y Gwladgarwr*, 14, 5, 1858; etc.

§ 39. -an, -ian is a very frequent modern termination, principally used in words denoting a repeated noise, and still living, as it is the ending of many English loan-words.

Cf. Dimet. mōcian, pīpian (to peep), Powel; *Cann. y Cymry*, 1672: chwarian, p. 244; beggian, p. 128; begian (*marg. ceisio*), p. 61; moccian (*marg. gwatwor*), p. 154; bribian, brwylian, etc. *Seren Cymru*: yn clebran byth a hefyd am ryw gyfrinion sy 'da nhwy, iii, p. 22 (clebar, clebren, Spurrell; *Yr Arw.*: ac yn clibir di glebar yn y riaith Sasnag, 17, 7, 56); llolian and llolio, hwtian and hwtio, Sp., *Cab. f'ew. T.*: yn clecian ac yn crecian, p. 46; screchian, p. 120 (to screech). *Y Genedl Gymr.*: yn brygawthian, 6, 5, 1885, p. 7².

§ 40. Some minor dialectal differences are: dringad for dringo, quoted in *Y Traeth.*, 1870, p. 412, from Williams Pant y Celyn; cf. ei dhringad, *marg. dringo*, *Hom.*, 1606, iii, p. 217. *Ib.*: damsiad for damsang or mathru (to tread, to trample), used by the same author.¹ L. Morris (Add. MS. 14,944) mentions nadu from Anglesey, nadel from Merionethshire (na-adael). Hely and hela, daly and dala, do not come under this head, since their difference is a phonetic one, the result of a different treatment of the group *lg, as in boly, bola, eiry, eira, etc. Hèla, to drive, to send, to spend, is S.-W.; cf. E. Lhuyd, *A. Br.*: S.-W. hel, hela, to send; L. Morris, Add.

¹ As to these words and their synonyms, cf. seingyat, a trampling, *B. of An.*, pp. 85, 72; maessing, myssaing: sathru, G. Lley'n's *Vocab. Davies, Dict.*, a. v. calco: sathru, mathru, mysseing, sengi, troedio. Sp. has maessyng, to trample about, and mysangu, to trample, the latter for *mysangu, like mysygan f., soft expression, and sygan, whisper, mutter. *Homilies*, 1606: a sathrodd, *marg. ddansiolodd*, iii, p. 121; y methrer hwy dan draed, *marg. dansielyr*, i, p. 108; mathru, *marg. ddansial*, iii, p. 272; ymsang, *marg. ymwasc*, iii, p. 261. *Cann. y C.*, 1672: damsing, *marg. sathra*, p. 86; 'n damsing, *marg. sathru*, p. 198; i'w ddamsian, *marg. i gerdded trosto*, p. 432. *Llyfr y Resol.*: N.-W. fathru (*ib.*: also folestu, etc.)—S.-W. damsang. Hughes, 1822: S.-W. damaang—N.-W. sathru. *Y Gwyl.*, 1828: S.-W. sengyd—N.-W. sathru.

MS. 14,923, f. 134a: S.-W. hala, to send, to carry—N.-W. gyrru, carrio; *Y Gwyl.*, 1828: S.-W. hāla; *Y Traeth.*, iii: S.-W. hala hi i'r lan = danfon hi i fynu; wedi hela triugain mlwydd = w. treulio neu fyw t. m.; halas i, *Y Gwyl.* (Aberdare); etc. In *Y Traeth.*, iii, p. 10: Dimet. meithrynu (meithrin), barni (barnu), costi (costio), rhosti (rhostio); D. S. Evans, *Llythyr.*, 154: N.-W. peri—S.-W. peru; N.-W. cymylu—S.-W. cymylo; N.-W. gwalu—S.-W. gwalo; etc.

H.—ON THE VERBS DYWEDYD AND YMCHWELYD.

§ 41. These two verbs do not belong to the so-called irregular class, but they exhibit in different periods and in different dialects such a variety of external variations as to justify my dwelling further upon them. They present such striking similarities to each other that copious examples are necessary to show that these similarities are, in all probability, not the result of mutual influence. The uncompounded gwedyd is the common South-Welsh form. Cf. MS. *Tit.*, D22: ar hōn a wetto, f. 2a (Dimet.); Add. MS. 14,921 (16th cent.): ny wedaf, f. 52b; hwy wedan, ff. 19a, 41b, 42a, 43b, 59b, etc. Hughes, 1822: South-Welsh gweyd, gwedyd. *Seren Cymru*: gweyd, i, p. 192; wedest ti, p. 232; wedsoch chi, *ib.* (Carmarthenshire). *Y Gweithiwr*: Imp. gwed, Inf. gweyd (Aberdare). *Y Tyw. a'r G.*: fi weta chi, i, p. 94; gwetwch, p. 93; ond wetas I, p. 95; Inf. gweyd, gweud. *Y Geninen*, iii, p. 19: East Glam. i wēd = North-Welsh i ddweyd. *Y Bed.*: wetaf, gan wetyd, gwed; gwedyd (Monmouthshire). *P. C.*, 28: wedws, gwēd (Ebbw Vale); etc.¹ Dywed- is also written dowed-

¹ Further illustrations of different prepositions used in dialects are: South-Welsh dillwng = gollwng, Davies, *Dict.* North-Welsh dobr = gwobr, *Han. y Ffydd*, index. South-Welsh dyrru, to drive = gyrru, Davies, *Dict.*; cf. ac achelaróy a dyrraóð ffo ar y llu hōnó, *B. of Herg.*, col. 12 (in this MS. of the *Dares Phrygius*, but not in the other four known to me, achelarwy is commonly written for achel, echel, Achilles); ymddwyn, to conceive with young, in Powys dymddwyn, *ib.*;

(see my *Beitr.*, § 40); and, owing to the loss of pre-tonic syllables, *dwed-*; cf. Add. MS. 22,356 (= *S*): 3rd sing. *debeud*, p. 591; *d6eid*, *ib.*; *hyd y d6etto*, p. 590; *megis y d6edir*, p. 593; *d6esb6yd*, *debesb6yd* (see § 29); Add. MS. 14,912: *dwespwyt*, f. 41a; *dwesbwyt*, f. 34b; *dwetpwyt*, f. 41a, 42a. Salesbury, *N. T.*: *ni dowot*; *dowait*, *dowaid*, f. 327b. *Athr. Grist.*: *douaid*, p. 46; *dowaid*, Add. MS. 31,058, f. 69a; *dowedyd*, Add. MS. 15,058, f. 59b (17th cent.); etc.

§ 42. From the 16th century downwards, *dyweidyd*, *dweidyd*, *deidyd*, and *doedyd* (*doydyd*) occur frequently in books and MSS.

Cf. Salesbury, *N. T.*: besides *dywedyaont*, f. 3b; *dywetait*, f. 4a; *dywedseit*, f. 4b; *dywetpwyt*, f. 4a; *dywedwyt*, f. 4b; *dywawt*, f. 149; *dyvot*, f. 222b; *dowot*, *dowaid*, etc.; *y doedaf*, f. 7b; *mal i doydais*, at *y C.*, *doypwyt*, f. 33a; *Inf. doedit*, f. 6b; *doydyd*, *doedyt*. R. Davies: *doydaf*, f. 312b; *a ddoytont*, f. 311a; *a ddoydasont*, f. 359b; *a racddoydasant*, f. 361b; *y doytbwyd*, *Inf. doyddid*, f. 328a. *Huet*: *y ddwedasont*, f. 380b; *y ddwetpwyt*, f. 379b; *y ddwed*, f. 376b; etc. *Athr. Grist.*: *a doedasom ni*, p. 14; *doydyd*, p. (3). *Y Drych Christ.*: *doydais*, f. 15b; *doydiadeu r saint*, C1; *dau dhoyded*, *Aja* (also in *Sal., N. T.*: *yn doyyded*, f. 360b, R. D.); *megis i dwed*, *Aij*; *o dweid*, *Bijb*; "*doedud pro dowedyd et dwedud pro dywedyd*", J. D. Rhys, *Gramm.*, 1595, p. 128.

Add. MSS. 14,986 (16th cent.): *dweidyd*, f. 13a; *dywevdwch*, f. 14a; *yn dywevdvd*, f. 14a; *dywevdyd*, f. 17a; in another hand: *ar a ddywoydo wrthyd*, f. 59a. Add. MS. 14,979 (*Life of Petrus*): *doydud*, *dowaid*, often; *dyweydyt*, f. 157a; *a ddoydassont*, f. 160b. Add. MS. 14,913 (South-Welsh, 16th cent.): *val y dyweid*, f. 16a; *a ddweid*, f. 15a; *doetbwyd*, f. 8a. Add. MS. 14,898: *doidaist*, f. 72a; *mi a ddoyda*, f. 40b; *doydyd*, f. 41b (another hand). Add. MS. 14,989 (17th cent., prose): *yn dwoeydyd*, ff. 87a, 90b; and *doydyd*, 3rd sing. *dowed*, *rhagddoedwr*, f. 87b (in the same text *dallt* and *deyallt*, *clowed*, *edruch*, *sevull*, *cylfyddod*, *diwioldeb*, etc.). Add. MS. 14,987 (17th cent., *Araeth y Trwstan*): *doudud*, f. 81b. Add. MS. 31,057: *doydwn*, f. 15b; *na ddowaid*, f. 15a; *a ddowaid*, f. 15b.

South-Welsh goddef (frequently in the *Hom.*, 1606) = *dioddef*, Hughes, 1822; South-Welsh *dyro* = rho (give), Davies, *Gramm.*, frequently written *doro*, e.g., Add. MS. 14,912, f. 30a; 15,049, ff. 3a, 3b, 4b, 5a, etc.

Add. MS. 31,060: *gan ddedyd*, f. 217*a*. Add. MS. 15059: *dwydwch*, f. 222*b* (North-Welsh popular language, 18th cent.). Add. MS. 31,056: *gwrandedwch arnai y dwydyd—fy meigl om ifiengtid*, —*mi ddoudaf i chwi*, etc., f. 17*a*; *deudyd*, f. 18*b*; *a ddeuden*, *ib.*; *mi ddoeda itti*, f. 19*b*; *a ddoede*, f. 34*a*; *doyde*, f. 199*a*; *mi ddwendwn*, f. 20*a*. Add. MS. 14,974 (17th cent.): *yn doeyd*, f. 78*b*; *da medrid di yn rwydd ddoevd kelwvdd*, f. 79*a*. Hope, *Cyf. i'r Cymro*, 1765: *a ddwed*, p. vii; *gwir a ddeidi di*, p. 12; *ni ddweyde*, p. 22; *dwend*, p. vii; *dweudyd*, p. 32.

Doedyd is of most frequent occurrence in the works of Griffith Roberts, and in many MSS. in prose and verse of the 16th and 17th cent., some of which bear characteristics of Northern dialects, as *miewn* for *mewn*, etc.

In modern dialects:—Carnarvonshire: Inf. *dəyd*; 3rd sing. *dwəd*, *däfyd*, *dəydith*; *s*-Aor. plur. *dəydsən* and *dwedson*; Imp. *däwad*, *dəyd*, plur. *dwedwch*, *dəydwch*, Sweet, p. 449. *Yr Arw.*: *mi dyuda i chi*, 20, 1, 59; *dyudis i*, 12, 5, 57; *mi ddeydis*, 17, 7, 56; Inf. *dyud*, *ib.*; *dywudyd*, 19, 11, 56. Merionethshire, *Caban f'ew. T.*: *dəydwch*, p. 19; *wal y deydodd hithe*, p. 36; *yr hyn a dwedodd*, p. 36; *dəydist*, pp. 7, 109; *dəysoch*, p. 475; Inf. *dəyd*, p. 56; *dəydyd*, p. 7; *dəydis*, *Yr Amserau*, 17, 12, 1846 (*Hen Ffar-mur*). In the South-Welsh dialects *gwedyd* is used, on which see § 41.

§ 43. *Ymchwelyd*: *ymchoelyd*, *ymhoelyd* apparently represent the same phonetic changes as *dywedyd*, *dwedyd*: *doedyd*. This external similarity, however, is not sufficient, and the time and dialect of both forms must be considered. *Ymhoelyd* is said by Powel (annotations to MS. *Tit.*, D22, f. 15, *Y Cymmwr.*, iv) to be a Dimetian form; *'mhoylu teisen*, *'mhoylu gwair*, *llafur* (South-Welsh for *yd*), etc. It occurs frequently in Middle-Welsh MSS., forms of which are:

MS. *A.*: or *pan emcuelo*, p. 157; *nyt hemchuel*, p. 159; *kanyd emchel*, p. 46; *eny emchelo*, p. 392 (*ib.*, *chewraur*, p. 68 = *chwef-ravr*). MS. *C.*: p. 157: *emchwelhoent* (*D*, *B*, *K*, *ymchoelont*). MS. *B.*, f. 60*b*: *pan emchuelhoent*, the usual form in this MS. MS. *E.*: *yný ymchwelo*, p. 26*b*; etc.

B. of Carm.: *ymchueli*, 13; *B. of Tal.*: *ymchaelent y perth gled*, *ymchoelant*, 5 (in *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: *ac amhaelawd ar processaiwn yr eglwys*, p. 196).

MS. *W* (Gwentian Code, *Cleop.*, A14): hŷnŷ ymhoelo, f. 60a; yd ymhoelir, f. 97a, etc. MS. *S* (Add. MS. 22,356): yd ymhoilyr, f. 64b; ymchoilyt, f. 16b; nyd ymhŷelant hŷynteu, f. 16b; yd ymchŷoylir, f. 48b. Add. MS. 19,709: ymchoelut, f. 22b; ymhoelut, f. 10a.

In the *Mabinogion* and *Triads, B. of Herg.* (Oxford, 1887), I found at least 39 times ymchoelut, -yt (Infin.), -a6d, -ea, etc.; once ymhoela6d, col. 672, and probably never ymchwelut.

In the parts edited by R. Williams from *Llyfr. Gwyn Rhydderch*: in *Charlemagne's Voyage*, only ymchoelut (p. 2, -ea, 4), and ymhoelut, p. 17, occur. In *Turpin's Chronicle*, ymchwelut, -ws, -assant, etc., occur 17 times; ymchoelut, etc., 3 times (ymchoel, p. 87; ymchoylei, p. 46; -wys, p. 44); ymhoelut, 22 times (ymhoylut, p. 43; ymhoyl, p. 82, etc.).—In *Bown o Hamtwn*: ymchwelut, p. 127; ymchoelawd, p. 188; ymhoelut (ymhoyly, 2nd sing., p. 138; ymoel, p. 138), 30 times. In *Purdan Padric*: ymchwelut, etc., p. 192(2); amhaelaud, p. 196; ymhoelut, 10 times.—In *Yst. Gwlat Ieuan Vend.*: ymhoelyt, p. 328, -u, 2nd sing., p. 328; ymhoel, pp. 328, 334 (*Select. from Hgt. MSS.*, vol. ii).

Salesbury, *N. T.*: ymchwelyt, f. 3a; ymchoelyt, f. 171b; nad ymchoelent at, *marg. y dychwelasant*, f. 3b; ydd ymchoelodd, f. 26b, etc. In later MSS. ymchwelyd usually occurs, also in those which contain regularly doedyd.

§ 44. Like dyweidyd (see § 42), ymchweilyd occurs very seldom. I found it in only two MSS., viz., in *Cleop.*, B5 [3rd sing. ymchweil, f. 68b; Inf. dychwelut, f. 153b; ymch-elut, f. 138b; dychelut adref, f. 152a; Imp. ymchwelut, f. 107a, etc.; but odŷno ydymchwoyl, f. 62a (like MS. *S*); and yd ymchweilent, f. 63a; a ymchweilir, ff. 65a, 67b; yd ymchweilant, f. 67a; a ymchweilassant, f. 90a; a ymchweylws, f. 100b; a hŷnnŷ oll a datymchweilies ynnev, f. 108b; a dychweiliassant, f. 141a; pan ymchweilit, f. 129a], and in the prose text *Buchedd yr anrhydeddus Bedr*, in Add. MS. 14,979 (16th cent.): ymchweylŷt a dwedŷd, f. 158b; onid ymchweŷlai, f. 162a; ymchwelyd, f. 163a; ymchweylŷt, *ib.*; besides ymchwelodd, f. 157b; etc. In the later MS. doydud and dyweydyt occur (see § 42; as to ŷ, cf. *ib.* onaddŷnt, f. 155a; dŷallt, gan eŷ brodŷr, f. 159b; etc.

§ 45. It results from the above quoted examples that *ymhoelyd* is a Middle-Welsh form surviving in the South Western dialects, whilst *doedyd* occurs not earlier than about the 16th century, and is not seldom met with in MSS. which for other reasons should be attributed to the Powysian dialects. The phonetic processes which are apparently common to both must therefore be held to be different ones, and cannot be further discussed here, though the phonetics of the modern dialects, which are up to the present very incompletely known, might perhaps illustrate them. *Dyweidyd* and *ymchweilyd* probably contain the *ei* of the 3rd sing. *dyweid*, *ymchweil*, which was analogically transferred into them at the time when the 3rd sing. *dywed*, *ymchwel*, formed after the model of *cymmer*, began to replace *dyweid*, *ymchweil*. At that time the coexistence of *dywed* and *dyweid* caused *dyweidaf*, like *dywedaf*, etc., to be formed. The modern *deidyd* shows the group *dw* before vowels, simplified by the elimination of *w*; we may remember *dôd* from **dfod*, besides *dwad* (*dyfod*). The 3rd sing. Pret. of *dywedyd* is *dyfod*, *dywad*, *dywawd* (Davies, *Gramm.*). On these forms see Rhys, *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 17, who observes that *dywad*, still used in Gwynedd, is formed "with the modern preference for *wa* over *wo*". Like *gwarded*—*gwarawd*—*gwares*, an *s*-form of *dywed*—*dywawd* existed also (*dywes*-), on which see above, § 32.

I.—THE VERB SUBSTANTIVE.

§ 46. The forms of *wyf*, *oeddwn*, compounded with *yd-*, *ytt-*, and with the preceding verbal particles *ydd-*, *yr-* (*Zeuss*, p. 551), show some phonetic and dialectal peculiarities not mentioned in *Zeuss*. *Yd-*, *ytt-* in some South-Welsh MSS. from the 15th cent. downwards, and in the later colloquial

language, generally appear as od-, ott-, sometimes wd-¹ Cf. from *Brut Gr. ab Arthur*, in MS. *Cleop.*, B5 (the only Middle-Welsh MS. in which I found these forms): val yr ottoedwn, f. 60a; thra ottoydit, f. 73a; y gwyr a ottoed, f. 90a; yr ottoedynt, f. 60b; a phan ottoydynt, f. 10a; marw o nychdod ir odwyf, Robin Ddu, 1460, quoted Add. MS. 14,944, f. 134a.

In the Gwentian part (Huet) of *Sal. N.T.*, very seldom: yr odoedd, f. 386a. On forms occurring in the Gwentian Add. MS. 14,921 see my *Beitr.*, § 41 (odwi, ody, ni dody, ny dodi, nydody, ody, ny dodyn, odoedd, odys). In *Marchawg Crwydrad* (printed from a South-Welsh MS.): lle nad ody, lle na bu a lle na bydd byth, p. 2; er nad ody aur ac arian ond . . . , p. 148; y rhai a odynt yn eu harfer, p. 145; ody duw yn 'wyllysu, p. 144; nid ody yn gwneuthur, p. 148; yr arglwyddes Fenws yr honn ody yr holl garedig gariadon yn foddlon iddi, p. 141; petheu . . . drwy yr hwn y byd odys yn ei drallodi. L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,923, f. 132b: y in South-Welsh pronounced as o in ôdym, North-Welsh ydym, ôdi, North-Welsh ydyw.

In modern dialects:

Dimetian: a odi chi yn meddwl, *Ser. Cymru*, i, p. 429; a odi Mari . . . , p. 231; a odi chi yn dost? p. 251, etc. Gwentian: Rhys, *Lectures*, ²p. 45, gives oti, from a part of Gwent, that in which the mediæ are pronounced in such a manner as to be commonly written tennes, cf. jocal = diogel, in Neath, etc. Aberdare: odi (*Y Gweithiwr*). Llanelly, *Cyf. yr Aelwyd*: ydw, p. 68; ydy, ydach chi, p. 20; besides ody?—answered by ody, p. 68. *Y Tyw. a'r G.*: odi e'n ddrwg, ii, p. 66; oti chi, i, p. 154; otuchi, pp. 94, 117; neu otu chi, p. 117; otuch I, p. 94 (ydu chi, *ib.*); otus ddim . . . , p. 96. Monmouthshire: *Y Bedyddiwr*: otw, otw, viii, p. 174; nag oti, p. 107; odi, p. 174; nag ody, p. 174; etc.

Wd.: *Seren Cymru*: yr wdw i, iii, p. 264; wdw I, i, p. 232; *Guron Cymreig*: rwdwi, wdw i, 20, 5, 52; *ib. wes*, wedd, rwedd, trwed for oes, etc. Carnarvonshire: mi rwdwi, *Yr Arw.*, 9, 4, 57; yr wdw i, *ib.*; rwdwi yn deud, 11, 12, 56; ac yr wdw ina yn cael . . . , etc. On similar phonetics in other words see my *Beitr.*,

¹ yd before consonants occurs frequently in the old poems and in the so-called Gogynfeirdd. Cf. from Dr. Davies' MS. (Add. MS. 14,869), e.g., yd vernir, f. 55a, yd rotir, y gelwir, yd gedwir, yt (= ydd) ergryner f. 56a, mal yd glywir f. 70b (Cynddelw), etc.

§§ 40-48; cf., *e.g.*, bychan, bachan, bochan, bwehan (Wogan, Vwghan, in the English part of *Llyfr Achau*, pp. 55, 56); to the forms of the Old Welsh Catguocaun, given *l. c.*, § 40: Cydwgan, Kwdogan, Kodwgan, Kwdwgan, Kodogan; add. Kydogan, *Ll. Achau*, p. 22, Kadogan, p. 15, Kadwgan, p. 15; etc.

§ 47. Davies, *Dict. and Gramm.*, p. 182, gives ydd- instead of yr- as the Dimetian form. So also Pughe, in Coxe's *Monmouthshire*: Gwent. yddoedd = Venedot. yroedd; *Dosp. Edeyrn*, § 824: yd-, ydd- are "more generally" used in South-Welsh, y-, yr- in North-Welsh. This dialectal difference may be seen in the two texts of *Gruff. ab Cynan's Life* used in *Myv. Arch.*, vol. ii; cf. ac yna ydd oeddynt, ²p. 723 (South-Welsh), yr- (North-Welsh); ydd oedd, ²p. 724: yr- (North-Welsh); ac yny lle ydd annogasant wynteu, p. 724: yr annogasant hwytheu; also pp. 730, 731: ydd erchis—yr archodd; etc. But yr- is not wanting in South-Welsh texts and modern dialects, at least as they are written in *Seren Cymru*, *Y Gwron Cymreig*, etc. These different forms are due to the generalisation of mutations incurred before certain consonants, like the different forms of the article in Welsh and Breton. Yd-, notwithstanding its frequent use in the form of od- in South-Welsh, is said by Davies, *Gramm.*, and others to be more generally used in North-Welsh. Cf. Davies, *Gramm.*: Pass. ydys; poet., Dimet., Powysian, ys; poet. also ydis. Hughes, 1822: South-Welsh wyf rather than ydwyf. Rowlands, *Gramm.*, ⁴p. 76: South-Welsh wyf, pl. ym, ych, ynt; North-Welsh ydwyf, etc. *Y Geninen*, iii, 19, Glamorganshire: shwd i chi = sut yr ydych chwi.

§ 48. The problem of the origin of wyf and oeddwn in Welsh, ouf and off, oann and en, etc., in Breton and Cornish, has been very differently treated by Rhÿs, *Lectures*, ²p. 234, R. C., vi, p. 49, n. 1, and by Stokes, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.*, xxviii, p. 101 *seq.* I am of the first opinion of the former, that these forms belong to the root es-; ys = Ir. is; 3rd pl. int, ynt = *enti for

*s-enti, caused by *e- s- m . . . of the 1st pl. From the very early period when the vowel of the root, lost in the plural, was reintroduced in the 1st and 2nd pers. pl.—in which persons it was afterwards altered, as the Cornish and Breton forms show—the singular is supposed to have assumed thematic flexion: *esemi, *esesi. Perhaps the assumption of another analogical process, of the retransgression of the *e* of the plural into the singular, or of the *ē (from the augment *e* + *e* of es-) in the imperfect, would also meet the difficulties here existing: *esmi gave *em or *ym (hence -m in buum bŭm, I was, etc.); *esi gave *ei, *esti gave ys, which has been kept; *e-esmi (or *e-em) or *ēm, *ēsi or *ēi, *ēsti or *ēs gave *wym (altered later into wyf, like all other verbs), *wy (later wyt, with *t* of the pronoun), oes, which still exists. An argument in favour of the theory of thematic flexion is furnished by the 3rd sing. yd-y, yd-i, Corn. us-y, Bret. ed-y, if -y is from *eset, and yw, Corn. yu, eu, Bret. eu, is to be explained by the supposition of an affixed pronominal element (Rhŷs). However, *eset would give *wy; and nyw-: nwy-, y'w (do), etc. caution us against denying the possibility of *wy becoming yw under certain yet unknown conditions,—at a very remote period, it is true: cf. the Corn. and Bret. forms.—These forms are analogically transformed during their history in Welsh itself. J. D. Rhŷs, *Gramm.*, 1595, gives the pl. ym, yn (like all later plurals, following the pron. ni), ych and ywch, ynt. Ywch, ydywch, yttywch are ascribed by Davies to the Dimetian dialect and the poets. *Dosp. Ed.*, § 653, gives even 1st plur. Dimet. wyn, 2nd. ywch, ywch. The modern South-Welsh dialects, however, use ych. Ydem, ydech, are the common North-Welsh forms, identical in termination with the modern Pres. Sec. in -em, -ech, the only terminations of this tense used in these dialects. So probably when -em was generalised in the Pres. Sec. (see § 17) ydym followed this model, like wrthachi for wrthywch, etc. See *Obs. on the Pron.*, § 40.

Cf. Add. MS. 15,059 (18th cent., North-Welsh): pa beth ydachi 'n geisio, ai ceisio rychwi 'r fargen . . . , f. 223b (*ib.*: nis gwn i beth a ddywedach, pe gwelach; 1st sing. a gefis, etc.).

Venedotian, Sweet, p. 449: ðdw dwy dw, wyt wt, ädi di yw? (mä mä, ðys, sydd sy); ädan, ädach, ädyn. *Yr Arw.*: ydw, 18, 9, 56, mi rydw ina, 17, 7, 56; tydwi, 9, 4, 57 (I am not); yr wit ti, 11, 12, 56; y rw ti, 17, 7, 56; nid ydan ni, beth ydach chi, 18, 9, 56, etc. Powysian: pwy ydech chwi, *Y Cyf. dyfyr*, 1883. In *Cab. f'ew. Tomos*, a is written for final e in this verb, as in Carnarvonshire, though it is ordinarily written e in other words. Cf. mi rydw i'n cofio, p. 7; meddwl rydw i, p. 15; yr ydw i'n gweld, p. 18; ne dydw i'nabod; mi rwyd ti, p. 14; ydi 'r llyfr ddim yn . . . , p. 11; ydan ni, p. 77; 'r yda ni, p. 135; ond 'r ydach chi, p. 135; mi rydach chi, pp. 19, 53; ai dydyn nhw (nad), p. 33.

Cann. y Cymry, 1672: rwi 'n tiffedd, p. 276; ar sawl wi 'n nabod etto, p. 337; 2nd plur. ych.

Dimetian, *Ser. C.*: yr w'i yn meddwl, i, p. 212; w'ine, ii, p. 184; beth w'ti yn, f. iii, p. 142; shwt w'ti, ii, p. 262; yr w'ti, iii, pp. 305, 603; i nw, i, 251. Gwentian, Aberdare: dwi ddim . . . , ond w i yn meddwl, *Y Gw.*; Llanelly, *Y Tyw. a'r G.*: dw'i ddim, i, p. 94; ond dych chi ddim, I chi, *ib.*; a pha beth i chi 'n—ydu chi, i, p. 134; nad i chi, etc. Monmouthshire: y'ch chi, *Y Bed.*, etc.

§ 49. In the modern dialects, instead of oeddwn, etc., forms are used, given by Rowlands, *Gramm.*,²248, as own, oit, plur. oem, oech, oent. The earliest reliable examples of them which I know of are 'roem (oeddem), *Cann. y Cymry*, 1672, p. 374, and South-Welsh oen, "they were"—North-Welsh oeddyn, L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,923, f. 134a; Williams Pant y Celyn: o'wn (quoted in *Y Traeth.*, 1870, p. 413); o'ent in the magazine *Trysorfa Gwybodaeth*, etc., Carmarthen, 1770 (in a passage reprinted in *Y Traeth.*, vol. iv). A oeint, Owen, *Laws*, p. 304 (*Gwent. Code*, MS. Y), and y ddoyent, *Ll. Achau*, p. 17 (*ib.*, y doyeth = doeth, p. 60), are of course doubtful.

Dimetian, *Seren Cymru*: own I, i, pp. 233, 272; yr own I, p. 232; ond'down I, *ib.*; o'et ti i, p. 373; pan o ti iii, p. 184; yr o ti, p. 142; yr o ni, p. 447; yr o chi, p. 22; yn well nag o nw r dyddie basodd, yr o'n nwy i, p. 292 (er nad o os i, p. 273). *Seren Gomer*, 36: yr oet ti, pan oent, p. 362; o'i chi, p. 268.

Gwentian, Aberdare: yr own i, *Y Gweithior*, 1858, 5; oen nhw, *ib.* (odd e, dos = nid oes, *ib.*). Llanelly: pan own i, paham o' ti ti 'n chwerthin, *Cyf. yr Ael.*, i, pp. 68, 32; *Y Tyw. a'r G.*: yr own I, oe' chi i, p. 94; oe' nhw, p. 96. Neath: own i, oit ti, ôdd, oin nw. Monmouthshire: dyma 'r peth own i'n hela ato, *Y Bed.*, 8, p. 106; o'wn i, p. 174. Ebbw Vale: o'n i, 1st sing.; o ni, o chi, *P. Cymr.*, 28, 37.

North Wales: in *Yr Arw.* I have noticed only oeddwn, written, e.g., pen ouddan ni, 19, 11, 56; but Sweet, p. 449, gives ôn, 1st sing.; and so in *Y Gen. Gymr.* (Carnarvon): o'n i yn gwel'd, pan yr own i, rown i, down i (mid), etc., 20, 5, 1885, p. 7^e, etc.

These forms possess a striking similarity to the Breton oann, oas, oe, oa, oamp, oach, oant, and to the Cornish en, es, o, 3rd plur. ens. But their late appearance cautions us against the assumption of their identity, and against attributing the existence or non-existence of dd (from j) to different accentuation, etc. I presume that at the time when oedd was pronounced ôdd it was identified in termination with the secondary presents in -odd, carodd, rhôdd, from rhoi, etc.; and that *o* (as rho in rhôdd), the supposed stem, was conjugated like another verb in the Pres. Sec.: o-wn, o-it, plur. oem, oech, oent, like rhown, etc. -odd, it is true, belongs now to the system of the *s*-preterite, and so we must probably attribute to the influence of oeddwn itself the fact that own, and not *oais, was formed. Perhaps forms like dathoeddwn, 3rd sing. dathoedd, pron. dathodd, also contributed to the formation of own, and not *oais. Oedd in these compounds, on which see below, was further assimilated to the Pres. Sec.; cf. y cawsei ef, *marg. cathodei*, Sal., *N. T.*, f. 148a. Ym oeddyw pro oeddwn, Add. MS. 14,944, f. 134a.

§ 50. As to the forms of the verb substantive commencing with *b* (it is not safe to speak of them otherwise, since they are attributed to so many different roots), the old forms of the conjunctive and optative, imperative, present second, etc., are being replaced in the modern language, at least as it is given in grammars, by forms of byddaf, conjugated like any other verb. Of this stem bydd- forms with *o* occur in the most

recent centuries and in the modern dialects, nearly all conjunctives. Cf. *bythoch* or *bothoch* = *byddoch*, "that you may be", *Rhŷs, Lect.*, 2p. 232. *Th* in the conjunctive is due to the old accentuation, which also causes *teccach*, *teg*, etc. So: *hyt pann vethont*, *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 289; *pan vethont*, MS. *Tit.* D22, f. 156*b*; *tra vythw vi*, Add. MS. 14,986, f. 25*b*; *bythwyf*, *rhothwyf*, Davies, *Gramm.*

Cf. Add. MS. 14,898 (17th cent.): *lle botho ych ffansi*, f. 74*a*; Add. MS. 14,938: *pen fotho*, f. 68*a*; Add. MS. 31,060 (18th cent.): *fel y botho gwiw ych caru*, f. 137*a*. Hope, 1765: *bothwi*, p. vii; *fodde*, p. 5 (*byddei*). *Caban f'ew. T.*: *tra botho nhw 'n dal*, p. 132; and also pp. 14, 116, 117, 134, 135; *am byd bothol berffaith*, p. 278. *Yr Amserau*: *nes botho hi*, 4, 5, 48; *gore po mwua o blant fotho gin bobol i fund ono*, 29, 3, 49; etc. *Ono, dono* and *ene, dene* are equally often used in these *llythyrau 'rhen ffarmor*; *ib. neu bomtheg o byrsonied*, 30, 12, 47, cf. *i bwmthegarugen, Hen Cymro in Y Gwron Cymreig*, 6, 5, 1852 (*Carmarthen*). All these texts belong to the North-Welsh dialects.

§ 51. Davies, *Gramm.*, gives the Opt. Resp. Conj. as *bwyf*, *bŷch*, *bêch*, *bô*, *bôm*, *bôch*, *bônt*. In Carnarvonsh. (Sweet, p. 449): *bô*, *bôt*, *bô*, *bôn*, *bôch* (?), *bôn*. *Boent* and *bwyntoccur* frequently in Middle-Welsh texts. Cf. MS. *A*, p. 77: *elle ebont* = *e boent*; *B, J, K*: *yr nep pyeufont*, p. 157; *Tit.* D2 (= *B*): *ket etuoent*, f. 22*b*; *herwŷd e lle e boent endau* f. 32*a*; *gwedŷ buynt*, f. 37*a*; Add. MS. 14,931 (= *E*): *a gyfarfoent*, f. 17*a*; *ŷny wlat ŷd anhoŷdŷnt ohoney*, p. 77, = *hanuoent*, *B*, = *henynt*, *K, L* (*Dimet. Code*); *kynn bôynt*, p. 268, = *bont*, *J, K*; *cyd bwynt* in later texts. In modern texts these forms, with *tra* preceding, lose the initial *f*: *trech* = *tra fech*. The vowel of the proclitic *tra* was dropped like other pre-tonic vowels, and the group *trf* + vowel became *tr*. *Taswn* for *ped faswn* (see below) is a similar case.

Cf. *Cann. y Cymry*, 1672: *trech* (*tra fyddech*), p. 130 (2); *trech byw*, pp. 241, 295 (*ib.*, *lle bych dithe, marg. byddyech*); *byth tro ganto, marg. tra fo ef*. In *Y Traeth.*, iii, p. 8, *tr'ech*, *tr'o* are said to be South-Welsh. From Williams *Pant y Celyn tr'wi* is quoted, *Llyfryddiaeth*, p. 397; this is from *tra fwyf*.

§ 52. On the perfect (bûm) see Rhŷs, *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 19 *seq.* Both *a* and *o* occur in Middle-Welsh in the terminations of the 1st and 3rd pl.; in the *B. of Herg.* and *Ll. Gw. Rh.* buam, buant largely prevail. On the modern South-Welsh neo-formations bues, buest, see § 19. Another dialectal peculiarity is buo (1st sing.) in the Dimetian dialects. Cf. Davies, *Gramm.*: bum, poet. buym, buum; buo Demetarum vulgus; also eutho, deutho, gwneutho (for euthum, etc.). L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,923, f. 133b: South-Welsh buo, buofi, I have been. Hughes, 1822: South-Welsh buo = bum. Spurrell, *Gramm.*, *189: South-Welsh buais, bues, buo.

Cf. *March. Crwydr.* (17th cent., South-Welsh MS.): mi gwybuo, p. 150; pan gwybuo, p. 152; nid aetho, etc. *Cann. y C.*: a wnaetho i 'n derbyn, p. 141; ar y wnaetho i maes o'th feddwl, o bwy nifer o bechode wnaetho i 'n d' erbyn, p. 400; pob ffolineb ag a wnaetho, i, p. 451; etc. *Y Cymmr.*, iv (Iolo Morganwg): o fod gymmair ag y buof i maes yn y tywydd. *Y Tyw. a'r G.*: fe wnaetho I, iii, p. 192; Monmouthsh., *Y Bed.*: y buo i 8, p. 106; a wnaetho i, p. 108; etc.

Similar forms exist also in Carnarvonshire: 1st sing. buom, 3rd sing. buo; cf. Sweet, p. 449: 1st sing. byom, bŷm; 3rd sing. byo, bŷ. Rhŷs says that búom i, which he thinks to be old, is used in North- and South-Welsh (*l. c.* p. 20).

Cf. *Yr Arw.* (Pwllheli): ac mi fuom yn hir iawn chwedun yn misio . . . 26, 2, 57; a gallwch feddwl wth a ddyudis i, y buo hi yn fud garwinol arna i, ond ddyudis i mo hanar y ffrigwd wrtho chi, 17, 7, 56; mi fuo yr un o'r rhyini, 2, 10, 56; mi fuo fo, 13, 11, 56; ma nhw yn bobol nyisia (Eng. nice, superl.) a ffryndia fuo rioud ar y ddyuar yma, 2, 10, 56; etc.

These forms (North-Welsh buom, South-Welsh buo = buof, final *f* not being pronounced, and therefore not written in these new forms, of which no historical orthographies existed, and North-Welsh buo) are evidently formed after the model of the conjunctive bôf, pl. bom, boch, bont. Bum and bu, isolated forms in the scheme of the verb, were either

directly made bu-of, bu-o, or o was at least combined with bum, the North-Welsh bu-o-m resulting.

A still more probable explanation seems to be the following: buom buoch buont lost their isolated sing. bŷm, bu, and formed buof, buo, like caraf, cara; pl. caram, buam, cersom, buom. In Neath, byo, *byot*, and byost, by a (ef); also etho i, detho i, gnetho i, ceso i (cafael), 2nd sing. *ethot* and *ethost*, *dethot* and *dethost*, etc., occur commonly. The doublets in the 2nd sing. show the influence of the optative and also the exact origin of attast, arnost, also wthtost, etc., quoted in *Obs. on the Pron.*, and in common use at Neath.

§ 53. The secondary preterite of the Verb Subst., in Middle-Welsh bu-asswn, bu-ysswn, becomes in modern Welsh, by dropping the unstressed *u*, basswn, bysswn. Buswn also occurs in the literary language (bu-swn, like gwel-swn).

Cf. *Zeuss*, *p. 563, and *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: a unyssynt—ae na buyssynt, pp. 192, 206; *Cleop.*, B5: pan unessynt, etc.

Salesbury, *N. T.*: pe byesiti, f. 151b. R. Davies: pe biase, f. 304b; pe biasentwy, f. 340a. Huet: by biasey, f. 379a; besides pe's bysei, f. 94b; ys gwybysei, besei, ff. 176a, 220a; ny besei, f. 151b; a ddarvesei, f. 174a; pe bysem, f. 38a; ny vesem ni, f. 38a; pe besent, na wybesynt, f. 360b. *Y Drych Christ.*, 1585: a fuassei, p. 3; besides pei bysswn i, ni byssei, pei, ony byssei, f. 21b; pei bassai, f. 21b; a phet fassai, f. 16a; fe fassai dhyn, f. 21b; etc. *Cann. y C.*: ony bysse, ony basse, p. 139. E. Lhuyd, *A. Br.*, *Introduct.*: bisse, pe bissent (South-Welsh).

North-Welsh, Sweet, p. 449: baswn, basat, basa, basan, basach, basan; y basswn i, *Yr Arw.*, 30, 10, 56; piti garw na baset ti, mi faswn i, *Cab. f'ew. T.* South-Welsh: ni fyswn I, I byswn I, *Ser. C.*, i, p. 449; buse, na buse fe, a fuse chi, *ib.* Llanelly: fuse hi, *Y T. a'r G.*, ii, p. 65. Monmouthah.: a fysse, os bysa hi, *Y Bed.*, viii, p. 44, etc.; y busai yn ddymunol, etc. (literary language).

§ 54. After ped, "if", the *f* of fawn, fewn, fasswn, etc., is dropped: petawn = "ped"-fawn. Even the vowel of the proclitic "ped" is lost, and **p-t* becomes *t*, the result being tawn, taswn, etc., the common forms of the modern colloquial language. In certain Middle-Welsh MSS. we find forms

which one might call "open forms", and which shall be further discussed below; but the existence of forms like *pettei* in the same MSS. shows that they are merely historical orthographies.

Cf. *B. of Herg.*: *pei yt ueŋn i yn dechrŋu vy ieuencitit*, col. 745; *beyt uei*, col. 638. *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: *pettei a allei eu caffel*, p. 226; a *phettut*, p. 315. *Y S. Gr.*: a *phei at vei o haearn pygyeit*, pp. 195, 389; *megys pei at uei milgi*, p. 336; a *phei at ueut*, 2nd sing., pp. 392, 420; *pei at uei marw*, §§ 64, 67; besides a *phettwn inneu*, p. 278; *pettut*, § 27, p. 349; a *phettei*, § 62, pp. 179, 243; a *phettit*, p. 284, Pass.

Salesbury, *N. T.*: *val petei*, f. 179*b*; *mal petyn*, f. 63*a*; *megis petyn*, f. 212*a*; *val petent*, *val petaent*, etc. Gr. Roberts, *Gramm.*: *petten*, p. 14 (*Y Drych Christ.*: *pe y baem*, *D 1a*; *fal pe y baynt*, *C 1b*; *pe i bysswn i*, 3). Add. MS. 14,986 (16th cent.): *pe dfai e*, *be bai*. Add. MS. 14,921: *fal bebai*, f. 37*b*; *fal bebay*, f. 27*b*; *fal be bai*, f. 19*a*; *fal betai*, f. 15*b*; *fel betai*, f. 4*b*; *betaichwi*, f. 44*b*; a *fietasse*, f. 31*a* (*fal bebassent*, f. 45*a*). *Cann. y C.*: *peteit in gwybod*, p. 505; *pyt fae*, pp. 260, 545.

In *Grammars*: *pettwn*, *pettit*, *pettai*; *pettym*, -*ych*, -*ynt* (Rowlands); *petaem*, -*aech*, -*aent* (D. S. Evans).

Carnarvonshire, Sweet, p. 449: *taswn*, *tasat*, *tasa*, *ta*; *tasan*, *tasach*, *täch*, *tasán*, *tán*. *Yr Arw.*: *taswn i*, *ta titha yn gwobod*, *wel dachi yn . . .* 17, 7, 56; *dae ti yn myned*, 15, 1, 57; *wel, dasa . . .* 20, 8, 57; etc. Merioneth, *Caban f'ew. T.*: *wel, tawn i*, *tase r llyad wedi syrthio trw'r to*, p. 61; etc. Carmarthenshire, *Ser. C.*: *tawn I yn gwobod*, 'tawn I, iii, p. 382; *ta, i*, p. 292. Gwentian dialect: *fy licwn tau'chi 'n esbonio*, *Y T. a'r G.* i, p. 117; *ta chi*, ii, p. 67; etc.

§ 55. As *pei at-*, owing to its non-accentuation, becomes *ped* in the later language, so *pes* (if) must be supposed to be a proclitic contraction of *pei as-*, *pei ys-*, in which combination *s* is an infixed pronoun; cf. *pei as gŷpŷŋn*, *mi ae dywedŋn*, *B. of Herg.*, col. 835; *Y S. Gr.*, §§ 2, 26, 46; etc. In *Cann. y C.*, 1672, *pes* is still printed *pe's*, p. 414. Davies, *Dict.*: *pes* from *pe ys*. Salesbury, *N. T.*: *pe's bysei hwn yn pr.*, *ys gwybysei ef*; *pe's adwaenesoch vi*, *ys adwaenesoch vy tat hefyt*, f. 145*b*; *dywedaf ychwy pe's tawei i'r ei hyn*, *ys llefai*

yr main, *marg. ceric*, the South-Welsh word (pe tawai—y llefai, *ed.* 1873); etc.—Compare also neur, neud, neus and nid, nis.

Though, with perhaps one exception, no “open” forms are retained, *ot* and *os*, *or*, if, besides *o* (aspirating), if, certainly contain the same elements as the second parts of *pet*, *pes*. *Or*, probably from **o* yr, is given by Davies and others as South-Welsh. It is not so easy to separate the spheres of *ot*, *os*, *or*, as those of *pet*, *pes*. Cf. *B. of Herg.*: namyn ti a g6yr dy ty a eill dial owein *or* llas, neu y rydhau *ot* ydiw ygkarchar. ac *os* bu6 y d6yn gyt a thi, col. 642. As I pointed out in my *Beitr.*, § 55, *o* (aspirating) lost in certain positions its final tenuis, like *a* and *ac* (and), but **oc* seems still to exist in *agatfydd*, *agatoedd*, an old compound which has more or less lost its verbal character, and become an adverbial formula. Otherwise, **o* atfydd, perhaps **otfydd*, would have sprung up. That *ag at-* is really the representative of a later *o at-*, is perhaps supported by the once-occurring *o gattoeth* (MS. *S.* f. 63a : Pob g6ad hagen gann dygu k6byl a vyd diga6n [MS. digiga6n] yr g6ad6r ac yr reith6yr o gattoeth kynny bo g6ir), by the occurrence of *a*, *at*, *as*, *ar* (if), common, *e.g.*, in Salesbury’s *N. T.*, etc., and perhaps by *osgatfydd*, *ysgatfydd* (Spurrell), forms in which *os* (if), unstressed *ys*, was reintroduced, at a time when *agatfydd* was no longer known to contain a word denoting *if*.

Cf. *acattoed*, *ac attuyd*, *B. of Herg.*, col. 673 ; *agattoed*, *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 85 ; *ac accattoed*, p. 263 ; *agatfydd*, *scatfydd*, *yscatfydd*, *J. D. Rhys, Gramm.*, p. 106. *Atfydd* alone occurs, *e.g.*, in *B. of Herg.*, col. 740 : a phei mynnvt gyuoeth eiryoed atuyd y kaffut ti h6nn6. *Yst. Gwl. Ieuan Vend.*, p. 331 : rac attoeth cayu y ddayar arnaw ; *atoedd* (otherwise), *Sp., Dict.*, etc. *Adfydd* is used quite as an adverb, and even compounded with *di-*; cf. *diedfydd*, *certe*, *procul dubio*, *Davies, Dict.*

J.—COMPOUNDS WITH THE VERB SUBSTANTIVE.

§ 56. The verb substantive exists in all its forms in composition with the prepositions *gor-*, *can-* (*ar-gan-*), *d-ar-* and

“han-” (on which see my *Obs. on the Pron.*, § 82); with the unexplained pi- or pieu-; and with the verbal forms (not stems, of course), gwydd-, gnaw-; as well as in the Part. Pret. Pass. with forms externally similar to gwydd- in all verbs (e ducpuet, MS. *A*, p. 48, etc.). Other apparent compounds, like taluaf, MS. *A*, p. 58, o dewedduant, p. 69, dywetp6ynt, MS. *F*, p. 390 (dywett6ynt, MSS. *G*, *U*), are extremely rarely met with, and if they are not errors, they are occasional results of the compounds with bwyt (buwyt), -pwyt. The early compounds are in later times conjugated like byddaf, a regular verb, or else the first elements of the compounds, together with the initial *b*, modified according to the consonant preceding, are erroneously abstracted as the stem of a verb, otherwise conjugated regularly. So gwypwyf is gwyddbwyf; but gwypwn, Imp. gwyped, are formed from the pretended stem *gwyp-. So from adnabod: adnappwyf, adneppych, adnappo, etc.; but also adnappwn, adnapper. R-f becomes r-ff. So arose darffwyf, gorffwyf, which were imitated in hanffwyf (and hanpwyf). Hence hanffwn, hanffer, hanffasid, and even hanffaf, henffi, 3rd sing. henffydd (*hanff is likely to have been avoided), pl. hanffwn, henffwch, hanffant (Davies, *Gramm.*). Cf. yr nep y gorffer arnaw, *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, pp. 34, 43 (y goruydir arnei, p. 34; a orffo, p. 34); pan ar ganfer gyntaf, Add. MS. 14,912, f. 17b. The kind of infection of the initial consonants in the second element of these compounds varies, as shown by the different degrees seen in can—fod, gwy—bod, gor—ffwyf, which were imitated by the other verbs, e.g., hanfu and hanbu (like gwybu), canffydder, canffer, and canfydder, etc.

§ 57. Yd henwyf o honei, yd hen6yt titheu, *B. of Herg.*, col. 711. Cenyw, D. ab Gw., *Poems*, p. 205. Amdenyw is evidently an imitation of deryw, etc.; cf. Dosparth Edeyrn, § 939. Goryw is given, *ib.*, § 813. Ny dery6, *B. of Herg.*, col. 740; pa dery6 itti, col. 751. The common form used in

the *B. of Herg.*, however, is *derw*, for examples of which see my *Beitr.*, § 110 (cols. 568, 639, 642, 660, 661, etc.).¹ Fut., a *derbit y euo*, *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 268; Imp., *derffit*, *B. of Herg.*, col. 566. The Perf. *darfu* becomes in the modern language *daru*, which is used with an infinitive following, especially in the Northern dialects, to circumscribe the preterite of such verbs as make little use of their *s*-aorists. Hughes, 1822, says: "In North-Welsh they are fond of *darfu*; beth *ddarfu iddo wneuthur?*" Cf. also Sweet, p. 445, and the dialectal texts, in which *be haru*, *ba haru* is sometimes written for *beth ddarfu*: *be haru chi hyiddiw*, *Yr Arw.*, 17, 7, 56; *ba haru mi yn wir*, *ib.*; *be haru ti*, *Cab. f'ew. T.*, p. 337. Cf. *myrolaeth*, Stowe MS. 672, f. 230a, etc.

§ 58. *Pi-*, *pieu-*, in composition with *bod*, denoting to "possess", is one of the most enigmatic Welsh words to me. A few examples are:

MS. *Calig.* A13 (=C): *yr nep p'yeiffo e da*, f. 177b; *pye6*, f. 182a. MS. *L.*: *bieu*, p. 240; *bi6ynt* in *M. B. of Herg.*: *p6y bie6ynt h6y*, col. 752; *bioed*, cols. 655, 662, 663, 668, 691, 775; *bieuoed*, col. 658; *bieiuu*, col. 775. *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: *ni ae pieuwydwn hwy*, p. 64; *bieiuyd*, p. 81. *Y S. Gr.*: *ny wydit pwy byoed*, p. 337; *pioed gwr ef* (whose man he was), p. 215; *piwyt gwr di?* (whose man art thou?), p. 222; (*y bwy yd oed gwr ef*, p. 252). *Salesbury, N. T.*: *pwy bieivydd*, f. 106b; *ny phyeyvydd ef hwnw*, f. 231a; *duw ei pieu*, f. 249a; *y pieffont tyrnasoedd y bud*, f. 385b (Huet). It is still used, since I have read, e.g., *pia*, *Cab f'ew. T.*, p. 7; *waith taw chi pia hi*, *Y Bed.*, viii, p. 107 (Monmouthshire); etc.

As to the etymology of this word, I can only say, that its use in sentences like those quoted from *Y Scint Greal* is

¹ In "A Treatise on the Chief Peculiarities that distinguish the Cymraeg, as spoken by the inhabitants of Gwent and Morganwg respectively", by "Pererindodwr", in the *Cambrian Journal*, 1855-7, *derw* occurs in the following sentence: *ydych chi wedi derw hau gwynth?* *Odyn*, *ni gwplson ddo* (Monmouthshire and East Glamorganshire): *wedi darfod hau gwenith*, *niddarfyddson ddo* (West Glamorganshire), and: *odich chi wedi penu* (*dybenu*, *darfod* in Cardiganshire), *hoi gwynth?* *Odyn*, *ni benson ddoe* (Dimetian dialects).

suggestive of pi- being a case of the stem of the interrogative pronouns, and its combination with -eu- being similar to that of ei in eiddo, if this be really from *ei-iddo (see *Obs. on the Pron.*, § 51, 52). The sense would be: cui—est and cui—suum—est (pi—oed, pi—eu—oed). But I cannot explain the phonetics of pi, also written py. *po-i gives pwy, pw, and py; but i in pi-, pieu- is nearly constant in the MSS. Cf. of course Cornish pyw, pew (pewo, a bewe, ty a vew); Breton biou, byou, e.g., rac me biou, *Sainte Barbe*, 37. I have not yet seen Ernault's opinion on pieu in his Middle-Breton Glossary.

§ 59. On the perfect gwn, gwddost, gwyr, etc., of gwybod, see Rhys, *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 20-21. Sweet, p. 450, mentions the 2nd sing. gwst from Carnarvonshire, directly formed from gwn. Old-Welsh amgnaubot, *Oxon.* 1: in the South-Welsh dialects gnabod is used for adnabod; cf. Powel (*Annotat. to Tit. D22*, f. 7): Dimetian nabod. In Neath: gnapod, 'n napod, nabyddas, -ast, -ws, -son, -soch, -son; fe nabyddwd. Add. MS. 14,986 (16th cent.): yny gnebydd di dy hvn, f. 59b; *Cann. y C.*: 'n nabod. Aberdare: yn cadw cnabyddiaeth a yn gilydd, *Y Gweithiwr*, 1858, 5; yn nabod, yn gnabyddus iawn, *ib.* (cn probably as in "cnawd, vulgo perperam pro gnawd, consuetum", Davies, *Dict.*—I cannot discern whether by a phonetic change or by a neo-formation, gnabod being believed to be in the *status infectus*); Monmouthshire: a nabyddswn yn dda, dwy 'n nabod, *Y Bed.*, viii, p. 106. Also dynabod is written;—Add. MS. 14,986: reol i dynabod, f. 1b (ydnabod, f. 17a; kydnabyddwch, f. 19a; kyndnabyddwch, f. 23a). Add. MS. 14,913: yddnabod (of. hiðil, ff. 3a, 4b, *ib.*), f. 16a; ay ddynabod y hynan ac y ddynabod y aiddio y hyn rac aiddio arall, f. 16a. *Y Drych Christ.*: dynabod, C1a (ednabod, f. 17a). Lewis Morris, in Add. MS. 14,944, f. 20b: dynabod in Anglesey = adnabod. Perhaps it is only a phonetic variant of adnabod, ydnabod, like ymsangu, mysangu ?

§ 60: Adwaen, in the *B. of Carm.* once adwoen, as the rhyme shows (see *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 22), is from *at-gwo-gn-*ati-ve-gn-, corresponding to the Irish aithgēn, from -ge-gn-. In the *B. of Herg.* and *Ll. Gw. Rh.* adwen is the common form of the 1st and 3rd sing.

Cf. *B. of Herg.*: atwen, *Skene*, pp. 261, 268; col. 772, 781, 837*b*. *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: mi ath atwen, pp. 78, 89; yd atwen i, p. 97; mi a attwen, p. 101; 3rd sing. am hattwen, p. 235 (besides yd atwein i, p. 102; hyd yd atweun [cf. death, or *leg.-wenn*?] i, p. 95; nys etwenwch, p. 235; canyt etweynwch chwi, p. 33; attwaenat, p. 106; ny am ydwaynat ef, p. 205; yny ettweinit, p. 217).

Probably the old 3rd sing. edwyn, from *ed—wwyn, the result of ad—wo—en + a slender vowel, *wwy becoming wy, was the source of atwen, formed like gwel-: 3rd sing. gwyl. Wy in edwyn was v+y; *edwn never occurs.

K. THE ROOT *AG IN THE VERB, AND ITS COMPOUNDS.

§ 61. Ag- simple, and ag compounded with do- and “gwn-”, furnish part of the forms denoting to go, to come, and to make. As to gwn- I have not found mentioned in the proper place in Zeuss² (though occasionally quoted, p. 600) the older forms gwen- and gwan-, which are of very frequent occurrence in the oldest Venedotian MS. *A.*, but which are extremely seldom met with in other texts.

Cf. in MS. *A*: gueneuthur, pp. 6, 10, 11, 12, etc. (24 times); gueneutur, pp. 14, 18, etc. (six times); gueneythur, pp. 15, 392; gueneythr, p. 18; regueneutur, p. 43; besides gueneuthur, p. 53; guneyhtur, p. 66; guneythur, p. 67; guneithur, p. 62; gunehur, p. 65; gneuthur, pp. 66, 388; gnethur, p. 69; gneutur, p. 393; gneihiur, p. 65; gneiur, p. 65; gneisur, p. 62 (in certain parts of this MS. *h*, *hi*, *s* are written for *th*; *s* occurs also in the fragment in older orthography in MS. *E*: kefreisial = cyfreithiol, p. 407); gueneuthuredyc. p. 389; 3rd sing.: guenel, pp. 6, 10, 13, etc. (22 times); besides gunel, p. 44; gnel, pp. 20, 22, 155; 3rd sing., guana, pp. 40, 41, 57; guna, p. 40; a guanant, p. 46; Imp. guanaet p. 391; Pr. Sec. guenelheŷ, p. 1; guenelŷnt, pp. 153, 389; besides gnelei, p. 53; guenelhont, p. 161; guanaeth, p. 55; guanaet, p. 154; gnaeth, p. 55; gnaet, p. 54; gnayth, p. 66; guaneler, p. 10, 31, etc. (six times); gueneyr, pp. 3, 37.

Add. MS. 14,912, Middle-Welsh, containing *Meddygon Myddfai*, etc.: awyneler, f. 29b; awyna, pop peth a wynel, a wyneler, a wŷneler, pop gweith awynelych, f. 30a; a wyneler (twice), f. 30b; a wynelych, a wŷnelych, f. 31a. These are the only instances occurring in this MS., which, by the way, abounds in South-Welsh dialectal peculiarities; cf. g6edu hŷnnŷ, f. 40a; g6edu darfo, f. 22b; 6 honu, f. 27b (3rd sing. fem.); besides neb auenno, f. 27b; echedic, f. 40b; efuet, f. 40b; a olua, f. 46a; dechrue, f. 31b; pl. erill, ff. 36a, 37a; d6ff6r, f. 40b; dwf6r, f. 37b; llester, f. 14b; y pym mylyned, f. 30a; degmylyned, f. 31a; auu, f. 40b; yn hoeth, ff. 41a, 41b; llyssewyn, f. 36b; giewyn, f. 36b; bola, f. 39a; mis whefra6r, f. 19b; hwer6, f. 16b; y wechet dyd, f. 30a; cawat, f. 28a; anaddyl, f. 94a; hiddyl, ff. 43b, 48a; dan waddneu, ff. 26b, 34b; breud6ydon, f. 31b, breid6ydon, f. 30b, breud6don, f. 30a, breith6yt, f. 31a, breuth6ton, f. 30b; dwesbwyt, f. 34b, sp. f. 41a; regeda6c, ff. 14b, 18a; ŷ ŷnŷd, f. 23a; etc.

In other texts I have only found that in MS. *Æ*, p. 516, is printed: *my a dystyaf na wanevthost nev my dystyaf a dywedaist* (corruptly in MS. *M*, *na wanay tyst*).

Salesbury, *N. T.*, f. 297a: *eithyr ys da y gwanaethoch ar ywch gyfrannu i'm gorthrymder i, marg. am blinder (= er hynny, da y gwanaethoch gydgyfrannu 6'm gorthrymder i, ed. 1873)*; *gwenythei* Marc 15, 8, is a printer's error for *gwnythei*. *Athrav. Grist.*, p. 18: *pa beth a uennaeth Crist yn arglw. N. pan dyscyno6 ef i uphern*. Add. MS. 19,874 (17th cent.): *Gwrandewch bawb a dowch ynghyd—i gyd mewn ysbryd ddiddig, etc., f. 112a: Ir Tad ar mab ar ysbryd glan—gwanawn ine gan o volian—val y dylein bawb dan go—roi iddofu r Gogoniant, ib.; ysbryd, plur. bigelvdd, a ddoede, doeda, vddvn, golini, etc.; gwanawn was pronounced as a monosyllable (gnawn or gnawn).*

Rees, *C. Br. Saints*, p. 225: *gwynei, gwyney*. These do not exist in the MS. (*Tit. D22*), nor does *waneuthyr, ib.*, p. 105, *note*, from a Jesus College MS. (*Llyfr yr Angcyr*, No. 119, where *y gneuthur* is written in that passage).

§ 62. Gwan-, gwen-: gwn- exhibit the same loss of the pre-tonic vowel as gwar-, gwer-: gwr- and gor-, from gwor- in gwarandaw, gwerendeu, gwrandaw, gworescyn, gorescyn; and indeed gwan- is nothing else than gwar-, gwor- (ver-); as the other Brythonic languages and the Welsh goreu, goruc show. *N* has not yet been explained (see *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 31); I think that it first arose in compounds with el-, forms like *gwer—eler, etc., being altered to gweneler to avoid the

awkward recurrence of *r* and *l*. Though the orthographies *gneuthur*, etc., in MS. *A*, show that *gnw-* was then pronounced as in modern times, the orthographies *guen-* and *guan-* in this MS. and in the other Middle-Welsh MS. are, in my opinion, historical ones. Not so the few later ones, which may be so-called "inverted orthographies", imitations of *gwar-*: *gwr-*, both being pronounced *gn-*, *gr-*, or *gnw-*, *grw-*, as Sweet describes these groups of consonants in the Carnarvonshire dialect.

§ 63. *Doeth*, *daeth*, *deuth* are all frequent in Middle-Welsh MSS. *Doeth* is said in R. Jones' *Works of Iolo Goch*, 1877, p. 13, *n.*, to be S.-W.¹ *Daeth*, *deuth* are imitations of *aeth*, *euthom* (like *caer*, *ceurydd*, *maes*, etc.). MS. *A*: *e doeht*, p. 50; *e doythant*, *e doetant*: *ethaethant*, p. 50. Only by full collections from more extensive texts could the chronological and dialectal differences in the use of *doeth*—*daeth*—*deuth* be shown.

Doeth, the form most used in the best Middle-Welsh MSS., disappears in later texts. From *Sal.*, *N. T.*, cf. *y ddaethant*, f. 214*b*; *na ddauthym i*, f. 13*b*; *pan daethesei*, f. 201*b* (*wnaethesent*, f. 233*a*); *athant*, f. 199*a*; *dathant*, f. 200*a*. *Huet*: *deyth*, f. 389*b*; *deythont*, f. 383*a* (*eithont*, f. 393*a*; *mi eythym*, f. 384*b*); *daythont*, f. 381*b*; *y ddoyth*, f. 382*a*; *y ddoethont*, etc.

§ 64. In the compounds of *aeth-*, *doeth-*, *gwnaeth-* with forms of *bod* (*aethoedd*, etc.), in the *B. of Herg.*, *Ll. Gw. Rh.* and the later Middle-Welsh MSS., *ath-*, *doth-*, *dath-*, and *gwnath-* are very common.

Cf. *B. of Herg.*: *athoed*, cols. 715, 786; *dothoed*, cols. 662, 706; *dathoed*, cols. 658, 659, 673, 705, 786; *dathoedynt*, col. 841; *a wnathoed*, col. 723; *gnathoed*, col. 839; *ggnathoed*, col. 802; *a gnathoedit*, col. 732. *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: *athoed*, p. 98; *athoedynt*, pp. 108, 116; *dothoed*, pp. 160, 201; *dathoed*, p. 116; *dathoeth*,

¹ L. Morris, in Add. MS. 14,731 (*Poems of Lewis Glyn Cothi*), f. 41*a*, notes: *doeth pro daeth*, a solecism (*sic*).

p. 55; ry wnathoed, pp. 103, 263. Add. MS. 19,709: y dothoedynt, f. 48b; dothoed, ff. 28b, 51a, 66a; rydothoed, etc. *Y S. Gr.*: gwnathoed, p. 219; gwnathoedwn i, p. 198; na wnathoedut, p. 274, etc. *Cleop.* B5: yr pan dathoet paganieit, f. 56b; yno y dothoed G., etc. *Dares Phrygius*: a athoedynt, f. 225b 2; na dothoed, f. 236a1, 240a 1 (dothoedynt, f. 226a 1; dothoed, *ib.*, f. 223b 1, etc.). Pughe (in Coxe's *Monmouthshire*) gives dothoeddynt as the Gwentian, daethynt as the Venedotian form; this relates to the Middle-Welsh Gwentian MSS. In the two MSS. of *Buch. Gruff. ab Cynan* (*Myv. Arch.*) cf. rhyddoethoed, ²pp. 723, 731 (North-Welsh MS.: y daethai); a ddathoeddynt (North-Welsh: a ddaethant), p. 725; ac oddyna i dothoedynt (North-Welsh: oddiyno y daethant), *ib.*; rhyddoethost (North-Welsh: y daethost), p. 726; doethant (North-Welsh: daethant), p. 724 (twice), etc.

§ 65. Davies, *Gramm.* (cf. Zeuss, ²pp. 590, 591), gives ethwyf D. G.; eddwyd D. G.; ethyw, vet. poet., eddyw; deddyw D. G.; dothyw, Bleddin Fardd, 1246; doddyw, y dydd eddyw in Powys = y dydd a aeth, qui praeteriit; gwneddwyf D. G.; gwneddyw D. G.; gwnaddoedd D. G.

Cf. from Add. MS. 14,869 (John Davies' transcript of the Gogynefeirdd): Meilyr: ny dotynt, f. 185a. Gwalchmai: ny daw ny dotyw, f. 188b; pan dotwyd, f. 197a; ethyw, f. 188b; na dotyw, f. 13b. Cynddelw: nyd athwyf, f. 43a; nyd adwyd, nyd etiw, f. 43a; athwyd, dotyw, f. 58a; dothwyfy, f. 61a; dotwyf, dothyw, f. 62a; ny dotwyf, f. 79b; neum dotyw, f. 71a; neud adwyf, f. 85b; etyw, ff. 74a, 75b; nyd etiw, f. 83a. Gwynnuart Brycheinyawc: ethwyf, ethynt, f. 114b. Einyawn wann: detyw f. 95a; neut eddwyf, f. 99a. Bletyntuart: nyd etiw, f. 208b. Llywelyn Fardd: Ysgwn cwdedyw ny un cwda, dothwyf. Pryd. Bychan o Ddeh.: athwyf, f. 143a; ethym (twice), *ib.* Pryd. y Moch: dydotyw y dyt, dydel, f. 160b; cf. dydaw, dydeuant, dybyt, dybu, dybwyf, dybo, Llyw. Fardd, f. 118b; dotyw, f. 194a, etc. *T = dd* in this MS., which is copied from a much older one; cf. f. 237b: finis. 16 April. 1617. Totum scripsi ego Jo. Davies. Hyd hyn allan o hên lyfr ar femrwn, a scrifennasid peth o honaw ynghylch amser Ed. 2. ac Ed. 3. fel y mae 'n gyffelyb: A pheth ynghylch amser Hen. 4. [a. 6.—added later]. Yr hen lyfr hwnw a fuasai yn eiddo Gruff. Dwinn, ac yn eiddo Huw llŷn, ac yn eiddo Rys Cain ac yr awrhon sy eiddo Robert vychan or wen graig ger llaw Dolgelleu. Scrifenyddiaeth y llyfr hwnnw oedd fal hyn yn y law hynaf.

Cf. also *B. of Herg.*: kyllell a edy6 ym b6yt, col. 812; ys ethyw gennyf deuparth vy oet, col. 813; yny del gereint . . . or neges yd edy6 idi, col. 780; neut athoed hi heiba6, col. 715, = neur ry adoed hi heiba6, col. 716; ydod6yf, col. 718; y dodwyfi, col. 718; dod6yf, col. 770; ny dody6 vyth dracheuyn, col. 806; neur dethynt 6ythmis, col. 411. *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: y dyd a ediw ar nos a deuth, p. 166; y dyd a ediw ar nos a dyuu, p. 171. A ethy6, ny dodynt (dodyw, *B. of Herg.*), *Rev. Celt.*, viii, pp. 23, 25. In Dafydd ab Gwilym's *Poems* (ed. 1789): deddyw, p. 4; gwneddyw, p. 429, a wneddwyf, p. 115.

Though ae and oe were pronounced ā, ō in the South-Welsh dialects as early as in Middle-Welsh (see my *Beitr.*, § 79), it is not probable that this pronunciation should have been so often expressed in athoed, dothoed, whilst in the same MSS. hardly any other instances of ō = oe occur. The decisive point in this question is the existence of ethyw, eddyw, which are formed from athwyf, like henyw, deryw: hanwyf, darwyf. Hence eth-, edd-, dedd-, gwnedd- were analogically transferred to other forms. The origin of ath- and doth-, add- and dodd-, is obscure to me, if they are not mere alterations of aeth-, doeth-, a and o being introduced from âf, doaf = deuaf, etc.

§ 66. Deuaf has been explained by Rhŷs from *do-(a)gaf. It has not yet been shown how the 3rd sing. daw and the 1st sing. doaf and dawaf accord with this assumption, unless we may assume a double treatment of *g* in certain positions between vowels similar to that of **v* in ieuanc: *iewanc, iefanc, ifanc; of **w* in taraw, gwrandaŵ: 3rd sing. tereu, gwerendeu; and also in ceneu: cenawon; llysewyn: llysieuyn; giau: giewyn; etc.¹ Then it would become necessary to regard deuaf and daw as old forms, and doaf, doi or deui as analo-

¹ Eiddew, ivy: ar erinlys ac eiddo y ddayar, Add. MS. 14,912, f. 23b; eido y ddayar, f. 58a; eido y ddayar, f. 63a; eiddyaw y ddayar, 14,913, f. 62b: itaha, used at Neath, suggest even a triple treatment of the same group; cf. eisio: eisieu (like itaha from eidieu—*d* unexplained) on one side, and gieu: giewyn (eiddew) on the other. So daw-: do-: deu-? Of course Cornish and Breton must also be taken into account.

gical formations. As the reasons of this double treatment of the consonants have not yet been made out, and as it may depend on the quality of the following vowel or even on the accent, one cannot trace the exact working of the analogy arising from deu- and daw-, do-. Both occur in the oldest Middle-Welsh MSS.

Cf. *B. of Carm.* : a doant, 18; doit, 35. *B. of Tal* : o dof, 8. *MS. A* : doet, p. 50; doent, p. 73. *MS. L* : doant, p. 228 (deuant in *J* and *Q*); doet, p. 210 (deuet in *J, P*); ony deuant, p. 242 (doant in *I, O, P*). *Harl. MS.* 958 (= *T*) : or doant, f. 24a; ony deuant, p. 33a. *B. of Herg.* : do6ch, Imp., col. 782; doi, col. 665; 2nd sing. deuy, cols. 661, 774, 788; Imp. deuet, col. 659; etc. *Ll. Gw. Rh.* : doy, 2nd sing., p. 138; dowch, Imp., p. 152; na doent, p. 170; doi, p. 226; and doy (3rd sing.), p. 207; ny doynt, p. 194, etc.; besides deuant, p. 226; deuit (Imp.), p. 51 (deuit y gof it dywedut yn—let it come to thy remembrance to inform us. The imperative in -it—cerid duw fi, Davies, see § 3, and cf. bid, handid—occurs very seldom in Middle-Welsh prose; another example is : y neb a gredawd mywn kelwydeu. madeuit duw udunt, p. 85). *MS. Tit. D22* : doant, ff. 1a, 5a; doe, f. 3a (de6ch, f. 13b).

Only in *MS. Cleop. B5*, I have found ony deuwei, f. 75a; ny deuwei, *ib.*; a deuwant, f. 61a. In the same *MS.* beuwyd, f. 3a (bywyd), and gwas ieuwanc, f. 60a, are written. Probably these forms were pronounced dewant, dewei.—In *Add. MS. 14,912* : ac 6nt a ddo6ant oll allan, f. 60b; ac 6y a ddant (*o* later inserted), *ib.*; 6ynt a ddoant, f. 62b.

§ 67. From the 16th cent. dawaf is frequent in South-Welsh dialects. Davies, *Gramm.*, has deuaf, deui, daw (old diddaw), deuwn, -wch, -ant; vulgo dof, doi, daw, down, dowch, dont; Dimetian dawaf, dewi, plur. dawn, dewch, dawant; Imp. deued, vulgo doed, Dim. dawed; Pr. Sec. deuwn, etc., vulgo down, doit, dait, doi, dai; pl. doem, daem, -ech, -ent, Dimetian dawn, dewit, dawai (da6ai, *Myv. Arch.*, ¹ii, p. 84); pl. dawem -ech, -ent; Pass. deued, doed, Dimet. daed; deuir, doir, dewir. Dait, dai, daem, etc., are imitations of ait, ai, like daeth and doeth. -i in the 3rd sing. of the Pres.

Sec. is indeed more frequent in this verb than in others (see § 13), but cf. *doei*, *B. of Herg.*, col. 665; *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 206, etc. Gambold (1727) has also *deir* like *eir*.

Cf. also L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,923, f. 133a: South-Welsh *deuwch*, *dêwch* = North-Welsh *dowch*. *Y Traeth*, iii: South-Welsh *dawaf*, *dewch*, *dawant*; *dawer*, *dewir* = North-Welsh *deuer*, *doir*; Infin. *dawed*; hence *dawediad* (e.g., *Seren Gomer*, iii, p. 160) = *dyfodiad*.

Salesbury, *N. T.*: *dawaf*, f. 247b; *dawant*, ff. 72b, 334b; Imp. *dawet*, yr hon a *ddoy*, marg. *ddawei*, yn *dawot*, ff. 4b, 6b, 12b, 93b; *dewot*, f. 88b; besides na *ddauy* allan *oddynew*, f. 7b; y *dauei*, f. 115b; a *ddauent y mewn*, f. 37a; pan *ddeuawdd*, marg. *ddaeth*, f. 359b (R. Davies), is seldom met with. *Y Drych Christ.*: na *dhawei*, f. 29a; sy n *dwad iti*, B1b. Add. MS. 14,921 (Gwentian dialect): ny *ddawant*, f. 38b; y *dawant*, f. 53a; y *dawan*, f. 57a; Inf. *dofod*, ff. 12a, 41b, and *dyfod*. Add. MS. 14,986: a *ddawa*, f. 37a; *dowch*, f. 38b; *dywod*, f. 34b (also given in Davies, *Gramm.*, as occurring "aliquando"). In the *Poems of Iorwerth Vynghwyd*, in *Y Cymmr.*, vii: I *dawaf J*, MS. R, p. 194; y *doya vi*, MS. L (Stowe MS. 672), a curious form; *ib.*: *doyan*, 3rd pl., f. 317a (misbound); Gwentian dialect, cf. ny *thyfoedd*, y *dyfoedd*, *aisaiy*, *aissoes*, *cailog*, etc.; ü *ddwad*, p. 193 (see *Obs. on the Pron.*, § 68, 69); and *doro*, p. 192 (*dyro*). *Cann. y C.*, 1672: *dawe*, p. 25; *dewe*, p. 30; *doe*, p. 27; o'r *doi*, marg. os *bydd iti ddyfod*; Inf. *dwad*, p. 61. E. Lhuyd, *A. Br.*, uses *dûad* (= *dwad*). Williams *Pant y Celyn*, according to *Y Traeth.*, 1870, p. 412, wrote *dewa*, 3rd sing., a form of *dawaf*, like the modern *cara*, *doda*, -a being borrowed from the verbs in *-agaf.

§ 68. In the modern dialects *dôf* is used in North-Welsh and *dawaf* in South-Welsh¹; the infinitives (besides *dawed*) are *dôd* and *dwad*, *dûad*. Cf. *Yr Arw.*, 17, 7, 57: *dwad*; also in *Cab. f'ew. T.*, p. 7; etc. Both *dwad* and *dôd* are due to accentuation of the second syllable, *y* being dropped. From

¹ Cf. *Cambrian Journal*, 1856, p. 246: *Dim. o ble doest ti, o ble deithoch chi*: *Glam. and Monm.* o ble *dest ti, dethoch chi*; p. 251: *Glam. (East), Monm.*: *des*: *Dim. dathym?* *Detho i* is used at *Neath*; *ib.*: *dôwa i* (*so, e.g., na ddôwa ddim, Y Fellten* 16, 2, 1870), *dewi di* (*doip di, Pontypridd*), *daw*; Inf. *dôd* and *dûad*.

*dfod arose dod, from *dwod (cf. Davies, *Gramm.*, dyfod, aliquando dywod) : dwad, dŵad, like cwad from cyfod (Add. MS. 15,038, f. 60b : kwad i vynny ; also in Add. MSS. 14,973 in the same text, and 15,059, f. 223a ; *Y Cymmwr.*, vii, p. 186 : kyfod, cyfod, kywod MS. S5, cywod MS. B4) besides codi from *cfodi. Wa for older wo, like dwad, dywad for dywod, dywawd (he said) ; marwa6r, *B. of Tal.*, p. 119, marwor, *Medd. Myddf.*, p. 91 : marwar and anwar, dâr, llachar, rhyming, *Gwaith Ll. Glyn Cothi*, p. 61 ; marwar, Davies, *Dict.* ; etc.

§ 69. The imperative dos is proved by the Corn. dus, des, Breton deux, to be an old form, but it has not been explained. Does also occurs, perhaps caused by the 3rd sing. doet. J. D. Rhys, *Gramm.*, conjugates dos : dôs di, dosset ef, dosswn, etc., on which forms Davies remarks that they are "sine ulla auctoritate ne vulgi quidem". Since moes is equally obscure, we must refrain from comparing its formation to that of dos, does. In the *B. of An.* occurs deupo, 20, 28, 29, 81 (*God.*) ; in the *B. of Tal.* ae deubu, 48. Dyuu, *An.*, 59 ; dyuu, *B. of Herg.*, col. 810 ; dybi (fut.), col. 825 ; a ffan rydyuu amser, *Ll. Gw.*, p. 119. Dyda6 rhymes with o hona6, gla6, la6, in *B. of Herg.*, *Skene*, p. 304 ; dydo with bro, bo, ffo, p. 305.—Dedeuant etwaeth, dedeuho, dydeuho, *B. of Tal.*, 10.—Dedeuha6r, *ib.*, pp. 212, 213, a deponential form, on which see *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 40 seq.

§ 70. The other persons of aeth, doeth, gwnaeth are conjugated after the model of the perf. buum : euthum, later euthym, etc. In modern times eis, dois, gwnais, eist, doist, gwneist, etc., have been formed, "balbutientium puerorum mera . . . barbaries" (!) according to Davies.

Cf. *Cann y C.* : êst, p. 585. Venedotian : mi yis, *Yr Arw.*, 17, 7, 56 ; gnyis, 13, 10, 56 (euthum ina, 17, 7, 56 ; mi ath, mi ddoth etc.). Powysian : mi eis ine, *Cab. J'ew. Tom.* Dimetian : mi ea, *Ser. C.*, iii, p. 525 ; pan ddes ati, p. 446 ; na'nese nw ddim on'd wherthin, i, p. 332 (Pret. Sec.) ; ond 'nest ti, iii, p. 624 (fe etho

ni, iii, p. 447; gnethe hi, i, p. 251; chi neithoch chi, a 'netho nw, i, p. 351; ðb.: gna 3rd sing., os na 'nele, na 'nelset ti, iii, p. 184, etc.).

Eisym, deisym are combinations of eis and euthum; cf. eisym, deisym, *Y Oymmr.*, v, p. 166. Davies, *Dict.*: ceniddum D.B. = cenais, cecini; this is from *Marwnad Dafydd vab Llywelyn* by Dafydd Benfras, 1240 (*Myv.*, 2p. 222). Sweet, p. 450, gives the secondary present doythwn, gneythwn, gneythat, and gnât¹; etc. In this dialect also cafael is partly influenced by doythwn, etc.; cf. keythat, etc. (see § 31).

§ 71. Goruc (*ver + uc as in dwyn, amwyn, etc.) is said by Pughe (in Coxe's *Monmouthshire*) to be a Gwentian form; Hughes also, 1822, gives Silurian oryg—North-Welsh darfu. In the Southern Middle-Welsh MSS. goruc is of extremely frequent occurrence, though it is possible by counting the instances of goruc and gwnaeth that occur to establish differences even in the various texts of the same MS. So in the *Mab.* (1887), a wnaeth, etc., is rather more frequent than a oruc in *Pwyll pend. Dyfed* and the following stories, whilst in *Gereint uab E.*, *Per. ab Efr.*, *Kulh. ac Ol.*, a oruc largely prevails. By comparing § 32 of my *Obs. on the Pron.* it will be seen that these rough results to some extent coincide with the relative frequency, as therein stated, of the Gwentian onaddunt and of ohonunt. E. Lhuyd, *Arch. Br.* (translation

¹ Gwneuthur is often pleonastically used in Northern dialects. At least Iolo Morganwg quotes, in Add. MS. 15,029, f. 114a (or 174a), from No. 1 of *Y Greal*, blue wrapper: y gwna hawb wneyd eu goreu; and remarks: "But a Northwallian can never speak or write without these abominable auxiliary verbs" (to which also darfod belongs; see § 57). *Ib.*: he calls na wnelont frwyscau, na wnelont ddyscu, etc., in the *Statute of Gruff. ab Cynan* (also printed in *Y Greal*), "dull Gwynedd". In *Y Brython*, 1859, p. 203, l. 35, cerdd bur ei gwneuthur a wnaeth occurs in a poem of Iolo Goch, to which the same writer, E. Williams, remarks: "of a wnaeth gwneuthur, a Northwallicism."

of the *Cornish Tale*), writes *pan orygym dhûad* (I went), and *pan orygsoch*.

L.—CAFAEL.

§ 72. This verb (Corn. *cafos*, *caffos*, Bret. *cafout*, *caffout*) occurs in Welsh as *caffael*, *cafael*, *cael*; and as *gafael* in *ym—afael* (Ir. *gabail*, **gabagli-*), *gafaelu*, *gafaelyd*, and *ymaflyd*, *ymaelyd* (besides *ymgael*). Davies, *Gramm.*, gives *câf*, *cai*, *cei*, *caiff*, *cawn*, *cewch*, *cânt* (and *caffaf*, *ceffi*, *caffant*), *caed*, *caffed*, etc.; *cawn*, *cait*, *cai*, *caem* and *ceym*, etc.; *caffwn*, *caffem*, *ceffym*, etc.; *cefais*, -*aist*—*cês*, *cêst*, *cafodd*, *câdd*,¹ *câs* *cafaf*, *cawsom*, etc.; *ceusym*, p. 259; *cafwyf*, *caffwyf*, pl. *cafom*, *caffom*, *caom*, etc.; *cafwyd*, *caffwyd*, *caed*, *câd*, *cafad* *caffad*; *caid*, *ceffid*, *cawsid*, etc. The history of these different forms is not clear; the first requisite is to collect the forms existing in the more extensive Middle-Welsh MSS. I have done this with regard to the *Mab.* (1887) and the texts printed from *Ll. Gw. Rh.* (initial *c* and *k* are both written as *c* in the following lists).

Cf. B. of Herg.: Ger. uab Erbin: caf (3 times), *ceffy* (11): *cey* col. 807, *ceiff* (5), *caff6n* (3), *ceff6ch* 784, *caffant* (2); *caff6yf* (4), *ceffych* 773, *caffo* (2); *caff6n* 795: *ca6n* 774, *caffut* 775, *caffei* (2), *ceffynt* 807; *sarhaet a geis* 775: *ceueist* (5), *cauas* (6), *cafaf* 779: *ca6asant* (3); *ca6ssei* 800; *caffar* (3); *cahat* 771; *caffel* (4): *cael* 773 (*ymgauas* 780, *dyrchauel* (4)).

Per. ab Efr.: caffaf 685; *ceffy* (12), *ceiff* (3), *caff6n*, cols. 662, 664, *caffant* 700; *caff6yf* (2), *ymgaff6yf* (3), *ceffych* (2); *ca6n* 671, *caffut* (3), *caffei* (9); *ceueis* (3), *ceueist* (4), *cefeist* 695, *cauas* (7), *cafaf* (2), *ca6asant* 659; *ca6ssei* 672; *ceffir* 683; *cahat* 669; *ceffit* 695, 700: *ceit* 668 (*dyrcheuit* 698); *caffel* (10): *cael* (4) (*dyrchauel* (3), *drychauel* 679).

¹ *Câdd* occurs frequently in North-Welsh prints (18th cent., e.g., a *gâdd*, Trefriw, 1778, *Y Traeth.*, 1886, p. 282; a *gadd*, Shrewsbury, 1763, *ib.*, p. 271; *y cadd*, Trefriw, 1798, *ib.*, p. 424, etc.; and *cf. ni chadd*, *Y Cymro*, Bangor, 1, 1, 1849, etc. *Gwâdd* (e.g., *ac mi gafodd y tenantiaid i gwadd ono i ginio, a dono lle buon nhw . . .*, *Yr Amserau*, 25, 2, 1847) for *gwahodd*, to invite, appears similar to *câdd*, from *caodd*?

Iarll. y Ffynn. : ceffy (2), caff6n (2), ceff6ch 645 ; ceffych 630, caffo 630 ; caffi 655, ymgaffei 636 ; cefeis 633, cauas (2), cafas (4), ca6ssam 654, ca6ssant 641 ; caffel (5) ; (dyrchauat 636, dyrchafel 639).

Kulh. ac Olw. : caffaf 6, ceffy (17), caffy 827 : ce y 824, ti a geby 826, ceiff 830 ; caff6yf (3), ceffych (32, etc.), caffo 811, caffom 821 ; caffut 844, caffi (3), ceffynt (2) ; ceueis (8), cauas (7), ca6ssant (2) ; caffat (4) : cafat 843 : cahat 818 ; ceffit 818 ; caffer (3) ; ceffir (4) ; caffel (28, etc.) : cael (3) ; (dyrchau6ch, dyrchauai, dyrchaua6d ; ymauael, ymauel, ymauaela6d).

Breud. Rhon. : ceff6ch 558, caffant (2) ; caffi (2) ; ceueis 559, ceueist 556, ca6ssant (2) ; (dyrcheff 566 ; dyrchael 566).

Cyfr. Llud a Llew. : ceffych (2) ; cauas (2) ; ceffit 706 ; caffel (2), (ymauael 769).

Pwyll pend. Dyuet. : caffaf (1), ceffy (4), ceiff (1), caff6n 724, ceff6ch 723 ; caffo 718 ; caff6n 718, caffi 723 ; ceueis (2), ceueist (3), cauas (4), ca6ssam 715 ; cawssei 724, caffel (3) : cauael 714 ; cael 715.

Branw. verch Llyr. : ceiff (2), ceff6ch 734 ; caffo 732, caffom 734 ; caei 728, 730, 732 ; ceueis (2), cauas (4), ca6ssant 731 ; ca6ssei (2) ; cahat 728, 733 ; caffael 739 : kynn kael o dyn nny ty gauael arna6 736, cael (6) ; (dyrchauael 727, dyrchael 732).

Man. vab Llyr. : ceffy (5) ; caffon 742 ; caff6n (2), caffut 740, caffi (1) caei (1) ; ceueis (5), ca6ssant 742, -ant 743 ; ceffit (4) ; (ydymeveil 745, 3rd sing. ; ydymauela6d 744, ymauael (3)).

Math vab M. : ca6n, 1st pl., 753 ; ca6ssant 753 ; ceffir 752 : ceir 753 ; cael 752.

Ll. Gw. Rh. : *Campeu Charl.* : ceffy, p. 15 ; caffi 14 ; cauas 7 ; caffat 6.

Eb. Turp. : caffaf 69 : o chaf 54, ceffy (8), ceiff (3) ; caffwyf 51, caffom (2), caffwynt 98 ; caffi (3), o chafyn nynheu 53, ceffynt, 32 ; ceueis (5), ceueisti 68, cauas (13), cawssant 70 (ymgawssant (2)), cawsant 112 ; cawssei (ry-, 6) ; ceffir 108 ; caffat (4) ; cawssit 117 ; caffel (ry-g, ymg., 16) ; (ymavaelaf 112, ymauaelawd 56 ; dercheueist, derchael).

Boun o H. : caffaf (4) : cahaf 126, caf (3), ceffy (4) : ce y (4), ceiff (2), (dyrcheif 135), cawn 182, ceffwch (2) ; ce wch 128 ; caffo 146 ; cawn (4), caei (1), cai 140, 144, 154, ce ynt (2) ; cefeist (3), cauas (7), cafas (4), cawssam 127, cawssant 167, -ant (3), cawsant (2) ; cawssei (2), cawssynt 143 ; cawsoedei 170, caffat 179, cahat 156 ; ceit 144 ; caffel (5) : cael (6) ; (dyrchafyssant 155).

Purd. Padr. : caffaf (1), ceffy (2) ; ceffych 199 ; caffut 199, caffi

(3): cai 193, ceffynt 190; cauas (2); caffit 199, ceffit 202; caffel (2).

Buch. Meir Wryr: ceffy 214, ceiff (2), caffwn (1), caffant (1); caffom 227; caffwn 213, caffei 227; ceueis (1), cefeis (1), ceueist (2), cauas (6), cawssam 212, -ant 227; cawssoddat 224, kawssodyat 224; caffat 234, ny chat 222; ac yna y caffet ygkygor 218; caffel (7); cael (3); (dercheuis 230).

From the other parts I only quote caffael, p. 241; cawssent, p. 248; caffey, p. 262; caffadoed, p. 265; dyrcheif, p. 274; caffem, pp. 289, 311; cael, pp. 311 (2), 314; cawsei, p. 316; na chyffit, p. 322.

Y S. Gr., p. 180: val y cahat.

Add. MS. 14,869: kein uyget am drefred dryfrwyd | kert gan gyrt amgylch y allwyd | *keffid* eu keillith kwn kunllwyd | *keffynt* veyon voreuwyd | *keffitor* ymdwr am drwyd | heuelyt | Twrchteryt y ar vwyd | caffawd beirt eu but yn yt wyd | keffid noeth noted rac awyd | *keffitor* ym prufnad ym proffwyth | areith ym pryffwn waedwyd, f. 56a.

Salesbury, *N. T.*: pam a gaffat, f. 184; cahat, f. 2b. Huet: ny chafad, f. 386b; ny chad, f. 391b. *Barddas*, i: cafad, cad, cafwyd, p. 32; caed, p. 64. *Medd. Myddfai*: cafwyd, p. 89.

§ 73. The 3rd sing. of the *s*-Pret. is cafas, cafodd and cās, cādd (given by Davies, *Gramm.*, D. S. Evans, *Llythyr.*); cf. ni chas, *marg.* chafodd, *Cann. y C.*, p. 185; ond ni chas efe, *Iolo MSS.*, 28; a gadd, thrice on p. 22 of Lewis Dwnn's *Herald. Visit.*, vol. i; besides a gavvodd, p. 34; a gavas, often; Pass. a gad, p. 59 (cafes, *Bardd.*, i, p. 238). Whilst dyrchafael forms the plural of the *s*-Pret. in -assom or -yssom, etc., cafael directly appends the characteristics of the *s*-Pret., cawssom, etc., being the result. Only in MS. *Cleop.* B5 have I found written sef y cafsant, ff. 5a, 7b; na chafsant f. 55b; a gaussawch, f. 92a; y caussant, f. 5a; yny gaussant, f. 16b; besides y cawssant, f. 5a (a dyrchauassawch, f. 18b). Cafesont is used by Sal., *N. T.*, f. 159a. Aw, from *af, is treated like the old aw from *ā, and becomes in the later language ow, o, yw; cf. my *Beitr.*, § 97-99 (*Jes. Coll.* MS. 141: kowsant, kywsant; Add. MS. 14,986: a gosoch; *Yr Arw.*: mi gywson i, mi gywsa (Middle-Welsh cawssei), cywsach chi),

and *Herald. Visit.*, i: a gowssant, pp. 22, 60, 90; a gowsant, p. 12 (2); Hope, 1765: ni chowse chwi, p. 7; *Cab. f'ew. T.*: mi gowset ti, p. 39; os cowse fo, p. 15; na chowsan nhw, p. 39; etc. In other dialects these forms are replaced partly by cel- (see § 74), partly by ceis, formed like eis, gwneis; cf. cês, *Cann. y C.*; ces i, *Ser. C.*, ii, p. 6; cesest ti, p. 423; *Cab. f'ew. T.*: ni ches i, cest ti, p. 6.—Ceusym for cefais, like eisym, archesym (for erchais), cersym and caresym, began to spread, according to Davies, in his time.

§ 74. In the Gwentian Add. MS. 14,921 (*Maundeville's Travels*) occur: ti gay, di gai, kâyff, kân; kaffo, caffon; Pr. Sec. y kay ef, ef a gay, e gae, y kaef (ef), f. 49b, kaffynt; cafas, kawson; kafad, kâfad; cael, câel, gaeffel, f. 22a (an error similar to kaifail, MS. A, p. 68). F. 37a exhibits the first example known to me of a flection common in the modern South-Welsh dialects, viz., that based upon cel- as a presumed verbal stem: y kelse. The Infin. cel (a chel) occurs in *Ll. Achau*, p. 64.

Cf. *Y Traeth.*, iii, p. 12, where pe celai e fyned, fel y celent, are ascribed to the Gwentian dialects (for cai, caent). So in *Y Tyw. a'r G.*: ti gelset, ii, p. 66; *Y Cymmr.*, iv (Iolo Morganwg): ai celai ef fyned i'r gwely; *Y Felten* (Merthyr Tydfil): ni chelai, 1, 4, 1870; *Y Bedyddiwr*, viii, p. 44: celsai.

At Neath are used: cā, cāf, cāi di, mae geny, cānw; ceso i, cesosti, cesoti, fe gās; celwn i, celiti, cela fa, celyni, celychi, celynw; fe gespwd; *ib.*: gnethwd, gnespwd, fe wetwd, fe g(y)merwd, fe welwd and fe *welswd* (a combination of gwelwyd and gwelspwyd); cāl (cjal, Pontypridd).

But it is also written in texts intended to represent the colloquial language in the Dimetian parts of South-Wales.

Cf. *Seren Cymru* (Carmarthen): 'chelwn I ddim, i, p. 374; chele ni ddim degwn na treth eglws, iii, p. 5; chele 'r ddou grwt 'na ddim o—p. 227; ond chelswn I ddim, p. 226; etc. *Seren Gomer*, xxxvi: na chele fe, fe alle y cele dyn da gam gyda ni, p. 362; a chele, ac fe gele, p. 457.

In Add. MS. 14,921 ymaelyd also occurs: ar tan yn

dechre ymaelyd, heb yr tan gael ymâlyd ac hwynt; cf. *B. of Herg.*: ymauael, col. 824; yn ymgael ac ystlys y llannerch, col. 700; o ymgael ar gŵr a dywed y di, col. 711.

M.—ON VARIOUS VERBS, MOSTLY DEFECTIVE.

(Zeuss, *Gramm. Celt.*, *p. 604-6.)

§ 75. On cicleu, ciglef, see Rhys, *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 24; cf. *B. of Herg.*: ry giclef, ny chiclef i, a giclef, cols. 674, 800, 801, 835, 836; ny chicleu i, col. 834; 3rd sing. kicleu, col. 780. Add. MS. 14,869: y clywspwyd, f. 240a. For examples of clowed and clwed for clywed, clobod for clybod, see my *Beitr.*, p. 43. Cf. clwas, clwasti, clyw, ni glwson, Inf. clwad, in Neath; North-Welsh: pen glwan nhw, *Yr Ams.*, 4, 11, 1847; mi glwis i, 1, 7, 1847; clwad (Imp.), 15, 1, 1851, etc. *Clev-, *clouv- became *clow (pre-tonic clyw) and *clou-, cleu, perhaps also clo- (clo-bod, cly-bod), depending probably on the quality of the following vowel; cf. taraw, tereu, etc. (§ 66). In the South-Welsh MS. of *Han. Gr. ab C.* cicleu is used; in the North-Welsh MS. clybu, clywodd, *Myv. Arch.*, *pp. 723, 725, 726, etc.¹ Davies, *Dict.*, gives degle, ehodum, heus, auscultia (Spurrell has degly v., to hearken, to listen), probably

¹ In *Seren Gomer*, 1814, p. 19, clywed peth drewedig, clywed blinder, clywed bwydydd blasus are given from South-Welsh dialects, clywed being used there for arogl (L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,923, f. 134b, mentions arogl (scent, smell), brŵd (hot, warm), rhawg (for a long while), fo, gau, efo, as words not occurring in South-Welsh dialects). Teimlo, archwaethu: In the *Cambrian Journal*, 1856, p. 248, is given: beth yw 'r blas cas rwy'n archwaethu ar y cig yma? in Dyfed,—'ndeimlio in West Glamorganshire,—'n glywed in East Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire; clywed ("to taste" and "to smell"), in Monmouthshire and East Glamorganshire, but never in West Glamorganshire. D. S. Evans, however, says that clywed is also used in Dyfed in that sense. Add. MS. 15,049, f. 22b: yn ylle i clowo y klaf y dolur. To this corresponds what is said in vol. ii of the *Red Dragon* (pp. 38-40), Cardiff, 1882 *et seq.*, that Welshmen speaking English say "to hear a smell"; also "to sing a piano"; cf. canu telyn.

*de-gleu ; cf. Daf. ab Gw., *Poems* : degle ferch, p. 112 ; degle 'n nes, p. 218.

§ 76. Davies, *Dict.*, has *handid, idem quod hanfydded, sit, existat ; *handoedd, pro hanoedd, fuit, erat ; *handym = ydym, sumus ; *handyfydd, pro hanffydd, erit. Examples of handid are frequent in Middle-Welsh prose ; the other forms occur in the older poets ; cf. Add. MS. 14,869 (*Gogynfeirdd*) : Cyd vuam gyd ac ef—handym oll gyuadef—handid tegach teulu nef, f. 193*b* ; keueis dwy handid mwy eu molawd, f. 234*a* ; handid, f. 70*b* ; handwyf, f. 74*b* ; handoet eu hachoet kyn eu hechig, f. 85*a*. Eleven forms occur in the poem of Llywelyn Bardd y Lywelyn vab Ioruerth, f. 116*b* (printed in *Myv. Arch.*, i, p. 358 = ²p. 247) : handid (twice), handwyf (twice), handwyd, handyuyt, handym, handoetud, handoet (twice) ; “handythuagwyd peuyr yn penn erchwys—yn oreu keneu kynon vegys.”

§ 77. On dyre, colloq. dere, see Rhŷs, *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 26. *B. of Herg.* : na dyret ti, col. 794 ; dyret, cols. 776, 799, 800, 801 ; dyret, *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, pp. 120, 173, 187. Deret gyt ami, *R. Celt.*, viii, p. 9 ; dyret, p. 21. L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,923, f. 133*a*, has : South-Welsh dere 'n gloi—North-Welsh tyr'd yn gwit, sydyn, fuan (come quickly) ; he also gives tyr'd from Anglesey (Add. MS. 14,944, f. 153*b*) ; cf. tyd, Sweet, p. 420. Richards, *Dict.* (1753) : South-Welsh dyre, dere—North-Welsh dyred, tyred. Dera gyta fi, Neath ; dera geno i, Aberdare.

§ 78. Zeuss, ²p. 606, merely mentions hwde (ecce, accipe, sume). Cf. *Ll. Gw. Rh.* : a hwdy ditheu ef, p. 52 ; hwdy vy ffyd, p. 54 ; hwde, p. 179. Davies, *Gramm.*, gives hwde, hwre, accipe, pl. hwdiwch, hwriwch, hwrewch. Rowlands, *Gramm.*, ⁴107, and Williams (*Dosparth Edeyrn*) give North-Welsh hwde, South-Welsh hwre ; Williams has also hwda, hwra (cf. *Y Brython*, 1861, p. 112 : hwda, from Denbighshire). The etymology of these words is obscure. The only expla-

nation of them not altogether improbable is, in my opinion, that hwre stands for *wre, *wyre, on which see *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 28 *seq.* Calling to mind Corn. wette, wetta, otte (Zeuss, ²p. 606) from *wel-te, and the Welsh tyd, from tyred, exhibiting phonetic changes due to that advanced degree of phonetic evolution to which isolated words like these interjectionally-used imperatives have attained, I would suggest further that hwde contains hwre with the pron. of the 2nd pers. sing. It would be more satisfactory, of course, if hwre could be proved to contain a deponential ending. Or is it merely a phonetic change, like Breton hirio: W. heddyw?

§ 79. Dabre is not mentioned by Zeuss. Spurrell, *Dict.*, has dabre, come, come hither, and dabred, dabredu, dabrediad, which latter words I do not remember to have met anywhere. Cf. *B. of Herg.*: dabre, col. 717. *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: dabre di bellach, p. 72; dabre yr maes, p. 159; na dabre di, p. 54, etc.; *Y S. Gr.*, pp. 160, 167, 169, etc.; Add. MS. 14,969: uy adas ny debre, f. 148a (*Gwalchmai i Efa ei wraig*); Daf. ab Gw., *Poems*: debre 'r nos ger llaw 'r rhosydd—dan frig y goedwig a'r gwŷdd, p. 31, also p. 134; Salesbury, *Dictionary*: debre, harken; *N. Test.*: dyred, *marg.* does, dabre, f. 41a; dabre ac edrych, *marg.* dyred a' gwyl, f. 379a (Huet); tyret ac edrych in Morgan's edition (1588). Davies, *Dict.*, gives also anebre, marked as obsolete: "vid. an an-nebre, ab an et debre."

§ 80. Moes, pl. moeswch, da, praebe, age; moeswn, moesant "nonnulli dicunt", Davies, *Gramm.*; cf. moes vy march *B. of Herg.*, col. 717; moysswch y llythyr am march am cledyf im, *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 131. It stands probably for ym—oes, and if moeswch is a neo-formation like doswch, it would be formed similarly to does, and allow us to assume, if necessary, an older *ym—os (see § 69)?

§ 81. The deponent verb hebr has been pointed out by Rhys in the ordinary orthographies heb yr (*Y Cymmr.*, viii,

p. 161, with reference to page 114). Cf., e.g., *Gwel. Bardd Cwsc*, 1759: ebr un, ebun arall, ebr finneu, ebr ef, ebr y trydydd, pp. 4, 5, 6. L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,923, f. 134a, gives South-Welsh *menta fe*—North-Welsh *meddai fo*; also D. S. Evans, *Llythyr.*: South-Welsh, *myntai* = *ebai*, *meddai*; cf. *mynta fi*, *Y Bed.*, viii, p. 106; *mynta finau*, *ib.* (Monmouthshire).

September 30, 1887.

APPENDIX.

In my *Beitr.*, pp. 78-9, and *Obs. on the Pron.*, *Y C.*, viii, pp. 157-9, I drew attention to *cynnag pwy*, etc., occurring in the 16th cent. Add. MS. 14,921, and in the dictionaries (Davies, Richards, Pughe, Spurrell), but not, as far as I was then aware, occurring in other MSS. or mentioned in books, etc. I have lately looked through the first ten volumes of *Yr Amserau* (Liverpool, 1843-1852, fol.), and read *Llythyrâu'rhen Ffarmwr*, in which, by the way, few dialectal forms or words occur which are not known also from *Cab. J'ew. Tomos*, the *Letters of Wmffra'r gwýdd* in *Yr Arweinydd*, a plagiarism of the "Old Farmer's" letters, etc. Before these letters begin to make a regular appearance two evidently fictitious letters of an opponent are inserted, written in a South-Welsh dialect, or, rather, containing idiomatic forms of several Southern dialects. In these, *ganta pwi'n*, *ganta p'in*, for *bynag pwy un*, *pa un*, occur; cf. *darlleniais yn eich papír wythnos i heddi luthír oddiwrth "Hên Ffarmwr" yn gweid yn erbin disg ganta pwi'n iw e, mai yn dang-gos nad ois dim moheno fe gwedi caíl ond riw gettin bir o addisg. Mai yr hên w'r (nei weddw ganta p'in), yn gwrthddeid ei hín yn ofnadw; . . . ond ganta pwi'n iw e, Yr Ams.*, 17, 12, 1846. Shortly after

reading these letters I was told¹ that *gynta p'un*, *gynta beth* were commonly used in Glamorgan, and also *'ta p'un*, *ta beth* (so at Neath), the first syllable of *gynta*, which is less strongly accented than *p'un* or *beth*, being dropped. Cf. 'dos dim tu fas *ta beth*, falla fod llawer tu fewn, *Y Fellten*, (Merthyr Tydfil), 1, 4, 1870 (Glyn Ebbwy). The connection of these forms with *cynnag* *pw*y, etc., is obvious, but it remains an open question, worthy of further consideration, whether *cynnag* is an old form and *cynta* a modern etymologising transformation of it ('*ta beth*, for *beth bynnag* in North Wales, meaning "the first thing" in the sense of the German "das erste beste ding", for "whatsoever"), or whether *cynnag* is a combination of *bynna*(g) and *cynta*(f). In Add. MS. 14,921 *cyntaf* is twice written *cyna*; cf. *ac or il hono y ddair y siprys lle māy llaweredd o winwydd. yn gynā ymāynt yn gochon a chwed y hyny yn wynon yrhan fwa*, f. 5*a*; *yno y dwad yn harglwydd gynā wrth samywel*, f. 30*a*. I have not noticed such orthographies elsewhere, and they are possibly caused by *cynt* being pronounced *cyn*.

¹ I received this and other information on the dialect of the Neath Valley, quoted in part in the preceding pages, from my friend Mr. S. Mainwaring, a native of that part of Wales.

January 31, 1888.

NOTES BY PROFESSOR RHYS.

To footnote on p. 75 :—*lladd* and *lleas*. *Lladd*, "to cut" or "kill", is for *slad*, as in the Irish *slaidim*, of approximately the same meaning, while *lleas* is a derivative (like *priodas*, *cymdeithas*, *galanas*, etc.) from *lle* for *sleg* or *slig*, as in the Irish *sligim*, "I slay".

To p. 101, line 19 :—*cnabyddiaeth*. *Cnabyddiaeth* or *cynabyddiaeth* is for *cydnabyddiaeth*, like *pryhawn* or *pyrhawn* (better *pruhawn*), for *prydawn*, always accentuated on the *uhawn*; compare also *crynu*, "to tremble", for **crydnu*.

ON THE
CIRCULAR HUTS
 SOMETIMES CALLED *CYTTIAU'R GWYDDELOD*,
 AND THEIR INHABITANTS.

BY THE REV. ELIAS OWEN, M.A.

THE places where vestiges of these circular huts are found have undergone considerable changes since the days when they were inhabited, and probably the temperature of the country was then different from what it is in our days. Wales was formerly well wooded, but within the last four or five centuries or so it has been denuded of its forests. It is necessary to reclothe the country with an almost impenetrable entanglement of brushwood and trees, to convert many a smiling valley into a treacherous marsh, and to reintroduce many extinct animals into Wales, ere we can even faintly realise the condition of the country at the time when these primitive abodes were occupied.

I.—THE EVIDENCE OF WRITERS AS TO THE STATE OF THE
 COUNTRY IN ANCIENT TIMES.

I propose to lay poets, historians, and place-names under contribution, to derive from them a description of the country as it was when it was sparsely populated by the rude inhabitants of the small circular huts that are to be met with along the hill-sides in many parts of Wales. The part of the country to which my remarks will chiefly apply is the northern slope of the mountain range that extends from Conway to the south of Carnarvon, but I shall endeavour, as I go along, to point out the particular districts to which they refer.

To begin with the poets. Incidentally, Welsh poets throw some light on the state of the country in the days in which they flourished. Thus, in a poem ascribed to *Merfyn*, who is said to have flourished in the sixth century, but whose evidence would be equally good had he lived several centuries nearer our days, is an allusion to the oaks of Snowdon, thus:—

“Pan dorrer y deri
Yn agos i'r 'yri
Ai nofiad yn efrydd
O Gonwy i fro gwerydd.”

“When the oaks are felled
In the neighbourhood of Erryri
And will gently float
From Conway to the regions of Gwerydd.”

The *deri*, oak trees, that are mentioned as being near *'yri*, *erryri*, Snowdon, have long ago disappeared, and Snowdon is in our days naked and rugged, but when the poet sang such evidently was not its state.

In the *History of the Gwydir Family* is a quotation from *Rhys Goch Eryri* (Rhys Goch of Erryri, or Snowdon), a bard who flourished about the year 1400. The extract is taken from a poem addressed to Robert ap Meredith, and it contains an allusion to setting the country or forest on fire,—a not uncommon practice in warfare in ancient times. The poet writes as follows:—

“Hir y bu Ruffudd ruddbar
Waywdan fab Cynan ein car
Ar goesgeirch hir gwayw ysgwyd
Yn gorwedd Llew Flamgledd Llwyd
A'i dalaith Llwybr goddaith Llaw
Fynnodd gynt yn kelffeiniaw
Tann oerfab bid tan arfoll.”

“Long did our friend (or kinsman) Gryfudd ap Conan, with his bloody spear, fiery lance, shield, and flaming sword,

lye dormant like a grey headed lion, *whilst his country was all in a blaze* by the hands of the enemy, *who heaped together dry wood to kindle [welcome] the fire.*"

These quotations from the Welsh poets are corroborated by Welshmen who wrote in English. I will make a few extracts from *Sir John Wynne* and *Pennant* to show that the country was once a huge forest.

In the *History of the Gwydir Family*, Oswestry edition, p. 75, I find the following words :—

"All the whole countrey then was but a forest, rough and spacious, *as it is still*, but then waste of inhabitants, and all overgrowne with woods ; for Owen Glyndwr's warres beginning in 1400, continued fifteen yeares, which brought such a desolation that greene grasse grew on the market place in Llanrwst and the deere fled into [? fed in] the churchyard, as it is reported. . . . The countrey of Nantconway was not onely wooded, but alsoe all Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Denbigh shires seemed to be but one forrest haveing few inhabitants."

Sir John, in this extract, tells us what the country was in his days—"as it is still,"—and also its condition previous to his days. Sir John died 1626-7, aged 73, consequently he was not very far removed from Owen Glyndwr; nor was he very distant from his editor, Barrington, who published Sir John's history in 1770; but by the latter date a change had come over the scene, for Barrington, in a foot-note to the above quotation, says :

"All this tract of country is mountainous, though not very rocky; it may therefore have been formerly covered with wood, according to the account, though there is at present little or none to be seen."

We may therefore infer that the Snowdon forest, or Welsh forest, disappeared between the early part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Pennant, in his *Tour*, writes as follows:—"Stags were found here (Snowdonia) in the days of *Leland*, in such numbers as to destroy the little corn which the farmers attempted to sow; but they were extirpated before the year 1626."

The same author speaks of warrants issued by Queen Elizabeth, in one of which it would appear that the forest of Snowdon extended into the counties of Merioneth and Anglesey. The Earl of Leicester, who by letters patent had been appointed Chief Ranger of the forest of Snowdon, endeavoured to prove that his jurisdiction extended into Anglesey, because a stag had been started in Carnarvonshire and killed in Anglesey.

The stag, we are informed by *Pennant*, "was pursued to the banks of the Menai, that it swam over that branch of the sea, and was killed at Malltraeth, *infra forestam nostram de Snowdon*."

These quotations abundantly prove that the country was formerly almost one continuous forest. But even if history were silent on this matter, place-names, that are most tenacious of life, would tell us the same thing.

II.—THE EVIDENCE OF PLACE-NAMES, ETC.

The evidence of place-names, as to the state of the country in days gone by, is most valuable and trustworthy. Names of farms or wild mountain tracts, undoubtedly descriptive of those places when first applied to them, are no longer appropriate; the inference to be drawn from this is, that the country itself has undergone a change since the time when these expressive names were first applied to this or that spot, and not that the names were originally inapplicable to them. Proof of the correctness of this statement abounds in all parts of Wales. Take, for instance, the modern Welsh

name for Snowdon, *Y Wyddfa*, or *Gwyddfa*, a compound word derived from *Gwydd*, trees, and *fan*, a place, or in other words, the forest; in our days Snowdon cannot boast of even a single primæval oak; all have disappeared, but the name remains to tell us that formerly it was clothed with wood to such a degree that it was pre-eminently *the forest*.

From the names of places along the Snowdon range of mountains it becomes a certainty that all those parts were once wooded, though at present nothing can be discovered of the ancient luxuriant forests but their names. Let us take, for instance, the bleak, naked district to the north of *Carnedd Llewelyn*, and ascertain what lessons the place-names there impart. At the foot of that hill lies a wild, rude tract of land strewn with boulders, called *Argoed*, but there is now no *Coed*, wood, there. In the immediate neighbourhood of the *Argoed* are places called *Gors-gwaen-gwial*, and *Braich-y-breisgyll*, but the *gwial*, saplings, and the *cyll breision*, thick hazels, are no more. A mountain ridge to the north of Carnedd Llewelyn is called *Cyrn Wiga*,—an expressive name, for the summit of the ridge would be bare, and would thus resemble horns (*cyrn*), whilst the wood on each side, the *Wiga*, would throw out into stronger relief those bare summits. It need hardly be said that the name *Cyrn Wiga*, under the present condition of that range, denuded of its wood, is a misnomer. Another instance—at the foot of the range, facing Penrhyn Castle, is a place known as *Coet-mawr*, or *Coetmor*, as locally pronounced, the large wood; but this is no more.

Tradition, speaking of the district above-mentioned, says that a squirrel could travel from *Cwm-pen-llafar*, a cwm at the foot of the Carnedd, to the sea, without once touching the ground; and it says that an active man might have achieved the same feat. The turbaries to be met with, even on the hill-tops and in the mountain valleys in those parts, also inform us that in ages long distant flourishing forests

waved their branches over the spots where now they lie weltering in their sodden graves.

Thus history, tradition, the earth, and place-names, separately and collectively, bear testimony to the fact that formerly Wales was almost one forest. I say almost, for place-names show that in remote ages the country had its bare hill-summits. The district that I have hitherto been speaking of shall adduce evidence to the truth of this remark. There are hilltops that have the significant name *Y Foel*, the bald, as *Foel Faban*, *Foelwnion*, *Mynydd-moel*; and then we have the side of a hill called *Y Llefyn*, the smooth, a somewhat abrupt declivity on the south side of a conical hill called *Y Gyryn*; then come such names as *Cwm Brwynog*, the rushy vale, and the expressive name *Yr Arryg*, which the author of *Observations on the Snowdon Mountains* derives from *Ar* and *Rhyg*. But he shall speak for himself:—

“Possibly the word *Arryg* may be a compound of *Ar* and *Rhyg*, pronounced rapidly *Arryg*, which signifies *arable* or *plowed land* for *Rye*. Below it, on the south-west side, there are some remains here and there of plowed ridges, which prove that some parts of this hill below have been plowed; and it may be supposed that rye must have been the chief, if not the only grain sown on these hills” (p. 141).

The word *maes*, a field, joined with some other appellation, is often to be heard applied to a portion of the unenclosed mountain. Also the word *cae* occurs as a place-name in uncultivated parts of the commons.

We have got, therefore, thus far, that in the forests there were glades probably of no very large extent: and that these were partially cultivated shall be shown by-and-by.

But I have said that many a fruitful vale was once a dangerous swamp or treacherous marsh; and this can also be proved by the prevalence of such words as *wern*, a swamp;

gors, a fen; *rhos*, a moor, or watery meadow; in places where at present grow heavy crops of grain, but where once there were undoubtedly swamps and fens.

The very names of the trees that flourished in our primeval forests are preserved in place-names to this very day; thus, we have *Llwyn Celyn*, holly grove; *Llwyn On*, ash grove; *Bryn Helig*, willow hill; *Y Gelli*, hazel grove. Places have such names as *Y Fedw*, the birch tree; *Derwen*, oak, etc., and these names occur where these trees no longer exist. The turbarry, however, informs us that the trees just mentioned were indigenous to the country.

Place-names also tell us what animals formerly found a home in our country. I will confine myself in treating of this subject to the Snowdon district.

Beginning with the ancient name of Snowdon, *Eryri*, which may be the plural of *eryr*, an eagle, though some derive the word from *eira*, snow, and thence the English word Snowdon. But that *eagles* frequented those rocky mountains will appear from the following quotation from the "Additions to Caernarvonshire" in Gibson's *Camden* (1695), p. 667:—

"The British name of these mountains *Kreigieu'r Eryreu*, signifies *Eagle Rocks*, which are generally understood by the Inhabitants to be so call'd from the Eagles that formerly bred here too plentifully, and do yet haunt these Rocks some years, tho' not above three or four at a time, and that commonly one Summer in five or six; coming hither, as is supposed out of Ireland. Had they been denominated from Snow, the name must have been *Kreigieu'r Eira*, whereas we always call them *Eryreu*. Nor do the ancientest Authors that mention them, favour Mr. Camden's Etymology; (he derived the word from *eira*, snow) for *Giraldus Cambrensis* writes it *Eryri* (which differs nothing in pronunciation), and Ninnius, who writ Anno 858. *Heriri*."

Thus far the cautious writer is strong in the affirmative, but, to make his remarks square in with the previous remarks of Camden, who makes the snow on the Snowdon mountain date, one would think, from the glacial period, for his words are:—"It (Snowdon) harbours snow continually, being throughout the year cover'd with it, or rather with a harden'd crust of snow of many years' continuance" (p. 663), Camden's commentator proceeds as follows:—

"However, seeing the English call it *Snowdon*, the former derivation (that of Camden from *eira*, snow) was not without good grounds; and 'tis possible the word *yrau* might be either the ancient pronunciation, or a corruption of *eira*; and so these Rocks call'd *Kreigiau yr Yrau*, which might afterwards be written *Kreigieu Eryreu*."

The accommodating writer does, however, further on, summon courage to state that the snow continues on the mountain for a considerable part of the year only, and not, as affirmed by Camden, throughout the year. I may state that *Creigiau*, rocks, and *Mynyddoedd*, mountains, are not synonymous terms; and it can hardly be said of perpendicular rocks that they are snowy rocks; though of mountains on which snow remains for a long period yearly, it can with propriety be said of them that they are snowy mountains. On the other hand, Eagle Rocks would be both an expressive and appropriate name, if Snowdon were frequented by eagles, or if eagles built their eyry on the rocks so named. That the Welsh designated places after birds is seen in many places; thus, the rock that towers above the road that leads from Llanrwst to Bettws-y-Coed is called *Carreg-y-Gwalch*, the *Falcon's Rock*; and nothing could be more natural than that the stupendous rocks of Snowdon should take their name from the king of birds—*Creigiau'r Eryri*, the *Rocks of Eagles*, particularly as it is known that centuries ago eagles visited those rocks.

The author of *Observations on the Snowdon Mountains*, commenting on the name of the mountain, remarks, that if the name were derived from *snow*, it would take the form *Creigiau'r Eiry* or *Eira*, and not the form *Creigiau'r Eryri*. In corroboration of the correctness of this remark, I may say that a hollow on the Llanllechid hills, where snow makes a prolonged lodgment, is called *Pant yr Eira*, or *Snow Hollow*.

Giraldus speaks of an eagle that visited Snowdon; and his resting on a certain stone, the Archdeacon tells us, presaged war and carnage.

From what has been said, it would seem that in far distant ages the aborigines of Carnarvonshire might have seen with fear the aerial flight of eagles.

Another animal that once inhabited the secluded valleys of Wales was the beaver. Giraldus, in his *Itinerary through Wales*, Bohn's edition, p. 429, says: "The Teivi has another singular particularity, being the only river in Wales, or even in England, which has *beavers*."

This was in the twelfth century; beavers are mentioned in the *Laws of Howel Dda*, which were drawn up a few centuries before the Archdeacon's days, but these animals were even then very rare. The name of the vale, *Nant y Ffrancon*, the valley that stretches from near Ogwen Lake to the Penrhyn Quarries, is thought to owe its origin to the beavers; it is said in that neighbourhood that *Nant y Ffrancon* is a corruption of *Nant yr Afan cwn*, the *afan cwn* being beavers. There is also on the river Conway a pool called *Llyn yr Afangc*, and here again tradition informs us that the *afangc* was the beaver.

Names of places testify also to the existence of *wolves*; thus we have *Llwyn Bleiddyn*, wolves' coppice. This is in Llanllechid parish. *Arth*, a bear, is found in combination with other words as a place-name. The prevalence of deer

is indicated by the many names derived from that animal, as *Llam yr Ewig*, Deer's Leap, a place above the Aber waterfalls.

The names already mentioned can boast of a good old age, and from them we may infer that Wales was for centuries in the Christian era but thinly populated. There is, however, another class of names derived from animals, which, although probably not of great antiquity, should not be passed over, for it is almost a certainty that some of the places denoted by them had the names they now bear at the time when the mountain-sides in their immediate neighbourhood were inhabited by the people who lived in the round huts, the foundation stones of which are still visible in those parts, and are the subject of this paper.

The place-names I mean are derived from domestic animals which have reached our own days. On the west side of Cwm Penllafar, which is situated to the north of Carnedd Dafydd, is a *cwm* difficult of access, called *Cwm Môch*, pigs' dingle; just underneath Carnedd Llewelyn, on the north side, is a mountain lake called *Ffynnon Gaseg*, mare's well, and the whole *cwm* is called *Cwm-y-gaseg*; there, too, is *Afon-gaseg*, the mare's brook. The existence of horses is further shown by the name *Foel Meirch*, horses' hill; and cattle have left their name behind them in the same region, for there is to the north of Carnedd Dafydd a *Pant-yr-ychain*, cattle hollow; and a *Ffos-pant-yr-ychain*; and in *Cwm-ffynnon-gaseg* is a hollow called *Pant March*, horse's hollow. Thus in this wild mountain district we have evidence that cattle, horses, and pigs were possessed by its inhabitants. On the west side of Nant Ffrancon are such names as *Carneddy Filiast*, the heap of the greyhound-bitch; *Clogwyn-y-geifr*, the goats' precipice; *Llyn-y-gwrn*, the dogs' lake; and in other parts of the Snowdon district like names are to be met with.

There is, however, one animal, the sheep, that has not, as far as I have been able to ascertain, left traces of its existence in place-names in Snowdonia, though in other parts of Wales I have found that it has done so. It cannot, perhaps, be inferred from this fact that sheep were unknown in ancient times in those parts; still, when we find the memory of other animals perpetuated by place-names, it is strange that the sheep has been neglected.

Such names as the preceding are highly suggestive, and if it could only be ascertained how old they are, they would be doubly valuable. But in many instances they can hardly be disassociated from the inhabitants of the primitive circular huts that are to be found in ruins not far from these hollows and dingles and hills, which are named after animals most of which have reached our days. The many deep trackways that lead from one group to another of these ancient abodes, and the furrows, prove that the dwellers therein were acquainted with and employed both horses and cattle as beasts of burden; and it is not unlikely that in their hunting expeditions they were assisted by dogs, as would be implied by such a name as *Carnedd y Filiast*, the cairn of the greyhound-bitch. Raising a heap of stones over the dead was a very ancient custom, but it did not continue long after the introduction of Christianity; therefore this *carnedd*, for whatever reason erected, can boast a good old age. I shall have more to say both about *carneddi* and place-names, therefore I leave this subject, and proceed to discuss the name ascribed to the dwellers in the huts.

THE GWYDDELOD, WHO WERE THEY?

The circular huts are sometimes called *Cyttiau'r Gwyddelod*. The word "sometimes" is used advisedly, for it does not appear that they are invariably so designated. Often and again the writer has asked natives what these remains were,

and he has received the answer, "Oh, they are some old ruins." No other answer could be obtained from, nor any information respecting them given by, many a Carnarvonshire farmer; still, it cannot be denied that in Anglesey these huts are called as above, and that the name is not uncommon in other parts of Wales.

Camden is the first to allude to these remains, which he does when describing Anglesey. Like remains are found in other Welsh counties—for instance, in Carnarvonshire; but *Camden* makes no mention of them when he treats of the latter county. However, the writer of the "Additions to Caernarvonshire" states:

"I observ'd that these Inhabitants of the Mountains call any low Country *Hendrev*, which signifies the *ancient habitation*; and that 'tis a common tradition amongst them, as also amongst those that inhabit the like places in Brecknock and Radnorshire, that the Irish were the ancient Proprietors of their Country."¹

With regard to this remark, it may be stated, that along the Carnarvonshire hills are to this day remains of *Hafodtai*, or *summer habitations*, which were occupied only during the summer months by the farmer and his family, residing there to superintend their flocks and herds, which would have roamed over the unenclosed mountain land if not thus carefully looked after. On the approach of winter, the farmer returned with his family and stock to his *Hendre*, or old abode. This practice, judging from the names of the *Hafodtai*, and their state of preservation, must have descended to comparatively modern times. The *Hafodty* was undoubtedly connected with the *Hendre* in the manner now stated, and the *Hendre* was in no way corroborative evidence of the truth of the tradition mentioned above, as it would

¹ Gibson's *Camden*, p. 670.

seem to have been in the opinion of the writer, but was simply the homestead of the family, in contradistinction to the summer residence, or *Hafodty*.

It would appear from *Pennant* that even in his day the practice of going to the hills in summer prevailed. Speaking of the Snowdonia mountain, he writes :

“Its produce is cattle and sheep, which during summer keep very high in the mountains, followed by their owners, with their families, who reside in that season in *Havodtai*, or summer dairy houses, as the farmers in the *Swiss Alps* do in their *Senes* . . . they milk both ewes and goats, and make cheese of the milk . . . Towards winter they descend to their *Hendref*, or old dwelling.”

This is explicit enough, and effectually disposes of the *Hendref* of Camden's annotator, but there still remains the tradition that the Irish were the original proprietors of Wales—a tradition which perhaps in part owes its origin to the prevalence in Wales of such words (combined with others) as *Gwyddel*, *Gwyddelod*, in place-names, and to the modern application of these terms to an Irishman, or Irishmen. It shall however be shown by-and-by that the word *Gwyddel* has not necessarily anything Irish about it, but that it is derived from the Welsh word, *gwydd*, “wood”.

I will now refer to the authorities that associate these remains with the Irish, probably in consequence of the name applied to them, *Cyttiau'r Gwyddelod*. The first reference that I find to these abodes is in *Camden*, p. 674, Gibson's edition. Thus he writes :

“However, we may add, that about the decline of the Roman Government in Britain, some of the Irish Nation crept into this Island (Anglesey). For besides certain intrench'd Banks, which they call *Irish Cottages*; there is another place well known by the name of *Yn hericy Gwidil*, from some Irish, who under the conduct of *Sirigi* overcame the Britains there, as we read in the Book of *Triades*.”

The words, *Irish Cottages*, are given in Camden as *Hibernicorum Casulæ*. This was not the name that he found applied to these huts, as his annotator remarks in a passage which shall shortly be quoted; it was *Cyttiau'r Gwyddelod*, and these words he translated into Latin as above. A more correct translation of *Gwyddelod* might be *sylvestres homines*, as shown in *Mona Antiqua*, second edition, p. 27. Upon this foundation, however, and upon another place-name in which *Gwyddel* appears, Camden asserts that these huts were the work of Irishmen. It is true that he refers to a Triad as corroborative evidence of his statement, but taking all the evidence produced by Camden, and giving to it its full value, what he says falls far short of proving that these huts were erected by the Irish invaders of Anglesey under Sirigi. It might be asked what necessity would there be for Sirigi and his followers to take the trouble to erect huts, when the abodes of their vanquished foes would be at their disposal? And if this invasion were the origin of these huts, we should require a large number of invasions to account for the innumerable remains of huts found in Carnarvonshire, Merionethshire, Denbighshire, and other parts of Wales; and again, in these cases the habitations of the conquered would militate against the theory of Camden, for there they stood, the property of the victors, built and furnished ready to hand, and all that the latter would have to do would be to enter and take possession of the abodes of the slaughtered.

I take it that *hericy* is a misprint for *Keric y*, i.e., *Cerrig y*, and that the place referred to in the above quotation is *Cerrig y Gwyddel*. How Camden connects this place with the invasion of Sirigi, he does not tell us. If it had anything to do with that invasion, the name would have taken a more specific form than *the Stones of the Gwyddel*; but after a lapse of twelve hundred years—the time from “the decline of the Roman government” to Camden’s days—the exact

spot on which was fought a battle between the Irish and Britons could hardly be pointed out with undoubted precision. It amounts almost to a certainty that Camden, or his informant, finding a place-name *Oerrig y Gwyddel*, where there were stones artificially arranged, and not knowing that *Gwyddel* had another signification than "Irishman", surmised that this place was the site of the defeat of the Britons by Sirigi.

The author of the "Additions to Anglesey", in *Camden*, commenting on the above quotation, writes as follows:—

"These words, *Yn Hericy Gwidil*, I suppose to have been erroneously printed for *Kerig y Gwydhel*, i.e., *Irish stones*; for we find a place so call'd in the parish of *Lhan Gristiolis*. But I think we may not safely conclude from that name, either that the Irish had any settlement in these parts, or that there was any memorable action here betwixt that Nation and the Britains; seeing it relates only to one man, who perhaps might be buried at that place, and a heap of stones cast on his grave, as has been usual in other places. I also make some doubt, whether those Monuments our Author mentions by the name of *Hibernicorum Casulæ*, or *Irish Huts*, be any proof that ever the Irish dwelt there; for they are only some vast rude stones laid together in a circular order, enclosing an Area of about five yards diameter, and are so ill-shaped that we cannot suppose them the foundations of any higher building: and as they are, they afford no shelter or other conveniency for Inhabitants. Those I meant, are to be seen in a wood near *Lhygwy*, the Seat of the worshipful *Pierce Lloyd*, Esq., and are commonly call'd *Killieu'r Gwydhélod*, i.e., *Irish Cottis*; whence I infer they must be the same which Mr. Camden calls *Hibernicorum Casulas*."

"A Monument of this kind, tho' much less, may be seen at *Lhech yr Ast* in the parish of Lhan Goedmor near Cardigan,

which was doubtless erected in the time of Heathenism and Barbarity; but to what end, I dare not pretend to conjecture. The same be said of these *Killieu'r Gwydhelod*, which I presume to have been so call'd by the vulgar, only because they have a tradition, that before Christianity, the Irish were possess'd of this Island, and therefore are apt to ascribe to that Nation such Monuments as seem to them unaccountable; as the Scotch Highlanders refer their circular Stone pillars to the Picts. For we must not suppose such barbarous Monuments can be so late as the end of the sixth Century; about which time the Irish Commander *Sirigi* is said to have been slain by *Kaswalhawn law hir* (i.e. *Cassivelaunus Longimanus*) and his people forc'd to quit the Island. We have many places in Wales besides these denominated from the Irish; as *Pentre'r Gwydhel* in the parish of *Rhos Golin* in this County; *Pont y Gwydhel* in Lhan Vair, and *Pentre'r Gwydhel* in Lhysvaen parish, Denbigshire; *Kerig y Gwydhel* near *Festineog*, in Meirionydshire; and in Cardiganshire we find *Kwm y Gwydhel* in Penbryn parish, and *Karn Philip Wydhil* in *Lhan Wennog*; but having no history to back these names, nothing can be inferr'd from them."¹

The writer of this extract does not think that we are justified in concluding from the name *Cerrig y Gwyddel*, either that the Irish made a settlement in Mona, or that a memorable action took place there; and further, a similar monument, he states, existed near Cardigan, called *Llech yr Ast*, and he argues from the identity of these remains and the difference of names that it is unsafe to conjecture to what end they were erected; but he would, I think, impress upon the reader that in his opinion, like structures were erected for like purposes. Then he proceeds to account for a local appellation, *Killieu'r*, or *Cellieu'r*, or more probably *Cyttiau'r*, *Gwyddelod* on the score of ignorance, and the desire to establish the

¹ Gibson's *Camden*, p. 678.

truth of a tradition by reference to place-names in which the word *Gwyddel* appears, and he comes to the conclusion that, *having no history to back these names, nothing can be inferred from them.*

The writer of the extract is *Edward Llwyd*, who in 1693 collected materials for Gibson's *Camden*, and everything he says on antiquarian matters deserves all attention and consideration.

It will be observed that he does not, like the writer of the first quotation, which I have taken from *Camden*, refer to the *Triads*. The omission must have been intentional. The value of the *Triads* as historic records is not great, particularly when they refer to events that occurred many centuries before their compilation; hence, probably, the silence of *Llwyd* respecting them.

Llwyd, however, refers to the tradition that at one time the Irish were possessed of Anglesey. I know not whence the tradition sprang, whether from fact or fancy; but I will say that tradition is more likely to be true when indirectly, rather than when directly corroborated, and that the associating of these place-names with the tradition is in itself suspicious, and is suggestive that the tradition had its origin in these names, and not that the names are corroborative evidence of the truth of the tradition.

The next person whose writings I shall quote from with reference to the *Cyttiau'r Gwyddelod* is *Rowlands*, the author of *Mona Antiqua*. *Camden* died in 1623, aged 73; *Edward Llwyd* died in 1709, aged 49; and *Rowlands* died in 1723, aged 68; so that the whole of my authorities are not, in time, far removed from each other, and the information which the two latter possessed could be obtained from a common source. *Rowlands* evidently had read *Camden*, and his remarks are made with what appears in *Camden* before his mind.

Rowlands describes the probable proceedings of the first inhabitants of the Isle of Anglesey ere the wood was felled and the land cleared, and then he proceeds as follows :—

“That what I say now may not appear to be a vain, groundless surmise, though the custom of other nations, and the then necessity of the thing may be some evidence of it—there are to this day visible upon our heaths and *Rhosyddh* the marks and footsteps of those booths and cabbins, in the oval and circular trenches, which are seen in great plenty dispersed here and there on such grounds. No one can well deny them to have been little dwellings and houses; and their being only on those barren, heathy grounds is some argument that they were so used before the better grounds were reduced and cultivated. And that such marks and tokens of them, as we find, might well remain undefaced on such grounds from that time to this day, is not, I think, difficult to be imagined; because these barren, heathy grounds, on which these trenches are, have generally their glebe or upper mould and surface of a clay, firm, unwastable texture, not to be worn and flatted with rains and weather; and are also generally so barren and despicable, that the plough and spade cannot be suspected to have had ever anything to do with them.”

Such is Rowlands' description of the foundations of the circular huts referred to by Camden in the words,—“*tumulos fossa circumdatos quos Hibernicorum casulas vocant.*” Rowlands proceeds as follows :—

“It is true they are called *Cyttie'r Gwyddelod*, viz., the Irish men's cottages. But that must be a vulgar error, if by *Gwyddelod* be meant the inhabitants of Ireland, who never inhabited this island so as to leave any remains of their creats and cottages behind them. For those Irish that are said to rob and pillage this island seldom staid long in it; and if they had, they cannot well be supposed to leave those

marks behind them; for they found here good houses to lodge themselves in for the time they staid, and were in no need of using that Irish custom, where they could not fail of being better provided. But if by *Gwyddelod* be meant the Aborigines—the first inhabitants—as it is not unlikely it may; for the two words that make up that name are purely British, viz., *Gwydd* and *Hela*, i.e., *Wood-Rangers*, which was perhaps the common appellative of the Aborigines, lost with us, and retained only by the Irish, then the objection falls to the ground; and the instance confirms the conjecture, that they are the remains of the first planters' habitations, while they were destroying the woods and cultivating the country."¹

These are pertinent remarks, consequent upon observation and reflection, and no one who has visited the site of these ancient remains can doubt that they are the vestiges of the abodes of the first inhabitants of the country, though Rowlands supposes that these huts were occupied temporarily until the land was cleared. We shall see by-and-by whether he was correct in this supposition. He, however, is positive that it is a vulgar error to say that by *Gwyddelod* is meant Irishmen, and he rightly finds the root of the word in *gwydd*, wood. Perhaps he would have been still more correct had he derived the word *Gwyddelod* thus: *gwydd*, "wood", *gwyddel*, pl. *gwyddelod*, a person, pl. persons, who dwell in a wood. In this way the word would apply to a *place*, and not to a *race*. Just as a man who lives on the mountains is called a mountaineer, or *mynyddwr*, so would a person who lived in a forest, in contradistinction to one who lived on the hills, or elsewhere, be designated a bushman or a *Gwyddel*. When the woods ceased to exist, the term itself would become obsolete, or if extant, confusing; and hence, possibly, all the misunder-

¹ *Mona Antiqua*, p. 27, Ed. 1766.

standing of the term *gwyddel* in modern times. If this solution be correct, we shall expect to meet in various parts of Wales with words compounded of *gwyddel* that have no reference whatever to Irishmen. For wherever there are mountains there will be mountaineers, and wherever there is a forest there will be bushmen, or *gwyddelod*.

Professor Rhys remarks, in his *Welsh Philology*, 2nd edit., that the presence of the Gaels in Wales “derives most of its support from Welsh place-names, which are supposed to commemorate the sojourn of the Gael by their containing the word *Gwyddel* ‘an Irishman’, plural *Gwyddyf* or *Gwyddelod* : such are *Gwyddelwern*, *Llan y Gwyddel*, *Porth y Gwyddel*, *Twll y Gwyddel*, and the like. But it is not at all clear to me how any such names can go to prove the priority of the Gael over the Kymro in Wales. . . . Then there are other deductions to make from the list; for many, probably the majority, of the names adduced have nothing whatever to do with Irishmen, there being another word, *gwyddel*, plural *gwyddeli* (formerly, perhaps, also *gwyddyf*), which is a derivative from *gwydd*, wood. The identity of form between it and the word for Irishmen is only accidental. . . . The common noun *gwyddel*, which is no longer in use, means a brake or bush.” (Pp. 175-7.)

Professor Rhys refers to Dr. Pughe’s definition of *gwyddelawg*, “overrun with brambles,” and *Gwyddelwern*, “a moor or meadow overgrown with bushes,” and states that in the same way *Gwyddelfynydd* is to be explained, and such place-names as *Mynydd y Gwyddel*, *Gwaun y Gwyddel*, *Gwern Gwyddel*, *Nant y Gwyddel*, *Pant y Gwyddel*; and he ends his remarks as follows:—

“The outcome of this is, that after making the deductions here suggested from the list, there can be few, if any, of the names in question which could be alleged in support of an early occupation of Wales by the Gael. They would un-

doubtedly fall far short of the number of those with *Sais*, 'an Englishman', plural *Saeson*, such as *Rhyd y Sais*, *Pont y Saeson*, and the like . . . by a parity of reasoning, these ought to go some way to prove the English to have occupied Wales before our ancestors." (P. 177.)

In my next paper I will describe the circular or ovoidal huts that are called *Cyttiau'r Gwyddelod*.

THE
ANNALES CAMBRIÆ AND OLD-WELSH
 GENEALOGIES
 FROM *HARLEIAN MS.* 3859.

BY EGERTON PHILLIMORE.

OF the scanty existing remains of Old-Welsh, the only one of any extent still remaining unpublished in any form available to scholars or students¹ consists of the early Welsh Genealogies, embracing most of the royal and princely lines of the Cymric race, immediately appended to the oldest known Welsh annals, the *Annales Cambriæ*, in *Harleian MS.* No. 3859. These Genealogies are now for the first time com-

¹ The whole Genealogies, with the annexed *Catalogue of Cities*, were transcribed by (or for ?) the late Sir Samuel R. Meyrick, and printed by him, with a partial translation, in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* for 1832 (vol. iv, pp. 16—24). Of this performance we can only say (from our own collation of it) that the number of the proper names occurring in the text is *at least* exceeded by the number of mistakes in its "reproduction". So incompetent was the transcriber, that he read the concluding word of the MS. of "Nennius", of which the Genealogies form part, which is simply *Amen*, as "*αλλεχς*, or something very like it"! The first two Genealogies (those of Owain ab Hywel Dda) are tolerably reproduced in the Preface to Aneurin Owen's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (1841), and (taken thence) in that of the printed *Annales Cambriae*; and so many of the Genealogies as relate to the princely lines of Cumbria have also been printed (with but few mistakes) by Skene in his *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots*, etc. (1867), pp. 15, 16, where they follow extracts from the *Saxon Genealogies* and *Annales Cambriae*, also taken from *Harl.* 3859.

pletely and exactly reproduced from the unique¹ copy of them contained in that MS.

It has also been thought desirable to take the opportunity of simultaneously reproducing here the *Annales Cambriæ*, especially as in the printed editions of them (1) in *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (1848), p. 830, and (2) (taken thence) in the separate work to which they furnish the title, printed for the Master of the Rolls in 1860, they have been so amalgamated with two much later Chronicles (only to a limited extent copied from the earlier record) that the real nature and value of the older document are much obscured by the process. Amongst other reasons for printing the *Annales* and the Genealogies together are, that the former as well as the latter document is only found in this one MS.; that they were both compiled (as we shall see) at the same period, and very probably by the same person; and that, being both largely concerned with the same historical personages and events, they extensively illustrate one another. It may be added that the printed work, though in substance very accurate, makes no pretence to give in any way an exact transcription of our MS., and that we are here concerned with a MS. in which minute exactness of reproduction is of unusual importance. Not only is it expedient, both from the palæographical and from the historical point of view, to show the precise shape in which the ancient Cymry kept their national records, but, from the philological point of view, a mere consideration of the mistakes of the MS. will suffice to guide anyone to the important conclusion that its transcriber (if not also the transcriber of his

¹ Some of the identical genealogies occur in a modernised form, and with important variations, in the collection of the fourteenth century contained in No. 20 of the MSS. at Jesus College, Oxford, recently printed by us in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. viii, pp. 83—92. But that collection is also largely drawn from other, and to a great extent later, sources.

immediate original) was ignorant of Welsh, and thus a blind copyist and unconscious preserver of verbal forms materially older than his own day. On the subject of this last remark, applicable to the Genealogies still more than to the *Annales*, and in some degree to the whole MS. of which they both form part, more will be found in the sequel.

The *Annales* form in the MS. a part of the extensive appendages to one of the oldest copies of "Nennius'" *Historia Britonum*, and the reason of their occurrence in their present position is to be found in the desire of some copyist of the *Historia* to furnish a continuation to the *Calculi*, or brief chronological data, which are themselves added by way of appendix to the short historical document known as the *Genealogies of the Saxon Kings*.¹ The last tract, consisting partly of the genealogies of the various royal lines of Anglo-Saxon England, partly of memoranda relating to early Northumbrian and early Cymric history, itself of earlier composition than the *Historia*, was embodied with it (approximately at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century) by intercalation between the concluding tract of the *Historia* proper, the notice *De Arthuro et ejus praeliis*,² and the *Catalogue of (British) Cities*,³ of which the latter had immediately followed the former in the previous edition of the principal

¹ In the sequel we shall designate these, for brevity's sake, the *Saxon Genealogies*. They were put together at various times between the end of the seventh and middle of the eighth centuries, as is apparent from an examination of the events and persons recorded and mentioned therein.

² No edition of the *Historia* is known which does not contain this tract; nor are there now any means of ascertaining whether it really formed a part of the original *Historia* (as issued in 828), or is a very early subsequent addition.

³ The *Catalogue of Cities* varies much in different MSS. of "Nennius". Only a very few of the versions have yet been published. Stevenson merely gives the one in our MS. (*Harl.* 3859). The variations are chiefly in order and orthography.

work.¹ And, just as the *Saxon Genealogies* were obviously appended in the first instance in order to form a sort of historical continuation to the note on the early history of Bernicia which concludes the tract *De Arthuro*, and the *Annales* were similarly appended to furnish a still more marked continuation of the *Calculi*, so the Welsh Genealogies now published must have been largely intended, not only as a "patriotic" counterpart to the previous "Saxon" ones, but also to illustrate the two immediately preceding historical documents by displaying the ancestry and relationships of most of the personages mentioned in both of them.

Both *Annales* and Genealogies, in their present form, show marks of having been composed in the last half of the tenth century. The years of the *Annales* are written down to 977, though the last event recorded is the death of Rhodri ab Hywel Dda in 954; while the omission of the battle of Llanrwst, which was fought in the very next year (955) between the sons of Idwal and those of Hywel Dda (especially on the part of an annalist who, if also the composer of the Genealogies, would seem to have been a partisan of Hywel's family in their contest for the supremacy of Wales), certainly points to the *Annales* having been finished as they are now in the year 954 or 955, and never subsequently retouched. The Genealogies commence with that

¹ Now represented by such MSS. as *Cott. Caligula A. viii*, or *Nero D. viii*. It must be borne in mind that the later and amplified editions of the *Historia* did not always completely supersede the earlier and simpler ones; but that in some cases the latter continued to be copied for centuries after the former had been in existence. Thus our MS. (*Harl. 3859*) is older, as a MS., than the two MSS. above mentioned, but the edition it represents is considerably more modern than theirs. We may add that in some cases they preserve, not only the correcter readings, but the more archaic Welsh forms. Mr. Stevenson's statement (in the preface to his *Nennius*, p. xxiii), that *Calig. A. viii* contains the *Saxon Genealogies*, is quite incorrect.

(given both on the father's and on the mother's side) of Owen ab Hywel Dda, who died in 988, and they must therefore have been compiled during his reign, and before that year. The frequent allusions to St. David's and its Bishops, and the almost complete absence of similar allusions to Llandaff, in the *Annales*, show these to have been composed in the former, not in the latter, see; and we are led to place the composition of the Genealogies in the same district from a consideration of the extreme meagreness and incompleteness with which they give the pedigree of the royal lines of Gwent and Morganwg, districts politically and ecclesiastically as much identified with the see of Llandaff as were Dyfed and Cardigan with that of St. David's.¹

The date of the MS.² is upwards of a century later than that of the composition of the *Annales* and Welsh Genealogies which it contains; the hand (or hands ?) in which they, in common with the rest of the MS. of "Nennius" of

¹ Other notable omissions are those of the pedigrees of (1) Merfyn frych in the male line; (2) of several important Cumbrian princes included in the *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* in *Hengwrt MS.* 536, printed by Mr. Skene in the Appendix to his *Four Ancient Books of Wales*; (3) of the line of Cornish princes represented by Geraint ab Erbin in about the sixth century, especially when an otherwise almost unknown line of Damnonian princes is set out in No. xxv; (4) of the line of princes of Brycheiniog who deduced their descent from Brychan. The omission of the princes of Buallt and Gwrtheyrnion is to be accounted for by the fact that their pedigree had been already given in the preceding *Historia Britonum*. For the sake of completeness, the passage of that work containing the genealogy in question, as given in the same MS. (*Harl.* 3859), together with a few other extracts, containing early genealogies parallel to those in our text, will be printed in the next number of *Y Cymmrodor*.

² We are of course only speaking of the MS. of "Nennius" and "Additions to Nennius" contained in *Harl.* 3859. That MS. *volume* contains copies of many other works, which resemble the "Nennius", etc., in nothing but in being of uniform size, and written in somewhat similar hands of about the same date.

which they form part, are written, being described by the Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum as an English hand of the early twelfth century. The whole MS., as it stands, bears marks of intermediate transcription by one or more copyists from an earlier MS. in the older "Hiberno-Saxon" character, used in Wales up to the end of the eleventh century.¹ The frequent and serious mistakes, both of misspelling and wrong division, made in the transcription of the commonest or most typical Welsh names and words, also show that at least one of the intermediate transcribers cannot have been a Welshman.² Making allowance,

¹ This is shown by such mistakes as the following. In the *Historia*, *minmanton* for *inirmanton* (the reading of *Caligula A. viii*; other MSS. read *mirmantum* or *-tun*, or the like), fo. 178^b, l. 7, = *Stevenson*, § 25. In the Welsh Genealogies: *Guipno* for *Guipno* (now *Gwyddno*), fo. 194^a, col. 1 top: *Canantinail* for *Carantmail* (= *Carantmael*, three times in *Red Book of Hergest*, Skene, *Four Anct. Books of Wales*, vol. ii, p. 290), fo. 194^b, col. 3 end. Probably the following instances of confusion between *o*, *b*, and *d* (all in the *Saxon Genealogies*) are also the results of copying a particular kind of "Irish" hand: (1) *Dinguayrdi* for *Dinguayroi*, fo. 188^b, l. 4, = *S.*, § 61 end (correctly spelt *Dinguoaroy* at fo. 189^a, l. 3, = *S.*, § 63); (2) *Catgublaun* for *Catguolaun*, fo. 189^a, par. 2 (= *S.*, § 64) out of which mistake Mr. Skene has evolved a mythic king distinct from Cadwallon ab Cadfan; the latter is called (with the Latin genitive termination) *Catguol. launi* (*sic*) at fo. 188^a, par. 3 (= *S.*, § 61); *Cat guol laun* (*sic*), fo. 190^b, col. 4 end, *Catguollaun* and *catguollaun*, fo. 191^a, col. 1 top, *Catgolaun*, fo. 191^a, col. 3 top, and *Catgollaun* in fo. 193^b, col. 1 top, whilst other persons of the same name are called *Catgolaun* in fo. 193^b, col. 1, and [*C*]atguallaun in fo. 194^b, col. 3 top; (3) *Eoguin* for *Edguin* (*i.e.*, King Edwin of Northumbria), fo. 189^a, ll. 5 and 6, = *S.*, § 63.

² Besides the mistakes enumerated in the last note, we may mention:—In the *Saxon Genealogies*: (1) *guenth guant* for *guenith guant*, fo. 188^b, ll. 9 and 10, = *S.*, § 62; (2) *Gwallanc* for *Guallanc*, fo. 188^b, par. 5, = *S.*, § 63; the name is rightly spelt in the Welsh Genealogies, fo. 194^a, col. 1 (bottom); (3) *Flefaur* for *Flefaur*, fo. 188^b end, = *S.*, § 63; rightly spelt at fo. 187^b, par. 2, = *S.*, § 57; (4) [*R*]um for [*R*]un, fo. 189^a, par. 2, = *S.*, § 63 end (*rū* in fo. 187^b, par. 2, made by *S.*, § 57, into *Rum*; *Run* in the Welsh Genealogies, fo. 193^b, col. 1, l. 9, and col. 3 *bis*, and fo. 194^a, col. 3.). In the Welsh Genealogies: (5) *gurhaiernu* for *gurhaiernn*

however, for the nationality of the scribe (or scribes?), it must be admitted that his general standard of literal accuracy in the transcription of so many (to him) foreign names as the MS. contains is fairly high; and thus it is probable that the serious *lacunæ* in the sense of the short notes in Latin with which some of the Genealogies conclude (resulting in two more or less untranslatable passages), are due to transcription from defective or only partly legible originals. As has been already indicated, the non-Welsh nationality of the scribe is further shown by his preservation throughout the

(now *Gurhaiarn*), fo. 194^b, col. 3; (6) *Merchianū*, for *Merchiaun* (now *Meirchion*), fo. 194^a, col. 1 end. The bisection and even trisection of Welsh names is noticeable everywhere; perhaps the most extraordinary instance is at fo. 193^a, col. 2 of the MS. (in the *Annales*), where the events of the year 939 are made to end with the fifth letter of the name *Clitauc* (now *Clydog*), and the next year contains the entry "uc et mouric. moritur"! In the *Mirabilia* the scribe has copied an original *Cinlipiuc* (a district-name derived from one *Cinlip*, and in other MSS. spelt *Cinloipiauc*, from the other bye-form of the same personal name, which occurs as *Cynloyp* at fo. 194^a, col. 1 of our MS.) as *Cinlipluc* (fo. 196^a, par. 3; = *S.*, § 70), an utterly impossible form. Apparently the miscopied *i* was peculiarly formed, for the peccant *l*, though an unmistakable *l* in form, is only of the height of an *i*.

The very bad mistakes of Stevenson's edition, *Lenin* for *Lemn* of the MS., fo. 195^b, par. 1, = *S.*, § 67 (the river meant is the Leven of Lennox, anciently Levenachs), and *Cataguen* for *tat aguen* of the MS. (fo. 188^b, l. 8, = *S.*, § 62), the modern *tad awen*, are entirely due to the Editor, and in no way to the MS., the readings of which are perfectly clear in both instances. It is fair to say that Mr. Stevenson was generally accurate in his reproduction of this MS. (which he took for his text), though his collations of other MSS. (so far at least as relates to the forms of the proper names) cannot be implicitly relied on. In the *Saxon Genealogies*, for instance (§ 65), *manu* is given in the text as the reading of *Harl.* 3859, which reads *manau*, and the latter reading is attributed to *MS. a*, and to it alone! Now *MS. a* is the Vatican MS., which does not contain the *Saxon Genealogies* at all! The facts are that *manau* is the reading of *Harl.* 3859 alone, the other three MSS. in which the *Saxon Genealogies* are found (*Vespasian D.* xxi and *B.* xxv, and *Vitellius A.* xiii; Stevenson's *MSS. B., C.* and *F.* respectively) all reading *manu*.

whole Nennian MS. of the Old-Welsh orthography,¹ which we know from other sources to have subsisted in the latter half of the tenth century, when (as we have seen) the *Annales* and Genealogies were compiled, but to have become obsolete by the early part of the twelfth century, when they and the rest of the MS. were transcribed in their present shape.² We may just mention here that all the Old-Welsh forms in the MS. do not belong to the same stage of Old-Welsh. Thus we find the form *Cunedu* in the *Historia* (fo. 176^a, par. 1; = *Stevenson*, § 14), and six times in the Welsh Genealogies, but the older form *Cunedag* in the *Saxon Genealogies* (fo. 188^b, par. 4; = *S.*, § 62); on the other hand, the river Teifi is called by its older form *Tebi* at the end of the Welsh Genealogies (fo. 195^a, col. 3, par. 2), but *Teibi* in the *Historia* (fo. 185^a, l. 9; = *S.*, § 47); whilst in

¹ The only exceptions that we have been able to find to this rule are: (a) The name *Ceneu*, which (assuming it to stand for the modern name *Cenau* found in *Llangenau*, which it has always been considered to do) should certainly in Old-Welsh be *Cenou*, and *Ceneu* only in Middle-Welsh. *Ceneu* occurs thrice (twice with the *u* accented) on fo. 194^a of the MS. *Cenew* (for which the Old-Welsh would be *Ceneu*) does not seem to be an authenticated Welsh name. (b) The name *Calleu*, in fo. 194^a, col. 3; but this may be the Old-Welsh form of a name *Cadlew*, just as well as the Middle-Welsh one of a name *Cadlau*. It should be borne in mind that Middle-Welsh peculiarities do occur, though very rarely, in the oldest Welsh Glosses, and that the Old-Welsh pronunciation had probably been given up for some time before the orthography representing it became obsolete.

² The *Liber Landavensis*, of which the original MS., completed in about 1133, and therefore nearly contemporary with the "Nennius", etc., of *Harl.* 3859, still exists, presents very numerous specimens of Welsh, in many of which the chief Middle-Welsh peculiarities are so constantly intruding as to show that the latter must then have been well established. The fact that the language of these specimens is to a very great extent Old-Welsh must be attributed to the circumstance that they chiefly consist of the boundaries and attestations contained in copies of old grants of land to the Bishops of Llandaff; and of such documents it was naturally considered highly important to put on record, as far as possible, the exact original forms.

the *Annales*, the district of Brycheiniog is called by its older form *Broceniauc* under the year 848 (fo. 192^b, col. 1, top), but *Bricheniauc* under the year 895 (fo. 192^b, col. 3, middle).

The historical value of the *Annales* is so well known and so universally recognised, that we have considered it superfluous to dilate upon it here. Our own investigations into such of the Welsh Genealogies as admit of being checked by comparison with collateral authorities (such as the *Annales*, the various Irish Annals, and the scattered indications of the facts of early Welsh history to be gleaned from other authentic sources) is, that up to the date when all Welsh records necessarily become more or less fabulous, these Genealogies have every claim to rank beside the *Annales* and the *Saxon Genealogies* as a valuable historical authority. Allowance must of course be made for such mistakes as are naturally incident to the transcription of pedigrees written in narrow columns of a name to a line; the most important of which are (1) the frequent omission of names, and (2) the occasional repetition of the word *map*, "son", where it ought not to be repeated, by which means a man's epithet is wrongly made to appear as though it were the name of his father, whilst his real father is put back one generation. But a little knowledge of Welsh personal names, and occasional reference to later versions of the pedigrees, will enable anyone readily to correct most of these blunders. As to the philological value of both *Annales* and Genealogies, it will be enough to point out that they contain several hundred Welsh words (chiefly names of persons and places), in their Old-Welsh forms. No other such repertory of Old-Welsh proper names exists; the older collection of them in the *Book of St. Chad* being very scanty, and the later ones in the *Liber Landavensis* and in the Lives of the Welsh Saints (chiefly contained in *Cott. Vesp. A. xiv*) being largely intermixed with Middle-Welsh forms.

We have considered the importance of our whole text to warrant our reproducing it line for line, exactly as in the MS., where it is written continuously in columns of three or four to the page. A fair specimen of the handwriting and style of the MS. will be found in the facsimile of fo. 192*, prefixed to the printed *Annales Cambriæ*. In the MS. the columnar arrangement is continued to the end of the *Catalogue of Cities*, which we have therefore included here; and we have also, in order to show the position of the *Annales* relatively to the other "Additions" to the *Historia Britonum*, reprinted the *Calculi*, which the annalist clearly intended to serve as a ready-made preface to his appended chronicle. Both the *Catalogue* and the *Calculi* will be found in Stevenson's edition of "Nennius", where the second forms § 66, and the first is printed by way of appendix on p. 62.

Two letter-forms occur in the MS. which, in consequence of the lack of proper type, we have not been able exactly to reproduce. The first of these is the second or short form of *r*, which in our MS., when in the middle of a word, is sometimes almost indistinguishable from *i*. This we have represented by the character "z". The second is the well-known mediæval character for the diphthong *æ* (in our MS. an *e* with a loop underneath it), which we have rendered by simply *italicising* the ordinary diphthong. In the case of a *capital* letter, the MS. almost always writes the diphthong in full. With regard to the letter *i*, the practice of the MS. is irregular. Sometimes it marks the *i*'s with the common acute stroke over them, sometimes not. Wherever the stroke occurs, we have reproduced it; where it is omitted, we have dotted the letter. We may add here that an identical stroke or accent sometimes occurs over other vowels, and in every case has been reproduced. Two kinds of *d* occur in the MS., one with an upright, the other with a bent-back, upward stroke. The latter

is by far the rarer, and is represented by the character "ð". As a rule the letter *v* only occurs in the MS. as a capital or a substitution for a cancelled letter, the short *s* only as a capital or at the end of lines, or in substitution. We only give hyphens where they are given in the MS. Contractions (the Latin ones are often arbitrary, or at least unusual, and throughout there is no distinction between the contractions for *m* and *n*) are extended in italics,¹ and the initial capitals of each genealogy, etc., omitted through the neglect of the rubricator to supply them, are supplied by us (as far as possible) in black-letter type within square brackets. The Genealogies have been consecutively numbered in Roman figures, to facilitate future reference, and the dates of the events, taken from the published editions, have been similarly supplied in the *Annales*.²

¹ With the exception of (1) the contraction for "Annus", heading every year in the *Annales*, which we have left as in the MS.; (2) sometimes the contractions for "Iesus Christus" (*ih's xpc* or the like), and for "Dominus noster" (*dn's nr*), and (3) one of the contractions for *et*, very similar to the modern *&*, by which we have represented it.

² It was the intention of the writer to have accompanied both the fourteenth-century Genealogies from *Jesus College* (Oxon.) MS. 20 (printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. viii, pp. 83—92) and the ones now printed with translations and extensive critical notes, the latter embracing a comparison of the corresponding genealogies in the two MSS. with each other and with the other early authorities. The state of his health prevented his carrying out this plan; but he hopes to be able to perform the very necessary task in a slightly different form some time during the coming year. All he is able to do at present is to give an exact text of the Harleian Genealogies, with a few critical notes, merely relating to the readings of the MS.

[*Fo. 189b, middle.]

[TEXT.]

- A.D
- [457.] *~~[A]~~ mundi principio usque ad constantinum & rufum .
 quinque milia sexcenti quinquaginta octo anni reperiuntur .
- [29. 400.] Item aduobus^f geminis rufo & rubelio usque in stillitionem¹
 consulem . ccc̄ . septuaginta tres annis . Item a stillitione¹
 [425. usque ad ualentinianum filium placide & regnum guorthigirni .
 uiginti octo anni . Et aregno² guorthigirni . usque ad dif-
 [436.] cordiam gutolini & ambrosii . anni sunt duodecim . quodest
 guoloppvm³ . idest catguloph . Guorthigirnu^f autem tenuit
 [425.] imperium in brittannia theo dosio & ualentiano consulibus .
 & in quarto anno regni sui saxonef ad brittanniam⁴ . uenerunt .
 [428.] Felice & tauro consulibus . quadringentesimo anno . ab incar-
 natione domini nostri ih'u xp'i .
- [A]b anno quo saxonef uenerunt in brittanniam . & agur-
 thigirno⁵ suscep- [fo. 190^a]ti sunt ' usque ad decium &
 [† 497 or 498.] ualerianum . anni sunt sexaginta nouem .

| | | | | |
|--------|----------------------------------|------------|--|--------|
| [444.] | *an' an' an' an' an' | [*col. 1.] | an' an' an' an' . Pasca com mvtatur ⁶ super di- | [453.] |
|--------|----------------------------------|------------|--|--------|

¹ Read *Stillicionem* (i.e. "Stilichonem") and *-e* respectively.

² There is a "caret" between the *e* and the *g* of this word, but no letter inserted overline. Probably the alteration contemplated was into *rengno*. The mark cannot be read (as a contraction) with the line below.

³ The *v* of this word written in substitution over an expuncted *o*; and its *m* altered from an *n*. These and all other alterations or additions mentioned in these notes are made by the scribe of the MS., unless specified to be otherwise.

⁴ The *d* of this word is added overline.

⁵ The *a* of this word is similarly added.

⁶ The *v* of this word written in substitution over an expuncted *o*.

A. D.

A. D.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------|--------|
| em dominicum cum ¹ | | an' | |
| papa leone . episcopo | | an' | |
| rome . | | an' | |
| [454.] an' . x . Brigida ² | | an' | |
| sancta nascitur . | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| [457.] an' Sanctus Patricius | | an' | |
| ad dominum migra- | | an' . xl . | |
| tur . | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' . xx . | | an' . | |
| an' | | an' . l . ⁴ | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| [468.] an' quies benigni | | an' | |
| episcopi ³ . | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' Episcopus ebur pau- | [501.] |
| an' | | fat in christo an | |
| an' | | no . cccl . etatis | |
| *an' . xxx . | [*col. 2.] | fuæ ⁵ | |
| an' | | an' | |

¹ Apparently mis-translated from Old-Welsh *cans*, "by or with," now *gan*.

² The *d* of this word altered from a *t*.

³ An *f* originally written after *ep'i* and then partly erased.

⁴ One year too few between years *xl* and *l*; the blunder rectified afterwards by the insertion of one year too many between years *lx* and *lxx*.

⁵ See O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i, p. 163.

A.D.

A.D.

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| an' | | an' | |
| an' . lx . | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| *an' | [*col. 3.] | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' . xc . | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' . lxx . | | an' Gueith cam lann ² inqua [537.] | |
| an' . | | arthur & medraut | |
| [516.] an' Bellum badonif inquo | | corruerunt . et mortali- | |
| arthur portauit crucem | | [taf | |
| domini noſtri ihu xp'i . tribuſ | | *inbrit- | [*fo. 190 ^b , col. 1.] |
| diebuſ & tribuſ noctibuſ | | tannia | |
| inhumerof fuof & | | et in hiber | |
| brittoneſ uictoreſ fuerunt . | | nia fuit . ³ | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| an' | | an' | |
| [521.] an' Sanctuſ columcille naf- | | an' | |
| [citur . | | an' | |
| Qui eſt ſanctæ brigidæ . | | an' | |
| an' | | an' . c . dormitatio | [544.] |
| an' | | ciarani . | |
| an' . lxxx . | | an' | |

¹ Read *Quief*.² The second *n* of this word added overline.³ Part of this and all the preceding three lines written over an erasure. There are some remains of the crased letters.

| A.D. | | | A.D. |
|--------|---------------------|-------------------------|--------|
| | an' | an' exx . | |
| [547.] | an' . Mor- | an' | |
| | talitat | an' | |
| | magna | an' | |
| | inqua | an' | |
| | paufat | an' | |
| | mailcun | an' . Gildaf | [570.] |
| | rex gene | obfít . | |
| | dotæ ¹ . | an' | |
| | an' | an' | |
| | an' | an' Bellum | [573.] |
| | an' | armterid . ² | |
| | an' | an' cxxx . | [574.] |
| | an' | Bréndan | |
| | an' | býror doz | |
| | an' . cx . | mitatio . | |
| | an' | an' | |
| | an' | an' . | |
| | an' | an' | |
| [558.] | an' Gabr- | an' | |
| | an . filiu | an' | |
| | dungart : | an' Guur- | [580.] |
| | moritur . | ci et peretur | |
| | an' | moritur . | |
| | an' | an' | |
| | an' | an' | |
| [562.] | an' Colum- | an' | |
| | *cillæ inbrit- | an' . cxi . | [584.] |
| | tannia ex- | Bellum con- | |
| | íft . | tra eubo- | |
| | an' | niam et dif- | |

¹ Read *guenedotæ*.

² *An'* erased just before *armterid* in the same line.

| | | |
|---|--|---------------------------------|
| <p>A.D. pofitio¹ da- nielif ban- corum . an' . *au' [*col. 3.] an' an' [589.] an' . Conuerfio con- stantini ad dominum . an' an' an' an' an' . cl . [595.] an' Colūmille mo- ritur . Dunaut rex moritur² .</p> <p>Aguftinus mellitus anglof ad <i>christum</i> conuertit . an' an' an' an' an'</p> | <p>an' . Sinodus urbi/ legion . Gre- gorius obiit in <i>christo</i> . Daudid³ <i>epifcopus</i> moni iu- deorum .</p> <p>an' an' an' . clx . an an' . Difpofitio⁴ [606.] cinauc <i>epifcopi</i> . an' Aidān⁴ map [607.] gabran moritur .</p> <p>an' an' an' *an' [*col. 4.] an' an' . Conthigirni [612.] obitus <i>et</i> dibric <i>epifcopi</i> . an' . Gueith cair [613.] legion . <i>et</i> ibi ceci- dit felim fili⁵ cinan . Et iacob fili⁶ be- li <i>dormitatio</i> .⁶ an' . clxx .⁷ an'</p> | <p>A.D. [601.]</p> |
|---|--|---------------------------------|

¹ Read *depositio*.² Inadequately altered from *inoritur*.³ *Et* is apparently omitted before *David*.⁴ The scribe originally meant, probably, to write "Aidan", and afterwards wrote the *n* in full ; but the mark of contraction is not the usual one. In the interval between this line and the next, just between the *d* of *Aidan* and the *b* of *Gabran*, some letter has been erased.⁵ Read *filius*.⁶ Or "dormital"?⁷ One year too many between *clx* and *clxx*.

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>A.D. [616.] an' Ceretic obiit .</p> <p>[617.] an' . Et guin¹ in- cipit regnare . an' an' an' an' an' an' an . clxxx .</p> <p>[624.] fol obfcuratus est an' .</p> <p>[626.] an' . Etguin baptizatus est' Et run filius urb- gen baptiza- uit eum.</p> <p>[627.] an' . Belin moztitur .</p> | <p>an' .</p> <p>an' . obfessio cat guol lāun² re- gif ininfula glannauc . an' . Guidgar uenit et non redit . kalendis³ . ia- nuarij⁴ . gueith⁵ me- icen et ibi inter- *fectus est et guin .⁶ [*fo. 191^a, col. 1.] cum duobus filiis fuit . Catguo llaun⁷ autem uictor fuit . an' . Bellum cant fcaul⁸ in quo cat- guollaan⁹ corruit .</p> | <p>A.D.</p> <p>[629.]</p> <p>[630.]</p> <p>[631.]</p> |
|---|--|---|

¹ Read *Etguin*.

² Read *catguollaan*.

³ The *k* of this contraction is of a very unusual form.

⁴ The second *a* of this word is added above the line. The *caret* underneath, indicating where the letter is to come in, happens to stand just above the second *e* of *Meicen* in the line below, and being indistinguishable in form from the contraction used in this MS. for *er*, was carelessly copied as such, though it had already done duty for *ianuarij* in the line above. Hence the gibberish *Meiceren* of the printed editions. The battle is mentioned as *Bellum Meicen* in the *Saxon Genealogies*, *supra*, fo. 188^a, par. 3 (= *S.*, § 61). *MS. B.* has *Bellum Meigen* here; and the place is frequently mentioned as *Meigen* in Middle-Welsh (e.g., in the *Red Book of Hergest*, cols. 592 and 1043). It is odd that Mr. Skene, who, in his *Chronicles of the Picts*, etc. (1867), p. 14, correctly reads *Meicen* here, should quote the passage as reading *Meiceren* in his *Four Ancient Books*, etc. (1868), vol. i, p. 70.

⁵ The *e* of this word added above the line.

⁶ Read *Etguin*; the word was first written "et guuz", and the last two letters subsequently altered so as to make "-in".

⁷ Originally written with a full stop after the *ll*, afterwards utilised towards making the first *a*.

⁸ The *l* of this word (spelt *Catscaul* in the *Saxon Genealogies*, *supra*, fo. 189^a, par. 2 = *S.*, § 64), is added overline. ⁹ Read *catguollaan*.

| A.D. | | | A.D. |
|--------|---|-----------------------------------|------------|
| [632.] | an' . Stragef fabri- ne & iugulatio iudrif . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . cxc . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . | *an' cc . x . | [*col. 2.] |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . Stragef galf | [656.] |
| | an' . | campi . | |
| | an' . | an' . Pantha occifio . | [657.] |
| | an' . | an' . Ofguid ³ uenit . | [658.] |
| | an' . | <i>et predam duxit .</i> | |
| [644.] | an' . cc . Bellum coc boy ¹ inquo ofuuald . | an' . | |
| | rex nordorum & eo- ba rex merciorum corruerunt . | an' . | |
| | | an' . Commene | [661.] |
| | | fota ⁴ . | |
| | | an' . broc mail ⁵ . mo | [662.] |
| | | ritur . | |
| [645.] | an' . Percufio ² de meticæ regionif . | an' . | |
| | quando cenobi- um dauid incensum est . | an' . cc . xx . | |
| | an' . | an' . Primum pafca | [665.] |
| | | apud faxonef cele- | |

¹ Altered from *cocboi*. The name is spelt *Cocboy*, *supra*, fo. 189^b, par. 2 (= *S.*, § 65, p. 55), and might now be either *Cochfy*, *Cochfwy*, *Cogfy*, or *Cogfwy*; the corresponding passage in the later Chronicle (*MS. B* of the printed edition) has *Chochui*.

² First written *percutio*; the *t* is expuncted, and the *f* written above it.

³ There is a letter erased after this word; ? an *i*, so as to have originally made *Osguidi*? The *t* of *Pantha* seems altered from a *c*.

⁴ "Cummine the tall (dies)."

⁵ Read *brocmail*. Brochwel Ysgythrog, whose grandson Selyf was killed in 613 (see above), cannot possibly be meant, if the date 662 is right.

| A.D. | | A.D. |
|--------|-------------------------------------|---|
| | bratur . Bellum bado- | an' . |
| | nif secundo ¹ . morcant | an' . |
| | moritur . | an' . Mortalitat magna [682.] |
| | an' . | fuit in brittannia . nqua ⁴ |
| | an' | catgualart filiu ^f catguo- |
| | an' | l-aum ⁵ obiit . |
| [669.] | an' Osguid rex | an' . Mortalitat in hiber- [683.] |
| | faxonum moritur . | nia . |
| | an' . | an' . ccxl . Terre motu ^f [684.] |
| | an' . | in eubonia ⁶ factu ^f est magnu ^f . |
| | an' . | an' . |
| | an' . | an' . |
| | an' . ² | an' . |
| | an' . ccxxx . | an' . |
| | an' . | an' . Pluuia fanguinea [689.] |
| [676.] | an' . Stella mi- | facta est in brittannia . |
| | re inagnitudi- | et lac . et butirum uerfa |
| | nif ³ . uifa est per to- | funt in fanguinem ⁷ . |
| | tum mundum lu- | an' . |
| | cent . | an' . |
| | an' . | an' . |
| | an' . | an' . |
| | *an' . | an' . ccl . |

[*col. 3.]

¹ This is apparently the battle called *Bedan-* or *Biedan-heafod* in the *Saxon Chronicle*, and there placed under the year 675. Mistakes of ten years were readily made through the omission or addition of a single *x* by an inadvertent copyist. The similarity between the English name and that of Mount Badon (see the year 516, to which the reference is) was probably but accidental.

² *Annus* occurs once too often in this decade. The second *c* of *ccxxx* is added above the line. ³ Read *magnitudinis*.

⁴ Read *inqua*.

⁵ *Sic MS.* Read *Catguolaun* or *-ni*.

⁶ There is an erasure (apparently of a stop) after this word.

⁷ Exactly the same sentence in the version of the *Saxon Chronicle* contained in *Cott. Domitian A.* viii, "Here wearþ on Brytene blodi ren. 7 meolc 7 butere wurdon gewend to blode", but under the year 685.

A.D.

| | | |
|--|----------------------------------|--------|
| an' . | an' . | A.D. |
| an' . | an' . Osbrit rex saxo- | [717.] |
| an' . | num moritur . | |
| an' . | an' . Confecracio mi- | [718.] |
| an' . | chaelif archange- | |
| an' . | li œcclesie . | |
| an' . | an' . | |
| an' . | an' . | |
| an' . | an' . Æstaf torrida . | [721.] |
| an' . ¹ | an' . Beli filius elfin mo- | [722.] |
| [704.] an' . cclx . Alch frit ² rex | ritur . & bellum hehil | |
| faxonum obiit . | apud cornuensef . gue- | |
| Dormitatio adomnan . | ith gart mailauc . | |
| an' . | Cat pencon . apud | |
| an' . | dexteralef britto | |
| *an' . [*fo. 191 ^b , col. 1.] | nef . & brittonef | |
| an' . | uictoref fuerunt . in | |
| an' . | iftif tribus bellif . | |
| an' . | an' . | |
| an' . | an' . cclxxx . | |
| an' . | an' . | |
| an' . | an' . | |
| an' . | an' . | |
| [714.] an' . cc. lxx . Nox lu- | an' . | |
| cida ³ fuit sicut | an' . Bellum mortif ⁴ | [723.] |
| dief . pipinus maiors | carno . | |
| rex francorum obi- | an' . | |
| it in <i>chrislo</i> . | *an' . [*col. 2.] | |
| an' . | an' . | |

¹ *Annus* is inserted once too often in this decade.

² Read *Alchfrit*.

³ *An'* erased at the beginning of this line.

⁴ Read *montif*. The place, called *Monitcarno* in the *Annals of Ulster*, s. a. 729, was in Central Scotland ("juxta Stagnum Loogdae", i.e., apparently Loch Tay), not in Wales.

| A.D. | | | A.D. |
|--------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| | an' . | Et rex eorum | |
| | an' . | talargan . a | |
| | an' . ¹ | brittonibus oc- | |
| | an' . ccxc . | ciditur . teudubr ⁴ | |
| [735.] | an' . Beda presbiter | filius beli moritur . | |
| | dormit . | an' . | |
| [736.] | an' . Ougen rex pic- | an' . | |
| | torum obiit . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . cccx . Rotri | [754.] |
| | an' . | rex brittonum . | |
| | an' . | moritur . | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . ⁵ | |
| | an' . | an' . Eðpald rex faxo | [757.] |
| | an' . | num moritur ⁵ . | |
| | an' . ccc . | *an' . | [*col. 3.] |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . Bellum inter | [760.] |
| | an' . | brittones et faxo- | |
| | an' . | nes . id est gueith . | |
| | an' . | hirford . & dun- | |
| [750.] | an' . Bellum inter pic- | nagual filii teu- | |
| | tof & britto- | dubr ⁶ . moritur . | |
| | nes . id est gueiht ² . | an' . | |
| | moce tauc ³ . | an' . | |

¹ An' is inserted once too often in this decade.

² The *h* of this word is added above the line. The word should be *gueith* in the usual orthography.

³ Read *moce tauc*.

⁴ The *b* of this word is added above the line.

⁵ These two years and the events of the second are added in the same hand after the end of the original column; and the first year of the next column is similarly prefixed to the original column.

⁶ Read *dumnagual filius teudubr*. The *b* of the last word is added above the line.

| A.D. | | | A.D. |
|--------|---|--|-----------------------------------|
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . cccxx . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . | *an' . | [*fo. 192 ^a , col. 1.] |
| [768.] | an' . Pasca com- mutatur apud brit- tones emendante elbodugo homi- ne dei . | an' . cccxl . Vasta- ti ⁴ brittonum . cum ⁵ of- fa ineftate . | [784.] |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an ⁴ . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| [775.] | an' . ccc . xxx . | an' . | |
| | an' . Fernmail filiu ⁵ iudhail mo- ritur . | an' . ⁶ | |
| [776.] | an' . Cenioyd ¹ rex pictorum obiit . | an' . ccc . l . | |
| [777.] | an' . Cudberth ² abba ³ moritur . . | an' . Primu ⁵ aduen- tu ⁵ gentilium . apud dexteralef adhi- berniam . | [796.] ⁷⁹⁵ |
| [778.] | an' . Vastatio brit- tonum dexterali- um apud ³ offa . | an' . Offa rex mer- ciorum . & morge- tiud ⁷ . rex deme- | [796.] |

¹ Altered from *Cenioid*.

² The *h* of this word added above the line.

³ Probably a mistake in copying *ap* = *ab*. "By Offa", and not "in Offa's country", is apparently meant.

⁴ We must either read *Vastatio* or *brittones*.

⁵ This must be a mistake in translating the Old-Welsh *cant* (now *gan*), which meant "by" as well as "with".

⁶ *An'* repeated once too often in this decade.

⁷ The *o* of this word was begun as an *e*. See the "facsimile" of the page in *Annales Cambrie*.

| A.D. | | | A.D. |
|--------|--|---|----------------------------|
| | torum . morte mo- riuntur . et bellum rud glann . an' . | migrauit ad domi- num . An' . Combustio mi- niu . | [810.] |
| [798.] | an' . Caratauc rex guenedote apud faxonef iugulatur . an' . an' . an' . an' . an' . an' . ccc . lx . an' . an' . | an' . Eugem ⁵ filius mar- getiud moritur . an' . De cantorum ⁶ ictu fulminis comburit ⁷ . an' . Bellum inter hi- guel ⁸ uictor fuit . an' . ⁹ an' . ccc . lxx . | [811.] [812.] [813.] |
| [807.] | an' . Arthgen ¹ rex cereticiaun *moritur . | Trifun filius regin moritur . Et griphiud ¹⁰ fi- lius cincen dolosa dispensatione a fratre suo elized post inter uallum duo- rum mensium inter- | [814.] |
| [808.] | an' . regin rex demeto- rum . & catell ² pouif mori- untur . | | |
| [809.] | an' . Elbodg ³ archi episcopus guenedote ⁴ . regione | | |

¹ The *th* of this word added above the line.

² The second *l* of this word similarly added.

³ The *d* of this word similarly added. Read *Elbodug*, or *Elbodgu*.

⁴ *In* should apparently precede this word.

⁵ Read *Eugein*.

⁶ Read *Decantorum arx*.

⁷ The contraction for *-ur*, making *comburitur*, has perhaps been omitted to be copied by the scribe.

⁸ The words *et Kinan*, *Higuel* are omitted here, as is shown by the reading of *MS. B*.

⁹ *Annus* repeated once too often in this decade.

¹⁰ Read *griphiud*.

| A.D. | | A.D. |
|--------|--|--|
| | ficitur . Higuel | an' Higuel moritur . [825.] |
| | demonia infv- | an' . |
| | la ¹ triumph- | an' . |
| | uit . et cinan de | an' . |
| | ea expulit . cum | an' . |
| | contritione mag- | an' . |
| | na exercitus fui . | an' . Laudent moritur . [831.] |
| | an' | et faturbiu ⁴ hail |
| [816.] | an' . Higuel iterum | miniu moritur . |
| | *demonia expulsi ² [*col. 3.] | an' |
| | Cinan rex moritur . | an' |
| [817.] | an' . Gueith lannmaéf ² | an' . ccc . xc . |
| | an' . | an' |
| | an' . | an' |
| | an' . | an' |
| | an' . | an' |
| [822.] | an' . Arcem detantorum ³ | an' |
| | afaxonibus destruitur . | an' . Nobif episcopus [840.] |
| | et regionem poyuif | inminiu reg- |
| | in sua potestate | nauit . An ⁵ . An ⁵ . Iud [842.] |
| | traxerunt . | [guoll[aur] |
| | an' . | morit[ur .] |
| | an' . ccclxxx . | an' |

¹ The *v* of this word is written above the line in substitution for an expuncted *o*.

² The second *n* of this word added above the line ; and the accent over the *e* appears to be a subsequent addition, but probably an old accent has been merely inked over, as is occasionally done in this MS. with the strokes over the *i*'s, when the old strokes are sometimes still discernible underneath the new ones.

³ Read *decantorum*.

⁴ ? "fatur biu", MS. Read *faturbiu*.

⁵ These two years and the events of the second were added thus by the scribe, after the completion of the column where they should have found a place. The last parts of the two last words, which extended to the right margin of the page, have been cut off by the binder. That the name, when perfect, was (that now spelt) *Idwallon*, and not

| A.D. | | | A.D. |
|--------|---|--|--------|
| [844.] | an'. cccc . mermin moritur . gueith cetill ¹ . | pictorum moztur . & ionathan princeps oper- gelei moztur . | |
| | *an'. [*fo. 192 ^b , col. 1.] | | |
| | an'. | an'. | |
| | an'. | an'. | |
| [848.] | an'. gueit finnnt iudhail ² . rex gue- nt . auirif broce- niauc . occifus est | an'. an'. an'. an'. an'. an'. Cat gueithen ⁴ . | [862.] |
| [849.] | an'. Mouric occifus est afaxonibus . | an'. an'. an'. an'. an'. an'. Cat gueithen ⁴ . expulfus est | [862.] |
| [850.] | an'. Cinnen agen- tilibus iugulatur . | an'. cccc . xx . du- ta uaftaut gliuifing ⁵ . | [864.] |
| | an'. | an'. Ciannant in | [865] |
| | an'. | mer ⁶ obiit . | |
| [853.] | an'. Mon uaftata agentilibus nigrif . | an'. Vrbf ebrauc . | [866.] |
| [854.] | an'. cccc . x . Cinnen rex pouif . inro- ma obiit . | *uafata est id est cat [*col. 2.] dub gint ⁷ . | |
| | an' | an'. | |
| | an' | an'. | |
| [856.] | an'. Cemoyth ³ rex | an'. Cat brin onnen ⁸ . | [869.] |

Idwal, is not only indicated by the orthography of what remains, but proved by the fact that *MS. B* here reads *Idwalaum* for *Idwal(l)aun*, the Middle-Welsh for our *Iudguollaun*.

¹ The *t* of this word altered from a prior *c*.

² Altered from *iuthail*.

³ Similarly altered from *Cemoith*. Read *Cenioyth*.

⁴ Read *Catgueithen*.

⁵ A mistake, apparently, for *gliguifing*.

⁶ *MS. B*, which reads *Chian nant newer*, enables us to restore the right reading, *Cian nant nimer* "Cian of Nant Nyfer" (now *Nanhyfer* or *NeVERN* in *Cemmes*, *N. Pembrokeshire*) here.

⁷ = "York City was wasted ; *i.e.*, the Battle with the Black Heathen (the Danes)."

⁸ = "The Battle of Ashdown."

| A.D. | | | A.D. |
|--------|---|---|--------|
| [870.] | an' . Arx alt clut . agentilibuſ frac- ta eſt | an' . Gueit conguy digał rotria- deo ⁵ . | [880.] |
| [871.] | an' . Guoccaun merfuſ eſt rex ce- tericiaun ¹ . | an' . an' . Cat gueithen ⁶ . | [882.] |
| | an' | an' . | |
| [873.] | an' . Nobif et mou- ric moriuntur . gueith bannquo- lou ² . | an' . cccc . xl . an' . Higueł inro- ma de funtuſ eſt | [885.] |
| | an' . cccc . xxx . | *an' . [*col. 3.] | |
| [875.] | an' . Dungalrth ³ rex cerniu . merfuſ eſt . | an' . Cerb all' de- functuſ eſt | [887.] |
| [876.] | an' . gueith ⁴ diu ful inmón . | an' . an' . an' . | |
| [877.] | an' . Rotri et filiſ eiſ guriat afa- xonibuſ iugu- latur . | an' . Himeyđ moritur ⁸ . | [892.] |
| [878.] | an' . Aed map neill moritur . | an' . cccc . l . Ana- raut cum an- glif uenit uaf- | [894.] |
| | an' . | | |

¹ Read *cereticiaun*.

² The second *n* of this word added above the line.

³ Or "Dungalrth"? We should expect "Dungalrth", especially as *MS. B* reads *Dumuarth*. But cf. *Dungalrth*, *supra*, under the year 558, and the Old-Cornish form *Donierth* on the stone at St. Clere's.

⁴ The *h* of this word is partly written over a smudge. Probably *gueit* was the word as originally written. The Welsh words mean "Sunday's Battle in Anglesey".

⁵ = "The Battle of the Conway; a vengeance for Rhodri at the hand of God."

⁶ Read *Catgueithen*.

⁷ Read *Cerball*.

⁸ *An'* (wrongly) written and then erased, before this word.

| A.D. | | | A.D. |
|--------|------------------------------|--|---|
| | tare ceretici- | uenit . et tenu- | |
| | aun . et strat | it maef ofme- | |
| | tui ¹ . | liavn ⁴ . | |
| [895.] | an' . Hord mani ² | an' . Loumarch | [903.] |
| | uenerunt . et uaf- | fliu/hiemid ⁵ . | |
| | tauerunt loyer . | moritur . . | |
| | et bricheniauc | *an' . cccc . lx . | [*fo. 193 ^a , [904.] col. 1.] |
| | et guent . et guinn | Roftri ⁶ de cole ⁷ est | |
| | liguiauc . | in arguiftli . | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . Gueith dinme- | [906.] |
| | an' . | ir . et miniu ⁸ fra- | |
| | an' . | ctaeft | |
| [900.] | an' . Albrit rex | an' . Guorchignil | [907.] |
| | giuoyf ³ . mozi- | moritur . . | |
| | tur . | an' . affer defunctu ⁹ est . | [908.] |
| | an' . | an' . Catell ⁹ rex mo- | [909.] |
| [902.] | an' . Igmunt in- | ritur ¹⁰ . | |
| | infula món | an' . | |

¹ Read *tui*. *Ystrad Tywi* is meant.

² Read *Nordmani*.

³ = "King of the Gewissi", i.e., of Wessex.

⁴ The *v* of this word added above the line.

⁵ Altered from a prior *hiemit* by the scribe. The name should have been written *himeit* or *himeid* (now *Hyfaiidd*).

⁶ This is for *Rotri* (now *Rhodri*); but perhaps the form *Rostri* (which is believed to occur elsewhere) is not a mistake, but analogous to such Anglo-Saxon forms as *Bristric* for *Brihtric*, etc., mentioned in *The Academy* for Jan. 28, 1888 (No. 821, New Series, p. 59, col. 1). *Cair Caratauc*, for *C. Caratauc*, is said to occur in the Vatican MS. of the *Historia Britonum*, apud *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, Preface, p. 68, note 5, col. 1.

⁷ This must be a mistake for *decoll'* (i.e., *decollatus*, the reading of MS. B.)

⁸ A letter has been erased immediately after the end of this word.

⁹ The second *l* of this word is a subsequent addition of the scribe's in a different ink, and the last part of it is written over an erased letter or stop.

¹⁰ *An'* written before *-ritur*, and then erased.

| A.D. | | *an' . | [*col. 2.] A.D. |
|--------|-------------------------------|---|-----------------|
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| [918.] | an' . Otter uenit . | an' . | |
| | an' . cccc.lxx . | an' . cccc . xc . | |
| [915.] | an' . Anaraut rex | an' . | |
| | moritur . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| [917.] | an' . Ælfled regi- | an' . Bellum brune . | [938.] |
| | na obft . | an' . Himeid filiuſ | [939.] |
| | an' . | clita . | |
| [919.] | an' Clitauc rex | an ² . uc <i>et</i> mouric . | |
| | occifufeſt . | moritur . | |
| | an' . | an' . Ædelſtan mo- | [941.] |
| [921.] | an' Gueith dinas ¹ | ritur . | |
| | neguid . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . Abloyc rex mo- | [942.] |
| | an' . | ritur . | |
| | an' . cccc.lxxx . | an' . Catel filiuſ art- | [943.] |
| | an' . | mail . ueneno | |
| | an' . | moritur . <i>et</i> iud- | |
| | an' . | gual . <i>et</i> filiuſ eiuf | |
| [928.] | an' . Higel rex | elized . a faxo- | |
| | perrexit adro- | nibuſ occiduntur . | |
| | mam : | an' . ð . Lunberth ³ . | [944.] |
| | an' . | epiſcopuſ inminiu | |
| | an' . | obiit . | |

¹ The short *s* of this word is written over the line to save space. Within the line, a long *f* would have been used.

² Of course we must re-unite *clita-uc* (the name now written *Clydog*) and cancel this *an(nuſ)*, which (to say nothing of its absurd position, bisective of a proper name) makes a year too many in the decade.

³ "Lumberth" might equally well be read. *Lūbert*. was first written by the scribe, then something now erased (? the beginning of *epf*; it extends both above and below the line). The *h* was then squeezed in a little above the line between the *t* and the erasure, after the latter had been made.

| A.D. | | | A.D. |
|--------|---|--|--------|
| | an' | an' | |
| [946.] | an'. Cincenn ¹ filiuf eli- zed ueneno perfit . <i>ct</i> eneurif episcopus ² miniú obiit . Et strat clut . uastatae <i>st</i> afaxo- nibusf . | an' an' an' an' . ðxx . an' an' an' | |
| [947.] | an'. Eadmund ³ rex saxonum iugu- latur ⁴ <i>est</i> | an' an' an' an' | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| | an' . | an' . | |
| [950.] | an'. Higuel rex *brittonum obiit . [*col. 3.] | an' . an' . an' . an' . ðxxx . | |
| [951.] | an'. Et cat guocaun ⁵ filiuf ouein . a ⁶ faxo- nibusf iugulatur . Et bellum carno . | an' . an' . an' . | [977.] |
| | an' . | | |
| | an' . | | |
| [954.] | an' . ðx . Rotri filiuf higuel moztur . | [I.] [Q]uen map iguel . map . catell ⁷ . map Rotri . map mermin . map . ethhil merch . *cinnan . [*fo. 193 ^b , col. 1.] | |
| | an' . | map . rotri . | |
| | an' . | | |

¹ The final *n* of this word written above the line.

² A letter (*i*) was written, and afterwards erased, between the *p* and *f* of this contraction, both here and under the years 809, 840, and 944.

³ The final *d* altered from a prior *t*.

⁴ Read *iugulatuf*.

⁵ Read *Catguocaun*.

⁶ This *a* added above the line.

⁷ The second *l* terminates in an unusual flourish (?) which makes it not very unlike a *b*.

[II.]

[⊕]uein . map . elen . merc .

Ioumarc¹ . map . Hime-
yt .

l 2.]

map . Tancoyst .

merc . ouein .

map . marget iut² .

map . Teudof .

map . Regin .

map . Catgocaun .

map . Cathen .

map . Cloten³ .

map . Nougoy .

map . Arthur .

map . Petr .

map . Cincar .

map . Guoztepir .

map . Aircol .

map . Triphun .

map . Clotri .

map . Gloitguin⁴ .

map . Nimet .

map . Dimet .

map . Maxim gulecic⁵ .

map . Protec .

map . Protector .

map Ebiud .

map . Eliud .

map . Stater .

map . Pincr misser .

map . Coustanf .

map . Constanti-
ni magni .

map . Constanti⁶

et helen . lu-

ic dauc⁷ . que

de brittan-

nia exiuit .

¹ Read *Loumarc*.

² Read *margetiut*.

³ This *Cloten* is omitted in No. xv, q. v., where *Cathen* is made the son of *Nougoy* (usually called *Noë ab Arthur*).

⁴ A mistake for *Cloitguin*. This is *Clydwyn*, the son of *Brychan Brycheiniog*, whose reputed conquest of *Demetia* has caused him to be foisted into this *Demetian* pedigree. *Nimet* was his son, not his father, and appears as *Neufedd* in the Breconshire pedigrees. In No. ix (*infra*) he is made into *Eidinet*, and made the grandson of *Mazen Wledig*; whilst in *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd* this *Eidinet* has been manufactured into the Welsh name *Ednyfed*, which could never have been spelt *Eidinet*, and in the orthography of our MS. is spelt *luitnimet*, a form occurring in No. xviii, *infra*.

⁵ Read *guletic*.

⁶ First written *Constrantii*, and the *r* subsequently expuncted. The *a* was also expuncted, but the expuncting dot subsequently smudged away by the scribe.

⁷ Read *luitdauc*, which might stand equally well for (the modern) *lwythog* or *lwyddog*. *Luidt* for *lwyth* occurs in *B. of St. Chad*, p. 141.

| | | |
|-----------|---|--|
| | ad crucem xp'i | map Tutagual . |
| | querendam usque | map Run . |
| | ad ierusalem . et in- | map Neithon . |
| | de attulit se- | map Senill . |
| | cum usque adcon- | map Dinacat . |
| [col. 3.] | stantinopolin . et est | map Tutagual . |
| | [ibi | map Eidinet ³ . |
| | usque inhodiernum | map Anthun . |
| | [diem . | map Maxim gule- |
| | [III.] | tic qui occidit |
| | [R]iguel . map . cara- | gratianum regem |
| | tauc . | romanorum . |
| | map . meriaun . | [v.] |
| | map . rumaun . | [R]un ⁴ map arth |
| | map . Enniaun . | gal . |
| | map . Ytigoy . | map Dumnagual . |
| | map . Cat gual ¹ . crisban . | map Riderch . |
| | map . Cangan . | map Eugein |
| | map . Meic . | map Dumnagual . |
| | map . Cinglaf . | *map . Teudebur . |
| | map . Eugein . dant guin . | map . Beli . |
| | map . Enniaun . girt . | map . Elfin . |
| | map cuneda . | map . Eugein . |
| | [IV.] | map . Beli . |
| | [Y]udgual . | map . Neithon . |
| | map Tutagual . | map . Guipno ⁵ . |
| | map Anarant ² . | map . Dumn gual ⁶ . |
| | map Mernin . | hen . |
| | map Anthec . | map . Cinuit . |

¹ Read *Catgual*; and so in similar cases.

² Read *Anaraut*.

³ See note on *Gloitguin*, *supra*, in No. II.

⁴ In the space where the rubric *R* should be, a small *r* is inserted in a hand not much later than the MS.

⁵ Certainly a mistake for *Guipno* (= *Gwyddno*).

⁶ See note on *Gurdumn* in No. I, which is similarly applicable here.

[*fo. 194
col. 1.]

map . Ceritic gu-
 letic .
 map . Cŷnloŷp .
 map . Cinhil .
 map . Cluim .
 map . Cursalen¹.
 map . Fer .
 map . Confer ip-
 fe *est* uero
 olitauc .
 dimoz . me-
 ton². uendi-
 tuf . est .
 [VI.]
 [R]iderch hen .
 map . Tutagual .
 map . Clinoch .
 map . Dum gual .
 hen .

[VII.]
 [C]linog³ eitin .
 map . Cinbelim⁴.
 map . Dumn gual⁵ hen .
 [VIII.]
 [U]rb gen⁶.
 map . Cinmare .
 map . Merchia-
 num⁷.
 map . Gurguft .
 map . Ceneu⁸.
 [IX.]
 [G]uallauc .
 map . Laenauc .
 *map . Masguic .
 clop .
 map . Ceneú .
 map . Coŷl . hen .

[*col. 2.]

¹ Or "Cursalem"? In Geoffrey of Monmouth's "History", Book ix, chap. 12, the name is so spelt, according to the copy in *Royal MS.* 13, D. V., fo. 28^b, col. 2.

² These three Welsh words are of unknown meaning. Mr. Skene's rendering of the first by "rich" is impossible, for the word he was thinking of would necessarily be written *guolutauc* at the date of the MS. Doubtless the word is an epithet; and the other two words *might* mean "to the Mediterranean (literally, 'the middle') sea." Or *mor* may be the common man's name *Mor*, and *meton* the same as the last part of the epithet *Muighmhedhuin*, in *Annals of the Four Masters*, under A.D. 365.

³ Is not this a mistake for *Clitnoy* (the person now called *Clydno Eiddin*)? *Clinoch* (just above) must be meant for the name now spelt *Clynog*, which never could have been spelt with a final *g* in the 10th—12th centuries.

⁴ Read *Cinbelin*.

⁵ See note on *Dumngual* in No. v (*supra*) and note there referred to.

⁶ Read *Urbgen* (now *Urien*).

⁷ Read *merchiaun*.

⁸ *Map Ceneu* is omitted between this line and the preceding one by the scribe of the MS. See No. XII *infra*, and note on *let lum* there.

[X.]
~~[M]~~orcant .
 map . Coledauc .
 map . Morcant .
 bulc .
 map . Cincar
 braut (~~brw~~)
~~map~~¹ . Bran hen .
 map . ~~du~~mgual².
 moilmut .
 map . Garbani
 aún³.
 map . Coyl hen .
~~map~~⁴ . Guote pauc .
 map . Tec ma-
 . nt⁵.
 map . Teu-
 hant .
 map . Telpu-
 . il .
 map . Vrb

an .
 map . Grat .
 map . Iume-
 tel .
 map . Riti-
 girn .
 map . Oude-
 cant .
 map . Ou-
 tigr⁶.
 map . Ebiud .
 map . Eudof .
 map . Eudelen .
 map . Aballac⁷.
 map . Beli . et
 anna .
 [XI.]
 [D]unaut .
 *map . pappo .
 map . Ceneu .
 map . Coylhen .

[*col. 3.]

¹ *Braut Bran hen* probably means "brother to Brân hên"; if so this *map* should be cancelled.

² See notes on this name under Nos. v and vii, and the note referred to in the first of them.

³ The acute accent is over the final *n*, but presumably meant for the *u*. See note on *Selemiaun*, end of No. xxvii *infra*.

⁴ This *map* should of course be cancelled. *Guotepauc* (now **Godebog*), is Cunedda's epithet. He should rightly be called "Coel *Odebog*", not "Coel *Godebog*", as he usually is.

⁵ Read *Tecmant* (now *Tegfan*). The last part of this word is in the MS. in the same line as the following *Teu-*, from which the proposed stop is intended to mark it off. Similarly, *-il*, a little lower down, is in the same line with *Vrb-*.

⁶ Read *Outigirn* (now *Eudejrn*); and cf. *Cattegir*, end of No. xxvii *infra*, and note thereon.

⁷ See note on *Amalech*, end of No. i (*supra*).

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>[XII.] [G]urci . ha . peretur me pion¹. eleuther . caf cord . maur . map . let lum² . map . Ceneu . map . Coylhen .</p> <p>[XIII.] [Œ]riphun . map . regin . map . morgetiud . map . Teudof . map . regin³ .</p> <p>[XIV.] [R]egin . iudon .</p> | <p>iOuem⁴. Tref filif . morgetiud . sunt .</p> <p>[xv.] [Œ]ripiud . Teudof caten . Tref sunt filif nougoy . et fanant elized⁵. filia illorum⁶. mater [erat regif pouif .</p> <p>[xvi.] [R]un . miap . neithon . map . Caten . map . Caurtam . map . Serguan . map . Letan⁷ .</p> |
|---|---|

¹ Read *mepion*. This Welsh sentence means: "Gwrgi and Peredur (were) the sons of Eliffer *Gosgordd fawr* ('of the great retinue')".

² This should be "*Gurgust letlum*" (now called *Gurwest ledlum*). See No. VIII (*supra*) and last note thereon.

³ For this and the two following genealogies cf. No. II (*supra*), and our note on *Cloten* there.

⁴ Read *Ouein*, as his name is rightly given in fo. 193^b, col. 2, line 2, *supra* (No. II). The scribe, having first written *Ouem*, afterwards prefixed a small *i* to the word, perhaps under the impression that the name ought to be that now spelt *Ieuaf*, but in Old-Welsh *Iouab*, and permissibly *Iouam*.

⁵ This word's proper place is after *erat*, at the end of the next line. Evidently in the original MS. the word ended a line, and was crowded out of it so as to be placed in the line above, with a mark referring it to its proper place; and the omission of a scribe to notice this mark led to the misplacement of the word. Eliase (to whose memory the Valle Crucis pillar was set up) was King of Powys about 700—750; and Sannan verch Noë ab Arthur was his mother.

⁶ This should of course be *illius*, i.e., of *Nougoy*.

⁷ Or "*Letam*"?

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|
| | map . Cateú . | | fi sunt beati mar- |
| | map . Catel . | | tiref inbrittannia . |
| | map . decion . | | Albanuf . Iulianuf . |
| | map . Cinif scaplaut ¹ . | | Aron . cum aliif com- |
| | map . Louhen ² . | | pluribuf . |
| | map . Guid gen . | map | Caroci ⁵ . |
| | map . Caratauc . | map | Probi . |
| | map . Cinbelin ³ . | map | Titti . |
| | map . Teuhant . | map | Auriliani . |
| | map . Constantif . | map | Antun . du . & |
| [fo. 194 ^b , col. 1.] | map Constantini . | | cleopatre . |
| | magni ⁴ . | map | Valeriani . |
| | map Constantini . | map | Galli . |
| | map Galerii . | map | Deciuf . muf . |
| | map Diocletiani qui per- | map | Philippuf . |
| | secutuf ⁴ est xp'ia- | map | Gordianuf . |
| | nof ⁴ toto mundo . | map | Alaximuf ⁶ . |
| | Intempore illiuf paf- | map | Alaxander . |

¹ The *a* of this word may *perhaps* be read an *o*. It seems to have been begun as an *a*, and finished as an *o*. Geoffrey of Monmouth (Book ix, chapter 12) has a *Masgoit cloflaut*, according to some MSS. (e.g., *Royal MS.* 13, D. V., fo. 28^b, col. 2, cited above) whose epithet must contain the same vocable as our *scaplaut*; and indeed the personage would seem to be but a hybrid concoction from *Masguic clop* (= "M. the lame") of our No. IX (*supra*), and this *Cinis scaplaut*.

² Or "Louhem"? But possibly *Lou hen* is meant to = the Middle-Welsh *Lleu hen*.

³ Or "Cinbelim", which occurs *supra*, in No. VII.

⁴ *Map* was written at the beginnings of these three lines in its proper column, and then erased.

⁵ This word is marginally glossed "f. *imperatoris*" in a later hand.

⁶ We have not compared this marvellous list of the Roman Emperors with their real history, but are led by the very peculiar inclination of the *Al-* of this word to suspect that it *may* have been originally copied from a large Roman *M*. Quite a different *M* is used in this MS. Perhaps, however, the name is a cross between *Maximus* and *Alexius*.

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>map Aurilianuf .</p> <p>map Mapmau cannuſ .</p> <p>map Antoniuſ .</p> <p>map Seueruf .</p> <p>map Moebuf .</p> <p>map Commodiuſ .</p> <p>map Antoniuſ .</p> <p>map Adiuuanduſ .</p> <p>map Troſianuſ¹ .</p> <p>map Nero ſub quo .</p> <p>paſſi² funt bea- .</p> <p>ti apoſtoli d'ni n'ri .</p> <p>ih'u xp'i PETRI . .</p> <p>& PAVli .</p> <p>map Domitianuf .</p> <p>map Tituf .</p> <p>map Veſpaſſianuſ .</p> | <p>map Claudiuf .</p> <p>map Tiberiuſ ſub .</p> <p>quo paſſuf eſt .</p> <p>dn'f n'r ih'c x'pc</p> <p>Octauianuſ³ au- .</p> <p>guſti ceſſariſ .</p> <p>Intempore il- .</p> <p>liuſ natuf eſt</p> <p>d'nf n'r ih'f xp'c</p> <p>[XVII.]</p> <p>[C]uhelm⁴ map bley- .</p> <p>diud .</p> <p>map Caratauc .</p> <p>map Iouanauſ⁵ .</p> <p>map Eiciaun .</p> <p>map B rochmail⁶ .</p> <p>map Ebiau⁷ .</p> |
|--|---|

¹ Clumsily altered into *Traianuſ*, possibly by the scribe.

² Some word (evidently *map*) was written, immediately below the *map* of the last line, in this line and the two following ones, and then completely scratched out.

³ *Map* has certainly been omitted before this word, and *map* or *filiuſ* after it. The *-ſa-* of *ceſſariſ* is a peculiar "conjoint" character.

⁴ This should almost certainly be *Cuhelin*, but we think that an *m* must be read in the MS.

⁵ The *I* is a hybrid between *I* and *l*: probably *I* is meant. The person is called *Iewanabl* in *J. C. MS.* 20, No. XL.

⁶ The *h* is expressed by the regular *Irish* contraction, somewhat resembling a T on its side (thus, t̄) over the *c*.

⁷ This name (here and twice below), should almost certainly be *Ebiaun*, now *Eiſon*. In the corresponding genealogy of Dunoding in *J. C. MS.* 20 (*Y Cymmrodor*, vol. viii, p. 89, No. XL), it is spelt, in the order of its occurrence, *Eidan*, *Einyabn*, and *eiuaón*, respectively; of which the last two are miscopied from *Einyabn* and *eiuaón*, the Middle-Welsh forms of O.-W. *Ebiaun*, and the first from M.-W. *Eidaun*, equivalent to *Eiuaun*. The person meant by the earliest

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---|-----------------------------|-----------|
| map Popdelgu ¹ | . | map . Iutnimet . | |
| map Popgen | . | map . Egeniud . | |
| map Ifaac | . | map . Brocmail . | |
| map Ebiau | . | map Sualda . | |
| map Mouric | . | map Iudris ³ . | |
| map Dinacat | . | map Gueinoth ⁴ . | |
| map Ebiau | . | map Glitnoth . | |
| map Dunaut | . | map Guurgint ⁵ . | |
| map Cuneda | . | *barmb truch . | [* col. 1 |
| [XVIII.] | | map Gatgular ⁶ . | |
| [C]inan ² map | | map Meriaun . | |
| brocmail | . | map Cuneda ⁷ | . |

Ebiau(n) is undoubtedly the prince of that name from whom is derived the territorial name *Eifonydd*, often called *Eidyonyd* (= *Eiddionydd*) in Middle-Welsh. Eifonydd and Arduwyt together made up the *Cantref* ("hundred of") *Dunoding*, so called from *Dunod ab Cuneda*, so that this Eifion was naturally made to be (and perhaps was) his son.

¹ This name and the following are represented by *Hoedle6* and *Podgen hen* respectively in *J. C. MS.* 20, No. XL, which makes one suppose that the second *p* in both words may be miscopied from a *p*.

² In the space where the capital initial of this word should be, *map* has been written and then erased.

³ The *s* of this word is written over the line, being substituted for an expuncted *t*.

⁴ This is almost certainly a mistake for *Gueithno*. Both *Gueinoth* and *Glitnoth* are represented by *one* person, *Gweidno*, in *J. C. MS.* 20, No. XLI, and *Gweiddno* is a bye-form of *Gwyddno*. *Glitnoth* is suspiciously like a *doublet* of *Gueinoth*, and itself seems a mistake for *Guihno*, the modern *Gwyddno*.

⁵ This the regular Old-Welsh form of the name now spelt *Gwrin*, whence *Llanwrin*. *Gwrin farfdrwch* was made by Geoffrey of Monmouth into one of his series of fabulous British kings, under the name of *Gurgiunt barbitruc*, from whom in turn later Welsh anti-quaries have evolved a still more mythical *Gurgant farfdrwch*. *Gorgan(t)* in Old-Welsh is *Gurcant*, not *Gurgint* (or *Gurginti*).

⁶ Read *Catgualart*, or perhaps *Catgualatr*.

⁷ The words *mab Typiaun* are omitted between this and the previous line. See No. XXXII, and note on *Typi(p)aun* there.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| [XIX.] | | [XXI.] |
| [C]atguallaun liu . | | [ff]eriaun map |
| map Guitcun . | | [loudogu . |
| map Samuil penniffel . . | | |
| map Pappo <i>poß</i> priten . | | [XXII.] |
| map Ceneu . | | [S]elim . map Cinan ³ . |
| map Gyl ¹ hen . | | map Brocmaýl . |
| [XX.] | | map Cincen ³ . |
| [?X]mor ² map moriud . | | map Maucanu ⁴ . |
| map Ædan . | | map Pascent . |
| map Mor . | | map . Catte girn ⁵ . |
| map Brechiaul . | | map Catel dunlurc ⁶ . |

¹ Read *Coyl*, and compare this genealogy with No. XI, *supra*.

² *J. C. MS.* 20, No. XLVI, gives this name as "Amor". We know nothing of him or when he lived, and regard the conversion of his ancestor *Brechiaul* (= *Breichiol*), by the *J. C. MS.* genealogist into a "*Brochwal* ab Cunedda Wledig" as a mistake.

³ See No. XXVII, *infra*, where these two names are wrongly transposed, and our note on them there.

⁴ Read *Maucann*, or perhaps *Maucant*: probably the former. Cf. the mistake *gurhaiernu* in No. XXIII, *infra*, and note thereon, and *linhenlanú* for *linhenlann* in *Rhygyfarch's Life of St. David* (*Cott. Vesp. A.*, xiv, fo. 61^a), miscopied *Linhenlanum* in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 117.

⁵ Read *Cattegirn*. "Nennius" makes this *Cattegrn* son to Vortigern (*S.*, § 44, 48), and later pedigree-makers have tortured his name into *Cyndeigrn*. In the preceding *map* some letter has been begun, and left un erased and uncanceled, before the *p*.

⁶ This well-known epithet is spelt *durnluc* elsewhere in this MS. (in *Nennius*, fo. 181^a, l. 12 = *S.*, § 35), for which we believe *dunlurc* is a mistake. For such an insertion of *r* from another syllable, cf. (*Cair*) *urnarc*, in the *Catalogue of Cities*, *infra*, certainly for *C. urnac*, i.e., *Caer Urnach*. Were *durnluc* for *Deyrnllwg*, it would certainly be spelt *Tigirn*- or *Tegirn*-(*l*)*luc* at the date of our MS., whilst *Durn*- or *Turn*- would at all times have been (as it now is) an impossible orthography for *Teyrn*, nor would the initial mutation from *t* to *d* incident to "epithets" have been expressed in the orthography of our MS. He is called *Cadell deyrlluch* in *J. C. MS.* 20, No. XVIII, and *C. deernlluc* (the last certainly = *deyrnllwg* or *-llug*) in No. XVI. See our note on the epithet in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. vii, p. 119.

| | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|---|
| | [XXIII.] | . map | Catmor | . |
| | [?] effelif . map gur | . map | Merguid | . |
| | haiernu ¹ | . map | Moriutned . | . |
| | map Elbodgu | . map | Morhen | . |
| | map Cinnin | . map | Morcant | . |
| | map Millo | . map | Botan | . |
| | map Camuir | . map | Morgen | . |
| | map Brittu | . map | Mormayl | . |
| | map Cattedgirn | . map | Glaft . unum | . |
| | map Catell | | funt . glaftenic ⁴ . | . |
| | [XXIV.] | | qui uenerunt que | . |
| | [S]elim . map iouab . | | uocatur . loýt | . |
| | map Guitgen ² | | coýt . | . |
| | map Bodug | | [XXVL.] | . |
| | map Canantinail ³ | | [G]uocaun . | . |
| | map Cerennior | . map | Mouric | . |
| | map Ermic | . map | Dumngual- | . |
| | map Ecrin | | laun . | . |
| | [XXV.] | . map | Arthgen | . |
| | [F]udnerth map . | . map | Seiffil | . |
| | [morgen . | . map | Clitauc | . |
| [fo. 195., col. 1.] | . map Catgur . | . map | Artgloys | . |

¹ Read *Gurhaiernn*.² Read *Guitgen*.³ This is undoubtedly a mistake in transcribing *Carantmail* from a "Hiberno-Saxon" hand. The second stroke of the first *n* of *Canantinail* is not carried quite to the bottom of the line, and it is possible that the scribe in making it was attempting roughly to copy the original *r*. The most remarkable *n* of this sort in the MS. is that of *dunlurc*, end of No. XXII, *supra*.⁴ *Glaftenic* is certainly the native name of Glastonbury, from Cornish and Breton *Glasten* or *Glastan* "oaks", not (as is often given in dictionaries) "illexes or holm-oaks", those trees not being indigenous in these latitudes. (*Cair*) *loýt coýt* (see below), has been brilliantly identified by Mr. H. Bradley with *Letocetum* (now *Lichfield*). The whole sentence is dislocated and defective. Can the *unū ði* of the MS. be a mistake for *un ði* (= *unde est*)?

| | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| . map Arthodgu . | map Cincen ³ . |
| . map Bodgu . | map Brocmail . |
| . map Serguil . | map Cinan ³ . |
| . map Iufay . | *map Maucant . [*col. 2.] |
| . map Ceretic . | map Pascent . |
| . map Cuneda . | map Cattegir ⁴ . |
| [xxvii.] | map Catel . |
| . map ¹ [C]incen . | map ⁵ Selemiaun . |
| map Catel . | [xxviii.] |
| map Brocmayl . | [X]ud hail ⁶ . |
| map Elitet ² . | map Atroys . |
| map Guilauc . | map Fernmail . |
| map Eli . | map Iudhail . |
| map Eliud . | map Morcant . |

¹ This *map* is wrongly inserted.

² Read *Elizet*. The stock "antiquaries' form", *Eliseg*, can only arise from someone's having misread on the Valle Crucis pillar erected to Elisse's memory a "Hiberno-Saxon" *t* as the very similar *g*. The final letter of the name was more regularly written *d*, as in Nos. xv, xxx, and xxxi, and was sounded like the *dd* of modern Welsh; it is omitted in the modern pronunciation of the name. Such forms as *Elissau*, etc., are but the "restorations" (from *Elisse*) of genealogists bent on blazoning their own ignorance of the past.

³ These two names have been transposed. There is no doubt that Cyngen was the *father*, Cynan. (Garwyn) the *son*, of Brochwel (Ysgythrog).

⁴ Read *Cattegirn*; and cf. *Outigir* at end of No. x *supra*, and the *Cadegyr* of the Triads.

⁵ If *Selemiaun* = the modern *Selyfon*, the name of an (unknown) district derived from one Selyf (? Selyf sarffgatau ap Cynan Garwyn, whose genealogy is given in No. xxii, *supra*), and appended epithetically to Cadell "Deyrnllwg" as having ruled over it, this *map* should be cancelled. But it *may* be a man's name from some such Low-Latin name as *Solymianus, as *Garbaniaun* (in No. x *supra*), also called *Garmonyaon*, is probably from *Germanianus, though that too may be a territorial or tribal designation derived from one Garmon or Germanus.

⁶ Read *Iudhail*.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|------------|
| map Atroyf | . | cen ² . filí broc- | . |
| map Teudubric ¹ | . | mail . filí elized | . |
| [XXIX.] | | [XXXII.] | |
| [33]rocmail | . | [34]ec funt nomi- | . |
| map Mouric | . | na filiorum cune- | . |
| map Artmail | . | da quorum nume- | . |
| map Rif | . | ruf erat . ix . Ty- | . |
| map Iudhail | . | pipaun ⁴ primo- | . |
| map Morcant | . | genituf . quimoztu- | . |
| [XXX.] | | uf in regione que | . |
| [30]aun ar- | . | uocatur manaú | . |
| tan iouab | . | guodotin . et non | . |
| meic . filí grippi ² | . | uenit huc cum | . |
| filí elized | . | patre suo et cum | . |
| [XXXI.] | | fratribuf fuif . pre ⁵ | . |
| [35]lized ioab | . | *meriaun . filiuf eiuf . | [*col. 3.] |
| ædan . filí cin- | . | diuifit poffeffionef | . |

¹ *Map Mouric* is certainly omitted between this and the preceding line.

² This word is unfinished. There has been omitted at this point : "-nd filii cincen filii catel(1) filii brocmail". See No. xxvii *supra*, and for Gruffudd and Elisse, sons of Cyngen, see *Annales Cambriae*, under 814. Gruffudd seems to have been left out of the following pedigree on account of his early death.

³ The words "filii catel(1)" have been omitted after "cincen". The exact agreement of Cyngen ab Cadell's pedigree up to Gwylog (or Gwyllog?), as given here (in No. xxvii *supra*) with the same as given on the Valle Crucis pillar, set up by Cyngen himself, places this part of the princely pedigree of Powys beyond a shadow of a doubt. It is worth noting that there are omissions as serious as those here and in No. xxx to be found in the same portion of the same pedigree, as given in a sixteenth-century MS., *Harl. 3325*, where at fo. 142^b Cadell and Brochwel are omitted between Cyngen and Elisse.

⁴ Certainly a mistake for *Typiaun* (now Tybion), but the superfluous *p* may have been miscopied from a *y*, pronounced as a semi-vowel.

⁵ Apparently this word is incomplete, and meant for *predictis*, as pointed out by Sir S. Meyrick.

| | | |
|---|---|------------|
| <i>inter fratres</i> ¹ . fuof. ii. | [C]air . ligualid . | |
| Ofmail. iii. rumaun. iiiii. | [C]air me guaid . | |
| dunaut . v . Ceretic . vi . | [C]air . colun . | |
| abloyc . vii . enniaun . girt . | [C]air . ebrauc . | |
| viii . docmail . ix . etern . | [C]air . cuftoeint . | |
| [XXXIII.] | [C]air caratauc . | |
| [D]ic est terminus eorum | [C]air . grauth . | |
| [afumine] | [C]air . maunguid . | |
| quod uocatur dubr duiú . | [C]air . lundem ³ . | |
| [uf- | [C]air . ceint . | |
| que ad aliud flumen tebi . | [C]air . guiragon . | |
| [et | [C]air . perif . | |
| tenuerunt plurimas re- | [C]air . daun . | |
| [giones] | [C]air . legion . | |
| in occidentali plaga brit- | [C]air . guricon . | |
| tannice . | [C]air . fegeint . | |
| [CATALOGUE OF CITIES.] | [C]air . legeion guar usic ⁴ . | |
| [D]æc sunt nomina omnium | [C]air . guent . | |
| ciuitatum . que sunt in | [C]air . brithon . | [fo. 195.] |
| [tota brit- | [C]air . lerion . | |
| tannia . quarum numerus | [C]air . draitoú . | |
| [est xxviii.] | [C]air . Pensa uel coyt . | |
| [C]air guorthigirn . | [C]air . urnarc ⁵ . | |
| [C]air . guinntguic . | [C]air . celemion . | |
| [C]air . mincip . | [C]air . luit coyt . | |

[Here follows in the MS. the tract *De Mirabilibus Britannie* (printed in Stevenson's *Nennius*, pp. 56—62, §§ 67—76) with which conclude the additions to the *Historia Britonum*.]

¹ There is a superfluous mark of contraction (probably meant to stand for *-er-*) over the *t* of this word.

² The capital has been filled in by a much later hand.

³ Read *lundem*.

⁴ Read *uisic*.

⁵ Read *urnac*, and cf. *dunlurc* at end of No. xxii *supra*, and note thereon. Stevenson (p. 62) wrongly makes the MS. read *urnac*.

Reviews.

BEITRÄGE ZUR CYMRISCHEN GRAMMATIK. I. (Einleitung und Vocalismus.) Von MAX NETTLAU, Dr. Phil. Leipzig, März-April, 1887. Preis: 2 mark.

WE are heartily glad to welcome to the little-occupied field of Cymric research the young Austrian who is the author of this paper. The paper is one of a series embodying the results of his work in the scientific study of Welsh grammar up to the present time. One member of the series appeared in Vol. viii of *Y Cymmrodor*, and one is included in the present number. Another paper of the series is being published in the *Revue Celtique* for Jan. 1888. Grammar has undergone the radical change which has overtaken all other sciences in our time, and the methods and aims of the modern scholar have no more in common with those of the "grammarian" of former days than the objects of the contemporary biologist with those of his predecessor the natural historian. To the old grammarian, the literary form of a language was all in all, and he was content when he had deduced his "rules" from the practice of the most classical writers, striven to bring as many irregularities as possible within their jurisdiction, and enumerated the "exceptions" that continued to resist their authority. A language was to him a fixed quantity, crystalline, or at least having no principle of vital growth. To his modern successor language presents itself as living material, undergoing constant organic change by the very nature of it. His object is to trace the principles of its growth; and its dialectal forms, which manifest such principles unrestrained by arti-

ficial bands, are of at least equal interest to him with the classical usages which have been framed half-consciously to fulfil the requirements of literature or of courtly talk. The modern grammarian grasps his subject, as all organic subjects must be grasped, from the point of view of development. To record the history of a language from its earliest known forms, to search out the origins of its inflections and usages, and to trace the operation of phonetic, analogical, and other causes in modifying them from age to age is his proper task, more arduous, but more remunerative than the barren labours of his forerunner.

To such work as this Dr. Nettlau comes well prepared. Though not yet twenty-three years of age, he has received and profited by the best linguistic training that the universities of Germany, pre-eminent in this branch, can afford. He has worked in Berlin under Brückner, Hoffory, Hübner, Oldenberg, Scherer, Johannes Schmidt, Schott, and Weber; in Vienna under Miklosich and Müller; in Leipsic under Kögel, Leskien, and Windisch, and in Greifswald under Pietsch, Reifferscheid, and H. Zimmer.

Notwithstanding this, and his visits to London and Oxford, it is not quite clear whence he has acquired his extensive acquaintance with Cymric. Instruction in Welsh is not easy to obtain in Germany, contemporary German Celtists having given their chief attention to Irish; and, with the exception of Schuchardt, we cannot recall any prominent scholar east of the Rhine capable of teaching it. Dr. Nettlau's knowledge must in large part have been gained by his own individual initiative. That his opportunities of acquaintance with the language as actually spoken have hitherto been small, goes without saying, but he is yet young, and if he decides to continue this special line of investigation, which we hope he will not abandon, he has ample time to overcome this difficulty.

As far as written Welsh goes, Dr. Nettlau has certainly made very full use of his opportunities. His catalogue of texts which he has consulted in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and elsewhere, occupies twenty-three pages of his *Einleitung*, and comprises, besides an apparently complete list of extant grammars and dictionaries, a large and miscellaneous collection of MSS. and printed books and periodicals, ranging from the *Red Book of Hergest* to *Y Genedl Gymreig*.

The author's opening remarks on the chief dialectal divisions of Wales fairly represent the current state of our knowledge of the subject:

“Rhys suchte in Celtic Britain, 1882 auch die geschichte des eindringens einer brythonischen sprache in Wales näher zu bestimmen; er nimmt, auf grundlage der jetzt für goidhelisch geltenden oghaminschriften u. a. an, dass bis in's 7. jahr. “or somewhat later” in den nordwestl. und südwestl. teilen von Wales eine goidhelische sprache existirte, die von der brythonischen sprache der Ordovices verdrängt wurde; diese wanderten in Powys ein und brythonisirten im süden die Siluren und Demetae, im norden die Venedotier und bewoner von Anglesey. er kommt zum resultat: to this (diesen feststellungen) its (des c) four chief dialects still correspond, being those resp. of Powys, Gwent or Siluria, Dyved, Gwynedd. wenn der historische beweis dieser verbreitung des cymr. gelungen ist, erhält die cymr. dialektforschung eine sichere grundlage, denn diese 4 dialekte, von denen die 2 nördl. und südl. zusammengehören, werden seit jeher unterschieden. die älteste erwähnung von localen verscheidenheiten der cymr. sprache findet sich bei Giraldus Cambrensis und enthält eine charakteristik des nordc. und demet. vgl. descriptio Cambriae I, 6: Notandum est quia in Nortwallia lingua Britannica delicatior, ornatior et laudabilior, quanto alienigenis terra illa impermixtior, esse perhibetur. Kereticam tamen in Sudwallia regionem tanquam in medio Kambriae ac mediterraneo sitam, lingua praecipua uti et (v. l. et etiam) laudatissima plerique testantur (Rolls edit. 6, 177).”

From the “Introduction” Dr. Nettlau plunges at once into the subject of the treatment of the vowels and diphthongs, and discusses, with ample exemplification, the changes to which they are found subject in Welsh in the

remaining forty-seven pages of his dissertation. To enter at all fully into the subject-matter of these pages would far transcend our limits. We will content ourselves with quoting a few passages mainly indicative of the minute care with which the author has pursued it. For example, we find on p. 40 under *A*:

“§ 37. tra und pan : Jes. Coll. 141 *a thre barhaodd y gyngrair* 23a, *a thre ytoedd Agamenion yn meddyliaw* 22a ; Gr. Roberts, gr. (129) pen ; R. S. pen fo rhaid, Ajb ; 14986, 20a pen, 31058, 7a pen ; in den jetzigen dialekten : Arw.¹ 17, 7, 56 u. o., O. T. 26 etc.—in 14973, 17. jarh., Araith Gwgan : neg ef 105b ; fal und fel (wie) sind wol auch hierher zu stellen.”

The following note on p. 63 deserves quotation :

“Rowlands, exercises, 1870, 163 gibt an : tranoeth, vulgo tranwaeth ; hier scheint, da noeth neben nos nur hier erscheint und die bedeutung, am folgenden tage' das wort, nacht' ganz zurückgedrängt hat, -waith, gwaith wie in eilwaith, ein anderes mal, noswaith, eines nachts an stelle von noeth getreten zu sein, wenn die angabe überhaupt richtig ist. eine ähnliche neubildung könnte in deuwedd vorliegen : Davies lex. hat deuoedd, vulgo deuwedd (beide), vgl. C. y C.² hwy aethant eill dauwedd (ylldan) 70 ; hefo ni 'll dwadd, Carn. Arw.¹ 23, 10. 56 ; yll dywadd u. s. w.), indem der nur in diser verbindung auftretende plural auf -oedd von dau (2) durch anlenung an gwedd (yoke ; team) verdrängt zu sein scheint.”

And the author has, it seems to us, given expression to very sound views in the following (p. 64) :

“Y Tr.³ 3, 7 wird unter Südw. betreffenden dialekt. angaben rhagreithiwr (für rhagrithiwr) und weineb für wyneb angegeben. ersteres (hypocrite) ist an rhagraith (deliberation) angelent worden ? weineb kommt in Gw. J.⁴ in Sal. N. T.⁵ merfach vor : ac weyneb gantho mal vwyneb duyn 378a, y weyneb ef 399a, o wrthweyneb 392a, a gwrthweynebe yr ddayar ib. ; daneben wyneb ; sonst ist wymed, wmed (schon in 14921, 16. j.) in Südw. nachzuweisen. über wyneb, gwyneb s. Rhys, B. C.⁶ VI, t-praet. 6 ; ac. let-einepp M. Cap.

¹ *Yr Arweinydd.*

³ *Y Traethodydd.*

⁶ *Salesbury's New Test.*

² *Cannwyll y Cymry.*

⁴ *Gweledigaeth Ieuan.*

⁶ *Revue Celtique.*

ist in weyneb, *gwo-einep enthalten.—Sweet 437 hat: kneithar = cefnither (cyfnither, Sp.), cousine, also cyfneither voraussetzend; (abr. comnidder KZ¹ 26, 436); nith entstand wie llith aus lectio; aber brith m., braith f. (= ir brecht): *brecto- *brectā > *bryith *breith- > brith, braith; danach wären *lyith- *nyith- als vorstufen von llith, nith anzunehmen. corn. noi, noit (vocab.) scheint einem c. nai *naith (*neith) zu entsprechen, das in oneythar, cyfneither enthalten wäre. ob naith nach nai umgestaltet oder ob bestimmte verhältnisse der folgenden silbe, wie sie doch brith und braith herbeifürten, beide formen erzeugten, ist einstweilen nicht zu entscheiden."

One more quotation, in reference to the treatment of the diphthongs *ei*, *eu*, we may permit ourselves (p. 67):

"aus den jetzigen dialekten vgl. demet. S. C.² cisho, 1, 238; 2, 104, dwy g'inog 1, 372, 373, cinog 1, 449 gwinidogion 3, 448, whechinog, 3, 525 etc.: gwent. Aberdare, Gw.³ y gwithwrs 19, 2, 59, cyd-withwrs 19, 2, 59 etc.; whedlya (14921, 45b; ib. chwedlya 43b) ist weleia Bed.⁴ 8. 147 (aus wheddl-) wleua Y Gen.⁵ 3, 19 und wlya T. a'r G.,⁶ 1856, 94 in den jetzigen gwent. dialekten, chwedleua in der schriftsprache."

We trust that Dr. Nettlau's publications will have the effect of stimulating those of our countrymen who take an interest in the scientific study of their language to a more active participation in the work of promoting it than has been observable of late years. There have been, we admit, ample excuses for backwardness. The indifference to Celtic philology which has characterised the English Universities has been reflected upon our own country, which until recently had no intellectual centres of its own in which linguistic studies might be fostered, or from which they might be profitably directed. The leisured classes among us have been foolishly brought up to ignore and disclaim the Welsh tongue, while the poorer classes have had the scantiest opportunity of obtaining the necessary preparatory

¹ Kühn's *Zeitschrift*.

² *Y Gweithior*.

³ *Y Genedl*.

⁴ *Seren Cymru*.

⁵ *Y Bedyddior*.

⁶ *Y Tycysydd a'r Gymraes*.

training for its study. The schools have treated Welsh as non-existent, and linguistic publication has languished for want of a public prepared to receive it. All honour to such men as Silvan Evans, who have worked on in solitude under difficulties that would have broken down less resolute natures! We have now, happily, centres of intellectual life in all three divisions of Wales, and we hope to see them ere long centres of active interest in the scientific study of Welsh. The students of Bangor, we are glad to learn, have led the way by the formation of a North-Welsh Dialect Society, and we trust that their example will be followed by their compeers in South and Central Wales. It can be given to but few to become philologists in the sense in which Professor Rhys or Dr. Nettlau is a philologist. For such work a training is needed which is still beyond the reach of most Welsh students; but every educated Welsh-speaking man resident in Wales may contribute a stock of facts on dialectal points for which philology will be exceedingly grateful. If a hundred such men, scattered about Wales, were to set themselves faithfully and literally to record the words, phrases, grammatical forms, and peculiarities of abbreviation and pronunciation which distinguish the common talk of their district from that of its neighbours, Welsh philology would be able to take at once such a spring forward as has been beyond its power for many years. We shall look with interest on the result of the Bangor experiment.

“A BOOKE OF GLAMORGANSHIRES ANTIQUITIES.” By RICE MERRICK, Esq. 1578. Edited by JAMES ANDREW CORBETT. Dryden Press, J. Davy and Sons, 137, Long Acre. 1887. Price 10s. 6d.

By this reprint of a work much plagiarised, and known to few besides those who have frequently borrowed from it without acknowledgment, Mr. Corbett has earned the gratitude not only of all students of Glamorgan history, but of that larger body of students who are interested in the work of examination of the mode of living and the social condition of the Welsh people during the period from the time when Norman lords first began to carve out Marcher-Lordships around the borders of the Principality down to its incorporation by Edward I. It is little credit to Glamorgan patriotism in the past that such a work as this should have remained unaccomplished for sixty-two years after Sir Thomas Phillipps made the MS. known by printing, in accordance with the prevailing notion of his day, a *limited* edition of about fifty copies; and we cannot but look upon this effort of Mr. Corbett, following as closely as it does upon the publication of Mr. Clark's Volume I of his *Chartæ et Munimenta, etc.*, as indicative of a growing interest in Glamorgan archæology which we trust will, at no distant date, cause to be produced a history of the county worthy of the name.

Rice Merrick, the author of the MS., was Clerk of the Peace for the county, having been appointed to that office by William Earl of Pembroke, and afterwards by Henry Earl of Pembroke. He tells us that he lived “within two bowe Shootes of the port-way”, or ancient highroad across the county, and from his “booke” and other sources we know that his residence was at Cottrell. His official posi-

tion was such as to afford him ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with the country as it was in his own time, and in respect of that time it is peculiarly fortunate that the history was written only some thirty-six years after the introduction by Henry VIII of the Courts of Great Sessions, and the consequent abolition of those Marches-Courts wherein justice had been administered in Glamorgan since the advent of the Normans. Consequently he would, as he tells us he did, have ample opportunity of learning from official and other persons who had taken part in or were familiar with the administration of justice in those Courts, what their practice was. Further, he was in position to speak with authority as to the customary descent of lands in the various lordships in his day, and as it had probably varied little, to state, with a near approximation to accuracy, what it was immediately after the settlements by the Normans. Among the authorities he refers to are *Y Cwitta Cyvarwydd*, *The Laws of Howel Dda*, *Humphrey Lloyd*—all at this day well known; certain “Bookes and Pamphlets in the Brittain Tongue”, containing pedigrees, etc., of which it cannot be said whether they are or are not still extant; and lastly, the Register of Neath Abbey, now lost, the last mention of which occurs in a letter printed *in extenso* in Mr. Corbett’s preface, dated 18th December 1574, addressed by Rice Merrick to Sir Ed. Stradling. In this letter he craves the loan “of the register of Neath (wherein att my last being with you I found somewhat of Justyn) and yt shalbe safely kept and sent home at your pfixed time.” From his frequent and particular references to this book it is quite clear either that Sir Edward Stradling lent it to him as requested, or that he had made good use of it on his visit to that knight; and having regard to the fact that Neath Abbey was founded in 1129, and that the conquest of Glamorgan took place sometime in the reign of William Rufus, we might fairly assume

that what it chronicled of that event would be reliable, as it happened within the memory of persons then living who had taken part in it. Apparently the Register could not have contained any general sketch of that event, the main importance of which, in the eyes of the monks, seems to have been its effect in bringing about the foundation and subsequent endowments of the abbey. But Merrick here and there finds "somewhat of Justyn" and the other principal actors in the conquest of great interest to the historian.

He commences his book by explaining how in ancient times Morganwg and Glamorgan were the appellations of perfectly distinct geographical areas, and sketches their history down to the coming of the Normans. "Morganwg stretched from Gloucester bridge to Towy as some affirme, to Crymlyn (a little brook running into Swansea Bay, about a mile and a half east of the Swansea river) as others write, and conteyned not only all Glamorgan went's land, now called Monmouthshire, but alsoe part of Carmarthen, Brecknoge, Harford, and Gloucestershyres." Glamorgan, on the other hand, was that part of ancient Morganwg which "lyeth beneath the common portway through Glamorgan toward the sea-side betweene the rivers of Eley and Ogmor."

This distinction was, in fact, observed by the Lords of Glamorgan down to the statute of 27th Henry VIII, these lords describing themselves as Lords of Morganwg and Glamorgan. When the Normans came, Jestyn was Lord of Morganwg, at that time much reduced from its ancient dimensions, the boundaries being the river Rhymni on the east, the Crymlyn Brook on the west, and Breconshire and Carmarthenshire on the north, the sea, as before, being the southern boundary. The lordship was also divided into divisions called "Bro" and "Blaineu", the Bro or Vale extending about twenty-four miles from east to west, and about seven miles from the sea to the foot of the hills, this

district being subdivided into East of Thawe and West of Thawe, the "Blaineu" (blaenau) being the hill country. The "Lordship in those days was governed by the old Lawes of the Brytaines, and cheifly by their vsages and customes, which they termed *Moes a Devod*, and highly esteemed, whereby the Lords of Glamorgan and Morganwg then vsed Princely authority ; and also other meane Lords which then were termed *Arglwyddy pren a Full*, which after were called Lords Marchers, vsed jura regalia, saving in few cases reserved to the superior Lord of Morganwg." These customs and usages differed in the different lordships. The laws of Howel Dda were used in the chief courts of Deheubarth, and "the Inheritance discended equally betweene Brothers, which was called 'Bandyr', viz., partable Land, commonly called, in English, Gavelkinde."

In describing the characteristics of the Bro, he says that it was always renowned for the fertility of its soil, and for the temperature and "holsomenes" of its air, and notes the fact, peculiarly interesting in these days of small inclosures, that it was "a Champyon and open Country, without great store of inclosures, for in my time, old men reported, that they remembred in their youth, that Cattell in some time, for want of shade, to have from the port way runne to Barry, which is 4 miles distant, whose fforefathers told them, that great part of th' inclosures was made in their dayes." The "Blaineu" was always celebrated, he says, for the great breeding of cattle, horses, and sheep, and in the earlier times grew but small store of corn, though in later years, since the knowledge or use of liming had become known, corn-growing had become more general. Our author looks upon the inhabitants as pure unmixed "Britaynes", who, like their forefathers, had always inhabited the district without intermeddling with other nations. "And as this Soyle, in respect of the lowe Country, is but barren, yet in norishing and

bringing upp tall, mighty, and active men it alwayes excelled the other. Such as by long experience have governed both, prescribed this principle to be followed—This to be wonne by gentilnes, the other kept under with feare.”

He gives, with some of its variants, the well-known popular story of the winning of Glamorgan by the Normans. How that Rhys ap Tewdwr, falling in love with Jestyn's wife, and being foiled in an attempt to carry her off by stratagem and force, made war upon his neighbours, who, with the assistance of the Normans, obtained through the agency of one Einion ap Collwyn, a refugee from Dyfed, defeated Rhys at the battle of Hirwain Wrgan, flying whence that monarch was slain at the place the name of which—Penrhys—commemorates his fate to this day. And how that Einion, having been refused his promised reward—the hand of Jestyn's daughter—advised the Normans, then on the point of embarking, well paid for their services, to return and win the land for themselves, which they did, having killed almost immediately in an affray the unfortunate lord to whose assistance they had originally come.

It would be beside our present purpose to give a detailed account of the apportionment of the conquered lands amongst his followers by their leader, Fitzhamon, the first Norman Lord of Glamorgan. The distribution of the spoil, with the names of the knights who shared therein, will be found set forth with great particularity by Merrick.

The county was divided into four several parts: (1) The body of the shire; (2) the members; (3) “boroughes”; (4) “the possessions of the Bishop of Landaph and the Church”. The *body* was, before the alteration of the laws in Wales, a county of itself, and held of no other lordship, and the lords thereof, ever since the winning of the same, owing their obedience only to the Crown, used therein *jura regalia*. The lord was a sort of king. The king's writ did not run in his

territory ; he had his sheriff, his chancery, his great seal, and his civil and criminal courts. He had power of life and death, and authority to pardon all offences, treason only excepted. If any false judgment were given in any of the courts of the members or boroughs, it should be reversed by a writ of false judgment in the shire-court of Glamorgan and Morganwg. Further, all matters of conscience happening in any of the same were to be determined in the Chancery of Glamorgan and Morganwg, before the Chancellor thereof, which court was monthly kept in the Castle of Cardiff, on Tuesday the morrow after the shire-court.

The members were the greatest signories in Glamorgan next to the shire-fee, and were twelve in number : Senghenydd, supra and subtus Caiach, Miskin, Glynrhondda, Talavan, Rhuthyn, Llanblethian, Coyty, Tir Iarll, Avan Wahan Neath Citra and Neath Ultra. The lords of these members were Lords Marchers with the liberties thereto belonging. They had, like the Chief Lord, power of life and death and the other *jura regalia*, pleas and actions being determined in their courts in the same manner as in the Shire Court, the only difference being that there was an appeal to the latter by writ of false judgment, as above mentioned.

There were seven boroughs : Cardiff, Cowbridge, Kenfig, Neath, Avan, Llantrissant, Caerphilly. The possessions of the Church Merrick does not refer to at any length, because he had "written a short Treatise of the Bishoprick of Landaph wherein the matter is sett forth more at large." We wonder where that is now.

Not only does he give a particular account of the members and their lords, but, in describing the hundreds of the shire, he sets forth the names of Mesne-lords, with their lands and services, and gives an account "of Strangers whose names are now in Oblivion that were, since the conquest of Glamorgan, possessioners therein", such as William Pincerna, Lord of the

Manor of Gellygarn, whose name and his sons' figure in connection with Neath Abbey; Nerber, Lord of Castle-toune, whose descendant, Thomas Nerber, was alive in Merrick's remembrance; Corbett, Lord of St. Nicholas, St. George's, and Cadoxton, whose territories enjoyed some liberty more than the rest, and, among others, "where every hearth towards the [here occurs a blank in the MS.] was charged with 2 pence, yet his Landes, being called Corbett's ffee, was charged, but with the moyety"; and Stephen Bauson, owner of Brygan by a grant of Richard de Clare, 1257, an expert captain who was sent with a great army into Wales in that year to subdue David, the brother of Llewelyn, and was slain with a great part of his host.

Having given an account of the conquest and the parties to it, of which a brief summary has been given above, and the changes introduced in the old Welsh laws and customs by the Normans, he proceeds to treat of the Glamorgan of his own day, his description of which, particular as it is, will be read with the greatest interest. Mr. Corbett has added much to its value by printing Leland's account of Glamorgan as it was about fifty years before. Further, by way of appendix, he has added such extracts from the *Annales Cambriæ* and *Brut y Tywysogion* as throw light on the conquest of Glamorgan, and concludes his book with notes and a very full index. Of the notes we can only wish they were more numerous, particularly those dealing with the ancient Welsh customs prevailing in the lordships, such as note D, where he expresses the opinion that an examination of the records of the customs of Glamorganshire manors in the sixteenth century would probably tend to confirm Merrick's statement to the effect that the hills retained Welsh laws, and that into the Vale English laws and customs were introduced; e.g., in Coity Wallia the descent of customary lands was to sons equally; in Coity Anglia to the youngest son (i.e., Borough English).

In conclusion, we would express the wish that, for the sake of the English reader unacquainted with Welsh, a list of the Welsh words (they are not numerous) which have been copied too faithfully from the MS. be inserted in a future edition, which we hope soon to see. This will only be an act of justice to *Rees Merrick*, of whose MS. that at Queen's College is evidently only a copy; for he never could have made such mistakes himself.

We cannot but think that the Principals of our Welsh Public Schools and Colleges, when looking about for prize-books for their senior students, might find *Rees Merrick* more popular than, and quite as useful as, many of those which are now accounted stock prize-books.

Notes and Queries.

WE are glad to hear that a fund is being raised for the purpose of clearing away the accumulation of soil and rubbish which at present conceals the ruins of Strata Florida Abbey. At present, only a portion of the west wall of the church, containing the doorway and one window, and a fragment of the north transept, are above ground; but the walls are still intact in many places to as much as six, or even ten feet above the foundation, though at present concealed from view in the soil. A quantity of mouldings and fragments of tracery, and other details of the building, are doubtless hidden among the rubbish.

The Abbey, as our readers are probably aware, was founded by Rhys ab Tewdwr in the latter part of the eleventh century, and the church entirely built, or at least completed, by Rhys ab Gruffydd before the close of the twelfth. Its interest as an edifice of Welsh construction is therefore very great.

Subscriptions to the fund are received by Mr. R. W. Banks, Ridgebourne, Kington, Herefordshire. The Marquis of Bute heads the list with a donation of twenty guineas.

Which of the various Welsh words for the ivy and the nettle are used in the different dialects and sub-dialects? The forms for ivy which occur in the MSS., and in the printed edition of *Meddygon Myddfai*; and such dialectal forms of the word for nettle (*danadlen*, *dynadlen*), as *dalan*,

dynentyn (pl. *dyned*), used about Llandovery (according to Mr. Phillimore), *drynitán*, pl. *drynid*, in the Neath Valley, and the various Irish, Gaelic, etc., forms show the need of further information on this point.

January 31, 1888.

MAX NETTLAU.

EBOSTOL Y SUL (by Professor Powel, M.A., *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. viii, pp. 162 *et seq.*)—Some explanation ought, perhaps, to have been offered of the use of the word *Ebostol* here. Usually *Ebostol* means Apostle. But the word *Apostolus* was used in the Latin Church (as *Ἀπόστολος* was in the Greek) to denote collectively the book of the Epistles of Saint Paul, and then the portion of these epistles read at the mass. Thus *Apostolus* became in this connection equivalent to *Epistola*, as is shown by the quotation from Hincmar in Du Cange: "*Usque ad Evangelium in Missa stare solent et recedunt, statim post Apostolum, id est, post Epistolam, hanc admonitionem nostram . . . legite*". In its present use in Welsh the term is extended from the Epistle to the "admonition", or homily, which immediately followed it.

In the new English Dictionary, Dr. Murray supplies (*s. v.* Apostle i, 4) an early instance of the use of the word in English to denote the Epistles of Saint Paul as a body: "Hem that reversyng the *aposteyl* and seyden 'do we yvel thingis that ther comyn gode thingis.'"

T. POWEL.

CORRIGENDA.

A.—IN VOL. VII, PART II.

Page 108, note 1, for "672", read "785". (*Stowe MS.* 672 is the Collection of Welsh Poetry.)

Page 131, cancel note 3. The first letter of *banó* is certainly an unaltered *b*, of a type common in other MSS. of the same date. (J. G. E.) See facsimile (opposite p. 95), col. 1.

B.—IN VOL. VIII, PART I.

Note.—Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans' comparison (on p. 91) of "ymnyd kynor" (leg. *kynor*?) with Llangynor is inadmissible. *Mynydd Cyfor*, four miles S.E. of Carmarthen, retains its name, and St. Cyneiddon's extinct chapel is still commemorated in the neighbouring hamlet of Capel Llangynheiddon.—E. P.

C.—IN VOL. VIII, PART II.

Page 164, line 7 from below, for "old Welsh form", read "old form."

Page 171, line 7 from below, for "*Ar en er amfer*", read "*Ac en er amfer*."

VOL. IX.

PART II.

D
Cymmrodor

The Magazine

of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion

PRODUCED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COUNCIL.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY
BY
WHITING & CO., 30 & 32, SARDINIA STREET,
LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

1888.

Y Cymmrodor.

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NOTICE.

Editorial communications, Books for Review, etc., should be addressed to Dr. ISAMBAARD OWEN, 5, Hertford Street, Mayfair, W.

* * * Wanted, copies of Y CYMMRODOR, Vol. iii, Part 1. Members having copies to dispose of are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

D Cymrodor.

VOL. IX.

“CARED DOETH YR ENCILION.”

PART 2.

THE WELSH SHIRES : A STUDY IN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.¹

By T. F. TOUT, M.A.,

Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Professor of History in
St. David's College, Lampeter.

THE history of the Welsh shires is the history of the connexion between England and Wales. The shiring of Wales was the gradual result of the introduction of English laws and English institutions. As in Ireland and Scotland, the establishment of the shire-system was the first result of the extension of English influence. It is impossible, then, for the shires of Celtic Britain to stand in the same intimate relation to the early history and inner life of those districts as the real shires of England proper stand to old English history. They are “departments”, administrative districts, established for convenience, rather than organic divisions of land and people. They cannot compare in interest with such districts as Sussex or Kent, which correspond to original kingdoms; or divisions like the West Saxon shires, which go back to the primitive tribal divisions of the Gewissas. They have hardly the interest even of the Mercian shires of

¹ This paper is an enlargement and re-arrangement of a lecture read before the Society of Cymmrodorion on March 7th, 1888.

the Midlands, which, however artificial in their origin, have become real by the force of an eventful history of nearly a thousand years. Yet the Welsh shires are quite as interesting as the shires of Scotland, and even more so than those of Ireland. They mark no mere English conquest : for the shire was ever the unit of higher self-government, the outcome of free and representative institutions. The gradual establishment of the Welsh shires marks the incorporation of England and Wales into a single nation, rather than the subjection of the smaller to the greater people. If England put an end to the power of Welsh kings and princes, and of Norman Marcher lords, the institution of the Welsh counties restored some measure of local self-government and of local life and sentiment. For artificial as many Welsh counties doubtless are in their origin, others correspond closely enough to the old native divisions of the land. In some cases the names, in other cases the limits, were those of the old kingdoms, cantreds, commots. Some at least represent real dialectic and physical distinctions that are almost fundamental. Even around the most artificial of the Welsh shires have now gathered the associations of hundreds of years, which have created local feelings and local ties, hardly less strong than those of the English counties themselves. They are at least sufficiently well established to make it no popular work to carve and mangle their ancient limits to gratify a pedantic love of uniformity, or ignorant thirst for change.

In attempting to put together the chief facts bearing on the history of Welsh shires, I do not propose to discuss simply the history of the twelve or thirteen counties that now are called Welsh. The modern boundary between what we call "England" and what we call "Wales", is, as every historian knows, no older than the reign of Henry VIII, and did not then, and does not now, correspond with any precision to the limits of the two races. Of course I shall have

mainly to deal with the "Welsh shires" in the narrower sense ; but the exact delimitation of the border shires must also be dealt with. The introduction of the shire-system into any district which, after the establishment of the West Saxon monarchy of Britain, has any claim to be called "Welsh", must be discussed if the subject is to be fully dealt with. I exclude, however, the "Strathclyde Welsh" and the "West Welsh", and take the "Welsh" in the sense in which we now use the word, to include those regions which the victories of Æthelrith and Ceawlin cut off from direct relations with their brethren to the north and south. I shall speak first of how parts of Wales became by the eleventh century incorporated with English shires without losing all claim to be called Welsh. I shall next speak of the establishment of shires in Wales itself—of the old Palatine counties that resulted from the Norman conquest of South Wales ; of the counties which Edward I established, or tried to establish, even before he became king and conqueror of Gwynedd ; of the shires of Gwynedd, and the dependent shire of Flint, which owed their existence to the Edwardian conquest ; of the completion of the shire system by Henry VIII ; of the new shires which he established, and the old shires which he remodelled ; and of his assimilation of the county system of Wales to that of England. This, with a few words as to the counties of towns, will complete a sketch which the limits of a paper must necessarily leave very imperfect.

I.

The defeat of Gruffydd ab Llewelyn by Harold, the son of Godwine, led to a great extension westwards of the limits of England. The Norman conquest continued further the work of the great English King. The *Domesday Survey* enables us to realise in detail how much of modern Wales,

what large districts inhabited by Welshmen, were then included within the English border shires.

The great Palatine county of Cheshire, whose earls exercised within their earldom all the sovereign rights of the king, and who were subjected to the crown by the simple tie of homage and fealty alone—the county of Cheshire included at the time of the *Domesday Book*¹ all the modern Flintshire and the greater part of the modern Denbighshire. In the same way the towns of Radnor and Monmouth are described as part of Herefordshire. The district between the Wye and the Usk was similarly attached to Gloucestershire, including the places so well known as Chepstow, Caerleon, Caldicot, and Portskewet. One Norman is mentioned as holding “six carucates of land beyond the Usk”.² But as this region was not regularly divided into hundreds and lordships, it was, in a way, an appendage to Gloucestershire, rather than an integral part of the shire itself. But none of these shires was distinctively or exclusively Welsh; though the influence of Welsh custom can be largely traced within their limits, and in Herefordshire, Welshmen, “living according to Welsh law”,³ are specially recognised as among the inhabitants of the county.

¹ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. ii, note SS., collects, and comments on, the record of *Domesday Book* on this subject.

² *Domesday*, vol. i, fol. 162.

³ *Domesday*, vol. i, fol. 185b: “tres Walenses lege Walensi viventes.” “Herefordshire,” says Sir H. Ellis, “appears at the time of the Conqueror to have been estimated almost as a Welsh county” (*Introduction and Indexes to Domesday*, vol. i, pp. 37-38). It was not unfrequently called “in Wales”, e.g., Pipe Rolls, 2, 3, and 4 Henry II, p. 143, Record Ed.: “W. de Hereford reddit compotum de firma de Herefordscira in Waliis.” There are also constant references to Welsh tenants, paying rents often in kind, in Shropshire. (*Domesday*, i, fol. 255.)

II.

The oldest of the exclusively Welsh shires of to-day are the result of the Norman conquest of South Wales in the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I. A swarm of Norman warriors, greedy for adventure, plunder, and conquest, poured themselves over the borders, and, after a desperate struggle, got into their possession nearly all that was worth getting in Southern and Eastern Wales. They had little connexion with the king, and fought primarily for their own hands; but when they had conquered a district they were content to hold it as a fief of the English crown, provided that they were allowed to exercise within its limits a jurisdiction hardly less than regal over their subjects. These lordships Marcher, or Border lordships, were very numerous, and were organised much on the model of similar feudal lordships in England. Such were the lordships of Gower, of Brecon, of Montgomery, of Bromfield, of Denbighland, and of Chirk. But among the series, two Marcher states were so large and so important as to be organised upon the same lines as an English county. These were the earldom of Pembroke and the lordship of Glamorgan.

Pembrokeshire and Glamorganshire are, then, the oldest Welsh shires, and it is but natural that they should still contain the largest English element in Wales. But they were not in their early days shires of the same free type as the shires of England continued to be, despite the great developments of feudalism. They were counties in the stricter sense, subject, that is, to the feudal jurisdiction of their count or earl. Their sheriff was a real vicecomes or deputy of the Count. They were Palatine counties of the Cheshire type, and their lords exercised within them most of the rights of sovereignty. They stood to the old English shires as the manor stood to the old English township, or as the soken or

the honour stood to the old English hundred. But though there was not the theoretic basis of freedom, their institutions were based on the model of the free shire. There were the local courts, however fully they were feudalised, however fully membership of them was conditioned by the possession of landed estates. Though the law of the lord was Norman, there were many manors where the Welsh tenants still held their lands by the old Welsh tenures. But their organisation was throughout military. They were studded with castles to keep in check the Welshmen from the hills. They were limited in extent by the limitations of the feudal rights of their lords. They were also no larger than could be defended with ease. Both occupied much narrower boundaries than the modern shires of the same name.

The history of Pembrokeshire is fairly simple, though we know little about the details. The greater part of Dyfed had been conquered by various Norman chieftains, and the establishment of a Flemish, or English, colony during the reign of Henry I in the lands round Milford Haven (which had perhaps already witnessed a Danish settlement) drove the natives out of all the plain country into the hills of Preselly and the wild districts to the north-east. At the beginning of King Stephen's reign, Gilbert of Clare, who was also lord of Chepstow and Nether Gwent, ruled over the castle of Pembroke and all the region south of Milford Haven and the Cleddau—with the exception of the episcopal manor of Lamphey. In 1138, this Gilbert of Clare was made Earl of Pembroke by King Stephen.¹ Now, an earl was in French a count, and an earldom was consequently a county. For in those days an earldom was not simply a title of honour, but involved a real official position in the county from which the bearer of the dignity took his name. Thus, in 1138, the lordship of Pem-

¹ *Ordericus Vitalis*, xiii, 37.

broke became the county Palatine of Pembroke.¹ It was, then, the first regularly organised shire in Wales. It was the fault of the circumstances of the age and place that the civil was subordinated to the military aspect—that the first Welsh county was in fact only a great lordship Marcher. Its earls soon won for themselves and their dominion a more than local fame. Earl Gilbert's son was the famous Strongbow, the first and most successful of the Norman conquerors of Ireland in the reign of Henry II. His daughter Isabel brought the Pembroke inheritance to William Marshal, the wise regent who saved England from the foreign priests and the foreign soldiers that had profited by the tyranny of King John; the ruler who preserved the infant Henry III from the consequences of his father's wickedness. But to go through the deeds of the long line of earls of Pembroke would be almost to write a history of mediæval England. It is enough to say that the dignity passed from one family to another, until it finally fell into the hands of the crown. Henry VIII gave the earldom to Anne Boleyn, with the title of Marchioness. When the same monarch afterwards conferred the earldom on the Herberts, it had ceased to be much more than a titular dignity.

We must, however, be clear that the mediæval county of Pembroke was less extensive than even the English-speaking part of the Pembrokeshire of to-day. It did not include Lamphey. Haverfordwest, Walwyn's Castle, Slebech, and Narberth were outside its narrow bounds. Dewsland was

¹ The Anglo-Norman poem on the Conquest of Ireland, attributed erroneously to M. Began, speaks, under the year 1171, of Pembrokeshire by that name :

“Tant cum li reis (Henry II) unt sur la mer

A *Penbrocseire* pur passer” (line 2497-8, Ed. Michel).

Giraldus Cambrensis speaks, in about 1172, of the Sheriff of Pembrokeshire (“vicecomes provincie de Penbroc”);—*De Rebus a se gestis*, *Opera* i, p. 24.

ruled by the Bishops of St. David's. Kemmes was a separate lordship. Its territories seem to have been about the same as those of the ancient rural deanery of Pembroke or the hundred of Castlemartin.¹

Glamorganshire comes next after Pembrokeshire. This county owes its origin to the famous conquest of the Vale of Glamorgan by Robert Fitzhamon and his twelve knights, which has been told us with such particularity in the well-known South Welsh legend or romance. But though the legend has perhaps no better origin than the brains of pedigree-mongers,² and though authentic history is strangely silent as to this, the greatest of Fitzhamon's exploits, we can prove from its results the fact of his conquest. Like Strongbow, Fitzhamon left only a daughter, and she became the wife of the bravest and ablest of Henry I's bastard sons, Robert, to whom she brought as her portion both her father's original lordship of Gloucester and his new Welsh possession of Glamorgan. King Henry made Robert Earl of Gloucester, and the Earl showed his gratitude to his parent by manfully upholding the cause of his sister Matilda, the Empress, against the partisans of King Stephen. Robert of Gloucester should always be remembered in Wales as the patron of the little knot of learned men who revealed to European admiration the rich stores of Celtic legend and romance, of which the Arthurian cycle is the highest embodiment. From his time onwards the fortunes of Glamorgan almost constantly followed those of the great Gloucester earldom, which in the thirteenth century, under the Clares, became the most famous

¹ There is a long account of Pembrokeshire in 1603 in MS. Harl., No. 6250. Ch. 24 : "that Pembrokeshire was in ancient tyme a Countye Palatyne and noe parte of the principalltie of Wales", may be specially referred to. I quote from a transcript made for Bishop Burgess, now in the library of St. David's College.

² It is first found in two sixteenth century compilations—Powel's *History of Cambria*, and the "Gwentian" *Brut y Tywysogion*.

and important of English noble houses. It owed no small share of its weight to the prowess of the hardy Welsh warriors that it could draw to its aid from its great Welsh lordship.

There is this difference between Glamorgan and Pembroke, that while the latter was, as we saw, formally erected into an earldom, the former was never described by a higher title than that of a lordship. Yet its territories were extensive, considerably more extensive than those of the old county of Pembroke. They were not, indeed, so large as the modern Glamorganshire. The lordship of Gower was quite distinct from it; and the fact that Gower, including Swansea, remains to this day a part of the diocese of St. David's is an interesting illustration of its former complete independence of the lords of Cardiff. Even some districts in the vale were outside the lordship of Glamorgan, while the solitary uplands with their then desolate valleys, which now are black with the smoke of countless works and swarming with an industrious population, were in the hands of native chieftains that cared but little even for the mighty Clares. But it is not its extent merely that justifies us in describing the lordship of Glamorgan as a county. Though its lords were never styled Earls of Glamorgan, it may well have been because they had already an earl's title from their Gloucester inheritance. The organisation of Glamorgan was as much that of a Palatine county as that of Pembroke, or of Durham, or of Chester itself. From his seat of government at Cardiff, the lord of Glamorgan exercised an almost regal sway over his Welsh and English tenants. The very bishopric of Llandaff he claimed to have in his gift, and the custody of the lands of the see during a vacancy he asserted to be his because he had all royal rights in his province. Even Edward I, though insisting on the king's right to the custody of the temporalities of the vacant bishopric, found it prudent to surrender the exercise of that right to Earl Gilbert of Gloucester for

his life.¹ From the days of Fitzhamon onwards, the official who acted under the lord of Glamorgan was the *vicecomes* or sheriff. The court of the lordship that met at Cardiff is always described as a county-court or "comitatus". From the twelfth century onwards the district was often described as Glamorganshire. It is regarded as an old county in the Act of Henry VIII, which completed the Welsh shire-system.²

III.

During the latter part of the twelfth century the princes of Gwynedd attained great importance, and before the middle of the thirteenth were recognised as princes of nearly all the parts of Wales outside the lordships Marcher. Ceredigion and the Vale of Towy, which had been almost entirely in Norman hands, were to a large extent reconquered by them, though a few great towns and castles, such as Carmarthen, remained in English hands. A new period of English

¹ The passages bearing on this point are collected in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, vol. i, pp. 466-8, 590-596, and 610-614.

² I have collected some early examples of the county organisation of the lordship of Glamorgan. In the *History and Cartulary of St. Peter's, Gloucester*, published in the Rolls Series, there is a reference in vol. i, p. 347, to the "vicecomes Glamorgansciræ", as well as the "comitatus [county court and county] de Cardiff"; cf. ii, 10, for a writ of Robert of Gloucester to the "vicecomes de Glammorgan", cf. ii, 18; ii, 135. In *ib.*, ii, 20, the "comitatus de Glammorgan" is referred to in a charter of Gilbert of Clare. The "totus comitatus de Kairdiff" witnesses in 1146 a charter of Earl William, the son of Earl Robert (*ib.*, ii, 139). "Manerium de Treygof quod est in comitatu de Glamorgan" (*ib.*, ii, 223). In 1242 Abbot Robert of Tewkesbury and others were sent to inquire into some riots, "qui convocato comitatu apud Cardiff pacificaverunt dissidentes." The account goes on to speak of what was done "in pleno comitatu", and of the "vicecomes Glamorgensis" ("Annals of Tewkesbury", in *Annales Monastici*, vol. i, pp. 124-125, Rolls Series). But the earliest reference to the "vicecomes de Cardiff" is in the *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 27-28, under the year 1126, when Robert of Gloucester was still alive. For the best account of early Glamorgan and its lords, see Mr. G. T. Clark's papers in the *Archæological Journal*, since (1883) reprinted separately, on "The Land of Morgan."

aggression begins with the grant by Henry III of the Palatine county of Chester, together with what is called loosely "Wales" (*i.e.*, the royal possessions in Wales),¹ to his eldest son Edward, afterwards Edward I. Edward, or his advisers, at once determined to meet the power of the Welsh princes by extending the range of English laws and English institutions. In 1256 Edward made a definite attempt to establish shires in those parts of the country in which he had any power. We may suspect that he attempted to extend the old jurisdiction of the county court of Cheshire over north-east Wales. We cannot but believe that he now set up a rudimentary county organisation in those southern and detached parts of the Principality where the power of Llewelyn ab Gruffydd was weak, and the tradition of the Marcher rule recent. Carmarthen, which was in his hands, was the natural seat for the new courts and the new officers. But, while Edward was organising his shires and hundreds, the Welsh met in council and declared that they would do nothing against the laws of their fatherland.² They had in the second Llewelyn a vigorous and active leader. The quarrels between King Henry and his barons distracted Edward's attention, and the energetic support which Llewelyn gave Simon de Montfort connected the cause of Wales with that of the baronial leaders. Even after Montfort had fallen at Evesham there was no peace on the Welsh border until the treaty of 1267 acknowledged Llewelyn Prince of all Wales,³ saying nothing about Edward's attempted counties. Yet, after the

¹ "Tota terra quam habuit rex in Wallia" (*Annals of Tewkesbury*, in *Annales Monastici*, vol. i, p. 158).

² "Et cum postea comitatus et hundredos ordinaret (*i.e.*, Edwardus), Walenses habito consilio, confidenter responderunt quod nihil pro eo contra leges paternas facerent" (*Annals of Dunstable*, in *Annales Monastici*, iii, 20; cf. Pearson, *Hist. of Eng.*, ii, 216). The men of Kerry, however, petitioned Henry "quatenus . . . leges terrarum vestrarum ubique per Walliam et per Marchiam nobis concedere velitis" (Shirley, *Royal Letters*, ii, 353, Rolls Series).

³ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i, p. 474, Record Edition.

campaign of 1277 had diminished the power and prestige of Llewelyn, the aggression of the Justice of Chester on the four cantreds of Perfeddwlad suggests that those regions were now regarded, as in *Domesday*, as part of Cheshire;¹ while, even before this, some sort of shire-system seems to have been established or revived in the southern districts of the Principality of Llewelyn,² which it is hard not to consider as the permanent result of Edward's attempt in 1256. So early as 1270 Pain de Chaworth was ordered to do homage to Edmund, Edward's brother, "for the lands which he holds of the castles and counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen."³ So early as 1275 the Welsh of Elvet and Derllys were ordered to submit to the jurisdiction of the county court of Carmarthen.⁴ In 1280 the "counties" of Carmarthen and Cardigan were granted to a certain Bogo of Knovill, the King's Justice of West Wales.⁵ But the king's

¹ The complaints of Davydd, Llewelyn's brother (printed in *Registrum Epistolarum J. Peckham*, vol. ii, pp. 445-47), and the complaints of the Men of Rhos (*ib.*, ii, 447-51), are full of the aggressions of the Justice of Chester and of their grievance at being made to take their suits to the county court of Chester.

² The Principality meant in the Middle Ages not all Wales, but the districts subject to the Welsh Princes of the house of Gwynedd. The Marcher lordships were not part of the Principality, for they were subject to the Crown directly. This use of the term Principality continued even after its annexation to the Crown in 1282. It is definitely recognised by an Act of 1354 (28 E. III, cap. ii, in *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. i, p. 345): "Item, acorde est et establi que touz les Seigneurs de la Marche de Gales soient perpetuelement entendentz et annexes a la corone Dangleterre, come ils et leur suncesters ount este de tout temps avant ces heures, et noun pas a la Principalte de Gales, en qi mains que meisme la Principalte soit ou devendra apres ces heures."

³ *Thirty-first Report of the Deputy-keeper of the Public Records*, p. 11.

⁴ *Carmarthen Charters*, p. 47.

⁵ *Carmarthen Charters*, p. 10. This comes from the *Rotulus Walliæ* of 8 Edward I; but I refer to Messrs. Daniel-Tyssen and Alwyn Evans' handy collection of Carmarthen documents (Carmar-

directions for the holding of the county courts of Cardigan and Carmarthen, in the same year, refer to the ancient customs of these courts in the days of King Henry III.¹ Again, the sons of Maredudd ab Owain, who held lands in Geneu 'r Glyn and Creuddyn, in northern Ceredigion, complain that the king had disinherited them, and deprived them of all Welsh and Welsh laws, and of access to the county court of Carmarthen. They also complained that the king's justices in his county of Cardigan had otherwise injured them and deprived them of their jurisdictions, and that fear of imprisonment prevented any Welshmen in the county coming between Englishmen.² All these trifling instances point to an organised shire-system in the two southern counties of the "Principality" even before the crowning disaster of 1282 deprived Wales of its last native ruler, and annexed his Principality to the English crown. Their permanent organisation and formal recognition were due to the famous statute of Wales which Edward issued at Rhuddlan in 1284.

IV.

The Statute of Wales (12 Edward I)³ was an elaborate and skilful provision for the government of the old dominions of Llewelyn, which had now fallen into the royal hands. It did not affect the lordships Marcher in any way, for they had been previously subject, not to the lords of Snowdon, then, Spurrell, 1878), as more accessible than the rare and expensive edition of the Welsh Rolls for part of Edward's reign which was privately printed by the late Sir Thomas Phillipps (p. 19).

¹ *Rotulus Wallie*, 8 Edward I, p. 18: "Volumus quod omnes sectatores comitatus de Cardigan qui antiquitus tempore Domini Henrici fratris [obviously a misprint for patris] nostri, sectam facere consueverunt," etc.; cf. "ubi comitatus ille (sc. de Kaermardyn), temporibus retroactis, semper teneri consuevit per diem Jovis," etc. (*ib.*, p. 18).

² *Reg. Epistolarum J. Peckham*, ii, 453.

³ Given in full, with an English translation, in *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. i, pp. 55-68.

but immediately to the English kings. The districts more immediately subject to Llewelyn were divided into three shires—Carnarvonshire, Merionethshire, and the county of Anglesey. These were under the general government of the Justice of Snowdon, who resided in the new castle of Carnarvon, which thus became the capital of North Wales. This gave a sort of unity of organisation to the three ancient shires of Gwynedd; but in each county a separate staff of officers was also established. A sheriff, appointed for life, presided over the county court, which met as in England, and seems to have had the same constitution and the same powers. Coroners, to look after the crown pleas, were also instituted in each county, as well as bailiffs in every commot. The minute directions for the holding of the county courts which are given in the statute are our best evidence of the extent of the powers of the English shire-moots also at the end of the thirteenth century.¹ It has been said by a modern writer that these Welsh counties bear to the English counties of our time some such relation as the Territory of the United States bears to the fully organised State.² But there is nothing in the statute that makes any difference between them and ordinary English shires, though admittedly they were no part of England. Doubtless the disturbed state of the country, and the recent circumstances of the Conquest, gave the royal officials more power than similar officials could obtain in an English shire. But their theoretical power was tempered by their practical weakness. It is to Edward's credit as a far-sighted statesman that he did what he could to establish local self-government in his new possession. It is also worthy of remark that the administration fell almost from the first into Welsh hands. Within fifty years the sheriffs of Merioneth included men with such thoroughly

¹ Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, vol. ii, p. 117.

² Pearson, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. ii, p. 332.

Welsh names as Gruffydd ap Davydd and Ievan ab Hywel. Among the early sheriffs of Carnarvon was Gruffydd ap Rhys. Gruffydd ab Owen, Madog Llwyd, and Eineon ab Evan were among the first sheriffs of Anglesey.¹

Edward's conservative bent was also seen in his direction that the new counties should consist of an aggregation of old cantreds and commots (cymmwds). Anglesey's insular position would always give it a unity of its own. But it was wise policy that built up the other shires out of the immemorial territorial divisions of the Cymry.² Under the Sheriff of Carnarvon were put the cantred of Arvon, the cantred of Arllechwedd, the commot of Creuddyn, the cantred of Lleyrn, and the commot of Eivionydd. Under the Sheriff of Merioneth were the cantred of Merioneth, the commot of Ardudwy, the commot of Penllyn, and the commot of Edeyrnion.

Such were the three ancient shires of Gwynedd, whose limits still remain with but very little alteration for the last six hundred years. Besides these three shires, the Statute of Wales also established, or perhaps we ought rather to say legalised, the already existing counties of Carmarthen and Cardigan. These districts were continued under the Justice of West Wales, and included the southern districts of Llewelyn's principality. Carmarthen now became the capital of the south, and there the Sheriff of Carmarthenshire held his court. The Sheriff of Cardiganshire is described as the Sheriff of Cardigan or "Lampadar". Most writers have jumped to the conclusion that "Lampadar" is "Lampeter";³

¹ Breese, *Kalendars of Gwynedd*, pp. 34, 48, 68.

² Mr. Palmer shows that even the lordships Marcher were generally built out of commots or groups of commots (*Ancient Tenures of Land in the Marches of North Wales*, p. 93). In the same way the *maenols* and *maerdrefts* became English manors (*ib.*, p. 95).

³ The mistake is made by the translators of the statute in *Statutes of the Realm*, and I have carelessly copied it in a short article on the Welsh counties in Low and Pulling's *Dictionary of English History*.

but "Lampadar", in the very imperfect Welsh spelling of the English lawyers, really means "Llanbadarn". And Llanbadarn in most mediæval legal documents does not signify the old Welsh village round the great church of the holy Padarn, but what is sometimes called more fully the "new town of Llanbadarn", that grew up round the famous castle at the confluence of the Ystwyth and the sea. So Sheriff of Cardigan or Lampadar means Sheriff of Cardigan or Aberystwith. But the county court seems often to have met for convenience' sake at Carmarthen.

Both Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire were, in their original form, much smaller than the modern counties. In particular was the jurisdiction of the Sheriff of Carmarthen limited by the liberties of the adjacent lords Marcher. For example, the districts subject to the lords of the castles of Llandovery, Newcastle Emlyn, and Kidwelly were outside the limits of the shire.¹ So also was the ecclesiastical franchise of Abergwili at the very gates of the capital of South Wales. But Cardiganshire was much nearer its present bounds,² and to this is due perhaps the strong local feeling and distinct type of character which we associate still with that county. Moreover, it corresponded roughly with the ancient principality of Ceredigion, though that state was larger, it would seem, than even the modern county. But alone among Welsh shires Cardiganshire can trace back its history to the primitive states of Wales. The original Arvon and Meirionydd were but small parts of the shires that subsequently received from them their names. Morganwg is put out of relation to Glamorganshire by the conquest of Fitzhamon, and the ancient state of Morganwg was never really

Mr. Wylie, in his generally excellent *History of Henry IV*, rather confuses some steps of the war against Glendower by constantly mixing up Llanbadarn and Lampeter from the very same cause.

¹ Stat. 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26, sec. 13.

² *Ib.*, sec. 15.

conterminous with the modern county. But the men of Ceredigion had learnt to act together in successfully repelling Norman invasion and Norman conquest. They alone were able to set some limits to the Marchers' yoke, and keep in South Wales a region that, to the last, paid allegiance to the native princes of the Cymry. Cardiganshire stands to its neighbour shires as Kent or Sussex stands to the artificial counties of the Midlands.

Besides the five shires which Edward I constituted out of the dominions of Llewelyn, a sixth shire, now commonly regarded as Welsh, was also established by him. This was Flintshire.

I have already pointed out how all the modern Flintshire was included in Cheshire at the time of the *Domesday Book*, and how that earldom extended as far as the Clwyd. But the great national movement of the thirteenth century had pushed back the boundaries of Cheshire almost to the gates of Chester, and, in 1267, Henry III recognised the claims of Llewelyn ab Gruffydd to the four cantreds of the Perfeddwlad.¹ These were Rhos, Rhuvoniog, Dyffryn Clwyd, and Tegeingl or Englefield. Edward I had subsequently surrendered the more eastern parts of Flintshire to Davydd, Llewelyn's brother, and had retained nothing but a few castles. Now, however, the western districts of Perfeddwlad were put into the hands of lords Marchers, while a Sheriff of Flint was appointed with jurisdiction over the Cantred of Englefield, the land of Maelor Saesneg, the land of Hope, and all the land joined to the town and castle of Rhuddlan up to the walls of Chester. But the Sheriff of Flint was subject to the Justice of Chester, and the county of Flint remained all through the middle ages in a sort of half dependence upon the county of Chester. As the lawyers said, "Comitatus de Flint pertinet ad gladium Cestriæ"—that is, Flintshire is a

¹ Rymer's *Fadera*, vol. i, p. 474.

possession of the Earls of Chester, though the earldom, like the Principality of Wales, went henceforwards to the king's eldest son. The records of Flintshire were preserved along with those of Cheshire, in Chester city.¹ The same officials were commonly appointed to exercise jurisdiction in the two counties. Flint, then, is an anomalous and erratic shire. It is, however, noteworthy that Edward's scheme for the settlement of Wales should have included the separation of the specifically Welsh portion of the Chester Palatinate from that more distinctively English. It would have been easier and more natural to have restored its old identity with Cheshire. Welshmen at least will not complain that Edward allowed it a separate, if precarious, existence.

Thus Edward I made all the Principality shireground, though the Marches, which we must always remember were not part of the Principality, remained as before. But there was one function which the new shires of the Principality did not share with the English counties. This was the right of electing in their county courts knights of the shire to represent their communities in Parliament. I do not think that the reason for this was that Edward wished to keep the Welsh down, or that he desired to treat them as a conquered people. In 1284 the Commons had hardly yet become a necessary part of the national council. When their position was fixed, towards the end of Edward's reign, he had restored to the Principality some sort of separate existence by creating his son Edward Prince of Wales. This was in 1301. The consequence was that Wales was not regarded as an integral part of Edward's realm, and it was therefore thought unnecessary to summon its representatives to Parliament. The counties palatine of Chester and Durham were in exactly the same position, and for exactly the same cause sent no

¹ *First Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, p. 78 et seq., and the authorities there referred to.

members to the English Parliament.¹ The thoroughly English lordships Marcher were treated in just the same way as the three thoroughly Welsh shires of Gwynedd. Yet on two occasions the shire communities of Wales were called upon to discharge the highest function still entrusted to local courts. In 1322 forty-eight representatives from Wales appeared in the famous Parliament of York that consummated the triumph of Edward II and the Despensers,² and enunciated for the first time the great principle that all legislative changes required the assent of the three estates. Again, in 1327, the forty-eight representatives of Wales appeared in the Parliament that deposed Edward II and recognised his son as king in his stead. But these sound precedents were not followed, and no more Welsh members sat in Parliament until more than two hundred years later. Thus the Welsh shire-courts remained in an inferior position to those of England, and the inferiority was accentuated by the savage penal code and drastic disqualifications imposed on native Welshmen after the suppression of the revolt of Owen Glendower.

V.

We have now seen how Wales became divided into the Principality and into the Marches; how the Principality had been made shire ground; but how the Marchers remained with their separate organisation. The result was that Wales was badly governed, and in a state of anarchy.³ There was no unity or vigour of organisation. It was reserved for

¹ Cheshire first returned Members of Parliament in the reign of Henry VIII, but it was not until the reign of Charles II that Durham was admitted to the same right. The famous Bishop Cosin struggled vigorously against such an acknowledgment of the limits of his power.

² *Rolls of Parliament*, i, 456.

³ Sir John Wynn's *History of the Gwydyr Family*; Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Autobiography*, especially in Mr. S. L. Lee's sumptuous edition with his valuable notes and appendices; and the letters of

Henry VIII to complete the process which made Wales one with itself, and one with England. The task was the easier as the great majority of the lordships Marcher had now fallen into the king's hands. In a series of great statutes, he incorporated England and Wales into a single whole, with equal rights and similar laws. This union of England and Wales involved the extension of the shire-system to all Wales.¹ The palatine jurisdiction of the Marcher was abolished, and the lord of a March reduced to the humbler position of the lord of an English manor. The lordships Marcher were either incorporated into existing shires or aggregated into new ones. The boundaries of the existing counties, English and Welsh, were adjusted. The old shires of Edward I, and the older palatinates, were, like the new shires, fully assimilated to those of England. Above all, they received the right of returning representatives to the Parliament at Westminster.²

Many lordships Marcher hitherto reputed in Wales were annexed to the English border counties, whose western limits were thus finally fixed. The lordships of Ellesmere,

Bishop Rowland Lee, summarised in Gairdner's *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, may be referred to as illustrating the then state of Wales.

¹ The following passage from a letter of Bishop Lee, then President of Wales, to Cromwell, throws light on some aspects of Welsh life: "I have been lately informed that the king wished to make Wales shire ground, and to have justices of the peace and of gaol delivery as in England. But this will often simply be setting one thief to try another thief"; also, "very few Welshmen in Wales above Brecknock have £10 a year in land, and their discretion less than their land." The proof that the policy is wrong is the condition of Merionethshire and Cardiganshire, "for though they be shire ground, they are as ill as the worst parts of Wales." (Gairdner's *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. x, No. 453.)

² The chief Welsh Statutes of Henry VIII's reign were 27 H. VIII, c. 4, c. 5, and c. 6; 27 H. VIII, c. 26; 28 H. VIII, c. 3; 34 and 35 H. VIII, c. 26; and 35 H. VIII, c. 11.

Oswestry, Whittington, Cherbury, Down, and others were annexed to Shropshire.¹ The lordships of Wigmore, Eardisley, Ewyas Lacy and Ewyas Harold, and others became a part of Herefordshire.² Wollaston, Tidenham, and other lordships in the Marches of Wales were joined to Gloucestershire.³

The ancient palatine counties of Glamorgan and Pembroke now received their present limits, and lost their palatine character. Among the separate jurisdictions now absorbed in the "shire of Glamorgan and Morganog" were Gower, Neath, Llandaff, Glyn Rhondda, Miskin, and the other upland regions. It was provided that all the above "shall be henceforward reputed and known by the name of the shire of Glamorgan only and by no other name".⁴ In the same way Haverfordwest, Cilgerran, Dewsland, Rosemarket, Narberth, and the other lordships that make up the modern shire were annexed to the county of Pembroke.⁵ The other lordships Marcher of the south were joined to the old Welsh shires of Cardigan and Carmarthen. The lordships of Tregaron, Geneu'r Glyn, Llanddewi Brevi completed the present limits of Cardiganshire.⁶ The lordships of Llandovery, Abermarlais, Kidwelly, Newcastle, and Abergwili swelled out the scanty bounds of the old Carmarthenshire.⁷ The little lordships of Llanstephan and Laugharne were at first added to Pembroke-shire, but they were transferred by a subsequent statute, passed in 1542, to Carmarthenshire.⁸ A little later it was necessary for Henry VIII to forbid the old practice that had grown up of holding the sessions of Cardiganshire at Carmarthen.

The rest of South Wales was by the Act of 1536 cut up into new shires. A whole series of petty lordships Mar-

¹ 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26, sec. 9. ² *Ib.*, sec. 10. ³ *Ib.*, sec. 11.

⁴ *Ib.*, sec. 12. ⁵ *Ib.*, sec. 14. ⁶ *Ib.*, sec. 15.

⁷ *Ib.*, sec. 13. ⁸ 34 and 35 H. VIII, cap. 26, sec. 57.

cher, were grouped together with the old "honour of Brecon" to form the new county of Brecon, of which Brecon was appointed to be the shire town, and the place for the meeting of the county court.¹ Another large group of little lordships was combined to make the new county of Radnorshire, with New Radnor for its shire town, and that place and Rhayader for the alternate sessions of its county court.² The "residue of the lordships Marcher within the Dominion of Wales"—I quote the words of the Act—were erected into the new shire of Monmouth.³ Monmouth was made its shire town, and the county court was directed to be held at Monmouth and Newport alternately. But while the old shires of South Wales, with Radnorshire and Breconshire, went for justice to the local Welsh judges who sat at Carmarthen and at Brecon—where also were courts of the chancery and courts of exchequer for the same counties—the Act put Monmouthshire under the exclusive jurisdiction of courts of chancery and exchequer at Westminster. And the sheriff and other officers of the county were directed to "do everything as their fellows were bound to do in every shire of England". An Act of 1542⁴ speaks of Monmouthshire as separate from the "twelve shires of Wales" which were established by the Act of 1536, and shows—as does the Act which gave Monmouthshire two members of Parliament while it only gave the twelve shires one apiece—that some sort of distinction between Monmouthshire and the other Welsh shires was intended.⁵ The inclusion of the county in the Oxford circuit, during the reign of Charles II, while the "twelve shires" remained under the Welsh judicial system

¹ 27 H. VIII, cap. 26, sec. 4.

² *Ib.*, sec. 5.

³ *Ib.*, sec. 3.

⁴ 34 and 35 H. VIII, cap. 26, sec. 1.

⁵ Compare 35 H. VIII, c. 11, which speaks of "the twelve shires of Wales and the county of Monmouth."

until the reign of William IV, completed the separation.¹ It is often discussed whether or not Monmouthshire is a Welsh county. The answer is both Yes and No. It is Welsh in the sense that it was created out of Welsh lands, and that its inhabitants are largely Welsh by stock, if not always in tongue. But in these senses a good deal of Herefordshire and some parts of Shropshire, and even a part of Gloucestershire, are Welsh. It is not Welsh inasmuch as the only legal distinction between England and Wales after 1536 was the separate Welsh judicial system, in which it was not included. But now that that has been abolished, the legal distinctions between "England" and "Wales" are so minute, that the legal aspect of the question is of verbal rather than of real importance. Still, as a matter of law, Monmouthshire is not in Wales.

We must now look at the result of Henry VIII's legislation in North Wales. The three old shires of Gwynedd—Anglesey, Carnarvonshire, and Merionethshire—remained as they did before, except that the lordship Marcher of Mawddwy was annexed to the latter county.² Two new shires were created out of the lordships Marcher of North-Eastern Wales. The lordships of Denbighland, Ruthin, Bromfield, Yale, Chirk, and Hopedale were erected into the county of Denbigh.³ Denbigh was made the shire town, and the county court was directed to be held at Denbigh and Wrexham alternately. A few years later these limits were altered by the transference of Hope, St. Asaph, and that portion of Hawarden parish which was outside the old Flintshire of Edward I to the county of Flint; which thus had its scanty bounds slightly enlarged to its present extent.⁴ Mont-

¹ For the results of this system see Spencer Walpole's *Hist. of England*, iii, 31-32.

² 27 H. VIII, cap. 26, sec. 16.

³ *ib.*, sec. 7.

⁴ 33 H. VIII, cap. 13.

gomeryshire was the other new county. It was composed of a large number of lordships Marcher, of which Montgomery, Cyfeiliog, Cedewain, Arwystli, and Powysland were the most important. The shire-town was Montgomery.¹ The county court was to meet here and at Machynlleth. As for the two new shires in the south an exchequer and chancery were established at Brecon, so for the two new shires of the north an exchequer and chancery were created at Denbigh. The establishment of a commission of the peace for each of the thirteen shires ; their division into hundreds ; the limitation of the sheriff's office to a year's duration, were, with the institution of a county representation of one member for each of the twelve shires, the steps that completed the assimilation of the English and Welsh shire-system.² The introduction of equal laws and strong yet popular government soon put an end to the anarchy of mediæval Wales. By the reign of Elizabeth the twelve shires of Wales had assumed their modern aspect of peacefulness and tranquillity. Though the establishment of the shire-system involved in a sense the introduction of English laws and English methods of government, it prepared the way for the great revival of Welsh national life that marked the closing years of the sixteenth century.

VI.

The shire-system of Wales was thus completed. But there are two counties of South Wales of which we have hitherto taken no account. In speaking of English or Welsh counties we generally leave out of sight the counties of cities and boroughs, that are nevertheless almost as much counties in the eye of the law as the sixty local shires. Children are taught in their geography books that the city

¹ 27 H. VIII, cap. 26, sec. 6.

² *Ibid.*, sec. 20, 22.

of Norwich is in Norfolk, and that Bristol is in Gloucestershire; though, as a matter of fact, these cities are only surrounded by these shires, and constitute separate counties in themselves. There are two such "counties of boroughs" in South Wales. In 1542 the same Act that transferred Laugharne and Llanstephan from Carmarthenshire to Pembrokeshire took Haverfordwest out of the latter county, and erected it into the county of the borough of Haverfordwest.¹ In the reign of James I, Carmarthen town was similarly dissociated from Carmarthenshire and constituted into "the county of the borough of Carmarthen". It is a striking commentary on recent Welsh history that three hundred years ago these two towns, now so insignificant, were the most important in Wales.

My task is now done. I have tried to show how the Welsh shires came into existence; from what sources they were derived; how far they involved the introduction of English institutions, and how far the idea of local self-government inherent in them made it possible to reconcile Welsh national spirit with the forms of English institutions. I might have continued my task further. I might have shown how, in modern times, the shire has gradually ceased to be a unit of popular government, though remaining the unit of higher local government. I might have shown how the modern system has dissociated the election of the knight of the shire from the shire-court; how the shire-court itself has become entirely obsolete. It is no part of the duty of the historian to play the prophet. If it were, I might have speculated how far we may hope that the promised restoration of local self-government to the shires may reanimate the weakest

¹ 34 and 35 H. VIII, c. 26, sec. 61.

members of the British Constitution. The study of constitutional history is of paramount importance, but, as the Bishop of Chester himself says, it can hardly be made interesting, or even approached, without an effort. But our study of the remote origin and history of a living institution like the shire has at least the result of keeping our history practical, while making our politics scientific. May it help us to approach political problems with instructed yet unbiassed minds. May it teach us that the roots of the present lie deep in the past. May it make us realise the unity and the continuity of our national life.

OLD WELSH FOLK-MEDICINE.

BY E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

(Read before the Society, 11th April 1888.)

THE subject on which I have undertaken to speak to you this evening is Old Welsh Folk-Medicine, as illustrated by the *Meddygon Myddfai*; and I fear that no impartial person will acquit me of rashness, seeing that I possess two eminent disqualifications for the task, in being neither a Welshman nor a physician. The truth is that, interesting though the subject is in its patriotic and professional aspects, its chief interest to me is wholly different. I approach it as a student of folk-lore, and the lessons which I seek to learn from it are such as will help to demonstrate the course of development of human thought and civilisation.

The book known as the *Meddygon Myddfai* is a publication, with translations, of two old Welsh manuscripts on medicine. These are by no means the only Welsh medical MSS., as there are several others which have never yet been calendared, nor, so far as I know, even properly examined by any competent antiquary. The former of the manuscripts thus printed is found in the *Red Book of Hergest*, and dates from the end of the fourteenth century.¹ It is believed by the editor to be a copy of a still more ancient one now in the British Museum. The other, and longer, manuscript is much later in time and more modern in language. Indeed,

¹ Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans has kindly examined the MS. in the *Red Book* for me, and reports that "the *Mabinogion* were written circa 1380 and the *Meddygon* between that and 1400, but nearer 1400 than 1380."

the transcript from which it was published was made no longer ago than 1801 by Iolo Morganwg; and it does not appear to have been collated with any older copy.

These two manuscripts are independent works, though professedly derived from the same source—the skill and learning of Rhiwallon the physician, and his three sons, Cadwgan, Gruffydd, and Einion, who are described as physicians to Rhys Gryg, Lord of South Wales in the early part of the thirteenth century. I have so fully discussed, in the *Archæological Review*, the traditionary story of the parentage of the Physicians of Myddfai, and the supernatural origin claimed for their knowledge, that I need not trouble you with it now. It will be enough to remind you that these famous doctors and their descendants practised their art at Myddfai, in Carmarthenshire, and at various other places in South Wales, for a long series of years. If we may trust the pedigrees, their medical skill did not die out until almost the middle of the present century, and even yet the lineage of the Lady of the Van Pool exists and shows no sign of coming to an end. Be that, however, as it may, neither of the works before us lends any countenance to the legend. On the contrary, the recipes and modes of diagnosis here gravely set forth are in the older manuscript ascribed to the skill of Rhiwallon and his sons, and in the later one to their research and diligent study. The fact is that in these works we have the guesses and deductions of rudimentary science feeling its way slowly and step by step to the comparatively firm position which it occupies to-day. It is not my business to-night to trace the influence of Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, and the host of Greek and Arab physicians. Those great men, who founded and built up the system of medicine which prevailed during the Middle Ages, have left their imprint upon the theory and practice here set forth. They are referred to by name, together with “the wise

Cassius" (whoever he may have been) and others; but only a very careful examination by someone better acquainted with the history of medicine than I am can decide whether the compilers of the manuscripts before us had ever seen their writings. It may be that these allusions are sufficiently accounted for by the authors' desire to seem acquainted with the precepts of the great masters. The remedies here prescribed are usually such simple animal and vegetable substances as would be easily procured in the authors' native land; and it is rarely that foreign medicaments are alluded to. Latin names of the herbs are occasionally given in the later manuscript, in addition to the Welsh names. This may merely indicate that the prescriptions in which such names occur have been derived from continental sources. Nor need it surprise us if it were so; for there was probably greater intercourse between the various nations of Western Europe during the Middle Ages than we sometimes think; and men of reputed learning in all countries would be among the most likely to benefit by such intercourse. Travellers would naturally resort to them, and their minds would be more awake than those of their fellow-countrymen to the advantages of a mutual exchange of information. But any obligations of this kind on the part of the manuscript in question are mere conjecture. We do not know when it was compiled. In all probability we should be wrong in attributing it to any one age or person. It is not a consistent, harmonious whole, but a collection of jottings and notes bearing the marks of different times and circumstances, and added, no doubt, with little attempt at order by various persons as they found opportunity. This is also true of the earlier MS., though to a less extent, because its period of possible growth was shorter, comprising not much more than a century and a half. The book, on the other hand, from which Iolo Morganwg copied was, we are told in the

colophon, transcribed as lately as the year 1743 from that of John Jones, the physician, of Myddfai. This would give something like five hundred years of possible growth. It should be noted, too, that Howel, the physician, of Cilgwryd in Gower, who writes as the compiler, describes himself as a somewhat remote descendant of Einion, the son of Rhiwallon, and avowedly draws from older and more authoritative works of the primitive physicians of Myddfai, naming in this connection not only Rhiwallon and his sons, but also "other physicians of their sons and offspring who came after them". It will, therefore, be wise to be cautious how we dogmatise on the provenance of any portion of John Jones's manuscript, if not also of the other.

The opening paragraph of each manuscript ascribes the authorship to Rhiwallon and his sons, who are stated in John Jones's MS. to have been "physicians to Rhys Gryg ab Gruffydd ab Rhys ab Tewdwr, their lord, who gave them rank and lands and privileges at Myddfai that they might be able to support themselves and prepare themselves in their craft and learning for the healing and benefit of those who sought to them." The earlier manuscript is much to the same effect, except that it avoids asserting that Rhiwallon and his sons were physicians to Rhys, and that he gave them lands, stopping short with the averment that he "kept their rights and privileges whole unto them".

It is satisfactory to know that there was an historical person such as Rhys the Hoarse, since it seems to have been a common practice in medical books of the Middle Ages to begin by claiming the prestige which an exalted name confers, much in the same way as the advertisers of quack-medicines publish their customers' testimonials in the columns of a modern newspaper. The learning of the great school of medicine which arose at Salerno early in the eleventh century was summed up in a didactic poem in Latin hexameters

by an unknown author towards the middle of the following century. That poem begins in epistolary form—"Anglorum", or, as some copies have it, "Francorum regi scribit schola tota Salerni." But neither French nor English king can be identified as the one to whom the work is addressed; and it is a curious, and perhaps not an insignificant, fact that the English manuscripts generally read "Francorum regi", while those of France and Germany, on the other hand, have "Anglorum regi".¹ Among the Cottonian MSS. is an old English translation, written before the Norman Conquest, of the *Medicina de Quadrupedibus* of Sextus Placitus. The author of this work invents with a bolder hand his royal and imperial patrons:—"They say that a king of the Egyptians, Idpartus he was highten, boded health to the Cæsar Octavianus, his friend, this queathing: 'By many examples I am aware of thy virtues and prudence, and yet I ween that thou never camest to know leechdoms of thus mickle main, such as I learn [are] those which we obtained from Æsculapius. I then make it known for thine instruction, and for that I wist thee worthy of this, to wit, that is, of the leechcrafts of wild deer.'"² If we may judge by analogies such as these, the connection between Rhys, the Lord of South Wales, and the Physicians of Myddfai may have been apocryphal; and his name may have been chosen to adorn the first page of the book simply because it was already illustrious. At all events, a little wholesome scepticism, until further proof be forthcoming, will do no harm, especially in view of the suspicious fact that it is the later manuscript which asserts the closer bond between the physicians and their patron.

Passing by this, however, to the matter of the works,

¹ *L'Ecole de Salerne*, traduction en vers Français par Ch. Meaux Saint-Marc, avec le texte Latin, pp. 41 n., 53.

² *Cockayne's Saxon Leechdoms*, vol. i, p. 327.

what first interests us is to see the way in which the writers regarded disease. In an early stage of civilisation mankind refer disease and death very generally to a supernatural origin. The anger of a spirit, whether of a dead man or a superhuman being, and sorcery, or the mysterious power of some living human enemy, are, in the contemplation of a savage, among their most prolific causes. But it should not be forgotten that probably in the lowest depths of savagery physical remedies are never wholly absent; and wherever they are found, and to the extent to which they are used, we must infer that a physical origin, though perhaps veiled and obscure, for the disease is present in the minds of the patient and his friends and advisers. As civilisation advances, disease and death are ascribed less and less to spiritual and mysterious, and more and more to natural, causes; and the remedies change and improve in a corresponding manner. Tried by this rule, the *Meddygon Myddfai* must be held to have attained a high level. Whether or not their pathology and prescriptions were derived from Galen and Hippocrates, the fact is patent that they are, on the whole, of a kind more germane to our thought and practice than to those developed by the crude theories of life and death held by the more backward races. Their hygienic rules are redolent of common-sense; their dietetics are reasonable; their surgery is not unskilful, extending to the performance of more than one delicate and dangerous operation; and I am informed by medical men that their knowledge of anatomy and their diagnosis are as minute and accurate as could be expected from the means at their command. Their remedies are chiefly what we should now describe as *simples*. Decoctions, infusions, and powders of various herbs are the staple contents of their medicine-chest; but these are found mingled with a few mineral substances, and with a larger number of animal products, some of which are of the most loathsome description.

These remedies may be such as a further research into the construction of the human body, the functions of its several parts, the nature of the diseases to which it is liable, and the properties of the various medicaments, may pronounce wise or unwise, appropriate or inappropriate, useless or harmful. I do not propose to trouble you to-night with a discussion of them, except so far as they show traces of a conception of things fundamentally at variance with modern science. What I am interested in is the survival in different forms of archaic superstitions which read into every physical ailment, the interference of spiritual, or at least supernatural, powers, and believed in counter-agents of a similar character, or in remedies indicated, not by any inherent chemical or mechanical quality, but by some accident of form, of colour, or of name. Such relics of an earlier condition of thought are of course not wanting in the *Red Book* manuscript; but what is at first sight remarkable is that they are more common in the manuscript copied by Iolo Morganwg. It might be supposed that the older book would be the more primitive in science. But here it is not so. The explanation is to be found in a closer examination of the later work. We have only the copy of a copy of John Jones' manuscript printed; but we may for this purpose assume the accuracy of the transcript. If, however, we could see the original, it is probable that we should find many different hand-writings upon it. As it is, we have little difficulty in discovering the marks of various writers, separated probably by greater or less periods of time. We have a number of prescriptions for the same disease scattered up and down its pages without any attempt at order, as if it were a sort of commonplace book; and often the same prescription is repeated in different, or even the same, words. In this it differs only in degree from the *Red Book* MS. The 159th and 160th sections are signed *Philip Feddyg*. This looks as

though the previous sections had been written by someone else, and then two prescriptions added by the great-grandfather of Howel the compiler.

After treating of the cure of a number of diseases, dangerous and otherwise, up to s. 654, the manuscript proceeds: "Many dangerous diseases and diverse kinds of affliction breed and dwell in the body of man in consequence of the king's-evil, and they can only be cured by the use of effective medicine." Six remedies for scrofula are then given. Their introduction in this way is unlike anything that occurs in the previous part of the manuscript. Sixteen miscellaneous prescriptions succeed without any break; and then we come to two medicines to preserve from epidemics. These, we are told, are good preservatives against, among other diseases, the sweating sickness. This mysterious disease was unknown before the battle of Bosworth; and it raged at intervals from that time to the year 1551, when its last recorded visitation of this country took place. The section, therefore, to which I am now referring, which is not in my view one of the older parts of the manuscript, could not have been written earlier than the year 1485; but its date cannot be limited in the other direction by the last appearance of the disease. For the sweating sickness was so greatly dreaded that not merely years, but generations, may have elapsed after it had disappeared before medical men would cease to provide against it. We next have "a potion made by divine command for the help of a wounded man, which will come out by way of the wound, and heal it from within, without fail"; and after this directions for preparing two other medicines. The following sentence then occurs: "Many dangerous diseases exist, and here are exhibited medical defences against them." Twenty-one prescriptions follow, down to s. 702. This can be nothing else than the bodily incorporation of a

separate work. Then we read: "There are two kinds of painful and dangerous affections; even wounds inflicted by snakes, and poison. To them the human body is subject in various ways, and it is needful to avoid them. Thus they are cured." Under this head we have six recipes for the bite of an adder, one for the bite of an asp (which, it should be noted, is not a British snake), two for the bite of a sick dog, and three for poison. Here, again, the manner of introduction compels us to recognise the insertion of matter from an alien source.

A number of miscellaneous prescriptions follows, in no way divided from those against bites and poison, including that of an anæsthetic for the purpose of a surgical operation, and an astrological quotation from "that wise man Tholomæus". Preceding s. 766 we are told: "A variety of painful diseases collect about the heart of man, producing faintness, difficulty of breathing, and heat of heart. It is only by much study and readiness of art, aided by effective medicine, that they can be cured." Under this head are given two prescriptions, and, again without any break, other remedies and directions, one of which is expressly ascribed to Rhiwallon Feddyg.

After s. 784 is a division on "the virtues and properties of various plants for medicining man"; then, "an exposition of the four elements of man." At s. 803 begins a collection of charms. This is followed by some half-dozen superstitious recipes for various purposes, and a fragment of "the twelve characteristics of a snake's skin which Alphibam testifies of". The compiler professes to have translated these characteristics "out of the Arabic to Latin, and from Latin to Cymraeg also"; but he seems to have wearied of the task by the time he got through the first of the twelve. "A list of the names of the herbs, fruits, and the vegetable substances and others which every physician ought to know and

use", a table of weights and measures, a short glossary of terms, and a list of the characteristics which should distinguish a physician, close the work.

Throughout the manuscript, down to the section immediately preceding the prescriptions against bites and poisons, we have occasionally a remark at the end of a recipe, such as, "It is proven"; "This is proven"; "It is good"; "It is truly good"; "It is truly useful"; as though the book had been used by some one who from time to time noted down which of the prescriptions had been successful in his experience. These annotations are most frequent in the division of the book between s. 160 (the latter of the two signed by Philip Feddyg) and s. 654. In the *Red Book* manuscript there are only three or four such notes.

From all this it is apparent that the later manuscript is the result of a series of accretions during, probably, the whole period which elapsed between the end of the thirteenth century and the date of its transcription in the middle of the last century. Other particulars, which I have no time now to detail, confirm this result. Now, during these five hundred years the science of medicine was advancing, slowly, no doubt, but surely. Numbers of valuable foreign drugs, such as (to mention only one of the most celebrated) Jesuits' bark, were introduced; and the superstitious practices which are found now and then, even in the most advanced practice of the middle ages, were gradually discarded. It is true that the great improvements both in medicine and surgery that have marked the last half century were still far off; but the main stream was gliding down ever towards them. The Royal College of Physicians had been founded, and the recognised practitioners were men of gradually increasing education. Yet, apart from the main stream, there were offshoots and inlets where the waters had grown stagnant. The current had rolled on, had found a

new channel, if you will, and left them there, deprived of the living influences of continual movement, to corrupt, to gather foulness, and at last to dry up for ever.

This is the condition in which we find the compiler of the second manuscript. No longer abreast of the learning of the age, dwelling where the thought of his day never summoned him with the rousing notes of her trumpet, he has been content for the most part with the wisdom of his fathers; and where he has thought necessary to vary their practice, he has collected remnants of superstition which in many cases they would have scorned, and has not hesitated to profane their reputations by ascribing these very remnants to them. As an illustration of this we may take the charm for uterine disease, alleged to have been given by Rhiwallon the Physician to Gwyrfyl, the daughter of Gruffydd ap Tewdwr, and the charm against bleeding, alleged to have been used by the same physician in the case of the knight Logranus. The fact that these statements and charms could thus have been not merely gravely written down by a physician claiming an inheritance of reputation from a long line of illustrious ancestors, but attributed by him to the founder of his line,—and that, too, at a time when knowledge was being emancipated and scepticism was advancing with great strides in all departments formerly dominated by faith,—speaks volumes as to his intellectual condition and his fall from the grace that had once been vouchsafed to his fore-runners. Instead of being head and shoulders above his neighbours, as they were, he had sunk to the same level; and, without imputing to him the arts of a charlatan, we may say that what repute he still had he owed to the conformity of his ideas to those of his rustic fellow-countrymen, and not to any superiority.

But to a student of folklore this is what constitutes the value of his book. Here we are able to read the beliefs that

were current among the common people in Wales during the progress of that great movement of the human mind known as the Renaissance,—the traditionary relics of a system which we find in one form or another to be as widespread as the whole human family, and which, though necessary in the development of civilisation, enthralled men through a vast series of generations, and has not yet disappeared from the midst even of the most enlightened communities. We shall only have time to discuss in a cursory manner a few of these beliefs this evening.

One of the most interesting superstitions which we find in the manuscripts is the practice of Charms. Several of these are given at the end of the second manuscript. Let us take the one for the healing of wounds and contusions. “The following is a charm which was made by the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, and shown to the three brethren, asking them where they went. ‘We go,’ said they, ‘to the Mount of Olives, to gather herbs to heal wounds and contusions.’ Then said He, ‘Return again, and take some oil of the olive tree, the white of eggs, and black wool, applying them to them, saying thus: I adjure thee, O wound, by the grace and power of the eight wounds which were in the true God and true man, which He received in His most holy body in order to our redemption, by that which Thou, Jesus Christ, didst Thyself desire, by the pain which Thou didst suffer and the ransom which Thou didst Thyself make, that this wound of mine shall neither pain, nor smell, nor putrify, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Let it be true. Amen.”

This is what is called a narrative charm. Many charms belong to this class; and, indeed, most of the charms in the work before us are such. One, for toothache, relates how the Virgin Mary was troubled with that painful complaint, and favours us with the following statement of her peculiar sym-

ptoms: "It is because my teeth ache, which a worm called *megrin* has pierced, and I have chewed and eaten it." Another charm to stop blood mentions the piercing of Christ's side; a third, for the ague, informs us that He trembled on the cross. You are probably familiar with such charms, as still found among the peasantry both of Wales and England. Jesus Christ, His mother, and His apostles figure largely in them. Charms of this kind are found over a very wide area. Grimm gives one from Norway as follows:

" Jesus rode to the heath ;
 There he rode the leg of his colt asunder.
 Jesus dismounted and healed it ;
 Jesus laid marrow to marrow,
 Bone to bone, flesh to flesh ;
 Jesus laid thereon a leaf,
 That it might remain in the same place."¹

This seems identical with a charm for a sprain, recorded a few years ago in the Shetland Islands, and also found in witch trials in the early part of the seventeenth century in Scotland. It runs thus:

" Our Lord rade,
 His foal's foot slade ;
 Down he lighted,
 His foal's foot righted,
 Bone to bone,
 Sinew to sinew,
 Blood to blood,
 Flesh to flesh.
 Heal in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."²

What, however, is still more curious is, that an older form apparently of this charm, dating from the ninth or tenth century, gives the adventure, but attributes it to some of the heathen gods of Germany, thus:

¹ *Teutonic Mythology*, trans. by Stallybrass, iii, 1232; Thorpe's *Northern Mythology*, i, 23 n.

² Chambers's *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 348; Grimm, 1233.

"Phol and Woden went to the wood ;
 Then was of Balder's colt the foot wrenched.
 Then Sinthgunt charmed it, and Sunna her sister ;
 Then Frua charmed it, and Volla her sister ;
 Then Woden charmed it, as he well could,
 As well the bone-wrench as the blood-wrench,
 As the joint-wrench. . . .
 Bone to bone, blood to blood,
 Joint to joint, as if they were glued together."¹

The incident recorded in these Teutonic charms is not given in any charm in the *Meddygon Myddfai* ; but I quote them because they exhibit with singular clearness the real origin of narrative charms. Such charms are relics of pre-Christian times ; and some of them are merely adaptations by substituting the name of one divinity for another. Moreover, we know from other authentic records that the narrative charm is not only very ancient, but of very wide geographical distribution. Without wearying you with many specimens, I will simply recite one of a number of magical texts used by the Babylonians. This is an incantation against "the weakening disease", whatever that may be. It runs thus :

"The evil curse like a demon has fallen on the man,
 The voice as a scourge has fallen upon him.
 The voice ill-boding has fallen upon him,
 the evil curse, the ban, the madness.
 The evil curse has cut the throat of this man like a sheep.
 His god has gone far from his body.
 His goddess, the giver of counsel, has stationed herself without.
 The scourging voice like a garment has covered him and
 bewitched him."

Thus far the description of the disease : then follows the narrative :

"Merodach has regarded him.
 To his father Ea into the house he descends and says :
 'O my father, the evil curse like a demon has fallen on the
 man,'

¹ Thorpe's *Northern Mythology*, i, 23 n. ; Grimm, *op. cit.*, iii, 1231.

Twice did he speak to him and (says) :

'(What) this man should do I know not ; what will give him rest ?

(Ea) to his son Merodach made answer :

' O my son, what dost thou not know ? what shall I tell you more ?

O Merodach, what dost thou not know ? what shall I add to thy (knowledge) ?

What I know, thou too knowest.

Go, my son, Merodach !

Take the man to the house of pure sprinkling, and remove his ban and expel his ban,

the evil that troubles his body,

whether it be the curse of his father,

or the curse of his mother,

or the curse of his elder brother,

or the curse of the destruction of a man (which) he knows not.

May the ban by the spell of Ea

like garlic be peeled off,

like a date be cut off,

like a branch be torn away.'

The ban, O spirit of heaven, conjure ! O spirit of earth, conjure !"¹

Then follow the incantations which accompany the symbolic acts of peeling garlic and casting it into the fire, cutting a date and casting it into the fire, tearing off a branch, tearing wool, tearing goat's hair, tearing dyed thread, and casting them severally into the fire, and lastly casting a pea into the fire.

This is a much more elaborate charm than any of those I have quoted before, but the principle upon which it proceeds is the same as theirs. It narrates the delivery by a Divine Being of a formula which, by reason of its supernatural origin, is supposed to be infallible against the disease to which it relates. It makes no difference that the origin of the ailment in the present case is supposed to be a curse. The mode of reasoning which can conceive it possible to cure a disease by a spell is the very same with that which leads to the belief

¹ Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 471.

that a spell can cause it. What is a charm but the cursing or banning of the evil thing which has got hold of the patient?

But Howel the Physician gives us other kinds of charms. One of these consists in the repetition of a mysterious word, as in the grave direction for restoring a man from an epileptic fit: "Set thy mind well upon God, and say these words thrice in his ear—*Anamzapta*." In like manner we are told in the older manuscript: "For all sorts of tertian, write in three apples, on three separate days. In the first apple ✠ *o nagla pater*. In the second apple ✠ *o nagla filius*. In the third apple ✠ *o nagla spiritus sanctus*. And on the third day he will be well." We are not told whether the patient is to eat the apples; but this we may presume to be the case. The word *agla*, which appears to form part of this charm, is highly mysterious and powerful. We are informed by Martin Frederick Blumler, a German writer early in the last century, that it "is very dear to the Jews, and finds very great acceptance with them for supplanting, overcoming, or routing the devil. The word means to cleave, dissipate, and to destroy. For averting any evil whatever, they consider *agla* very formidable, as by its means, they boast, stupendous prodigies are effected, losses averted, and things which cannot be improved by human aid put to rights. In particular they promise that fires among themselves and other people, even among the Christians themselves, can be put out by this mysterious spell; and the word is engraved on their amulets in bold letters."¹ Nor was the belief in this word confined to the Jews. The magical bracelet of Dr. Dee, a celebrated philosopher of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was described by its present owner a few weeks ago in *Notes and Queries*;

¹ *A History of Amulets*, Englished from the Latin by S. H. Gent, i, 23.

and the word *agla* was part of the cabalistic inscription which encircled it.¹

Another charm has for its object to produce sleep. "Take a goat's horn, and write the names of the seven sleepers thereon, making a knife-haft of it. The writing should begin at the blade, and these are their names: Anaxeimeys, Malchus, Marsianus, Denys, Thon, Serapion, Constantynn. When the names are inscribed, lay the knife under the sick man's head unknown to him, and he will sleep." The operation of this charm appears to differ from the others. It is not, as in the narrative charms, by the repetition of words blessed and rendered efficacious by some divine person. Nor is it by the utterance of words without any relevant meaning, but inherently possessed of magical power. I cannot trace the connection of the goat's horn, though other ancient prescriptions for sleeplessness, both in this manuscript and elsewhere, include it; but the names of the seven sleepers are more easily explicable. They are the representatives of sleep itself, which is thus brought into contact with the patient's head. This points to a confusion of thought between the name of a thing and the thing itself. Such a confusion is a phenomenon of very wide occurrence in the lower culture; indeed, it is one hard to extirpate from the human mind. We are all familiar with the Chinese physician's expedient if he have not the drug at hand which he requires: he simply writes its name on a piece of paper, rolls up the paper, and gives it to the patient as a pill. In the same way an old English leech-book prescribes for lent-addle, or typhus fever, a number of herbs wrought to a drink in foreign ale, to which holy water and springwort were to be added. The great and holy name of God was then to be written on the sacramental paten, and washed off into the drink with holy

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 7th Ser., v, 153; 25th Feb. 1888.

water. The opening words of the gospel of St. John, the creed, the paternoster, and certain psalms were to be sung over it, followed by an adjuration—like all these, in Latin—and sundry repetitions of the sign of the cross. The physician and the patient were then required to “sip thrice of the water so prepared”.¹ I may observe in passing, that to a layman not the least admirable part of this prescription seems the direction that the doctor was to partake of the medicine as well as his patient. To those of us who figure only in the character of patient, but never of physician, the reason for such a direction is abundantly evident, and commends very highly the wisdom of our ancestors. The chief virtue, however, of this prescription lay apparently in the name of God. The Deity Himself was, by the process adopted, taken into the patient’s body for the purpose of expelling the fever.

Turning away now from the charms, let me dwell for a moment on a very important doctrine of early medicine,—I mean the doctrine of signatures. This is defined by Dr. Tylor as a theory “which supposed that plants and minerals indicated by their external characters the diseases for which nature had intended them as remedies”.² A German writer, in a work on Magic Plants published in 1700, speaking of the superstition of the Egyptians, says :

“Carefully they used to watch for the distinctive mark of every plant, observed to which member of the human body it corresponded, and carefully noted the result, afterwards thinking that plant most suitable to that limb which it resembled by its own external shape. Or by a certain supposed analogy of qualities they applied it as a remedy to that limb. Thus the peony flowers yet enclosed in the bud and poppy heads they dedicated to the head. In like manner the Euphrasia, Caltha, Heiracius, and Anthemis they thought beneficial to the eyes, because in them they found something of the first elements of

¹ Cockayne's *Saxon Leechdoms*, ii, 134.

² *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, 123.

the eye : they assigned the root of the *Dentaria* to the teeth, of the *Anthora* to the heart. . . . For a like reason, also, they employed the juices of plants which in colour resembled the juices or humours of the human body, for the purpose of cleansing it of the offending humour. Hence, they wished to cure the yellow bile with the saffron-coloured juices of plants, the black bile with the black, purple or azure phlegm with the white, blood with the red, and milk and semen with the juices resembling milk."¹

But this doctrine of signatures is of much wider application than these writers have laid down. For if, as Culpepper tells us, summing up the doctrine, "by the icon or image of every herb, the ancients at first found out their virtues," the reasoning was very soon extended to other things besides plants. Thus, Pettigrew tells us that in cases of small-pox bed-coverings of a red colour were employed for the purpose of bringing the pustules to the surface of the body; and he cites the successful treatment in this manner of the son of Edward II, and also of the Emperor Francis I, as well as of the children of the royal house of Japan. This is the train of thought which in Howel's manuscript of the *Meddygon Myddfai* directs scrofulous ulcerations to be treated with the milk of a one-coloured cow and oatmeal.

The doctrine in question was indeed evidently well known to the writers of both the manuscripts before us. Thus (to take a few examples only), the more ancient manuscript prescribes daisies for the removal of warts; the brains of a hare in wine for retention of urine; saxifrage for calculus. The later manuscript also mentions the virtues of saxifrage for the bladder. It prescribes an ointment, of which the daisy and the eyebright are component parts, to clear the eye; a plaster of puff-balls and butter to uproot warts; a mixture of the roots or leaves of the spear-thistle and the white of an egg to extract a thorn or arrowhead from a wound; white ox-eye, when the centre has become

¹ Heucher, *De Vegetalibus Magicis*, translated and edited by E. Goldsmid, 24.

black, for malignant small-pox ; and the blood and skin of a hare for strangury.

It is curious what value was set upon the hare in ancient medicine. Mr. Black, in his admirable work on Folk-medicine, quotes Cogan as saying, in his *Haven of Health*, "that no one beast, be it never so great, is profitable to so many and so diverse uses in Physicke as the hare and partes thereof."¹ Mr. Black ascribes this reputation to the association of the hare, like the cat, with witches. There may be some foundation for this opinion ; but I think it is rather derived from the creature's alertness and swiftness. Its speed and quickness of hearing were the signature which pointed out its use in medicine. Thus, in an old English leech-book, to which I have already referred, we are told : "For over-sleeping, a hare's brain in wine given for a drink ; wonderfully it amendeth." And again : "For footswellings and scathes, a hare's lung bound as above and beneath, wonderfully the steps are healed." These are in harmony with what we have found in the Welsh manuscripts concerning the hare. And the same quality is pointed at in the direction : "For pain of wamb take heels of hare, bear them on thy frock [a thick upper garment of coarse material] ; wonderfully it healeth."² The pain is, in fact, expected to run away on the hare's heels.

The same doctrine may also be the origin of a direction I find in the *Schola Salernitana*. Reference is made in the Bible to "the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear". A very old piece of folklore is alluded to in this passage ; and I cannot help thinking that it was the same which gave birth to the prescription by the Salernitan physicians of the fat of an eel—or still better, of a snake—as efficacious for deafness.³

¹ *Folk-Medicine*, 155.

² Cockayne, *op. cit.*, 343, 347.

³ *L'École de Salerne*, 245.

Not very different from this is the train of reasoning which leads Annamite practitioners to treat a patient who is suffering from a fishbone in his throat, by rubbing the outside of his neck with a cormorant's beak, or the right forefoot of an otter. "This beak and foot being instruments for catching fish, it is thought they ought to make the fishbone disappear by their own innate virtue."¹

Remedies of animal substances are not at all uncommon in these manuscripts. In addition to those already mentioned we find many others, such as a ram's urine, an eel's bile, goat's dung, the fæces of a young child, bees reduced to a powder, a buck's tallow, wax from a dog's ear, mutton-suet. Many of these remedies, as will be seen, have no recommendation save their nastiness. But one of the most curious requirements is that the sex of the animal should correspond with the sex of the patient. For example, one mode of treating a viper's bite is by taking a red cock, if the patient be a man,—or a hen, if a woman—and applying its anus to the wound until it dies. This is found in both manuscripts. And even in cases where the animal's sex is not directed to be that of the patient, it is necessary to be careful as to the sex. Another remedy for a snake's bite is to drink the brains of a red cock, mingled with rue, milk, and wine, and to apply to the wound the flesh of the breast while warm, the cock being alive. Male urine is prescribed for erysipelas; gander's dung is a component part of a powder for ulcerated wounds; a he-goat's suet must be put into a certain ointment for all kinds of aches; the fat of a duck and of a hen, with the marrow of a fresh bone, are to be made into an ointment for a cough. The milk of a cow that is suckling a bull calf is included in a cataplasm for another purpose; and the milk of a woman who is suckling a boy is an ingredient

¹ Landes, *Contes et Légendes Annamites*, 263.

in "an infallible remedy", called by the appropriate name of "the Grace of God."

Some of these prescriptions may be derived from the old Galenian system of medicine. Hippocrates is indeed expressly invoked as the author of one such. But it is difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to define accurately their origin or to do more than guess at their meaning. Meantime, I note them as points for further inquiry. It is at least clear that the distinction of sex has been recognised in the folk-medicine of other parts of the world as making a difference in the virtue of animal remedies. Thus, a Hindu prescription current in Cashmere for earache, directs a few drops of milk from the mother of a little girl to be let fall into the ear; they will at once give relief.¹

Another matter of interest is the mode of obtaining the medicines, whether animal or vegetable, and the circumstances in which they are to be obtained. Much in folk-medicine depends upon the time of gathering the herbs and the forms to be observed in so doing. The mistletoe is often referred to in these works under its name of "Allheal"; and though no special ceremonies are here prescribed for its collection, I need hardly remind you that in earlier times it was cut with great pomp and formality. Professor Rhys, in his recent book on Celtic Religion, quotes at length the well-known passage from Pliny descriptive of the Druidical rites attending this proceeding; nor is any apology needed for reproducing that passage, so far as it concerns us now. He says they seek it "especially at the time of the sixth moon, the luminary which marks the beginning of their months and their years, and after the tree [an oak] has passed the thirtieth year of its age, because of its having then plenty of vigour, though not half the size to which it may grow. Addressing it in their language as the universal healer, and taking care to have

¹ *Indian Notes and Queries*, iv, 201.

sacrifices and banquets prepared with the correct ceremony beneath the tree, they bring to the spot two white bulls whose horns have never been bound before. The priest, clad in a white robe, climbs the tree, and with a golden sickle cuts the mistletoe: it is caught in a white cloth. Then at length they sacrifice the victims, with a prayer that god may make his own gift benefit those to whom he has given it. They believe that drinking of a potion prepared from it gives fecundity to barren animals, and that it is a remedy against all poison.”¹

It is not to be expected that any of the ceremonies prescribed in the works before us for the gathering of herbs are so elaborate or magnificent as this. The rites of folk-lore are remnants of older religions, but remnants always maimed and truncated. The worship of nature had, under the influence of Christianity, become partly transformed and partly obsolete long ere the rise of the Physicians of Myddfai; and we must accordingly look only for a curtailed and Christianised edition of customs once pagan and impressive. Neither of the manuscripts, however, yields a large harvest of relics of this kind of superstition. They are confined to two or three directions. In the earlier manuscript we find the following prescription (s. 106): “If a man’s liver adhere to his ribs, take in the morning at sunrise (chanting thy paternoster) some river star-tip. Digest in new ale, and give it the patient to drink (whilst in a bath) for nine days.” Plantain is to be collected for ague “whilst saying your paternoster”. In John Jones’ book we are told (s. 78): “Take broom seed, counting nine, and devoting the tenth to God.” Another passage in the same manuscript throws a strange and vivid light upon the practices in vogue at the time of writing, when it tells us (s. 798) to gather vervain “and every other herb in the name of God,

¹ Pliny, *Natural History*, xvi, 95, quoted by Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures for 1886*, p. 218.

and give no heed to those who say that it should be gathered in the name of the devil, as the devil has nothing to do with goodness."

These examples (meagre as they are) are sufficient to show that, whatever the inherent virtues of the herbs, much importance was attached to the ceremonies with which they were gathered. I might refer to the folk-lore of many countries in confirmation, but perhaps it will be sufficient to remind you of a passage from the *Barzaz Breiz*, quoted by Stephens in reference to the *herbe d'or*. This, we learn, "is a medicinal plant, which the peasant Bretons hold in great estimation. They pretend that at a distance it shines like gold, and it is for this they give it the name. If one should happen to tread upon it he will fall asleep and come to understand the languages of birds, dogs, and wolves. It is but rarely to be met with, and then only early in the morning; to gather it, it is necessary to go barefooted and in a shirt. It is said that holy men only will be able to find it. It is no other than the selage. Also, in going to gather it barefooted, and in a white robe, and fasting, no iron should be employed; the right hand should be passed under the left arm, and the linen could only be used once."¹ It is not every gathering ritual which is so picturesque as this, or reminds us so forcibly of Pliny's account of the mistletoe. The mythical character of the herb is, perhaps, the reason for the elaboration of the ritual; and we may well believe that such ceremonies were not ordinarily in use. At the same time it would seem that we have here only an exaggeration of customs common to the collection of all herbs for medical purposes. These customs clearly point to the religious origin of medicine, the outcome of beliefs to which I have already alluded, but which it hardly falls within my present limits to discuss at length. I ought not to forget,

¹ *The Literature of the Kymry*, p. 248.

however, to say that it is not only in the collection, but also in the preparation of the remedies, that these superstitions are manifested. It may be uncertain whether the recipe concerning the broom seeds I cited just now relates to their gathering, or to the mode of dealing with them after they have found their way into the physician's repertory. But the old English leech-books give prescriptions as to which there can be no mistake. I have already quoted one: here is another, against Lent-addle: "Feverfue, the herb ram's gall, fennel, waybread; let a man sing many masses over the worts, boil very thoroughly, let drink a great cupful, as hot as he may, before the disorder will be on him; say the names of the four gossellers, and a charm, and a prayer."¹ The charm and prayer consist of a number of crosses and some Latin and gibberish, which I need not trouble you with. I cannot resist quoting from another of the old English leech-books the following comic prescription, in which the gathering and using appear to be combined:—"For flux of blood, when to all men the moon is seventeen nights old, after set of sun, ere the uprising of the moon, come to the tree which is hight morbeam [mulberry], and from it take an apple [berry] with thy left hand with two fingers, that is, the thumb and the ring-finger, a white apple, which as yet is not ruddy; then lift him up and up arise; this is useful for the upper part of the body. Again put him down, and lout down on (him); it is behoveful for the nether part of the body. Ere thou take this apple say these words: *ἄψ, ἄψ, ἄψ, ὡς φάρμακον αἰρῶ σε πρὸς πᾶσαν αἰμορραγίαν παντὸς αἵματος πᾶν τε αἰμοσταγές*. When thou hast said these words, take the apple and then wind him up in a fine purple cloth, and then bag him in a piece of some other fine web, and have a care that this leechdom touch neither water nor earth. When there is need, and the upper part of the

¹ *Saxon Leechdoms*, ii, p. 140.

body labours in any sore or any difficulties, bind upon the forehead; if it is on the nether part, bind on the wamb."¹

I have mentioned some of the animal remedies used by the old Welsh leeches, but we have no account of the manner in which they were obtained. We cannot doubt that corresponding ceremonies were observed in procuring them. The *Medicina de Quadrupedibus* is very minute in its directions for taking the badger, an animal which seems to have been highly valued. The passage, as modernised from the old English version, is very quaint. "There is a four-footed neat, which we name *taxo*, that is 'brock' in English; catch that deer, and do off the teeth from him while yet quick, those which he hath biggest, and thus say: In the name of the Almighty God I thee slay, and beat thy teeth off thee; and then subsequently wind them up in a linen rail [garment], and work them in gold or in silver, that they may not touch thy body: have them with thee, then shall scathe thee neither heavenly body, nor hail, nor strong storm, nor evil damage thee, or if somewhat of evil be to thee, rathely it shall be torn asunder, as was the girdle of Obadiah the prophet. Then take the right forefoot with these words, and thus say: In the name of the living God I take thee for a leechdom; then in whatsoever conflict or fight thou shalt be thou shalt be victorious, and thou shalt do well in it, if thou hast the foot with thee." Then follow the different uses for various parts of the badger's body, which, though extremely interesting, would take too long to enumerate now.² I cite the foregoing only to indicate that, whether any special superstitious practices in the taking of animal remedies survived or not among the mediæval Welsh physicians, they were well known in earlier ages. I need make no remark on the cruelty of the practices in question. The Welsh physicians cannot throw stones on this account. I have

¹ *Saxon Leechdoms*, i, p. 331.

² *Ibid.*, p. 327.

already noticed their treatment of fowls; and they are equally truculent towards toads, snails, and other living creatures. The author of the *Medicina de Quadrupedibus* would at least have an explanation offered to the victim. This is a necessary part of the performance, and reminds us of the apologies made by the savage hunter to the beast he kills for food or in self-defence; but this branch of the subject can only be considered adequately in connection with the beliefs of savages on the nature of the brute creation and its relationship to man—a digression that would lead us too far afield.

We have not, however, quite done with the modes of obtaining remedies. In one of the wildest outbursts of his credulity, Howel, the compiler of John Jones' manuscript, gives a direction (s. 811) for procuring a remedy for the dropsy: "Rub young swallows with saffron, and in a short time the old swallows will bring them a stone; with this stone he that is sick of the dropsy will be benefited." This refers to a superstition well known throughout the Middle Ages, which is traceable to classic times and to Oriental beliefs. Pliny among Latin writers, and Ælian among Greek, both refer to it, though not in the exact form in which it is given here. The latter author relates concerning the swallow that her young, like puppies, are born blind, and the mother brings and applies to their eyes a certain herb which has the effect of opening them. He adds, that although men have been desirous to become possessors of the herb in question their efforts have not availed them. Other writers state that the same effect is produced by the herb if the swallow's eyes have been put out. Ælian goes on to speak concerning the hoopoe, of which he says that once on a time the bird having built her nest in a cleft of an old wall, the proprietor plastered the hole up, leaving the nest and the chickens inside. The parent bird thereupon brought the herb, and applying

it to the plaster, reopened the way to her young. This occurred a second and a third time, and the man possessed himself of the herb and used it to open the way to hidden treasures which did not belong to him.¹ The Germans fabled, too, of an herb which opened hidden treasure, and they called it spring-wort, otherwise key-flower or wonder-flower. A pretty North German tale is told of a shepherd, who, driving his flock over the Ilsenstein, stayed to rest by a spring, leaning on his staff. In his staff, without his knowing it, was a spring-wort. The mountain forthwith opened, and a lady—the princess of the Ilsenstein, she was called—stood before him, and beckoned him within, inviting him to take as much gold as he desired. When his pockets were full and he was about to take his leave, she called out to him, “Forget not the best!” He did not know she referred to his magical staff, which he had laid aside the better to gather the gold he saw before him; and as he was quitting the cave without it the rock suddenly closed upon him, sniting him asunder.² This is only one of a number of similar legends current in Europe; but in none of these, so far as I am aware, does the bird appear. In all of them, too, the instrument of wonder is a flower. Without discussing these, however, let us return to the bird. When King Solomon was building the temple he was much exercised, according to a Jewish legend, to know how the stones were to be hewn without the aid of iron tools. He consulted his wise men, and was advised to procure a certain worm, named Shamir, no bigger than a barley-corn, which possessed the magical power of splitting stones. By their advice he captured the demon Asmodæus, the being who, you will remember, was so grievously enamoured of the

¹ Ælian, *De Naturâ Animalium*, bk. iii, co. 25, 26.

² Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, p. 178; Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, iii, p. 89; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, iii, p. 971.

spouse of Tobit's son. From him the king ascertained where this wonderful worm was to be obtained. Following the demon's directions, Benaiah, one of the officers of the court, was sent to find the nest of the woodcock. This nest he covered with a glass vessel, enclosing the young birds beneath it. When the bird returned to her nest and was unable to lift the vessel, she straightway fetched the shamir with intent to drop it upon the glass and break it. Benaiah thereupon raised a loud shout, and frightened the bird so that it dropped the shamir, which the officer promptly pounced upon and carried off.¹ This story passed from the *Talmud* into the *Gesta Romanorum*, where it was told of an ostrich, whose young the Emperor Diocletian had taken and enclosed in a vessel of glass. The bird broke the glass by means of a worm called thumare, and delivered her young.²

Another edition of the *Gesta* relates a tale, which it attributes to Pliny, of an eagle whose young a kind of serpent called Perna essayed to destroy. The serpent, finding that the nest was on a lofty rock beyond its reach, stationed itself to windward and emitted a large quantity of poison in order to infect the atmosphere and destroy the chickens. But the eagle fetched a peculiar stone called agate and placed it in the windward side of the nest, thus foiling her enemy.³ The agate, I may observe, is a stone which has often been credited with the power to countervail poison ; and it may, therefore, though not named, be the stone indicated in the prescription before us. Mr. Baring Gould, who has collected a number of these stories, tells us that in Normandy, if you put out the eyes of a swallow's young, the parent bird will go in quest of a certain pebble which has the marvellous power of restoring sight to the blind. Having applied it, she will immediately endeavour to do away with the stone, that none

¹ *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archæology*, ix, p. 223.

² *Gesta Romanorum* (Bohn's ed.), p. xxxvi.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

may discover it; but if you have taken the precaution of spreading a scarlet cloth below the nest she will mistake the cloth for fire, and drop the stone upon it. I have failed to trace the authority for this statement; but the writer tells us he also met with the superstition in Iceland. There, he assures us, the natives hard-boil a raven's egg and replace it in the nest. The raven restores the egg to its former condition by touching it with a black pebble, which also has such power that anyone who can possess himself of it will be able to walk invisible, to raise the dead, to cure disease, break bolts and bars, and last, but not least, provide himself with as much stockfish and corn-brandy as he may wish for.¹

Akin to this belief is one that accords to certain animals the knowledge of herbs which heal wounds and bring the dead to life. Many interesting folk-tales are built upon the belief in this knowledge. It was known to Avicenna, a philosopher who is cited, though not on the point in question, by the compiler of John Jones' manuscript (s. 799). And generally, I may say, that the whole class of superstitions, of which the prescription against the dropsy is one, is rooted in a very ancient and widespread conviction of the supernatural powers of all the lower animals.

There are many other matters which remain to be discussed, such as days and seasons, the lucky and the unlucky, the treatment of virtues and vices, envy, chastity, and the like, various methods of prognosis, treatment by sympathy, etc., etc.; but I fear I have already detained you too long. I have not attempted anything like an exhaustive discussion of folk-lore in old Welsh medicine. Even if I wished to do so the materials for this purpose are as yet wanting. Only two Welsh manuscripts have been published, and these in by no means an accurate form, either as to text or translation. Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans informs me that there are at

¹ *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, p. 398.

Peniarth five or six manuscripts of a medical nature, at least one of which belongs to the fourteenth century; and he conjectures the existence of others at Mostyn Hall and elsewhere. Until these are published, and Welsh manuscripts in general are calendared, we cannot hope to obtain anything like a complete view of the subject. Much, however, may be done to prepare the way by the collection from the mouths of the people of medical tradition. Many of you who can speak the Welsh tongue visit the land of your fathers from time to time, and, even without making a special business of gathering these old sayings and practices, you may often have an opportunity of picking up scraps of information. Many of you, too, are probably able to contribute from the stores of your own memories. All these shreds, however trivial they seem to be, should be preserved for future sifting by those who have been trained to the work. *Notes and Queries*, the Folk-lore Society, and doubtless this Society also, would be glad to aid in the work of preservation; and when in the fulness of time the Government shall come to the aid of individual exertion, and give to the world the treasures now buried in libraries not easy of access, it will be possible to render such an account of Welsh medicine as will be a most important contribution to the history of the evolution of human thought. Then, and not till then, shall we be able justly to compare the civilisation of the historic Welsh with that of their neighbours, to estimate how much they owe to classic inspiration or contemporary intercourse, and how much is veritably their own, derived from a long line of prehistoric ancestors, from the men of the barrows, the caves, or perchance of the river-drift. Meanwhile, all that I have tried to do is to take a few, and a few only, of the salient features of this special subject as found in the two manuscripts published under the title of *Meddygon Myddfai*; and to illustrate some of them by

reference to archaic works of a similar character, in the hope of awakening some interest in a branch of the science of folk-lore hitherto, especially in Wales, somewhat neglected.

I cannot sit down without referring to the investigations of Dr. Rhys Griffiths of Cardiff, who, approaching the *Meddygon Myddfai* from the point of view of a medical man, has, in two papers (one contributed to *The Red Dragon* and the other lately read before the Cambrian Society), examined the scientific knowledge and skill displayed in the manuscripts, with most valuable results. I have to thank him for generous help of various kinds in the preparation of this lecture. But for his kindness this meagre attempt to draw your attention to some of the aspects of old Welsh medical folk-lore would have been still more imperfect.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WELSH NOUNS,
ADJECTIVES, AND ADVERBS.

BY MAX NETTLAU, PH.D.

[1.] The study of Brythonic declension made very slow progress until it was discovered that certain plural terminations are in reality the suffixes of collective nouns, and that *j* under certain conditions of accent is liable to become *d*, as in Greek (*Rev. Celt.*, ii, pp. 115 *et seq.*). Up to that time its results had been nearly limited to some very obvious identifications of plural endings, and the recognition of a few oblique cases in adverbial formulæ. Even since then the phenomena of Brythonic declension have seldom been regarded from any other point of view than the possibility of their throwing some light on the more carefully studied grammar of Irish. It is true that the materials afforded by existing dictionaries and grammars are quite insufficient for a history of any of the plural terminations, and that each individual word must in consequence be followed through the older stages of Welsh, Cornish, and Breton before any opinion can be formed upon it. Analogy was at work at a very early period, and in many later; and in a large number of cases has given the same word several plural forms, creating a difficulty which has been further enhanced by the position which different lexicographers have taken up with regard to these matters. The stems of a number of nouns have been ascertained with tolerable certainty, but nothing final can be undertaken without the publication of trustworthy editions of a much larger quantity of Middle-Welsh texts than is available at present, and the

preparation of a dictionary of the modern language which shall comprise the dialectal forms. I shall confine myself here to drawing attention to some little-noticed facts which may be at least stated, though at present not always explained.

[2.] Lewis Morris, in a letter of 1762 (*Y Cymmwr.*, ii, p. 157), says in his quaint way, "If South Wales men had wrote grammar, we should have proper plural terminations instead of -au, etc., etc., and abundances of licences of the like kind." The first two editions of Owen Pughe's *Dict.* are criticised in *Y Brython*, i, pp. 19-20, and also by the editor of the third edition (*Pref.*, p. xi), on the score of his too frequent use of -on and -ion instead of -au, even where -au is in general use. He had a predilection for the apparently more archaic -ion in place of the common -au. By this, as by similar fancies, his work is deprived of much of its value.

Cf., e.g., *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: oc eu gwelieu, p. 104; o dyrnodeu, a bonclusteu, a chwympeu, a gwelioed, a chellweir, p. 109.

Y Drych Chr.: archolhieu, arcolhion, f. 27b.

Davies, *Dict.*: archoll, pl. erchyll; on which L. Morris (*Add. MS.* 14,944, f. 26a) remarks: "The common plural is archollion." The word is not used in Glamorganshire, where they employ *clwyf*.

Sp., *Dict.*³: nant, nentydd, nannau; L. Morris: neint, nentydd (*Add. MS.* 14,909, f. 50a).

E. Lhuyd: asen, eisen—plur.: N. W. asennæ, S. W. ais (*Arch. Brit.*, s. v. 'Costa'¹); but *ās*an, 'sena, are the Neath forms too.

Rowland: llythyr; N. W. -au, S. W. -on (*Gramm.*⁴, p. 29); etc.

[3.] Monosyllables like *march* form their plural by the so-called internal *i*, as *meirch*. This kind of formation was also used in words of more than one syllable, as in *aradr*, plur. *ereidir* (*B. of Carm.*, No. ix²). In these words it was supplanted at a later period by the apparent change of *a* into *y*, as in *erydr*. Davies, in his *Gramm.* (pp. 36-38), gives: *erydr*, old *ereidr*; old *peleidr*, *rheidr*; *bechgyn* as the plural of *bachgen* [*Glam.* *bachcan*, *behcyn*]; *llenneirch* (*Iolo G.*) and *llennyrch* of *llannerch*; *ieirch* (*Iolo G.*) and

¹ P. 52, col. 1.

² *Skene*, vol. ii, p. 11; *MS.*, f. 17a.

iyrchod of iwrch [cf. lewot a iyrch, *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 74, cf. p. 76; ierch, p. 143, from ieirch]; ceraint, also cerynt, of carant; *Id.*, *Dict.*: deifr of dwfr; emyth and emeith of amaeth; heiyrn and heieirn of haiarn (cf. *Sp.*, *Gramm.*³, § 28; in Glamorgan dwr, dyfrôdd).

Here we see the old groups *a*, plur. *ei*, *a—a*, plur. *e—ei*, and *a—e*, plur. *e—y*, as well as *o, w*, plur. *y* (mollt—myllt, llwdn—trillydn, canllydn, Davies, *Gramm.*, p. 35), completely mixed up. The general tendency seems to be to extend *y* over the dissyllables that contain *a—a*, except some like *dafad*, *carant*; while the opposite extension of *ei* over both mono- and dissyllables containing *a—e, o, w* is much more limited and probably does not now obtain. There are some plural formations existing of words that do not evidently differ in structure from all other regular words, which remain unexplained, and prevent our coming to a really fair view of the neo-formations just quoted—I mean the North-Welsh plurals, *ifanc*, *llygid*, *bychin* of *ifanc*, *llygad*, *bychan*. *Ab Ithel* (*Dosp. Ed.*, § 1571) gives *llygid* from Denbigh, Flint, and Merioneth (also *bysidd* for *bysedd*, from Denbigh and Flint). I collected in *Beitr.*, § 92, other North-Welsh instances of *i* for *ei*, and in *Y Cymmr.*, ix, pp. 67-8, I considered North-Welsh *collis*, *ceris* for *colleis*, *cereis* from the same standpoint. I have since heard that the same forms are used in Glamorgan; cf. *ifanc*, plur. *ifnc* (*jenctyd*, *jangach*, *janga*); *llycad*, pl. *llycid*; *bychan*, pl. *bychin*; *bys*, pl. *bysidd* (but *e.g.*, *gwracadd*); also *merchid*; *pryfetyr*, plur. *pryfid*; *arath*, plur. *erith* (*erill*). In the *Cambrian Journal*, iv, pp. 208-9, I find the plurals *offeirid*, *merchid*, *bychin*, *gwinid* (= *gweiniaid*), from Gwent and Morganwg. In the same way *rhois* is used both there and in North Wales, the regular alteration of Mid.-W. *-ei* in final syllables in Gwent and Morganwg being into *a*, just as final *e* becomes *a*. In fact, *ei* first became *e*, as in the Dimetian and Powysian dialects, and later all *e*'s were made into *a*. I have found also *rhois*, and

this form only, in much older texts than those given in *Y Cymmwr., l. c.*, and therefore I consider collis, ceris, etc., as imitations of the very old and unexplained type rhois. The plurals with *i* are also as yet unexplained. I should add that merchid, pryfid cannot be compared to bysidd on the score of a change of *e* into *i*, though the literary forms are merched, pryfed. They are identical in formation with offerid and ifinc, for amongst others William Morris (Add. MS. 14,947, f. 39b) gives merchaid, pryfaid from Anglesey, where these forms are still in use. Cf. also *Hanesion o'r Hen Oesoedd*, 1762: mercheid, pp. 28, 90, etc.; merchad, p. 72 (Carnarvonshire); *P. C.*, No. 28: merchaid (Anglesey); *Yr Arw.*: merchaid, Feb. 12, 1857; Jan. 23, 1859, etc.

Davies, *Gramm.*, p. 37, gives from the works of the old poets *e—i*, as well as the common *e—y*, as a plural form from the singular *a—e*, this being proved by rhymes; e.g., cessig, cerrig, menig; tefill, pedill; llewis, etc. The explanation of these forms may be connected with that of the plurals given above.

[4.] Daint, daigr, saint, plurals of dant, dagr, sant, are used in N.-W. dialects as singulars. Salesbury, 1567 (Ellis, *Early Engl. Pron.*, p. 747), remarks that for epestyl, caith, daint, maip, saint, tait, in his time apostolion, apostolieit, caethion, dannedd or dannedde, maibion, santie or seinie were beginning to be used, and that in N. W. daint, taid (*father*, not taid, teidion, *grandfather*), were used as singulars. Davies, *Dict.*, has "dant, pl. daint, quæ vox apud Venedotas pro sing. passim usurpatur." L. Morris (Add. MS. 14,909, f. 75b) gives N.-W. saint for sant; D. S. Evans, *Llyth., s. v.*, a sing. and plur. deigr. If only deigr and daint had been preserved, we might be inclined to consider them as old collective nouns; but saint cannot be such, and so the most probable explanation of them is that they arose at the time when the plural character of the older plurals, formed by what we now see in

its result as an internal change, *mab* *meib, *dagr* *deigr, was accentuated by the addition of the constantly extending *-au* or *-on*, *-iau* or *-ion*, so as to yield *meib-ion*, *deigr-*au*, after the analogy of *dagr*, *dagrau*. We may suppose that at this time *deigr*, etc., were erroneously abstracted as singulars from these new plurals, and came into general use in this capacity in certain parts,—in this particular case in North Wales.

[5.] The plural termination *-oedd* is commonly assigned to the stems in *i*, but it has not been successfully explained. It would be the outcome of an older **-ējes*, which may have been the result of analogical operations similar to those which produced the Greek forms like **ποληjes*. We must not consider this as the only ending of the *i*-stems, for *-ydd* from **-ijes*, and *-edd* from **-ejes*, are also early endings of *i*-stems, coinciding in sound with the results of the *jo*-stems, and with collectives in **-ejā*. As *-i* and *-ydd* are phonetically equivalent, and outcomes of the same older *j*-forms with differing accent, we may assume *i* also as a termination of the *i*-stems, either original or due to analogy; and we need not wonder at the analogical extension of these endings of the *i*-stems, considering how they partly coincide with the *jo*-stems and the collective nouns, and also how far *-au*, the ending of the much rarer *u*-stems, and *-on*, that of the *n*-stems, were extended.

This view of the *i*-stems is corroborated by a number of words which form different plurals, in *-oedd*, *-ydd*, *-edd*, and *-i*.

Cf. *treff*, *trefydd*, sometimes *trefoedd*, L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,984, f. 16a.

Dinas, *gwlad*, *ynys*, *tir*, *caer*, *mynydd*. Add. MS. 19,709: *mynyded*, f. 57a; *y keystyll ar kaeroed ar dinassoed*, f. 39a; *keyryd*, f. 39b.

Ll. Gw. Rh.: *dinassoed*, *dinessyd*, p. 22; *dinessyd ar keiryd*, p. 74; *y dinassoedd æ geiryd*, p. 74; *dinessed*, p. 281; *keyrod*, p. 24, *kayroed*, p. 33; *ceiryd*, pp. 45, 48; *ceuryd*, p. 54; *ceyryd*, p. 21; *gwledi*, p. 187; *lluod*, p. 22; *llyud*, p. 21.

Sal, *N. T.*: dyfroedd, dyfredd, f. 382*b*; mynyddedd, f. 380*b*; mynyddey, f. 380*b*; bwystviledd, etc.; gweithrededd, f. 157*b* Add. MS. 14,986, f. 37*b*: tyredd.

Ynys, llys, tir, llawer. -oedd, poet. -edd, Davies, *Gramm.*, p. 30.

The Middle-Welsh examples could be greatly multiplied. In most of these words -oedd predominates, more rarely -ydd.

-oedd is pronounced -oedd or -ôdd; e.g., S.-W. gwithredodd, Add. MS. 14,973, f. 102*a*; N.-W. cantodd, myllydrodd, *Yr Arw.*, May 28, 1857; byth, bythodd, etc. It may be mentioned that -ioedd, which is not given by Zeuss, also occurs, although commonly only in milioedd. Cf. llawer o villtiryoed, *B. of Herg.*, col. 1112; eithauioed freink, MS. *Cl. B 5*, f. 19*a* (also ff. 61*b*, 62*a*); eithauoed, f. 97*a*; tiryoed, *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 165; iethioedd, Sal, *N. T.*, *Gwel. I.*, f. 384*b*; brenhinioedd, Add. MS. 14,916, ff. 36*a*, 36*b*; several instances in the Gwentian Add. MS. 14,921; *Hanesion o'r Hen Oesoedd*: ieithioedd, p. 59 (twice; ieithia, *ib.*, in rhyme); etc.

[6.] In N.-W. dialects -oedd has been partially ousted by an apparent ending -fŷdd, the plural of -fa, from *magos, contracted from *-fe-ydd, according to the law which obtains in gwŷdd, for gweydd, 'weaver', and Llŷn for Lleyrn, which has lost a *g between the two vowels.

Torfŷdd, porfŷdd occur in Anglesey and Carnarvonshire, and in imitation of them llefŷdd for lleoedd. See Caledfryn's *Gramm.*², p. 59; and cf. rhai llefydd yn y Merica, *S. C.*, i, p. 372 (Merioneth); llefudd, *Yr Arw.*, Feb. 2, 1859; Sweet, p. 429, etc. It is not clear to me why E. Lhuyd, in *At y Cymry*, *Arch. Brit.*, says: "amryu levys yŷ Hamry", p. *1, as he otherwise uses S.-W. (Dimetian) forms. On deuuedd see my *Beitr.*, § 80, n. 83.

[7.] The early consonant-plural *chwior took later the collective endings -ydd and -edd. Cf. ŷ dwŷ chwyored, MS. *Tit. D 2*, f. 177*a*; chwioered, *Y S. Gr.*, p. 100; chwiorydd and -edd, Add. MS. 31,059, f. 5*b*; in Neath, whâr, whiorydd (*ib.*, gwrac-add, modrypodd, commonly "modrybedd, in N.-W. mod-rabedd", Richards' *Dict.*). Chwaer represents *svesr-, if caer represents *casr-; or else *chwaear (cf. *gwaeanwyn*) became

in its older form *chwaer*. *Chwa-er* from **sve(s)er-* is a third possibility. *Chwaer* had its old **ves* treated like *gwaeanwyn*, O.-W. *guiannuin*, containing **vesant-*. Though *guiannuin*¹ (in *Merioneth gwinwyn*, *Rhŷs*²) and *chwiorydd* exist, we have *gwaeanwyn* and *chwaer*, containing **wa*, **va*, from **vo* for **ve*; but it is not clear for what reason the syllable **ves* became either **vi(s)* or **vo(s)*, *wa(s)*, although it is true the next syllable contains different vowels in both cases; *chwaer* from **svo(s)er*, **sve(s)er*, *chwior-* from **svi(s)or-*, **sve(s)or-*. *Chwiorydd* as an isolated form was altered by analogy; cf. *chwaered*, MS. *Cl. B 5*, f. 249*a*, col. 2 (*Dares Phrygius*); *brodur a chwayorydd*, Add. MS. 14,987, f. 35*b* (*Araith y Trwstan*). In *The Red Dragon*, ii, p. 420, *chwaerorydd* is mentioned. This form is actually printed in *Llyfr Achau (Her. Vis.*, ii, p. 12) as *chwaerorydd*. Pughe gives *chweirydd*, probably to be considered like *meusydd*, pl. of *maes*.

[8.] The ending *-awr*, later *-or*, is almost completely lost in later Welsh; it is frequent with certain nouns, as *llafn*, *byddin*, *ysgwydd*, *gwaew*, etc., in the older poems, those printed by Skene and in the *Myv. Arch.*, but it hardly ever occurs in Middle W. prose texts (cf., however, *yr ieuawr*, *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 7). From O.-W. cf. *poulloraur* (**pugillār- + -ār-*), *M. Cap.*³ In Breton this ending is still common as *-er*, *-ier*; cf. *er ménéier* in a Tréc. poem, *Rev. de Bret.*, 1st ser., v, p. 408 (*meneio*, 4, p. 170), etc., in W. *mynyddoedd*. The Welsh ending is mentioned in *Dosp. Ed.*, § 489, omitted by Zeuss, but exemplified in E. Evans' *Stud. in Cymr. Phil.*, § 12.⁴ On its Irish equivalents opinions have been advanced in *Three Mid.-Ir. Hom.*, p. 135, and *Togail Troi (LL.)*, *Introd.*

It is possible that *-or* has survived in certain plurals for which a new singular was made by means of *-yn* or *-en*—in

¹ *Ovid Glosses*, 40*b*; Stokes, *Cambrica*, p. 236. ² *Lect.*³, p. 27.

³ *Capella Glosses*, No. 28 (*Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., iv, p. 7).

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 141.

marwor, marwar, marfor, 'embers', for instance—but as a distinct plural termination it occurs in later Welsh only in gwaew, gwaewawr, whence *gwaewor, gwaewar, like gwatwor, gwatwar, marwar, chwaer, etc.

Cf. g6ayawa6r (*sic*), *B. of Tal.*, xliv (Sk., ii, 199); gwaywar, *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, pp. 59, 67, 69; g6aewar, *B. of Herg.*, cols. 698 (*R. B. Mab.*, p. 82), 1098, etc.

Even here it is replaced by -yr; cf. gost6ng g6aewyr, *B. of Herg.*, col. 1098; y gweiwyr, *Wms.*, *Hgt. MSS.*, ii, p. 304; gwewyr, *Y S. Gr.*, p. 280 (*gwaywyr et vulgo gwewyr*, *Davies, Dict.*). This -yr can only be the ending -yr (-r) of brodyr, pl. of brawd, analogically transferred. Besides brodyr, broder less often occurs, rhyming with full syllables in -er (passives, etc.) in poets, as in *L. Glyn Cothi*, pp. 42-3 (see p. 269, *infra*), etc.

[9.] Tai and lloi are older S.-W. plurals, commonly used in S. W., but replaced by teiau, lloiau in N. W. Cf. *Hughes*, 1823, p. 29; *Y Traeth.*, iii, p. 9; *D. S. Evans, Llyth.*, s. *vv.*; etc.

Ll. Gw. Rh., pp. 94, 97, 110: Dagr-eu-oed; *Add. MS.* 19,709, f. 58b, etc.: blod-eu-oed, llys-eu-oed. *Llysieuoedd*, *Cl. B 5*, f. 102b. These forms should be compared with Breton ones like bot-o-ier, bot-o-io, *Ernault, De l'urgence, etc.*, p. 14; the additional plural-ending seems to convey a more collective sense.

Cf. also or dy6ededigyon llysseue hynny, *Add. MS.* 14,912, f. 77a; o oll dy6ededigyon llyssyoedd hynny, f. 79 (y for eu, S.-W.); llysew6n, lliasiav, *Add. MS.* 15,049 (17th cent.), ff. 4a, 20a; lliasewyn, *B. of Herg.*, col. 486. In *Neath*, llysewyn, pl. llysa (*ib.*, blotyn, pl. blota).

On eu: ew, cf. g6neuthur creu yr moch, *B. of Herg.*, col. 754; y creu, col. 766 (*R. B. Mab.*, p. 63, l. 3; 78, ll. 8, 11, 16): crewyn; gieu: giewyn; ceneu: cenawon, etc.

On the words meaning 'day' see *Rh6s, Hibb. Lect.*, pp. 116-118. Cf. die6-ed, *Add. MSS.* 19,709, f. 25b; 22,856, f. 12a; diewood, *Cl. B 5*, f. 235b, col. 1; die-oed, f. 244b, col. 2; dieuoedd in *Davies' Dict.*; ew: eu, as in the words above given.

A plural ending is also often incorporated in singulatives formed from English loan-words; cf. sklait-s, sing. skl6it-s-an ('slate'), tatws, sing. t6san, etc., *Sweet*, p. 437. On Breton analogies see *Rev. Celt.*, vi, pp. 388-9.

It must not be assumed that the suffixes -en and -an are of the same phonetic value in all words which exhibit them in the present state of the language. In a few such words -aen is the older form of the suffix, as is confirmed by other Brythonic languages. So agalen, ogalen : agalayn, 'cos', MS. *Vesp.* E 11 of the *Latin Laws* (Owen, p. 851). Cf. O.-Corn. ocoluin, gl. 'cos' (Stokes, *Cambr.*, p. 241); llamhystaen (= llymysten); see Zeuss, *G. C.*², p. 291. Cf. also croessaeniait, MS. *L.*, p. 182 (= croesan, -iaid); maharaen, MS. *A.*, p. 135, pl. meheryn, p. 160; maharen, MS. *K.*, pl. meherein, MSS. *C, D, B, E*; in the *Latin Laws*: maharayn, *Hgt. MS.*, p. 791; maharain, *Harl. MS.*, p. 862; maharaen, MSS. *Calig.* A 13, f. 183b, *Tit. D* 2, f. 53b. Cf. O.-W. maharuin (*bis*), *B. of St. Chad*, pp. 18, 19.¹ (*Lib. Land.*, pp. 272-3, nos. [3] and [4].)

This reduction of the final unstressed syllable may be compared to that in gallel: gallael, cafel: cafael, gadel: gadael, etc., but the details of the process are not all clear. Is maharuin an error for *maharain, or perhaps (cf. ocoluin) the representative of a later *maharwyn, like mollwyn, -od (which might be an imitation of it), gwanwyn, etc.? In other words have we again -an and -ain? Cf. rhiain and rhian, adain and adan (also aden), celain and celan, all fem., and all forming plurals in -edd and -ydd. These are stems in -î in which both the

¹ Myharan, myheryn, 'wether, ram,' Sp., *Dict.*³ L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,923, f. 134a, says: S.-W. cig maharen = N.-W. cig moltt (Bret. maout, Ir. molt). Richards, *Dict.*: "maharen, in N. W. and in some parts of S. W. as Glam., a ram; in Powis and in the greatest part of S. W., . . . a weather"; *Arch. Brit.*: Dimet., Powis, 'vervex'; Venedot., 'aries', p. 285, col. 2, s. v. 'sheep'; Richards, *Dict.*, s. v. yspawd, 'a shoulder': N. W. 'Spawd môllt. 'Spold gweddard, S. W. [Dimet.]. Palfais gweddard in Monm. Glam. and Brec. *Y Gwyll*, vi (1828), p. 207: S.-W. hwrdd = N.-W. myharan. Palfais, in Neath palfish, is the shoulder-blade. In Neath, mynharan is a ram, given also in the *Cambr. Journ.*, iv, p. 208 (minharan = hwrdd, fem. dafad), from Monm. and Glam. Cf. Sanskr. mēsha; mynharan contains myn, 'kid', introduced by popular etymology.

nominative affected by the termination *-ī and the other cases not affected by it have been generalised. Ir. anner (fem.) is represented in Welsh by anner, anneur, 'heifer'; 'bucula, junix', Davies, *Dict.*¹ (anner, anneirod, Sp., *Dict.*²).

[10.] So far these notes on nominal declension; to which some details on dialectal differences in the gender of nouns, in nouns of relationship, etc., may be appended.

As masc. in N.-W. and fem. in S.-W. I find mentioned: troed, effaith, ysgrif, rhif, nifer, clust, sain, munyd, man, golwg, ystyr, gradd (*Dosp. Ed.*, § 471; dwy droed, Williams Pant y Celyn, *Y Traeth.*, 1870, etc.); hanes, ciniaw, gwniadur, cyflog, clôd, clorian, gâr, Rowland, *Gramm.*⁴, p. 39; N.-W. pellen y pen glin, S.-W. padell y benlfn, D. S. Evans, *Llyth.*, s. v. 'penlfn'; alarch, *Id.*, *Welsh Dict.*

Braich, fem., is, according to Rhŷs, *Loanwords*, s. v. 'brachium',³ a masc. in Salisbury's language and still so in Carnarvonshire as the spur of a mountain. The same author has recorded the older comm. gender of dyn and the fem. gender of haul (still preserved in some parts, e.g., about Ystradmeurig in Cardiganshire, *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 40), and drawn certain conclusions from them (*Hibb. Lect.*, pp. 92, n. 1, 572, n. 2).

Cwpan, pennill, pontbren, canwyllbren, canrif, clust are given by Rowland, *l. c.*, as masc. in S.-W. and fem. in N.-W.

¹ According to *Y Geninen*, iii, p. 19, Glamorgansh. y dreisiad (in Neath trishad)=N.-W. yr aner; also heffar ('heifer'), *Yr Arw.*, Feb. 20, 1859. Anner is the Dimetian word, *Cambr. Journ.*, iii, p. 252. Treisiad is also the S.-W. word for N.-W. bustach, 'steer' (Davies, *Dict.*). L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,944, f. 28a: llo—dyniewed—bustach—ych are the successive yearly names used in Anglesey. Enderic, *Juv. Gl.* (Stokes, *Cambr.*, p. 206); W. Lley'n's *Vocab.*: enderig = bustach. Dyniewed, dyniawed, pl. dyniewyd (dinewyt, *Z.*², p. 282), 'steer, heifer', Sp., *Dict.*³ It is the old Cornish denuoit, 'juvencus', *Corn. Vocab.*, f. 9a. It seems to have been submitted to popular etymology, if the following notice, taken from *Y Cylchgr.* (Abertawy), 1853, p. 17, be genuine: "deunawiad", fal y geilw gwŷr Morganwg eidion blwydd a hanner oed (alluding to deunaw, i.e., 18 months old).

² *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., iv, p. 269.

[11.] Nouns of relationship differ greatly in the dialects.

Cf. *Hanes y Ffydd*, 1677 : N.-W. nain = S.-W. mam gu ; *do.*, *Y Gwyl.*, vi (1828), p. 207.

R. Morris, Add. MS. 14,945, f. 247b : hendaidd in Anglesey = tad cu in Powys ; also gorhendaidd and hên hendaidd = hendaidd cu.

L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,923, f. 193b : S.-W. mam gu a thad cu = N.-W. nain a thaid. *Id.*, *ibid.*, 15,025, f. 80b : in Powys tad dâ, mam ddâ, 'grandfather, -mother' ; tad cû, mam gû, 'great-grandfather' ; etc. ; nain, 'great-great-grandmother' ; mam wen, 'step-mother'.

Y Traeth., iii, p. 12 : Vened. taid, nain = Powys. tad da, mam dda = S.-W. tad cu, mam gu ; Vened. tad yn nghyfraith (mam, mab, merch yn ngh.) = Powys. and S.-W. chwegrwn (chwegr, daw, gwaudd) ; Vened. tad yn nghyfraith (mam, etc., yn ngh.) also = Powys. tad gwyn (mam wen, etc.) = S.-W. llysdad, llysfam, etc.

I may quote from L. Glyn Cothi's *Poems*, p. 210 : Tir yr hynaiv, trwy raniad | A rhan o dir yr hen dad ; | Tai'r gorhendaidd, a'r tad da | Tai'r ewythr vâl Troia. (He uses broder, besides brodyr ; cf. *Y tri broder lle gosoder* | *Yr aur dodder ar wyr dedwydd*, p. 42 ; broder—*Rhosser*, p. 43 ; *Dau vroder, ryw amser, oedd* | *A wnaeth Ruvain a'i threvoedd*, p. 433, etc.)

Daw, pl. dawon, Davies, *Gramm.*, p. 40 ; and dofiôn.

Altrou, 'victicus', and altruan, 'noverca', *Corn. Vocab.*, are W. alltraw, 'sponsor', and elltrewen, 'stepmother' ; Davies, *Dict.*, has elldrewyn, from W. Lley'n's *Vocab.*

Cefnder, etc., are pronounced at Neath : centar, pl. cenderwydd ; cnithtar, pl. cnithterwydd ; cyferddar (= cyfyrdar) ; *ib.* : whâr, whioydd ; brawd, brotyr ; tad yn nghyfrith.

In Breton tad coz is 'grandfather', tad cuñ, as in Powys, 'great-grandfather' ; tad you, 'great-great-grandfather'. Tad caer, 'father-in-law' and 'stepfather' (tadec in Vann.), is in imitation of the French name ; the Welsh tad gwyn shows the same idea. It is lestad, as in S.-W., in the dialect of Léon. Deuñ, gouhez are W. daw, gwaudd. Tadek, gourtadik exist in Batz (*Ernault*, *Batz Dialect*, p. 34) ; cf. W. gorhendaidd.

A list of all possible degrees of relationship, with the Welsh names, will be found in the *Cambrian Journal*. It was sent to Wales by Lewis Morgan and filled up by Williams ab Ithel. Though Morgan's circular, showing the kind of researches he was making, is printed before the list, Ab Ithel gave him only the literary words, and omitted the dialectal forms, different as they are. Morgan's great work is well known, and so is the German book of

Engels, which is based on it, and the perusal of such works would, by the way, induce me at least not to use the words of Kuhn's *Zeitschr.*, xxviii, p. 421, n. 1, if I understand them right, with regard to the Irish old ages in general.

[12.] Common abbreviations, etc., of names are :

Jack, Jacky, Jacko, Siac, Siacci ; Sion, Sionyn ; Jenny, Jinny, Jinno, Jintten, Siân, Siâni, Sieni, Sianten ; Wil, Bil, Bilo, Bilws, Bili ; Catrin, Kate, Kit, Kitty, Catti, Cadi, Cadan, Cadws, Cadsan, Cadsen, Kitsen (*Y Traeth.*, iii, p. 14) ; Dai in S.-W. ; Palws, Malws, Mali in parts (Mâli, Mâlen in Dyfed), 'Mary', *Cambrian Journal*, iii, p. 243 ; Twm, Shôn, Dai, Mocyn, Harri, Wl, Nêd, Palws, Sâl, Magws ('Margaret'), *ib.*, iv, p. 37.¹

¹ A passage from this article on the lines of demarcation of the Gwentian dialects may be quoted, as it seems to be based on actual observation, and contains facts on which others may supply further information : "There is a great difference between the dialects of Menevia [= Mynwy] and Morganwg. Throughout the middle and eastern districts the vowel *i* has almost its full sound in hundreds of words, as shall be noticed hereafter. Towards the Saxon border, a certain strangeness dwells on the faces of the men, somewhat similar to the gloomy appearance that ensues when the sun is hidden by a cloud previous to its setting in the west. From Ergyng to Talgoed (Caldicot) one meets with heavy, lanky, and very ignorant men ; and the old people that are there, especially towards Tre'r Esgob [Bishopston, near Newport], speak Welsh, which is unintelligible to the uni-lingual Cymro. They have so much of the English accent, and occasionally an old word like *ebargofi*, that they cause a mixture of grief and astonishment in the bosom of the visitor. When he proceeds from Crughywel to Coed y Cymmer, he hears clearly the accent and pronunciation of the Brecknockian ; *ar yr un* [in Glam. dan yr un, sc. awr, 'at the same time'], *ladraig* [the infected forms of gwlad, gwraig] *ferch y forwn*, etc., present themselves there very distinctly. When we go from Coed y Cymmer through Cwmamman to Pont ar Ddulas, we hear the pronunciation of the Brecknockian, and that of the boys of Caermarthen. Here the speech becomes vigorous, and the voice thin ; and *yn wirionedd fach anwyl i* [pron. yn wirione fach anwl i], *thinci fawr*, come to light ; and, in returning, a change will be perceived towards Margam, and a little after towards Pont Faen [Cowbridge]. Then the body of the country is reached, and the tone becomes slow and grave, the tongue lisps a little, and the voice is thick. Abertawy [Swansea], Merthyr, and all the works, Cardiff and Newport contain people from every

[13.] The feminine forms of the adjectives, as *trom*, *gwen*, are beginning to disappear from the living language. Davies, *Gramm.*, p. 54, says that *chwyrn*, *gwypm*, *gwydn*, *hyll*, *syth*, *tynn*, and *clyd* were then used in N.-W. as masc. and fem. forms; but that in Powys (p. 59) the fem. forms of compound adjectives in *-lyd*, as *brycheuled*, *poethled*, were still used (cf. *fford lysseulet*, 'a flowery road', *Y S. Gr.*, p. 220). The fem. forms *sech*, *gwleb* are said, in a letter from John Morgan to Moses Williams, copied in several MSS. (Add. MS. 14,934, f. 175*b*), to have then been common in Anglesey. On the present language see Rowland, *Gramm.*⁴, p. 41; and Sweet, p. 438.

[14.] In the same way the few isolated comparatives and superlatives like *iau*, *lled*, etc., are being replaced by modern formations in *-ach*, *-af*, as *ieuangach*. *Trechach*, given by Davies (*Gramm.*, p. 63) from Sion Tudur, is said in a note to the 2nd ed. (1809) to be quite common at that time (p. 81); and also *lletach* for *llêd*.

Lled is retained by the Gwentian dialects. Cf. *Y Traeth.*, iii, p. 14: *lled na'r ddaear*, N.-W. *lletach*. The adverb *lled*, 'partly, almost', takes the position of the N.-W. *go*. Cf. Hughes, 1823, p. 33: *lled agos*, *lled dda*; *Camb. Journ.*, iii, p. 252: *lled od*, Monm. and East Glam.; *lled hynod*, West Glam.—*go hynod*, N.-W.; so Iolo Morganwg, *Y Cymmr.*, iv, p. 105, writes: *yn dŷ ffermwr¹ lled dda*.

[15.] Welsh *-ach*, compared with Breton *-oc'h*, may country" (pp. 37-8). These rough notes on sub-dialects, though they may be known to Welshmen, again give rise to the regret that next to nothing has been or is being published on the great variety of dialects in this or, in fact, in any other part of Wales.

¹ S.-W. *fferem*—N.-W. *tyddyn*, Hughes, 1823, p. 36. On *tyddyn* (*tegdyn*, MS. A; *týgdŷn*, *Latin Laws*, p. 788), and also on *ty*, see Rhŷs, *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 49, n. But what are *syddyn*, *eisyddyn*, *essyddyn*, *yssyddyn*, given by Davies (*Dict.*) as Dimetian for Venedotian *tyddyn*? They occur in W. Lley'n's *Vocab.*: *eisyddyn* = *tyddyn*.

have assumed *a* from *-af* of the superlative; but the existence of a similar distribution of *a* and *o* in verbal terminations (see *Y Cymmr.*, ix, p. 73) makes this doubtful. Neither the existence of *-ac'h* in the Bas-Cornouaillais (*iselac'h*, *uhelac'h*, *braçyac'h*, etc., given in Rostrenen's *Grammar*) nor the occurrence of *uchof* in old Welsh MSS. furthers the solution of this question, as the phonetics of this Breton sub-dialect, in which the change of *o* into *a* may be quite common, are not known, and *uchof* does not seem to be anything but a combination of *uchaf* and *ucho*, *uchod*. *Huchof* occurs in MS. *A*, pp. 2, 3, 5, 24, 28, 52, etc.; *uchow*, MS. *E* (Add. MS. 14,931), ff. 35*a*, 42*a* (cf. *sew*, f. 1*a* = *sef*). *Uwchel* occurs more rarely. Cf. MS. *Calig. A* 13: *wuchot*, f. 152*b*, map *wuchel6r*, f. 177*a*, *b*; *Sal., N. T.*: *ywchel*, ff. 380*a*, 381*a*, *ywchter*, f. 389*a*; Add. MS. 14,986: *ywchel ievstvs*, f. 11*a*, *ywchel ddydd*, f. 12*a*.

[16.] *-Ied*, *-iach* are used with some adjectives for *-ed*, *-ach*; with *rhaid*, *santaidd*, etc., nearly always.

Cf. Add. MS. 14,869, f. 131*a*: *o welet vy lle ar llet eithyaf*; *Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 75: *yn gynvonedigeidiet*; *Y S. Gr.*: *cynsanteidiet*, *reidyach*, *dir(i)eidyach* (*kyn reittet, ib.*); *Y Drych Chr.*: *gwelwch reitied yw mefyrio*; *Davies, Gramm.*: *rhaid*, *rheitiach*, *rheitied*; *Cab. few. T.*, p. 80: *er santeiddied rwyd ti*; *S. C.*, i, p. 332: *mor brafed*, etc.

[17.] *-Ed*, the existing opinions on which will be found in *Rhŷs, Lect.*², p. 231, and in *Togail Troi (LL)*, pp. viii-ix (*Index, s. v. 'dubithir'*), is by no means a "*propria cambricæ dialecti forma*" (*Zeuss, G. C.*², p. 931), but is also common in the Breton dialect of Vannes. Cf. the *Gramm.* of J. Guil-lôme (1797-1857), recteur de Kergrist, a native of Malguénac, translator of the extracts of the *Annales de la Foi* published in the dialect of Vannes, and author of *Levr eul labourer*, 1849, etc. (mentioned in *Z.*², p. xlv): *na brasset-é hon puissance*, *na biannet é ha er jou-ce*, p. 122; *na caërret-é*, p. 125. In *Rev. Celt.*, iii, *-et* is given from Sarzeau, and (iv, p. 145) the

-ad of Lanrodec is taken to be a combination of *-et* and the superl. *-a*. Cf. *Gourheméneu doué ha ré en ilis* (Vannes, 1879): na brasset-é dalledigueah certæn tud! p. 170. Some examples are also given by Loth, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, vol. v.

This comparative in *-ed* is used in comparisons with *cyn* (*cy*), *can*, in the same sense as *mör* with the positive (Old W. *mortru*, gl. 'eheu', *morliaus*, gl. 'quam multos'), and *mor* with *-ed* occurs also in the later language, being commonly attributed to the Southern dialects. Cf. Davies, *Gramm.*, p. 65: *Demet. mor hardded* = *Vened. mor hardd*; *Dosp. Ed.*, p. 259: *Vened. and Gwent. mor lân* = *Dimet. mor laned*. Cf. *S. C.*: *mor cheped* (*cheap*), i, p. 373; *mor gynted*, iii, p. 226. *Y Fellten*: *morbellad*, Dec. 23, 1870; *Y Gweithiwr*: *mor belled ag w i yn deall*, No. 1; this is, however, from Gwentian districts.

On the use of *-ed*, cf. also *B. of Herg.*: *kyhelaethet*, col. 570²; *yn gyamlet* and *yn gynamlet*, col. 606; *py gy bellet odyma y6 y cruc a dywedy di*, col. 681; *ac a dywedaf itt py gy bellet y6, ib.*³; *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: *y gystal na y ganfuanet*, p. 127; *yr hwnn . . . bot yn gynn amlet y wyrda ac yn wychet*, p. 2; *rac mor ieuanc oed a gwannet y hannyan*, p. 16; with *er, yr*: *MS. Tit. D 22, f. 12a* (*Y Cymmr.*, iv, p. 120): *yr tayred vo yr heul*; *Y Drych Chr.*: *er drycced a fo'r dynion*, f. 19a; *Cab. f'ew. T.*: *er gwaethet oedden nhwthe*, p. 60; *er santeiddied rwyd ti*, p. 30. *Daf. ab Gw.*, p. 103: *Doe ddfiafu, cyn dechrau dydd, | Lawned fum o lawenydd!*

[18.] The following notes contain some additions to Zeuss' remarks, *G. C.*², pp. 616-20, on Adverbs of place, time, etc.

Diuinid, ib., p. 616 ('sursum'), *Lib. Land, freq.* *Ar i fyny, tuag i fyny*, *Sp., Eng.-W. Dict.*,³ s. v. 'upwards'. *Y uynyd* is the regular form used in the *R. B. Mab.* (cols. 560, 566, 567,⁴ etc.), and in other S.-W. MSS.; e.g., *MS. U*, p. 355; *Harl. 4853, f. 35b*, etc. It is later limited to S.-W. dialects, cf. *E. Lhuyd, s.v. 'supra'*⁵; *Gwallt. Mech., Works*, ii, p. 214; *i fynydd, Homil.*, 1606, i, p. 105;

¹ *Ovid Glosses*, 39a; *Stokes, Cambrica*, p. 235.

² *R. B. Mab.*, p. 160, l. 26.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 222, l. 1; 223, ll. 29, 30.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 149, l. 27; 155, l. 21; 156, l. 25.

⁵ *Arch. Brit.*, p. 159, col. 1: "*Dimet. i vŷnydh*".

i fynydd [Monmsh.], Sal., *N. T.*, Matt. xvii, 27; Acts xiii, 37; James i, 17; Rev. iv, 1; etc.

Y Traeth., iii, p. 14: N.-W. i fyny, uchod = S.-W. fry, fry ar y lan (glan, in its S.-W. meaning of 'hill'); Rhŷa, *Loanwords*, s. v. 'altus': N.-W. i fyny i'r allt = S.-W. i'r rhiw, 'up hill'.

Myny has not been explained, for the loss of *-dd* in this position is, if we except the unexplained eistedd, eiste (perhaps for eisteu, like bore, etc.), quite isolated, save in Dimetian dialects (gwirione, dy, towi, etc.). I suppose that the last syllable has been assimilated to bry, fry. Mynydd, often written monyth in Salesbury's *N. T.* (ff. 6b, 75a, etc.), a pronunciation given as that of St. David's, Pembrokeshire, is mwni in the present Dimetian dialect; see on this point *Dosp. Ed.*, p. 257, and *S. Gomer*, i (1814), 19, where idiomatic expressions like myn'd i'r mwni &r gwartheg (for cae), i'r mwni i aredig (for maes), i'r mwni i hau, i fedd are given, and where it is said that every trofa cyffredin ('common') would be called 'mynydd' in Glamorganshire.

Dirguaret, Z.², p. 616 ('deorsum'), *Lib. Land., freq.*; *Y Drych Chr.*, f. 75a: i fyny ag i wered; *Y Traeth.*, iii, p. 14: N.-W. i lawr, isod = S.-W. obry, i waered; L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,944, f. 66a: dobry, common in Cardiganshire for dy obry.—*Y Traeth.*, l. c.: N.-W. i lawr, ymaith = S.-W. i bant; i bant ag e; L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,923: S.-W. i bant = N.-W. i ffwrdd, i ffordd, f. 133a; S.-W. godir, 'a hollow place between valleys' = N.-W. pant, f. 133b.

According to *S. Gomer*, 1814, l. c., godir is the S.-W. word for pant, 'valley'; and pant has so lost its real meaning that one would say: 'bod gwr wedi myned bant i'r mynydd, ac i bant i'r bryn.' Cf. also Hughes, 1823, p. 37: S.-W. i bant = N.-W. y ffordd (i ffwrdd is S.-W., according to Rhŷa, *Lect.*², p. 114); *Y Geninen*, iii, p. 19: (S. W.) i'w gâl i bant = ei symud i ffwrdd.

Y maes, Z.², p. 616 ('foras'), *Mab.*; L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,944: S.-W. myn'd i faes=myned ymaith, 'to go along'; *id.* 14,923, f. 133b: S.-W. troi maes, 'to turn (to windward) out' = N.-W. troi allan, hwylio allan; *Y Traeth.*, iii, p. 12: S.-W. i maes, i faes = N.-W. allan; L. Morris, l. c., f. 133a: S.-W. i maes o law, immediately=N.-W. tocc, yn gwit. Cf. N.-W. toc a da, 'presently and in good time', Rowland, *Gramm.*⁴, p. 114, and *Yr Arw.*, July 17, 1856: A toc dyma, hi yn mund i dywallt cypanaid o de i'r hogun; a dyno fo yn gofun toc; etc.

N.-W. allan o law = S.-W. maes o law, 'presently', Rowland, l. c.; for i maes and i faes, cf. N.-W. i mi, S.-W. i fi, *Y Cymmr.*, viii, p. 139.

¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser., iv, p. 262.

[19.] *Ymywn*, *Z.*², p. 616 ('in medium et in medio, intra, in'). Neither the loss of *dd* in *mewn*, *mywn* (Ir. *medhon*), nor the Venedotian and Powysian forms *meawn*, *miawn*, nor the accent which causes S.-W. *mwn* for *mewn*, are sufficiently explained. *Mwn* probably arose from *mewn* being pronounced as an unstressed proclitic before nouns. For examples see my *Notes on W. Consonants* (*Rev. Celt.*, ix, pp. 64-76, etc.).

[20.] *Yr meitin*, *Z.*², p. 616 ('paulisper, paulo ante'). *Mab.*: *ysgwers*, *ystalym* ('dudum. iam dudum'); Hughes, 1823, p. 38: N.-W. *hawg*, *yr hawg* = S.-W. *ys smeityn*; but cf. as *myitin*, *Yr Arw.*, Jan. 20, 1859; es *meityn*, *Cab. f'ew. T.*, p. 65.

Y Traeth., iii, p. 13: N.-W. *yr hawg* = S.W. *enyd o amser*; N.-W. *yr hawg iawn* = *am hir amser*; *Cambr. Journ.*, iii, p. 252: Monm. and East Glam. *sunityn*, West Glam. *smeityn* = N.-W. *hawg*, *yr hawg*.

N.-W. (L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,923, f. 133a) *ers talwm* = S.-W. *ers llawer dydd*; *Y Cymmr.*, iii, p. 84: colloqu. *ystalwm*, 'stalwm'; *Ll. y Resol.*: N.-W. *ystalm* = S.-W. *ysdyddie*. Cf. *Can. y C.*, p. 378: *er ys dyddie*.

Er ys is written *ar's*, *a's* in some N.-W. texts; cf. *Yr Arw.*: *ars llawar o amsar*, Dec. 11, 1856; as *talwm*, July 17, 1856; May 28, 1857, etc., like *ario'd* (see § 22).

In S.-W. *os*, perhaps not for *oes*, but for *o'r ys*, *o'r's*; cf. *S. C.*: *ys lawer dy*, i, p. 232; 'slawer dy', iii, p. 324, *ib.*; *os dyddie*, also *os ticyn yn ol*, *os cettyn bach*. L. Morris, Add. MSS.: *cettyn*, a small matter, *Cardigansh.*, 14,944, f. 46a; S.-W. *cettyn*, a good deal = N.-W. *twysgen*, 14,923, f. 134a; cf. *yn well o getyn he'yd 'na*, *P. C.*, 28 (*Ebbw Vale*).

Richards, *Dict.*, however, has: *twysgen*, 'a small part'; in S.-W. *twysged*, 'a good part, a great deal'. Hughes, 1823, p. xi: S.-W. *cettyn* = N.-W. *darn*; *Y Traeth.*, iii, p. 13: N.-W. *tipyn o ffordd* = S.-W. *cetyn o ffordd*; N.-W. *cryn dipyn o ff.* = S.-W. *cetyn diogel o ff.* Cf. Hughes, 1823, p. 38: N.-W. *Gryn* = S.-W. *iawn*; *gryn ofn* = *ofn mawr*; *Yr Arw.*, Feb. 12, 1857: *cryn lawar*; Add. MS. 14,923, f. 134a: S.-W. *yn ddiogel*, 'for certain' = N.-W. *siwr*, *yn siwr*, *yn ddiammeu*.

[21.] *Drachefen*, *drachefn*, *Z.*², p. 616 ('trans tergum, retro'). Cf. *dramkevyn*, *Y S. Gr.*, p. 184; *drach dy gevyn*, p. 275; *drach eu k.*, pp. 283, 301; *drache cheuyn*, *B. of Herg.*, col. 866; *dracheukefyn*, Add. MS. 19,709, f. 30a; *darchefyn*, *Jes. Coll.*

MS. 141, f. 14*b*; yno ydd ymchoelodd ef trach i gefyn, *Sal., N. T.*, f. 26*b*; drachefn, drachgefn, *Davies, Dict.*; drychgefn, dychgefn in modern dialects, since -gefn bears the accent.

Trach occurs in trach ý lavnawr, *B. of An., God.*, St. 79 (*Sk.*, ii, p. 86); oes tragoes, *B. of Herg.*, *Sk.*, ii, p. 230. Tra chaer wydyr, *B. of Tal.*, No. xxx (*Sk.*, ii, p. 182).

Cefn gefn, 'back to back' (*Anglesey*), *Add. MS.* 15,025, f. 80*a*. Cf. daldal, *Mab.*, ii, p. 54 (*R. B. Mab.*, p. 285, l. 12); benndraphenn, *Y S. Gr.*, p. 344; ben dra mwnwgl. Cf. *Add. MS.* 15,027, f. 81*b*: fe aeth ein gwlad ni (fal y dywaid trigolion Deheubarth) yn bendramwnwgl (*Letter to Owen Jones*); I have met also with a verb formed from this expression.

[22.] Eirmoet, eiryoet, *Z.*², p. 616 ('unquam'). Erioed, *Sp.*, *Dict.*³, yrioed, irioed, *Sal., N. T.*; irioed, *Add. MS.* 31,055, f. 200*a* (*Dr. Thos. Williams*); yrioed, *ib.* 31,057, f. 169*a*; *S. C.*: ario'd, ii, p. 262; iii, pp. 384, 447; *N.-W.*, yrioud, rioud, *Yr Arw.*, etc. Cf. er and yr (duw), etc., the phonetics of which are also obscure to me as regards their dialectal distribution.

Ygwera, *Z.*², p. 616 ('dudum, iam dudum'); *Richards, Dict.*: gwera, 'a while'; ym pen gwera, 'a while after', *S.-W.*; see *Y Cymmr.*, viii, p. 152: *S.-W.* yn awr, 'nawr = *N.-W.* rŵan; *L. Morris, Add. MS.* 14,923, f. 133*b*: *S.-W.* ynawr ag eilwaith = *N.-W.* yrŵan ag yn y man, 'now and then'; *Y Traeth.*, iii, p. 12: *S.-W.* awr ac enyd = *N.-W.* byth a hefyd.

S.-W. awr ac orig (*e.g.*, *Can. y C.*, p. 461, 'bob amser' in the margin) = *N.-W.* o hyd, trwy gydol yr amser (*ib.*). *N.-W.* yn union deg, 'immediately' (colloqu.), *Rowland, Gramm.*⁴, p. 114.

Hughes, 1823, p. 35: *S.-W.* bron, o'r bron = *N.-W.* yn rhestr (*sic*). *Braidd*, 'just, hardly, scarcely; nearly, almost', *Sp.*, *Dict.*³; *L. Morris, Add. MS.* 14,944, f. 38*b*: braidd, 'hardly, scarcely'; braidd na, 'prope', "corruptè in *N.* and *S. W.* baint"; also *ib.*, f. 40*a*: "a general corruption"; so: baint na laddasai 'r naill y llall.

Brain really occurs; cf. *S. Gomer*, 1851, p. 99: brain y gaffo i, *Glamorgansh.*; *P. C.*, Jan. 22, 1859: brain o beth yw segura fel hyn, *Ebbw Vale*. I suppose that 'baint' is merely an etymologising orthography, and that brain represents braidd-na.

Anglesey, Add. MS. 14,944, f. 57*b*: ar y cyngyd, 'just a doing'; *Can. y C.*, pp. 379, 400, 569: 'n immwngc, explained in the margin

by 'disymwth'; cf. yngo, 'hard by' (*Dosp. Ed.*, § 901), e.g., Pettwn hebddo, yngo angerdd, Daf. ab Gw., p. 255; Yngo o Henvordd hyd yn Nghynvig, L. Glyn Cothi, p. 36; wnc, 'hard by', *Dosp. Ed.*, l. c.; echwng; rhwng, see *Y Cymmr.*, viii, p. 129.

Hayach, haeach, haeachen, *passim* haechen, *fere*, Davies, *Dict.*, haiach, haiachen, 'instantaneously; almost, most', Sp., *Dict.*;³ haychen, Davies, *Gramm.*, p. 147; hayachen, *Mab.*, ii, p. 247 (*R. B. Mab.*, p. 142); heb wybod haychen, beth yw . . . , *Y Drych Chr.*, f. (3); ar haychen (*marg. agos*) boddi, *Can. y C.*, p. 340; haychen (*marg. agos, oddieithr, ychydig*), *ib.*, p. 350; haychen (*marg. ym mron, agos*), *ib.*, p. 538.

Ychydig, now commonly chydig, is often written bychydic in Middle-W.; on this word (Ychan for Fychan is also often met with) see my *Notes on W. Cons.* (*Rev. Celt.*, ix, p. 76, etc.).

Rhagor (subst.) in N.-W. is gwahaniaeth (*Ll. y Resol.*), 'difference'; in parts of S. W. rhagor (adv., 'more') is [the same as] ychwaneg (chwaneg), Richards, *Dict.*, Hughes, 1823, p. 36, etc.

[23.] To emphasise an assertion several adjectives like ofnadwy, cynddeiriog, anghomon ('uncommon'), ffaidd, etc., with yn are used in vulgar language in different dialects, and sometimes interesting phonetic alterations have been made.

Sweet, p. 431, gives novnátsan, which he thinks to be for yn ofnadwy faswn. Ffaswn (Eng. 'fashion'), when unstressed loses its first syllable; cf. y mae bud na welist ti rioud siwn beth yma, *Yr Arw.*, Dec. 11, 1856; welis i rot siwn beth, *ib.*, June 20, 1859; rotswn, 'ever the like, ever' = riōyd faswn, Sweet. I do not, however, think that it is contained in ofnadsan, although I cannot explain the latter, or do more than give a number of other alterations of ofnadwy.

Cf. *Y Traeth.*, iii, p. 12: ofnadwy, ofnaswy, in Ardudwy (Merioneth) afnadsan; *Yr Arw.*: ofnadsan, Oct. 30, 1856; ofnatsan, March 3, 1859; peth rhyfadd ofnedsan, Feb. 12, 1857 (*sic*); mi gafodd le da afnadsan, yn rhyfedd afnadsan gin i, May 7, 1857; *S. Cymru*: ofnatsan, iii, pp. 103, 186; *Y Gweith.*: ofnadsen, 1858, No. 1 (Aberdare); *Y Bed.*: wyt ti 'n depyg afnatyw i dy dad, viii, p. 106 (Monmouthsh.); yn ofnatyw, p. 174.

In Neath afnadw; afnaswy, *Yr Arw.*, Dec. 11, 1856. Yn ofnadwidd (*Yr Ams.*, Jan. 14, 1847, in a S.-W. letter, on which see *Y Cymmr.*, ix, p. 118) is probably more than a varying orthography (as towi might be said for tywydd, the final -dd not being pronounced), for a native of Anglesey was familiar with it too.

The change of *o* and *a* is frequent in the dialects. See on this point my *Beitr.*, p. 52; and cf. *eidrol* (= *eidral*), Lhuyd, *Arch. Brit.*, p. 279, *s. v.* 'Ivie'; *molwan*, pl. *molwod* in Anglesey (*malwan* in Carn. = *malwen*, 'snail'), *afol* in Anglesey (*afal* in Carn., like *gofol*, *dafod*, *Beitr.*, § 57); *andros* in Arvon and Angl., Rhys, *Hibb. Lect.*, p. 200, n. 1; *myolchan* in Neath (= *mwyalchen*), *anglodd*, *ib.* (= *angladd*), etc. But in *afnadwy* I really think *a* to be older, since **afan* would explain the S.-W. *ofan*, besides *ofon* (*Beitr.*, § 63).

Shoe and shaw are used in the same sense. Cf. *ac yr w'i yn eu licio yn shôe*, *S. C.*, i, p. 411; *yr ydwi yn ffonod shoe o ydrach . . . ib.*, ii, p. 487; *a'u bod wedi gneyd shoe o ddrwg*, p. 186, etc. (*Merionethsh.* dialect); *shoy o Sbarthwr* (= *dosbarthwr*) *i chi*, *dduliwn* (= *feddyliwn*) *i*, *Yr Ams.*, Nov. 16, 1848.

P. C., 29: *ac y mae yn shaw o gwiddyl* (= *cywilydd*, like *giddyl* = *gilydd*) *iddi nhw*; *y ma' yma beth shaw o de a theisan*; *shaw o ddioni* (= *daioni*, *daoni*), *Ebbw Vale*; *Yr Ams.*, Jan. 14, 1847: '*n show*, S.W.; *Y Guron Cymr.*, May 6, 1852: *ma rhwy shew o beth*.

Shaw, a 'great deal' (*afnadw*, *ofan* in Neath). If shoe is not the last syllable of *ofnaswy*, I cannot explain it.

In *S. Gomer*, i (1814), 19, are quoted from the Dimetian dialects: *caru merch yn ofnadwy*, *yn embydus*, *edrych yn ofnadwy* (= *yn graff*) *ar eu gilydd*, *merched yn lân* (or *bert*) *ofnadwy*, *embydus* (= *yn brydweddol*, *yn landeg iawn*). Twenty years before (that is, in the last century) *ffamws* was often used in these places.

In Glam., *merch lân fudr*, *benyw lan fudr*. With *budr* ('dirty, nasty, filthy, foul, vile', Sp., *Dict.*³) cf. Glam. *budyr* = N.-W. *cethin*, Hughes, 1823, p. 34; N.-W. *budrog* = *puttain* (S.-W.), *Hanes y Ffydd*, 1677; S.-W. *brwnt* = N.-W. *budr*; S.-W. *soga* = N.-W. *dynes fudr*, *Y Gwyl.*, vi (1828), p. 207.

Cf. also *Cambr. Journ.*, iii, p. 246: Dimet. *mai 'n dewi w'er iawn*, *ymbeidis*, *embydus* (in *S. C.* also printed *ombeidus*) = West Glam. *mai 'n dywydd ôr* (Monm. and E. Glam. *gôr*) *iawn* (or fine uncommon); Dimet. *merch lân iawn* (or *odiaeth*) *yw hi* = West Glam. *m. lân iawn*, sometimes (so Monm. and E. Glam.) *lân fudyr*.

Ebbw Vale, *P. C.*, Feb. 4, 1860: *bydd yn dda budr*, *fe fuodd slawer dydd yn dotal budr*; *ib.*, *anghomon* and *yn greulon* are used.

Iolo Morganwg remarks, in *Cyfrinach Beirdd Yn. Pr.*, 1829, p. 238: *y mae . . . yn ymhoifi 'n fawr* (*neu yn ffaidd*, *fal y dywedant ym Meirion*; *yn fudr yw gair Morganwg*). *Y Traeth.*, iii, p. 12: *dynes lân arw* (*garw*). Cf. *wedi gael blesser garw iawn*, *Yr Ams.*, Dec. 3, 1846; *bod arni eisio y wlanen garw iawn*, *mi gefis helunt garw iawn hefyd hefo dyn*, *Yr Arw.*, Dec. 11, 1856;

Y Traeth., l. c. : dyma beth clws (for tlws) ofnadwy, gwych aflawen, da gynddeiriog, cryf anafus ; cf. also yn rywinol iawn, *Yr Ams.*, Sept. 10, 1849 (gerwinol) ; yn ryswydus, Nov. 29, 1849 (= arswydus), etc.

[24.] Namyn, Z.², p. 620 ('tantum'), is the modern form, and also that most frequent in Mid.-W., but amyn, yn amyn, and namwyn occur also in older texts. Cf. MS. A : amen, p. 46 (4 times) ; amȳn, p. 125 ; also in MS. B (*Tit. D 2*), f. 37a : amȳn. Namin, A, pp. 57, 58, 59, etc. ; in these pages *i* for *y*, oftener written *e*, is especially frequent ; cf. gustil and guestel, gustel, kamrit, idin, aegilid. Namen, pp. 3, 46, etc. Naman, p. 58 (thrice), p. 66. Cf. on these same pages kafreis, llana, kanas, pp. 57, 59, etc. ; see my *Beitr.*, § 33. Kannas (= canys) occurs also four times in a late 15th century fragment in *Hgt. MS. 57* (the first three pages of an otherwise unknown Welsh version of, apparently, *Perceval le Gallois*), in which also occur yneidiev and dyrebvd.

Namuin, p. 58 ; namuyn, p. 59, etc. ; namun, p. 58. The last (cf. racu, *ib.* (= raccw), gustlaf) represents namwn from namwyn. On p. 58 alone there thus occur 1 namin, 3 naman, 1 namuin (1 namun). Cf. *B. of Carm.* : namuin, Nos. v, xvii¹ ; *B. of Herg.* : namwyn, Sk., ii, p. 249 ; namȳn, col. 1186 (*Poem of G6ynnuard Brecheinya6c*) ; *Ll. Gw. Rh.* : namwyn, p. 135 (*Bown o H.*) ; MS. Cl. B 5 : namwyn, ff. 178a, 191a, 216b ; nammwyn, f. 175a ; Add. MS. 14,869 : drudyon a veirtyon (a vawl neb dragon) namwyn dreic ae dirper, f. 80a (Cynddelw) ; namwyn, f. 109a ; ny chaffad gwrthep namwyn gwyrtheu, f. 113b (Gwynnuart Brycheinyawc) ; Add. MS. 19,709 : amynn, f. 17b ; MS. S : ynamyn, f. 90a.

Sal, *N. T.* : amyn, ff. 52a, 54a, 62b, 71b, 77a, etc. ; n'amyn, ff. 52b, 127b ; yn amyn, f. 305a ; y namyn, f. 111b ; namin, f. 33b ; namyn often. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 253 : namn ei eni (*Chwedlau'r doethion*, No. 32). Pughe gives namwyn, namyn, nam, amyn ; named fi (cf. Vann. Bret. nemedouf, etc.), etc.

¹ Ff. 11a and 25a ; Sk., ii, pp. 8, 19 (respectively).

The explanation of these words presents great difficulties, and I can only proffer a few guesses. The existence of the Corn. lemmyn (not from *lle-amyn, but from *nemmyrn by means of dissimilation) and namnag, Bret. nemet, nemed (Vann. nemeit, meit), with suffixed pronouns, like nem-of in Welsh (see *Y Cymmwr.*, viii, p. 127), make it at least probable that nam-yn, not amyn (*am-hyn ?), is the older form, though the contrary view is not untenable, as mae, explained by ym-ae, has its counterpart in Breton too. The Ir. nammá strikes us at first, but its regular connection with acht, 'but', has suggested the explanation acht na-m-bá, containing the relative pronoun; and the Ir. amġn, amne, 'so', might equally well be taken into consideration.

Nam, -au (Sp., *Dict.*³) is 'a mark, maim, fault, exception', namu, 'to blemish; to except'. Viewed from this side namyn might be *nam-hyn, like noson from *nos-hon. At any rate, *am or *nam remains, and I will now consider the relation of namwyn to namyn. If I am right in comparing eiswys and eisys (see below, § 26), namyn may be the outcome of *namwn from namwyn, the changes being due to the shifting of the accent; for the verbal ending -wys, -ws has never yielded *-ys. However, the frequent position of these adverbs as proclitics or enclitics may have produced, under circumstances not exactly known, such doublets as eiswys, eisys.¹ If I am wrong in this, and if amwyn has also nothing to do with Ir. amġn (*ġ* and *wy* from **ē*), then I can only adduce etwaeth, oddynaeth (ynaeth, *Hgt. MS.* 202 (*bis*), f. 22b²; *Y Cymmwr.*, vii, p. 125), in which *-ac-to- has been found, and explain namwyn from *nam-wg-n (like dwyn, amwyn). I really think this last the most probable of all these suggestions,

¹ Although they are not connected with the present question, I will mention here ellai besides fallai (for ef allai, 'perhaps'; in Anglesey hwrach); acha bora (= ar ucha bore), Glam.

² *Anrheg Urien*, ll. 7, 11 = Sk., ii, p. 292, ll. 3, 7.

and it would not exclude the connection of *nam-yn* with *namwyn*.

[25.] *Nachaf, nychaf* is one of the words in which a prefixed preposition ceased to be felt to be a separate word. Cf. *ynachaf, nachaf; ynychaf, Ll. Gw. Rh.*, pp. 21, 25, 28; *y nychaf, MS. Cl. B 5, f. 10a; Sal., N. T.: nycha, f. 3a; nacha, f. 171b; nachaf, 177b.*

Davies, *Dict.*, has an obsolete *ycha*, 'en, ecce'. *Nachaf* is *yn* with the superlative of *ach*. Cf. *Z.*², p. 694: *ach y law; ach: ych* like *am: ym-*; *B. of An.*¹: *ech e dir ae dreuyd*. I look with more confidence on "ech corruptè pro edrych, Carnarvonsh. and Montgomerysh." (L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,909, ff. 52a, 69a (thrice)), since I have found it frequently used in *Hanesion o'r Hen Oesoedd*, 1872 (Carnarvonshire dialect), e.g.: *mi af yn awr i ech am dano, p. 60; dwydwch y doi i e'ch am dano, p. 66; pan eis i'r tir ac e'ch i fynu, p. 150.* Davies' *ycha* might perhaps belong to it, unless this is abstracted from *yn ycha*, and has no separate existence at all.

[26.] *Eisoes, eiswys, eisys, adv.*, 'likewise; already', *Sp., Dict.*³ Cf. *eissoes, eissoes*, the common Middle-W. form; *eis6ys*, in *MS. Tit. D 22, f. 10a*, is given by Powel (*Y Cymmwr.*, iv, p. 107) amongst the Dimetian peculiarities of this MS. Perhaps "South-Welsh" in general might be said, for cf. *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: *eiswys*, pp. 188, 204, etc.; *MS. Cl. B 5* (Gwent. dial.): *eiswiwys, f. 32b; eiswys, f. 41a; eiswys, f. 50a; eisswis, f. 78a; Barddas, i: eiswys, p. 78, etc.; Can. y C., p. 430: eiswys* (in rhyme with *prynwys*, pron. *prynws?*); *Sal., N. T.: eisuus (marg. esioes), Gwel. I., f. 376a; eisuus, ff. 78b, 309a; eusus, f. 330b* (R. D.); *E. Llwyd, Arch. Brit., Pref.: eissis, eysys.*² I cannot explain these words. *Arlloesi* is in S.-W. *allwys; dioer, diwyr* are unexplained (see my *Beitr.*, § 106). On the possible relation between *eiswys* and *eisys*, see § 24.

[27.] *Ysywaeth, adv.*, 'more the pity,' *Sp., Dict.*³ Cf. *Corn.*

¹ *God.*, Stanza xiii; *Sk.*, ii, p. 66.

² First and last pp.

syweth, soweth, Breton siouaz (in Vann. siouac'h). As in Corn., ysowaeth, osowaeth are frequent in Welsh. So yssowaith, Add. MS. 14,986, f. 42a (16th cent.); ossoweth, *ib.* 14,973, f. 107a (*Araith Ieuan Brydydd Hir*); osowaith, osywaith, Hope, *Poems* (1765); ysowaeth, *Can. y C.*, p. 13; etto 'soweth, p. 325 (y fo gwaeth, p. 393).

L. Morris (Add. MS. 14,944, ff. 98b, 148b) calls it a N.-W. word; so Davies, *Dict.*¹: "Venedot. ysywaeth, 'quod magis miserandum'; Demet. gweitheroedd *vel* gwaetheroedd." Cf. g6aethiroed du6 heb 6y, *B. of Herg.*, col. 411 (*Yst. de Car. Mag.*²; and, in the same passage, gwaethiroed duw. heb wy, *Campeu Charlymaen, Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 51); a gwaethiroed nas lladawd, *ib.*, p. 128; gwaethirodd, *Stowe MS.* 672, f. 55b.

A combination of yssywaeth and gwaethiroedd is yssywaethiroed, *Bown o H., Ll. Gw. Rh.*, p. 146; Aeth Herast, yswaetheroedd! | Yn drist, L. Gl. Cothi, *Poems*, p. 38, v. 15, where the editors note: "yswaetheroedd = yswaetherwydd; ysywaeth, *Alas!*" Cf. gwaetherwydd, 'alas,' *Sp., Dict.*² These last forms recall the problem of eisoes and eiswys.

On agatfydd, agatoedd, etc., see *Y Cymmwr.*, ix, p. 98.

[28.] The preposition *oc, o* (see *Y Cymmwr.*, viii, pp. 135-9), also *ac, a*, is interesting on various accounts. On its composition with a pronominal element (*son-?) see *l. c.* *Oc* is no longer used, and it is said to have been Gwentian; it is, however, frequent in all earlier Middle W. MSS.

Cf. *oc eu kereynt*, MS. *A*, p. 41; *B*, ff. 16a, 37a; *B. of Carm.*, f. 31b (*Sk.*, ii, p. 27): *Megittor oc ev guir. vŷ. hir alanas*; *Hgt. MS.* 202: *oc eu herwŷd (bis)*, f. 22b; *oc eu korff*, f. 26a³; *B. of Herg.*: *oc eu hystoryaeu 6y*, col. 229; *oc eu hol*, col. 202; *oc a6ch gweithretoed*, col. 620; Add. MS. 19,709, ff. 9b, 14a, 18b: *6ynt a wnaethant aerua dirua6r oc eu gelynyon*, f. 26a; *ny orffo6yssa6ys Gw. oc en hmylit—hyt pan vei oc eu golut 6y ykyfoethogei ynteu y teulu*, f. 66b; *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: *at eu diwreido oc eu chwant ac eu*

¹ *s. v.* 'Gweitheroedd'.

² *Cymmrodorion* edition, p. 30.

³ *Y Cymmwr.*, vii, pp. 125 (cf. *Sk.*, ii, p. 292) and 135.

dryc dynyaeth, p. 282; *Y S. Gr.*, pp. 61, 127; *MS. Cl. B 5*: *oc eu parth wynteu*, f. 234*a*, col. 1, etc.

On **oc* in *rhoc*, *rhac*, see *Y Cymmr.*, viii, pp. 127-8; the Breton *raok* should be considered too. Cf. *raok*, *Le Gonidec*; *Tréc. en he raoc ha var he lerc'h* = *Vann. en hé raug hag hé goudé* (in the *Tréc.* and *Vann.* translations of *Introd. ad vitam devotam*); *e'rauc*, l'A***, *Dict.*, s. v. 'devant', *e'm-rauc*, *e'm oun-rauc*, etc.); *araug hag ardran*, *Rev. Celt.*, vii, p. 330 (*Vann.*); *arôg*, (*Bas Vann.*). *A* is frequent in Middle-W. MSS. in expressions like *cam a beth*, *da a was*, etc.

Cf. *B. of Carm.*: *maur a teith y deuthan*, f. 1*b*, *Sk.*, ii, p. 3; *B. of Herg.*: *truan a chwedyl a dywedyd*, *Sk.*, ii, p. 231; *Ll. Gw. Rh.*: *da a was*; *mawr a beth*, pp. 129, 141, 165; *aghywir a beth*; *glew a beth*, p. 125; *dewr a was*, pp. 125-6; *praff a beth*, p. 136; *truan a beth*, p. 156; *ys drwc a chwedyl*, p. 165.

For the modern language, I find given in Rowland, *Exerc.*, p. 143, as S.-W. *druan â* (*druan âg ef*, *druan â chwi*) for *druan o'r dyn*, *druan o hono*; and, as used in colloquial language, *druan oedd y dyn*, *druan oeddych chwi*, *druan oeddynt hwy*. *Sp. Dict.*³, s. v. *ys*, has: *ys truan o ddyn wyf fi*, 'O wretched man that I am.' (Cf. *Davies, Dict.*: *Er asseveratio*, *Demet. pro Venedot. ys*; but perhaps this observation is only abstracted from his "N.-W. *ysywaeth*, S.-W. *gwaetheroedd*," see § 27.) *Druan oedd y dyn* looks like a faulty orthography for *druan odd y dyn* = *druan o'r dyn*; cf. the S.-W. use of *odd* for *o* before the article, *Y Cymmr.*, viii, p. 146. I cannot, however, decide this question. *Druan ydy nhw!* *Yr Arw.*, Aug. 20, 1857, points, of course, in the other direction.

[29.] *Ac*, *a*, occurs frequently, and in the modern language regularly, before the relative pronouns *a* and *y*, with or without the article, whilst *oc*, *o* is the Middle W. form of the preposition in this combination. There occur *oc a*, *ac a*, or *a (o'r)*, *ar a (a'r)*, and, later on, also *ag* alone, infecting the initial consonant of the verb it governs.

Cf. MS. *L*, p. 275 : o pob iar *ac a* uo ynny ty = *or a* uo, MS. *J*, = *oc a* uo, MSS. *M, O, Q, T*, = a uo, MSS. *J, S; L*, p. 250 : ygkyueir pop kymb6t *or y* kerda6 drosta6 = *oc k. d.*, MSS. *Q, T*, = y k. d., MS. *S*, = a k. d., MSS. *J, O?*; *L*, p. 189 : o bop carchara6r *oc y* diotto heyrn y arna6 = *or y d.*, MSS. *J, M, P*, = y d., MS *Q; L*, p. 191 : ympob ty y del = *oc y* del, MS. *J*, = *or y* del, MS. *M; MS. Q*, p. 562 : yspeilet ef *oc a* vo ymdana6 o dillat.

Ll. Gw. Rh. : yny diffrwythont *oc an* gwelo yn ymlad, p. 98.

Wms., *Hgt. MSS.*, ii : pawb *oc ae* darlleo, p. 297.

Y S. Gr. : na dim *oc* ellit y drossi ar enryded (*oc a*).

B. of Herg. : ba6b *or ae* gwelei, col. 613; *or a* uacker.

Ll. Gw. Rh. : ar nyt arbetto idaw ehun, p. 2; *or a* vei reit, p. 3; *or a* gaffat, p. 6; drwy arogleu *ac eu* harogleuei, p. 7 ('for those who would smell them'); *ac a* uynnwys . . . *ac ar* nys mynawd, p. 22; *ac ar* nyt ymchwelws a las, p. 22; *ac ar* ny las . . . p. 26; pawb *or* aoed, p. 30, etc.

Add. MS. 19,709 : o bob keluydyt *or y* gellit, f. 9b; ym pop lle *or y* bei reit; *ar ny* ladadoed onadunt, f. 16a.

MS. *Cl. B* 5 : *or a* hanoedŷnt o, f. 13b; *ar nŷ* las onadunt, f. 5b.

Sal., *N. T.* : bop peth *ar y* wnaethoeddoedd (*sic*), f. 208a; o pob peth *ar y* weloedd ef, f. 373a. On this use of *y* cf. *Y Cymmwr.*, viii, p. 150.

Marchog Crwydrad (17th cent.) : pob dillad *ag a* archei . . . ei gwneuthur, p. 3 (Pt. i, ch. 3); os pob peth *ag a* gassao y nail fo câr y llall, p. 2 (Ch. 2), etc.; os is used here as in Add. MS. 14,921.

Can. y C. : pob ffôlineb *ag a* wnaetho i, p. 68; nid oes un dŷn *ag* 'aner, p. 832; Hope, *Poems*, 1765 : i bob peth *ag* sydd wrthnebus, p. 83, etc.

[30.] Like *oc : ac* (cf. also *Y Cymmwr.*, viii, p. 117), *os, ot, or* ('when'), which are *o*, from *oc*, with pronominal elements affixed, occur, but rarely, as *a, as, at, ar*; these latter forms are hardly common in any text but Salesbury's *N. T.*

Cf. *a* bydd y tuy yn teilwng, f. 15a; *a*'s byddwch, f. 8a; *a*'s dugy dy rodd i'r allor, f. 7a; *ad* wyf vine yn ei gwneuthur = *os ydwyf yn eu* gwneuthur, ed. 1873. *Ani, anid* : any bydd, f. 7a; *anid*, f. 5a; any darllenasoch, f. 18a (also *addieithr*, f. 260b, etc.)

In some notes on the orthography followed in *Lliver Gw. Gyffr.*, 1586, as reprinted thence in *Llyfr. y C.*, p. 34, "a 'if or whether' for o", "as for a ys or os", are mentioned.

In the spoken language *ys* before consonants, 's before vowels, also *ynd* for *ond*, etc., are used. Cf. *Cab. f'ew. T.* : ys dechreuith hi son am y beibl, p. 108; 's ydi o'n fyw a tase bosib i mi gael i

ddreasiwn o, p. 80; Caledfryn, *Gramm.*², p. 114: onid oes, pronounced 'un does; *Yr Arw.*: 'does yno ddim ynd hen wr, Oct. 2, 1856; peth hawdd ydi dyud tos neb ynd ychunan yn gwbod sut yr odd hi, *ib.*; ynd ran hyny ('but as to this'—), May 28, 1857, etc. Onide, pron. ontâ, 'is it?'; änts in Carnarvonsh., Sweet, p. 411.

[31.] On behet, bet, see Rhÿs in *Rev. Celt.*, vi, p. 57. Davies (*Dict.*, s.vv.) twice mentions fed Demet. = hyd Venedot., 'usque ad'. In *Dosp. Ed.*, §§ 543, 925, S.-W. med is given.

Some further details on divers nominal prepositions (Zeuss, *G. C.*², pp. 691-698), etc., are: S.-W. ym mysg = N.-W. ym mhlith, Hughes, p. 33; N.-W. cyfyl = S.-W. yn agos, *Y Cyf. Dyfyr* (Ruthin), p. 78; N.-W. ynghylch, oddeutu = S.-W. obeutu, *Y Traeth.*, iii, p. 14 (see *Y Cymmr.*, viii, p. 159, and add obothtu, or bofttu, used at Neath). Gwent. cera a dos o bothdy dy fisnis, minda dy fusnes = Demet. gofala am dy fisnis, *Camb. Journ.*, iii, p. 248. This word is too widely spread to be explained as an Anglo-Welsh form introducing Eng. *both* for deu in o-ddeu-tu, so we must go back to o-bob-tu, o boptu, and ascribe *ph*, (*f* for *p*) to an *h* developed by the accent. I have, however, no similar examples except dathod, daffod: dattod?

L. Morris, Add. MS. 14,923, f. 133a: S.-W. gwyddeneb = N.-W. gyferbyn, pron. gwydderbyn (*sic*); godderbyn, see *Y Cymmr.*, vii, p. 235.

S.-W. serch in the sense of tros, er, Richards, *Dict.* Liw dydd, liw nos, 'by day, by night', Powel, *Y Cymmr.*, vi, p. 138.

[32.] Men, myn ('where') are frequently used in the poems printed by Skene and in the *Myv. Arch.* Cf. *B. of An.*: men na bei, men yd ynt eilyassaf elein, *Y God.*, Stanzas 43, 54,¹ etc. It is an oblique case of man, 'place', and has been retained in the Breton dialect of Vannes (ménn, 'where').

April 30th, 1888.

¹ Sk., ii, pp. 76, 79.

As to *cynnag pwy*, etc. (see *Y Cymmr.*, ix, p. 118-9), I have since found in the *Marchog Crwydrad* (*Y Brython*, vol. v, 1863, p. 368¹): *ein cyfoeth, gynnog p'un a fo genym ai ychydig ai llawer*. In the same text occur: *ei dechreuad cynnaf, yn gynnaf, y dechreuad cynnaf*, p. 7 (*cyntaf*), of which form two examples are found in the Add. MS. 14,921, which contains so many examples of *cynnag pwy*. *Pwy bynnag* and *cyntaf* occur scores of times in the *Marchog Crwydrad*; but since the editor states in the preface to his edition that he often introduced modern Welsh orthography, one cannot tell whether *gynnag*, *cynnaf* were ordinarily altered by him into *bynnag*, *cyntaf*, or whether they really occur only once or twice in the MS. The editor says (*Preface*, p. 2) "*bod yr ysgrifenydd wedi myned yn fynych i eithafion gwerinaidd y dafodiaith hōno [i.e., y Ddeheubartheg]*"; the language, as far as the scanty remains of dialect permit me to judge, agrees more than that of any other text I know of with that of the Gwentian Add. MS. 14,921. Now the occurrence of both *cynnag pwy* and *cynnaf* (cf. also *ond cygynned ag y clywo ef flas pechod*, p. 369²) in these two texts renders the suggestion I made *l. c.* almost certain to me; viz., that *pwy gyntaf* and *pwy bynnag* were mixed up, and that, in the limited district to which these two MSS. belong, *cynna(f)* and *bynna*, *bynnag* caused *cynnag* to be formed; *cynnaf* itself was probably caused by *cyn*. Since, however, at present only *cynta pwy* seems to be used, it remains a question whether the similarity of *cynna* and *bynna* caused *cynnag*, *cynta* being afterwards introduced instead of *cynna(g)*, or whether *cynta(f)* and *bynna(g)* were directly mixed up, and *cynna(g)* lived only for a certain time or in a certain dialect, as long as or where *cynna(f)*, for *cyntaf*, was used.

May 28th, 1888.

NOTES BY PROFESSOR RHŶS.

P. 264, l. 24.—*Llefydd* is also the Southwalian form, and is in no way parallel to *torfydd*, etc., as it is accented on the first syllable. It seems to be formed after the analogy of such words as *tre'*, *trefydd*.

P. 269, l. 27.—*Cnihtar*. In the vale of Glamorgan I have heard this made into *cniiftar*.

P. 278, l. 19.—*Shoe*. This word is one of the forms taken in Welsh by the English "show", and we say in N. Keredigion: *ma siôe o bobol 'n edrach ar y siôe*, "there is a show (a sight = multitude) of people looking at the show (the menagerie)". For *siôe o bobol* we might also say *pwër o bobol*, where we employ the English word "power" as it is sometimes used in English.

¹ Pt. iii, ch. 6; Reprint, p. 50, col. 1. ² *Ib.*; Reprint, p. 51, col. 1.

INDEX TO ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.,
IN THE ABOVE ARTICLE.

By E. P.

A : see "MS. A".

*A * * ** : see "PA * * *"

Ab Iolo : = *Taliesin ab Iolo*. See "*Cyfrinach, etc.*", "*Iolo MSS.*"

abbrev. : abbreviation.

Add. MS. : = one of the collection of "Additional MSS." in the British Museum, which comprises (*inter alia*) the two great Welsh collections of the *Welsh School* and the *Cymmrodorion Society*.

Add. MS. 14,931 ("Welsh School MS.") : see "MS. E".

Add. MS. 15,055 : see "W. Lleyrn, *Vocab.*"

Add. MS. 22,356 ("Cymmrodorion MS.") : see "MS. S".

Add. MS. 31,055 : see "Thos. Williams, Dr."

Ams. : see "*Yr Ams.*"

An. : Aneurin : see "*B. of An.*"

Angl. : Anglesea.

Apr. : April.

Araith Ieuan Brydydd Hir : 'the speech of *Ieuan Brydydd Hir (Hynaf)*', who fl. 1440-1470. The copy cited is that in Add. MS. 14,973.

Araith y Trwstan : 'the Awkward One's Speech'. The name of a long poem by Sion Tudur (died 1602). The copy cited is that in Add. MS. 14,987.

Arch. Brit. : Edward Lhuyd's [*alias* Lhwyd] "*Archæologia Britannica, etc.*, vol. i, Glossography" [all published] (Oxford, 1707, folio). *Note.* The *Welsh Preface (At y Cymry)* of 6 pages, quoted more than once, is *unpaged*.

Arch. Camb. : "*Archæologia Cambrensis; the Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association*", 1846, etc. (4 Series completed and a 5th in progress).

Ardudwy : This district comprises the *littoral* of Merionethshire between the Mawddach and the Traeth Bach.

Arw. : see "*Yr Arw.*"

At y Cymry : 'To the Welsh.' See "*Arch. Brit.*"

Aug. : August.

B : see "MS. B". *B.* : see "*R. B. Mab.*"

B. of An. : *Book of Aneurin*.

B. of An., God. (or *Y God.*) : *id.*, *The Gododin*. The original MS. (13th cent.) was in the late Sir Thomas Phillipps' collection at Middle

Hill, Worcestershire (now in the possession of his son-in-law, Mr. Fenwick, of Cheltenham), and contains (1) the *Gododin*, (2) the *Gorchanau*, viz., *Gorchan Tudfwlch*, *G. Adebón*, *G. Cynfelyn*, and *G. Maelderw*. The editions quoted are (1) that of Mr. Skene in his *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii, pp. 62-107, purporting to represent the whole of the original MS. (Neither lines nor stanzas are numbered in this edition.) (2) Williams ab Ithel's *Y Gododin* (Llandovery, 1852, 8vo.), containing only the *Gododin* without the *Gorchanau*, and edited from copies of the above-named MS. and others. (Both lines and stanzas are numbered in this edition.) Other editions of the whole *Book* are to be found in the *Myv. Arch.* (1st and 2nd eds.), and of the *Gododin* alone in Stephens' work, "*The Gododin of Aneurin Gwawdrydd*," printed by the Cymmrodorion Society. See "Sk. (or Skene), ii."

B. of Carm. : This means the "Black Book of Carmarthen" (*Hengwrt MS.* 11). The references are (1) to the pages of Mr. Skene's edition in *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 3-61; (2) to the folios of the autotype *Facsimile* of the MS., brought out by J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Oxford, 1888). The MS. is of the late 12th and early 13th centuries. See "Sk. (or Skene), ii."

B. of Herg. : This means (not the *White*, but) the *Red Book of Hergest*, a MS. of the 14th cent. in the Library of Jesus Coll., Oxford. The references are (1) to the MS., numbered (not by folios, but) by columns; (2) to the pages of the *Text of the Mabinogion, etc., from the Red Book of Hergest*, edited by Professor Rhys and J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Oxford, 1887): see "*R. B. Mab.*"; (3) to the pages of Skene, *op. cit.*, vol. ii (pp. 218-308), where parts of the poetry in this MS. (coll. 577-585 and 1026-1056) purport to be reproduced. See "Sk. (or Skene), ii."

B. of St. Chad : The *Book of St. Chad* in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield Cathedral: a late 7th- or early 8th-century Irish MS. of the Latin Gospels, with Welsh marginal entries of the 8th and 9th centuries. Those cited for the word *maharuin* (p. 267 *supra*) are of the (? later) ninth century, and by the same scribe. (This book is often cited by Zeuss and others as the *Lichfield Codex* or *Codex Lichf.*)

Note.—The longer Welsh entries in this MS. purport to be reproduced as an Appendix to *Lib. Land.* (*q. v.*), pp. *271-4.

B. of Tal. : *Book of Taliessin* (*Hengwrt MS.* 17, a MS. of about the middle of the 13th cent.). The references are to the pages of Skene, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 108-217, where this MS. purports to be reproduced. See "Sk. (or Skene), ii", and "MS. V, W".

"*Barlidas* : or, a Collection of Original Documents, illustrative of the Theology, Wisdom, and Usages of the Bardo-Druidic System of the

Iale of Britain ; . . . by the Revd. J. Williams ab Ithel. For the Welsh MSS. Society, Llandoverly, etc., 1862" (vol. i).

Note.—Only part of vol. ii published.

Bas-Cornouaillais : = the Breton dialect of Lower (*i.e.*, Western) Cornouaille, comprising the S.W. of the *Dépt.* of Finistère.

Bas Vann. : *Bas-vannetais*, *i.e.*, the Breton dialect of the lower (= western) part of the *Pays de Vannex*, including (roughly speaking) the country between the rivers Scorff (on the E.) and Ellé (on the W.), in the *Dépt.* of Morbihan.

Batz : means the *Bourg de Batz*, near the mouth of the Loire (*Dépt.* of Loire-inférieure), not the *Ile de Batz*, in the *Pays de Léon* (*Dépt.* of Finistère). Ernault has written on the isolated Breton dialect of Batz in *Rev. Celt.*, iii.

Bed. : see "Y Bed."

Beitr. : "Beiträge zur cymrischen grammatik. (einleitung und vocabularium.) der philosophischen facultät der universität in Leipzig als dissertation zur erlangung der philosophischen doctorwürde eingerichtet von MAX NETTLAU, aus Neuwaldegg in Niederösterreich. Leipzig, märz-april 1887."

Bibl. Bodl. : (see "Cambrica") Bibliotheca Bodleiana.

Bodl. : = one of the *Bodley MSS.* in that Library.

Bown o H. : *Bown o Hamtwn* ; *i.e.*, the Welsh version of *Sir Bevis of Hampton*, preserved in the *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* (see under "Li. Gw. Rh.") and the *Red Book of Hergest*.

Brec. : Breconshire, *alias* Brecknockshire.

Bret. : see "Rev. de Bret."

Brit. : see "Arch. Brit."

C. : (1) *Cymru*. See "Can. y C.", "Llyfr. y C.", "S. C."

C. : (2) *Cymreig*. See "P. C."

C. : see "MS. C". **C.²** : see "G. C.²", "Zeuss".

Cab. f'ew. T. : *Caban f'ewythr Tomos*. The work cited is : "*Aelwyd f'ewythr Robert, neu hanes Caban f'ewythr Tomos, gan William Rees [Gwilym Hiraethog], Dinbych [Denbigh], 1853.*"

Note.—Not to be confounded with *Caban f'ewyrth Twm*, the Welsh translation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Cassell, London, 1853, and other editions).

Caledfryn, Gramm.² : = the second edition of the *Grammadeg Cymreig of Gwilym Caledfryn* (William Williams), 1870.

Calig. : see "MS. Calig."

Camb. : *Cambrensis* : see "Arch. Camb."

Cambr. (1) : *Cambrian* : see "Cambr. Journ."

Cambr. (2) : *Cambrica* [by Whitley Stokes], in the "Transactions of the Philological Society for 1860-1", comprising, "1. (pp. 204-232), The Welsh Glosses and Verses in the Cam-

- bridge Codex of Juvenius" [9th cent.]; "II. The Old Welsh Glosses at Oxford, Bibl. Bodl. Auct. F. 4-32": *viz.*, "1 (pp. 232-4), Glosses on Eutychius" [since proved to be Old-Breton]; "2 (pp. 234-6), Glosses on Ovid's Art of Love"; "3 (pp. 236-7), British Alphabet"; "4 (pp. 237-8), Note on Measures and Weights"; [5] (pp. 238-249), [The glossed portion of] "Bodl. 572" [since proved to be Old-Cornish]; "III (p. 249), [Some of] The Middle-Welsh Glosses in *Cott. Vesp. A. xiv . . . fo. 11*" [the last 3 from fo. 13^v]; and IV, "Addenda et Corrigenda" (pp. 288-293).
- Cambr. Journ.*: "The *Cambrian Journal*, published under the auspices of the Cambrian Institute": 12 vols. (last one unfinished), Tenby (printed), 1854-1865.
- Campeu Charlymaen*: 'The Exploits of Charlemagne.' Of the Welsh version of this work two MSS. have been published. For the one quoted under the above title, see "*Ll. Gw. Rh.*" For the other, see "*Yst. de Car. Mag.*" Both MSS. are of the 14th century, but represent different editions.
- Can. y C.*: "*Canwyll y Cymru* [by Rice Prichard, Vicar of Llandovery; 1579-1644] yn bedair rhan, Llundain, 1672" (2nd edn., 8vo.).
- Capella Glosses*: = "*M. Cap.*", q. v.
- Card.*: Cardiganshire.
- Carm.*: see "*B. of Carm.*"
- Carn.*: Carnarvonshire.
- Celt.*: see "*Rev. Celt.*"
- cent.*: century.
- Chad.*: see "*B. of St. Chad.*"
- Chr.*: see "*Y Drych Chr.*"
- Chwedlau 'r Doethion*: 'The Wise Men's Sayings'; a collection of Welsh proverbial Triplets (oldest MS., about 1330-1350, in *Jes. Coll., Ozon.*, MS. No. 20). The edition of these referred to is that in the *Iolo MSS.* (pp. 251-9), q. v.
- cf.*: confer.
- Ch.*: chapter.
- Cl., Cleop.*: = "MS. *Cleop.*", q. v.
- col.*: column; *coll.*: columns.
- comm.*: of common gender.
- Corn.*: Cornish. See also "O.-Corn."
- Corn. Vocab.*: The ancient (*Latin-*) *Cornish Vocabulary*, in the beginning of *Cott. Vesp. A. xiv* (very early 13th cent.; transcribed from a considerably older MS.), printed in *Zeuss' Grammatica Celtica*, 1st ed., pp. 1100-1124, 2nd ed., pp. 1065-1081; and, in alphabetical order, by Edwin Norris in vol. ii of his *Ancient Cornish Drama* (Oxford, at the University Press, 1859, 8vo.), pp. 319-432.

- Cott.* : = One of the MSS. of the *Cottonian* collection in the British Museum. See "MS. *Calig.*", etc. "MS. *A*, etc."
- Cyf.* : see "Y *Cyf.*, etc."
- Cyfrinach Beirdd Yn. Pr.* (Abertawy, 1829) : *Cyfrinach Beirdd Ynys Prydain* (edited by the late Iolo Morganwg, and brought out by his son, *Taliesin ab Iolo*), Abertawy [Swansea], 1829.
- Cylchgr.* : see "Y *Cylchgr.*"
- Cymmr.* : *Cymmrodor* ; see "Y *Cymmr.*"
- Cymmrodorion Society* (Works published by) : see "*B. of An.*", "*Hgt. MS. 202*", "*L. Glyn Cothi*", "*MS. Tit. D xxii*", "*Yst. de Car. Magno.*" And cf. "*MS. S*".
- Cymr.* : (1) *Cymric* (i.e., 'Welsh'), see "*Stud.*, etc."
- Cymr.* : (2) *Cymreig* ; see "Y *Guron Cymr.*"
- D.* : see "MS. *D*".
- d.* : died.
- D. S. Evans, W. Dict.* : "A Dictionary of the Welsh Language, by the Revd. D[aniel] Silvan Evans" (Parts i, containing "A", and ii, containing "B", are out), Wm. Spurrell, Carmarthen, 1887-8.
- Id.* : see "*Gwallt. Mech.*", "*Llyth.*", "*Llyfr. y C.*", "*Marchog Crwydrad.*"
- Dares Phrygius.* The Welsh version quoted is the one in *Cleop. B. V.*
- Daf. ab Gw.* : *Dafydd ab Gwilym*. The edition of his poems quoted here is the first one, by Owen Jones (*Myfyr*) and William Owen (afterwards Dr. W. O. Pughe), London, 1789, 8vo.
- Davies* : = The Revd. Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd (1570-1644). See "*Ll. y Resol.*"
- Davies, Dict.* : = His Welsh-Latin and Latin-Welsh Dictionary, entitled "Antiquæ Linguae Britannicæ . . . et Linguae Latinae Dictionarium duplex, etc., Londini, etc., 1632" (4to.).
- Davies, Gramm.* : The first edition of his Grammar, intitled : "Antiquæ Linguae Britannicæ, etc., Rudimenta, etc." (London, 1621, 12mo.).
Note.—The second (and last) edition (*Oxonii*, 1809) is also once quoted *eo nomine* (p. 271, *supra*).
- De l'Urgence, etc.* : "De l'urgence d'une exploration philologique en Bretagne, ou la langue bretonne devant la science. Extrait des Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation des Côtes-du-Nord" (St. Brieuc, 1877, 8vo. ; pp. 18) [par Emile Ernault].
- Dec.* : December.
- Demet.* : Dr. John Davies' occasional abbreviation for *Demetæ*, *Demetas*, *Demeticæ*, etc., 'the Demetians, Demetian', i.e., the people or (in) the language of Demetia (*Dyfed*). The other form is "*Dimet.*", *q. v.*
- Denbigh* : = Denbighshire.
- Dépt.* : Département.
- Dict.* : *Dictionary*. See "Davies", "D. S. Evans", "l'A * * *", "Owen Pughe", "Richards", "Sp."

Dimet. : Dimetian, etc. Davies uses "Dimetian" to indicate 'S.-Welsh'; it is less improperly used by most writers to include the dialects of Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire, and Cardiganshire, embracing the old divisions of Dyfed, Ceredigion, and all Ystrad Tywi but Gower, which is now in Glamorganshire.

Dosp. Ed. : "*Dosparth Edeyrn Davod Aur*; or the Ancient Welsh GRAMMAR . . . by Edeyrn the Golden-tongued, etc., etc., with English translations and notes, by the Rev. John Williams Ab Ithel, etc., Pubd. for *The Welsh MSS. Society*, Llandovery, 1856."

Note.—The "translation" of the Grammar, quoted by Dr. Nettlau, is virtually a new Welsh Grammar by the Translator (see his *Pref.*, p. xv).

Dr. Thos. Williams : see "Thos. Williams, Dr."

Drych, etc. : see "*Y Drych, etc.*"

Dyfed : 'The Welsh for *Dimetia*. See "*Demet.*", "*Dimet.*"

E : see "MS. E."

E. Glam. : Eastern Glamorganshire, comprising all the county east of a line drawn from Merthyr Mawr (near Bridgend) to Aberdare (*Camb. Journ.*, iii, p. 244).

E. Evans : (The late) Evander Evans. See "*Stud., etc.*"

E. Lhuyd : Edward Lhuyd. See "*Arch. Brit.*"

e.g. : *exempli gratiâ*.

Early Engl. Pron. : *Early English Pronunciation*, by Alexander J. Ellis. *Ed.* : see "*Dosp. Ed.*"

Ed. : edited ; **edn.** : edition ; **eds.** : editions.

Ellis : } see "*Early Engl. Pron.*"
Engl.: }

Eng.-W. Dict. : see "Sp., etc."

Ergyng (p. 270, n.) : = Erging, now the Deanery of *Archenfeld*, comprising the S.E. portion of Herefordshire E. of Wye.

Ernault : = M. Emile Ernault. See "Batz", "*De l'Urgence, etc.*"

Evans : (1) see "D. S. Evans, etc."

Evans : (2) Evander Evans. See "*Stud., etc.*"

Evans : (3) J. Gwenogfryn Evans. See "*B. of Carm.*", "*R. B. Mab.*"

Exerc. : *Exercises*. See "Rowland, *Exerc.*"

F : see "MS. F"

f. : folio (of a MS. or book).

Feb. : February.

fem. : feminine.

f'ew. : see "*Cab. f'ew. T.*"

ff. : folios (of a MS. or book).

ff. : see "*Hanes y ff.*"

fl. : *floruit*.

Flint : Flintshire.

- freq.*: *frequenter*. (This abbrev. is always quoted from Zeuss, *G. C.*.)
- G.*: see "Iolo G." *G*: see "MS. G".
- G. C.*² (also "Z²", "Zeuss"). = The second edition of Zeuss' *Grammatica Celtica*, by Ebel (Berlin, 1871, 4to.).
- Gl.*, *gl.*: *Glosses*, gloss. See "*Juv. Gl.*", "*Cambrica*", "*M. Cap.*"
- Glamorgansh. : } Glamorgan or Glamorganshire. See "E. Glam.", "W. Glam. : } Glam."
- God.* (also *Y God.*): *The Gododin*. See "*B. of An.*"
- Gramm.*: *Grammar*. See "Caledfryn", "Davies", "Rowland", "Spurrell."
- Greal*: see "*Y S. Greal.*"
- Gw.*: (1) see "*Ll. Gw. Rh.*" *Gw.*: (2) see "*Lliver, etc.*"
- Gwallt. Mech., *Works*: "Gwaith y Parch. Walter Davies, A. C. (*Gwallter Mechain*), etc." (Ed. by the Revd. D. Silvan Evans, 3 vols., Carmarthen, 1868, 8vo.)
- Gweith.*: see "*Y Gweith.*"
- Gwenogfryn : } (= J. Gwenogfryn Evans), see "*R. B. Mab.*", "*B. of Gwenogfryn* : } *Carm.*"
- Gwent.: Gwentian, *i.e.*, of Gwent or in its dialect. Used conventionally of the dialect of Gwent and *Morganwg*, *i.e.* (roughly speaking) Monmouth- and Glamorgan-shires. (Gwynllywg, between the Usk and Rumney rivers, though now in Monm., was anciently in Morganwg. The name is now corrupted into *Gwentllwg*.)
- Gwyl.*: see *Y Gwyl*.
- H*: see "MS. H". *H*: see "*Bown o H.*"
- Hanes y ff.*, 1677: "*Y Ffydd Ddi-fvant. sef, Hanes y Ffydd Gristianogol, etc.*" (3rd ed., Oxford, 1677, 8vo.), by Charles Edwards.
- Hanesion o'r Hen Oesoedd*, 1762 (*alias* 1872): (quoted on pp. 262, 264, and 281 *supra*).
- Harl. MS.*: = *Harleian MS.* 1796, a MS. of the Latin codification of the Welsh Laws. See "*Latin Laws*".
- Harl. MS.* (with number following): = One of the *Harleian* collection of MSS. in the British Museum.
- Harl. MS.* 958: see "MS. T", and cf. "*Ll. Gw. Rh.*", "*Hgt. MS.* 202."
- Harl. MS.* 4953: see "MS. V".
- Hengwrt MSS.*: see "*Hgt. MS.*", etc., "*Wms., Hgt. MSS.*, ii." (For various other *Hengwrt MSS.* see under "*B. of, etc.*", "*Latin Laws*", "*Ll. Gw. Rh.*", "MS. A, etc.", "W. Lleyn".)
- Her. Vis.*: "*Heraldic Visitations of Wales and the Marches in the time of Queen Elizabeth and James I, by Lewis Dwnn*" (edited for the *Welsh MSS. Society* by the late Sir S. R. Meyrick; Llandovery, 1846, 2 vols., imp. 4to.). See "*Llyfr Achau*".
- Herg.*: see "*B. of Herg.*"
- Hgt. MS.* (*Latin Laws*): = *Hengwrt MS.* 7. See "*Latin Laws*".
- Hgt. MS.* 57: The unique fragment quoted hence (p. 279 *supra*) occurs

in the middle of the MS., on three pp. whence the original writing has been obliterated.

Hgt. MS. 202 : = *A Fragment from Hengwrt MS. 202*, edited in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. vii, pp. 89-154. The folios by which this MS. is cited *supra* are (1) not those of the MS. volume, but of the fragment stitched into it, which has nothing to do with the rest of its contents, (2) quoted by the numbers as first printed, subsequently found to be wrongly read, and corrected in *Y Cymmr.*, vii, pp. 204-6. This fragment is in the same style of hand as the *Mabinogion* in *Ll. Gw. Rh.* (*Hgt. MS. 4*), *q. v.* and *Harl. MS. 958* ("MS. T"), *q. v.* All are of late 13th or early 14th century date.

Hgt. MSS. : see "Wms., *Hgt. MSS.*, ii."

Hibb. Lect., Rhys : "*The Hibbert Lectures*, 1886. Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom, by [Professor] John Rhys . . . London, etc., 1888."

Hom. : see "*Three, etc.*"

Homil. : "Pregethau a osodwyd allan trwy awdurdod i'w darllein ymhob Eglwys blwyf a phob capel er adailadaeth i'r bobl annyscedig. Gwedi eu troi i'r iaith Gymeraeg drwy waith Edward James" (London, 1606, small 4to.). [The first edition of the Welsh translation of the *Homilies*.]

Hope, *Poems* (1765) : The work from which these poems are quoted is : "Cyfaill i'r Cymro ; neu, Lyfr o Ddiddanwch Cymhwysol, Ei dowys Dyn ar Ffordd o Hyfrydwch : Yn Ganauon, a Charolan, ag Englynion hawdd yw deull. O waith Prydyddion Sir y Flint, a Sir Ddimbech. O Gaagliad W. Hope, o Dre Fostyn. Caerlleon [Chester] : Argraphwyd gan W. Read a T. Huxley yn y Flwyddyn 1765 ; ag ar werth gan W. Hope, yn Sir y Flint."

Note.—William Hope of Mostyn (in Welsh *Tre Fostyn*), Flintshire, was one of the eight authors of the poems contained in this book.

Hughes (1823) : = "An Essay, on the ancient and present state, of the Welsh Language : with particular reference to its dialects. Being the subject proposed by the Cambrian Society, for the year 1822. By John Hughes, author of *Horæ Britannicæ*" (8vo., London, 1823).

I. : see "MS. I". *I.* : see "Sal., *N. T.*, *Gwel. I.*"

Introd. : *Introductio*.

ib. : *ibidem* ; *id.* : *idem*.

Iolo G. : Iolo Goch (died after 1402). He is sometimes cited as "Iolo", sometimes as "I. G.", in the works of Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd.

Iolo MSS. : "*Iolo Manuscripts*. A Selection of Ancient Welsh Manuscripts, in Prose and Verse, from the collection made by the late Edward Williams, *Iolo Morganwg* . . . by his son, the late Taliesin Williams (*Ab Iolo*) of Merthyr Tydfil. Published for *The Welsh MSS. Society*, Llandoverly . . . 1848.

J.: see "MS. J".

Jes. Coll., Oxon., MS.: = One of the MSS. in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford.

J. Gwenogvryn Evans: see "*B. of Carm.*", "*R. B. Mab.*"

Jan.: January.

Juv. Gl.: *Juvenius Glosses*. See "*Cambrica*".

Kuhn's Zeitschr.: Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*.

*l'A ***, Dict.*: "Dictionnaire françois-breton ou françois-celtique du dialecte de Vannes. Enrichi de thèmes . . . par Monsieur *l'A ****. (Supplément considérable aux Dictionnaires françois-bretons)", Leide, 1744, 8vo.

L.: see "MS. L".

L. Glyn (or Gl.) Cothi: "*Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi . . . Oxford, for the Cymmrodorion . . . 1837*" (2 vols., 8vo., but with one pagination running throughout). *L. G. C.* died after 1486.

L. Morris: *Lewis Morris (Llywelyn Ddu o Fôn*; d. 1765), brother to Richard and William Morris.

Latin Laws: The Latin codifications of Welsh Laws, printed in Aneurin Owen's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, from the MSS., and at the pages of vol. ii of the 8vo. edition, mentioned below:—

Hengwrt MS. 7 (early 13th cent.); pp. 749-814.

MS. Cott. Vesp. E. xi (early 14th cent.); pp. 814-892.

Harleian MS. 1796 (13th cent.); pp. 893-907.

N.B.—Dr. Nettlan's paginal references are to the *folio* edition.

Lect.: see "*Hibb. Lect.*"

Lect.², Rhÿs: "Lectures on Welsh Philology, by [Professor] John Rhÿs. Second edition . . . London, 1879."

Lewis: see "*L. Morris*", "*L. Glyn Cothi.*"

Lbuyd: see "*E. Lhuyd*", "*Arch. Brit.*"

Lib. Land.: "The Liber Landavensis, *Llyfr Teilo*, or the Ancient Register of the Cathedral Church of Llandaff . . . Published for *The Welsh MSS. Society*, Llandoverly: . . . 1840." (Original MS. written in about 1132.—*R. W. Haddan.*)

Ling.: see "*Mém. Soc. Ling.*"

LL.: The *Leabhar Laigneach*, or *Book of Leinster*, a MS. of the 12th century, in the Library of the *Royal Irish Academy*.

LI. Gw. Rh.: *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, 'Rhydderch's White Book', (*Hengwrt MSS.*, Nos. 4 and 5). This consists of parts of two separate MS. collections bound together, the older one (in the same style as the *Fragment from Hengwrt MS.* 202 and *Harl. MS.* 958) of the late 13th or early 14th century, and containing the "*Mabinogion*" (all but *Rhonabwy*), the other of somewhat later date. The "pages" to which reference is made as those of this MS. are those of the Revd. Canon Williams' *Selections from the Hengwrt*

MSS., vol. ii, pp. 1-284 (Parts IV and V of the whole work, Part VI being unpublished), in which portions of the MS. (all, but *Bown o Hamtwn*, taken from the more modern part) purport to be reproduced. The following are the works printed by Canon Williams from his transcripts of this MS. :—

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| <i>Campeu Charlymaen, Hengwrt MSS.</i> , vol. ii, pp. | 1-118. |
| <i>Bown o Hamtwn</i> | " " " " 119-188. |
| <i>Purdan Padric</i> | " " " " 189-211. |
| <i>Buched Meir Wry</i> | " " " " 212-237. |
| <i>Y Seith Pechawt Marwawl</i> | ,, " " " 237-242. |
| <i>Ewangel Nicodemus</i> | " " " " 243-250. |
| <i>Y Groglith</i> | " " " " 250-266. |
| <i>Hanes Pontius Pilatus</i> } | " " " " 267-274. |
| <i>Historia Judas</i> } | |
| <i>Arwydon cyn dyd brawt (o weith Lywelyn vard)</i> | ,, 274-275. |
| <i>Prophwydolyaeth Sibli Doeth</i> | ,, 276-284. |

The rest of the contents of Canon Williams' 2nd volume are referred to *supra* as from "Wms., *Hgt. MSS.*, ii", *q. v.*

Ll. y Resol. : "*Llyfr y Resolusion . . . Wedi ei gyfieithu yn Gymraeg gan y Dr. I[ohn] D[avies] er llês i'w blwyfolion . . .*" (2nd ed., London, 1684, 8vo.)

A translation of the English work by Father Parsons, the Jesuit.

Lleyn : see "W. Lleyn".

Lliver Gw. Gyffr., 1586 : *Lliver Gweddî Gyffredin*, etc. . . . London, 1586, 4to.

Llyfr Achau : ('Pedigree-Book'). This refers to the one by Hopkin ab Eignon of Brecon (1602), printed in "*Her. Vis.*" (*q. v.*), vol. ii.

Llyfr. y C. : *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry*, or *Cambrian Bibliography*, by the Revd. Wm. Rowlands (*Gwilym Lleyn*). Edited and enlarged by the Revd. D. S. Evans (Llanidloes, 1869, 8vo.).

Llyn : = Lleyn.

Llyth., D. S. Evans : "*Llythraeth yr Iaith Gymraeg, gan [y Parch.] D. Silvan Evans. Caerfyrddin [= Carmarthen], W. Spurrell, 1861.*"

Loanwords : "Welsh Words borrowed from Latin, Greek, and Hebrew" (by Professor Rhys), in *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Series; vol. iv (1873), pp. 258-270 and 355-365; vol. v (1874), pp. 52-9, 224-232, and 297-313.

M : see "MS. M".

M. Cap. : = "The Old Welsh Glosses on Martianus Capella[']s *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*", edited (and numbered) by Whitley Stokes from the original in *MS. C.C.C.C.* 153 (8th cent.), in *Arch. Camb.* for 1873, No. 13 of 4th Series [vol. iv], pp. 1-21.

Mab. : *Mabinogion*. "The *Mabinogion* from the *Llyfr Coch o Hergest*, etc., by Lady Charlotte Guest" (3 vols., Llandoverly and London, 1849). See also "*B. of Herg.*," "*Ll. Gw. Rh.*," "*R. B. Mab.*"

Note.—(Where "*Mab.*" follows a quotation from Zeuss, it really forms part of the quotation from that work.)

Marchog Crwydrad (Reprint) : "*Y Marchog Crwydrad*: Hen Ffuglith Gymreig. Cyhoeddig dan olygiad y Parch. D. Silvan Evans. Tremadog : R. I. Jones [*Alltud Eifion*]; Caerfyrddin : W. Spurrell, 1864." (8vo.)

Note.—This was first published in parts in *Y Brython*, vol. v (1862-3), pp. 1-17, 138-153, 257-267, and 361-374, whence Dr. Nettlau quotes, but concordances are appended to the above edition wherever the paginations differ. Chapters 1 to 6 of Book i are similarly paginated (pp. 1-17) in both editions.

masc. : masculine.

Mém. Soc. Ling. : *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*.

Menevia : used in an article quoted from *Cambr. Journ.*, iii, iv, for *Mynwy*, 'Monmouthshire'. Properly it means *Mynyw*, 'St. David's'.

Merioneth : Merionethshire.

Mid.-I. : Middle-Irish. See "*Three, etc.*"

Mid.-W., Middle W. : Middle-Welsh.

Monm., Monmsh. : Monmouthshire.

Morganwg : see "*Gwent.*"

Morris : see "*L. Morris*," "*R. Morris*'.

MS. : Manuscript. See "*Add. MS.*," "*Harl. MS.*," etc., "*Hgt. MS.*," etc., "*Latin Laws*"; and the following entries.

MS. C.C.C.C. : (see "*M. Cap.*") one of the MSS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|--|
| MS. Calig. : | } | One of the MSS. designated <i>Caligula</i> , <i>Cleopatra</i> , <i>Titus</i> , or <i>Vespasian</i> , respectively, in the Cottonian collection at the British Museum. (For various of these MSS. see under " <i>Dares Phrygius</i> ," " <i>Latin Laws</i> ," " <i>MS. A</i> , etc.") |
| MS. Cleop. (or Cl.) : | | |
| MS. Tit. : | | |
| MS. Vesp. : | | |

MS. Tit. D xxii : A MS. of the early 15th cent. (part is dated 1439), some of which (fos. 1-19, comprising *A Description of the Day of Judgement*) was edited, with notes, by Prof. Thos. Powel in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. iv, pp. 106-138.

MS. A, etc. : These MSS. are those mainly used by Aneurin Owen for the Welsh part of his *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (London, 1841), and distinguished by him for critical purposes by the successive letters of the alphabet. The *pages* appended to the citations of the MSS. *supra* are those of the *folio* edition of the printed work, which was also published simultaneously in two large vols. 8vo. The following is a list of the MSS. in question :

[I. MSS. of *Venedotian Code*.]

Dates of MSS.

- MS. A: (Part of) *Hengwrt MS.* 26 ("Llyfr du o'r Waen") (about 1241)
 „ B: *Cott. Titus D.* II. - - - (13th cent.)
 „ C: „ *Calig. A.* III. - - (about middle of 13th cent.)
 (Parts of two distinct MSS. bound together.)
 „ D: *Hengwrt MS.* 311, and (3 pp. misbound) part of
Hengwrt MS. 8 ("Llyfr Têg") - (Do. 14th cent.)
 „ E: *Add. MS.* 14,981 ("Welsh School MS.") (middle of 13th cent.)
 „ F: *Hengwrt MS.* (perhaps No. 5 of *Hyt. MS.*
 39; see next entry).
 „ G: *Hengwrt MS.* 39 (No. 2 or No. 5?).

Note.—This MS. vol. comprises five separate MSS. :

- (1) *Dimetian Laws, MS.*, pp. 1-25.
- (2) *Venedotian Laws*, pp. 26-50.
- (3) *Llyfr Cynghawsedd* (also in *MS. B.*), pp.
 52-71 - - - (early 13th cent.)
- (4) *Llyfr Cynog*, pp. 73-76.
- (5) *Venedotian Laws*, pp. 76-119.

Nos. 1-4 are intituled "Cyn", and No. 5 "Ade cyn".

- „ H: (Part of) *Hengwrt MS.* 26 (see above) - - (16th cent.)

[II. MSS. of *Dimetian Code*.]

- MS. I: *Hengwrt MS.* 19 ("Beta 19") - (about middle of 14th cent.)
 „ J: *Jesus Coll. Oxon. MS.* No. . . . (late 14th or early 15th cent.)
 „ K: (Part of) *Hengwrt MS.* 18 ("Kalan.") - (about 1469)
 (Said to contain poems in the autograph of L. Glyn Cothi.)
 „ L: *Cott. Titus D.* IX - (late 13th or early 14th cent.)
 „ M: *Hengwrt MS.* 47 ("Beta 47") - { (before end of 14th cent.
 — *W. W. E. W.*)
 „ N: (Part of) *Hengwrt MS.* 312 ("Beta") - (14th cent.)
 „ O: Do. ("Bedu") - (about 14th cent.)
 „ P: (Part of) *Hengwrt MS.* 6 ("Befol") - (early 15th cent.)
 „ Q: *A Wynnstay MS.* (burnt in 1858) - (about 1401)
 „ R: *Hengwrt MS.* 23 (*MS. Maredudd Llwyd*) } (middle of 14th cent.
 — *W. W. E. W.*)
 „ S: *Add. MS.* 22,356 ("Cymmrodorion MS.") (about 15th cent.)
 (Written in South Cardiganshire.)
 „ T: *Harleian MS.* 958 - - (late 13th or early 14th cent.)
 (In the same style of writing as the *Mabinogion* of *Hengwrt*
MSS. 4 and 5, and the *Fragment* in *Id.* 202.)

[III. MSS. of *Gwentian Code*.]

- MS. U: *Hengwrt MS.* 31 ("Morg.") - (about middle of 14th cent.)
 „ V: *Harleian MS.* 4358 - - (13th cent.)
 (In same style, if not hand, as *B. of Tal.* and *Hengwrt MS.* 59.)

- MS. *W*: *Cott. Cleop.* A. XIV. - - - - (18th cent.)
 (In same style as MS. *V*.)
- „ *X*: *Cott. Cleop.* B. V. - - - (about middle of 14th cent.)
- „ *Y*: MS. of (the late) *Neath Literary and Philosophical Society*
 (lost since before 1860.—*E. P.*) (middle of 14th cent.)
- „ *Z*: (Part of) *Hengwrt MS.* 6 (“*Pomf.*”) - (about 1480)
- Note.*—Some of the above MSS. contain not only the three *Codes*, but various parts of the *Anomalous Laws*, printed in vol. 2 of the 8vo. edition. The three other MSS. used by Owen for the *Welsh Laws* are not cited by Dr. Nettlau; for the MSS. of the *Latin Codes* used by Owen, see “*Latin Laws*”.
- Myv. Arch.*: “*The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*”, 3 vols., 8vo., London, 1801. A new edition in one vol., published by Gee, Denbigh, 1870.
- N*: see “MS. *N*”.
- n.*: note.
- N. T.*, *Sal.*: } see “*Sal.*, *N. T.*”
- N. Test.*, *Sal.*: }
- N. W.*: North Wales; *N.-W.*: North-Welsh.
- Nov.*: November.
- O*: see “MS. *O*”.
- O.-Corn.*: Old Cornish. The words so designated are from the *Bodley MS.* 572. See under “*Cambrica*”.
- Oct.*: October.
- op. cit.*: *opere citato*.
- Ovid Glosses*: see under “*Cambrica*”.
- Owen: = Aneurin Owen’s *Folio* edn. of the *Welsh Laws*. See “*Latin Laws*”, “MS. *A*”, etc.”
- Owen Pughe, *Dict.*: “*A Dictionary of the Welsh Language, etc.* Second edition, by W. Owen Pughe, D.C.L., etc.; Denbigh, Thomas Gee, 1832” (2 vols. 8vo.). The quotations are made from this edition: the 1st (1803) bears the name of “William Owen” (Dr. P.’s then name); the so-called 3rd edition (Gee, 1866) is virtually a different work, based on Pughe, by Mr. R. J. Pryse.
- P*: see “MS. *P*”.
- p.*: page; *pp.*: pages.
- P. C.*: *Punch Cymreig* (Holyhead, 1858).
- Phil.*: *Philology*. See “*Lect.*”, “*Stud.*, etc.”
- pl.*, *plur.*: plural.
- Powel (or Powell)*: = Professor Thos. Powel, see “*B. of An.*”, “MS. *Tit. D 22*”, “*Yst. de Car. Mag.*”
- Powis. or Powys.*: Powysian; *i.e.*, belonging to the dialect of Powys. (Used to include all Montgomeryshire and the S.E. parts of Flintshire and Denbighshire.)

Pr. : see "*Cyfrinach, etc.*"

Pref. : *Preface.*

Pughe : = "Owen Pughe", *q. v.*

pubd. : published.

Q. : see "*MS. Q.*"

q. v. : *quod vide.*

R. : see "*MS. R.*"

R. B. Mab. : *Red Book Mabinogion, i.e., "Y Llyvyr Coch o Hergest, Y Gyvrol I, Y Mabinogion, etc.* The Text of the *Mabinogion* and other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest, edited by John Rhys . . . and J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Oxford, 1887."

R. Morris : Richard Morris (d. 1779), brother to Lewis Morris and William Morris.

Resol. : see "*Ll. y Resol.*"

Rev. Celt. : *Revue Celtique*, Paris, 1870, etc. (8 vols. and part of a 9th out).

Rev. de Bret. : *Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée.*

Rh. : see "*Ll. Gw. Rh.*"

Rhŷs : Professor John Rhŷs. See "*Hibb. Lect.*", "*Lect.*", "*Loanwords*", "*R. B. Mab.*"

Richards, Dict. : "*Antiquæ Linguae Britannicæ Thesaurus . . . by Thomas Richards, curate of Coychurch*" [*Wallicè* Llangrallo, Glamorganshire], Bristol, 1753.

Note.—This is the *first* edition of the work, and that from which the quotations are made.

*Rowland, Gramm.*⁴ : "*A Grammar of the Welsh Language . . . by [the late Revd.] Thomas Rowland, 4th edn. . . Wrexham [1876].*"

Rowland, Exerc. : "*Welsh Exercises*" (by the same), Part I. Bala, 1870 (all published).

S. : see "*MS. S.*"; *S.* : *Seint, Sant* ['Holy'] : see "*Y S. Gr.*"

S. C. or *S. Cymru* : "*Seren Cymru. Newyddiadur Teuluaidd Pythefnosol*" (Caerfyrddin [Carmarthen], 1856-1860).

S. Gomer : *Seren Gomer, Caerfyrddin* [Carmarthen], 1814, etc.

s. v. : *sub voce* ; *s. vv.* : *sub vocibus.*

S. E. : South-East ; *S. W.* : (1) South-West.

S. W. : (2) S. Wales : South Wales. *S.-W.* : South-Welsh.

Sal, N. T. : Salesbury, *New Testament* ; *i.e.*, "*Testament newydd ein Arglwydd Iesu Christ. Gwedy ei dynnu, yd y gadei yr ancyaiaith 'air yn ei gyllydd or Groec a'r Llatin, gan newidio ffurf llythyreu gairiæ-dodi. Eb law hynny y mae pob Gair a dybiwyt y vot yn andeallus, ai o ran Llediaith y 'wlat, ai o ancynefinder y deunydd wedi ei noti ai eglurhau ar 'ledemyl y tu dalen gydrychiol.*" (By William Salesbury, London, 1567.)

Note.—A reprint published at Carnarvon in 1850 (8vo.).

Sal., *N. T.*, *Gwel. I.* : = *id.*, *Gweledigaeth Ieuan, i.e.*, 'The Book of Revelation' in Salesbury's above-named work (translated by John Huet, a resident and incumbent in the neighbourhood of Builth).

Sansk. : Sanskrit.

Sept. : September.

seq. : *sequentia*.

ser. : *series*.

Sk. (or Skene), ii : Skene, vol. ii ; *i.e.*, the second volume of "The Four Ancient Books of Wales, . . . containing the Cymric Poems attributed to the Bards of the Sixth Century, by William F. Skene, Edinburgh . . . 1868" (containing the Welsh Texts of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, and *Books of Aneurin* and *Taliessin*, and some of the poetry from the *Red Book of Hergest*). See "*B. of An.*", "*B. of Carm.*", "*B. of Herg.*", "*B. of Tal.*"

Soc. : see "*Mém. Soc. Ling.*"

Sp., *Dict.*³ : "A Dictionary of the Welsh Language . . . by William Spurrell. 3rd Edition, Carmarthen, 1866."

Sp., *Eng.-W. Dict.*³ : "An English-Welsh pronouncing Dictionary . . . (by) William Spurrell." (Third Edition, Carmarthen, 1872.)

Sp., *Gramm.*³ : "A Grammar of the Welsh Language, by William Spurrell. Third Edition, Carmarthen . . . 1870."

St. Chad : see "*B. of St. Chad.*"

Stokes : = Whitley Stokes. See "*Cambrica*", "*M. Cap.*", "*Three Mid-Irish Homilies*", "*Togail Troi (LL)*".

Stowe MS. : One of the collection of the MSS. formerly at Stowe, since the Earl of Ashburnham's, and now (all but the Irish and a few other MSS.) in the British Museum.

Note.—The numbers cited are those, not of Charles O'Connor's *Bibliotheca MS. Stowensis* (2 vols., 4to.), but of the "Sale Catalogue" used at the Museum pending the completion of an official Catalogue.

Stud. in Cymr. Phil. : Evander Evans' *Studies in Cymric Philology*, printed, with a continuous numbering, in the *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Ser.; No. i in vol. iii (1872), pp. 297-314 ; No. ii in vol. iv (1873), pp. 139-153 ; No. iii in vol. v (1874), pp. 113-123.

sup. : *supra*.

superl. : superlative.

Sweet : = Dr. Henry Sweet's *Spoken North-Welsh*, printed in the *Transactions of the (London) Philological Society* for 1882-4.

T. : (1) see "*Sal., N. T.*"; T. : (2) see "*Cab. f'ev. T.*"

T' : see "*MS. T'*".

Tal. : see "*B. of Tal.*"

Thos. Williams, Dr. : Dr. (sometimes called "Sir") Thomas Williams (or "Ap Wiliem"), of Ardde 'r Myneich (now Yr Ardda), Trefriw

- (fl. 1578-1620), quoted above as the scribe of Add. MS. 31,055, a collection of transcripts from the *Red and White Books of Egerest* and other sources.
- Three Mid.-Ir. Hom.*: "Three Middle-Irish Homilies on the Lives of Saints Patrick, Brigit, and Columba. Edited by Whitley Stokes. (One hundred copies privately printed.) Calcutta, 1877."
- Tit.*: see "MS. *Tit.*"
- Togail Troi (LL.)*: "*Togail Troi*. 'The Destruction of Troy', transcribed from the Facsimile of the *Book of Leinster*, and translated with a glossarial index of the rarer words by Whitley Stokes, Calcutta, 1882."
- Traeth.*: see "*Y Traeth.*"
- Tréc.*: *trécorois*, i.e., in the Breton dialect of the *Pays de Tréguier* (Breton *Landreger*), in the modern *Dépt.* of *Côtes-du-Nord*.
- U*: see "MS. *U*".
- V*: see "MS. *V*".
- Vann.*: *vannetais*, i.e., in the Breton dialect of the *Pays de Vannes*.
The conventional *vannetais* of books represents the dialect of the neighbourhood of the town of Vannes (in Breton *Gwened*). See also "Bas Vann."
- Vened.*: Venedotian, i.e., in the dialect of the district of Gwynedd, embracing all N. Wales not included in "Powys", *q. v.*
- Vesp.*: see "MS. *Vesp.*"
- Vis.*: see "*Her. Vis.*"
- Vocab.*: *Vocabulary*. See "*Corn. Vocab.*", "W. Lleyn".
- vol.*: volume.
- W*: see "MS. *W*".
- W.*: (1) Wales or Welsh. See "N. W.", "S. W.", "O.-W." *W.*: (2) West.
- W. Glam.*: Western Glamorganshire, i.e., all of the county lying west of a line drawn from Merthyr Mawr (near Bridgend) to Aberdare. (*Cambr. Journ.*, iii, p. 244.)
- W. Lleyn, Vocab.*: The *Vocabulary* of the poet William Lleyn (or Llŷn; 1540-1587). The autograph forms *Hengwrt MS. 122*; L. Morris' transcript in *Add. MS. 15,055* has been used by Dr. Nettlau.
- Williams*: see "Caledfryn", "Thos. Williams", "Wms., *Hgt. MSS.*"
- Williams ab Ithel*: see "*Barddas, etc.*", "*Dosp. Ed.*"
- Wms., Hgt. MSS.*, ii: = the parts of Canon Robert Williams' *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*, vol. ii, that are not taken from the *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch*, i.e., all from p. 284 to the end of *Part V* at p. 340. (MS. sources unknown, but can hardly be earlier than 15th cent.) For the early part of the vol., see "*Ll. Gw. Rh.*"; *Part VI*, completing the vol., is unpublished.
- W. W. E. W.*: = The initials of the late Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, quoted under "MS. A, etc." (*q. v.*) as an authority for the dates of some MSS. in his collection of *Hengwrt MSS.*

X: see "MS. X".

Y: see "MS. Y".

Y Bed.: *Y Bedyddiwr*, Caerdydd [Cardiff], 1849, etc.

Y Cylchgr.: *Y Cylchgrawn*.

Y Cymmr.: "*Y Cymmrodor*; the Transactions [and Magazine] of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion", London, 1877, etc.

Y Cyf. Dyfyr (Ruthin): *Y Cyfaill Dyfyr* [i.e., *Difyr*].

Y Drych Chr.: *Y Drych Christianogawl*. Ed. by Rosier Smith, 1885.

Y God. (or *God.*): *Y Gododin*. See "*B. of An.*"

Y Gweith.: *Y Gweithiwr*, Aberdare.

Y Guron Cymr.: *Y Guron Cymreig*.

Y Gwyl.: *Y Gwyliedydd*. Bala, 1823-1837, 14 vols.

Y S. Greal: "*Y Seint Greal* Edited with a Translation and [so-called] Glossary, by the Revd. Robert Williams" (London, 1876).

Note 1.—This text was transcribed from *Hengwrt MS.* 49, a MS. of about 1380-1390.

Note 2.—The printed work comprises *Parts I-III* (forming vol. i) of the Editor's *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.* See for the remaining *Parts*, "*Ll. Gw. Rh.*" and "*Wms., Hgt. MSS., ii.*"

Y Traeth.: *Y Traethodydd*. Dimbych [= Denbigh], Treffynnon [= Holywell], 1845, etc.

Yn.: see "*Cyfrinach, etc.*"

Yr Ams.: *Yr Amserau*.

Yr Arw.: *Yr Arweinydd*, sef *Newyddiadur wythnosol*, Pwllheli, 1856-9.

Yst. de Car. Mag.: *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, from the *Red Book of Hergest* [transcribed by Mrs. John Rhys, and] edited by Thomas Powell [sic], M.A. London: Printed for the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1883." (Another edition of *Campeu Charlymaen*, q. v. See also "*B. of Herg.*")

Z: see "MS. Z".

Z²: } The second edition of *Zeuss' Grammatica Celtica*.
Zeuss, G.C.²: } Also "*G. C.²*", q. v.

Zeitschr.: *Zeitschrift*. See "*Kuhn*".

Note.—I have compiled the above rough Index to Dr. Nettlan's abbreviations, etc. (which makes no pretensions to completeness of detail), from such books and other authorities as I had access to here, in order to make his learned article more generally useful to the readers of *Y Cymmrodor*.
E. P.

Darowen, Cyfeiliog; Medi 30, 1888.

SIR WILLIAM JONES AS AUTHOR.

BY THE REV. JOHN DAVIES, M.A.

IN my previous paper¹ on Sir William Jones I could not, from want of space, give many extracts from his works, and was thus unable to show the grace and purity of his style or the full extent of his learning. I propose, therefore, now to quote more largely from his various writings, in the hope that I may excite increased attention to his high position as a scholar, and may aid in promoting some public memorial of him in the Principality. In this way some others may be induced to study Oriental literature, and to become thus of service to all men and an honour to their native land. It is not a slight reproach to Wales that hitherto, as far as my knowledge extends, no such memorial has been made.²

In speaking of the style of any writer, we are reminded of Boileau's saying, "Le style, c'est l'homme". This is true to a great extent, and the style of Sir William Jones is marked by the grace that attended all the movements of his body; but the saying is not universally true. Every man will write very much in accordance with his own nature—clearly or obscurely, for instance, according to the nature of his mind;—but we are all affected by the subtle currents of influence that come upon us from our contemporaries or the spirit of the age in which we live. In

¹ *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. viii, pp. 62-82.

² I shall be glad if this suggestion should be met with favour by Welshmen. Probably the most suitable memorial would be a statue, to be placed in the hall of one of the new Welsh colleges.

the first part of the eighteenth century Addison led the way in promoting a pure and natural style; but in the later part Dr. Johnson, by his authority and example, made a more formal and ornate style popular in the land. In some of Sir William's letters, and in his translation of the *Institutes of Manu*, the influence of this tendency appears clearly; but in his popular version of the drama called *S'akuntalā* he returns to the simpler style of his youth.

I propose to offer first, for the verdict of scholars, two passages of his Latin prose. His Latinity is correct and graceful; but, if a modern scholar were to play the part of hypercritic, he might perhaps say that it might, with advantage, be somewhat more idiomatic. The first passage is taken from his correspondence with Count Reviciski, who was well skilled in Oriental literature, and was for some time ambassador from the Czar of Russia to the English court. The letter from which the following passage is taken was the beginning of their correspondence, which continued for many years.

“Quam jucunda mihi fuit illa semihora, quā tecum de poetis Persicis, meis tuisque deliciis, sum collocutus; initium enim amicitiae et dulcissimae inter nos consuetudinis arbitrabar fuisse. Quam spem utriusque nostri importuna negotia fefellerunt. Ruri enim diutius quam vellem commorari variae me cogunt occupationes. Tu Germaniam, ut audivi, quam citissimè proficisci meditaris. Doleo itaque amicitiam nostram in ipso flore quasi decidere At cum de amicitia nostrā loquar, ne, quæso, videar hoc tam gravi nomine abuti. Permagno enim vinculo conjungi solent ii qui iisdem utuntur studiis, qui literas humaniores colunt, qui in iisdem curis et cogitationibus evigilant. Studia eadem sequimur, eadem colimus et consectamur. Hoc tamen inter nos interest: nempe, tu in literis Asiaticis es quam doctissimus; ego vero, ut in iis doctus sim, nitor, contendo, elaboro. In harum literarum amore non patiar ut me vincas, ita enim incredibiliter illis delector, nihil ut supra possit: equidem poësi Græcorum jam inde à puero ita delectabar, ut nihil mihi Pindari carminibus elatius, nihil Anacreonte dulcius, nihil Sapphūs Archilochi, Alcæi ac Simonidis aureis illis relliquis politius aut nitidius videretur.”

He goes on to say that when he had tasted the sweetness of Arabic and Persian poetry his love for Greek poetry began to fade ; but the sentence closes abruptly, the remainder of the letter having been lost. He speaks in it of his own Oriental attainments very modestly ; but even at this date (1768), when he was only in his twenty-second year, he was able to read the works of Arabic and Persian poets in their own languages. In this year he translated, in French, for the King of Denmark, the *Life of Nadir Shah*, which was written in the Persian language, and to this translation he appended a *Treatise on Oriental Poetry*, also in French. "I may venture to assert", says his biographer, Lord Teignmouth, "that Mr. Jones was the only person in England, at that time, capable of producing a work which required a critical knowledge of two foreign languages, one of which was scarcely known in Europe."

Another passage, as an instance of Sir William's Latin prose composition, will be taken from an essay on Greek orators, *De Græcis Oratoribus* :

"Cum id potissimum dicendi studiosis adolescentibus præcipi soleat ut unum e summis oratoribus deligant, quem totâ mente, tanquam pictores, intueantur, et quem labore maximo imitentur ; cum verò studioso cuivis perdifficile sit oratorem deligere, cui similis esse aut velit aut debeat, visum est mihi pauca de Græcis oratoribus disserere, interque eos præcipuè de Demosthene, quem nemo est, opinor, qui non imitare cupiat, nemo qui eximias ejus virtutes imitando se assequi posse confidat ; sed *prima appetenti*, ut pulchrè ait Cicero, honestum est in secundis vel tertiis consistere . . . Alii tamen complures, quorum orationes ad nos pervenerunt, non in pompâ et gymnasio, sed in ipsa acie habitæ, *eloquentes* verè nominantur ; inter quos, acumine *Dinarchus* præstitisse videtur, vi et lepore *Demades*, gravitate *Lycurgus*, sonitu *Æschines* et splendore dictionis ; sed hæ dicendi virtutes in *Demosthene* uno omnes reperiuntur ; gravis idem fuit ac subtilis, vim habuit pariter et splendorem, nec lepos sanè illi defuit, licèt plerique et aliter sentiant, sed elatus, minax et sui proprius."

Sir William's letters have always been popular. They form the most interesting part of his biography by Lord

Teignmouth, and a well-printed edition of the letters only was published in 1821 by Mr. Sharpe, of Piccadilly, a well-known publisher of that time. They are of varied interest, offering criticism and sentiments, freely showing to us a man of many pursuits, with a strong individuality and a sensitive, delicate nature. In writing to Lord Althorp, who had been his pupil when he left Oxford, he says (Dec. 28, 1777):

“MY DEAR LORD,—I told you when I had the pleasure of seeing you in London, that it was doubtful whether I should pass my vacation at Amsterdam or Bath: the Naiads of the hot springs have prevailed, you see [the letter was written at Bath], over the nymphs of the lakes, and I have been drinking the waters for a month, with no less pleasure than advantage to my health. . . . You, my dear friend, are in the meantime relaxing yourself from the severer pursuits of science and civil knowledge, with the healthy and manly exercises of the field, from which you will return, with a keener appetite, to the noble feast which the Muses are again preparing for you at Cambridge.”

He then avows that he dislikes hare-hunting, as “a very dull exercise”, and as “being rather for a huntress than a mighty hunter, rather for Diana than Orion”. He would prefer the more violent sports of the Asiatics, on a large scale, “to the sound of trumpets and clarions”. He adds:

“Of music, I conclude you have as much at Althorp as your heart can desire; I might here have more than my ears could bear or my mind conceive, for we have with us La Motte, Fischer, Rauzzini; but, as I live in the house of my old master, Evans, whom you remember, I am satisfied with his harp, which I prefer to the Theban lyre, as much as I prefer Wales to ancient or modern Egypt.”

Of course, the reference is to the Egyptian Thebes, where the statue of Memnon (as the Greeks wrote the name, properly Amenophis) gave forth, it is said, a musical note when the rays of the morning sun fell upon it. It is interesting to observe that Sir William was not unmindful of his Welsh descent, and that he felt a real interest in Welsh art.

Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, having received the consent of the celebrated Warren Hastings and other members of the Council of India to become patrons of it. It was established for the purpose of inquiring into "the History, Civil and Natural, the Antiquities, Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia". It was but a feeble institution at first; Sir William speaks of it in one of his letters as "an expiring society"; but it did not expire; it grew into ample dimensions, and has given a very important impetus to the study of the languages and institutions of India. In a letter to Sir John Macpherson, dated May 6, 1786, he speaks of the first volume of its *Transactions*, modestly alluding to his own contributions to the volume, which, however, form the largest and the most important part of its contents.

"Always", he says, "excepting my own imperfect essays, I may venture to foretell that the learned in Europe will not be disappointed by our first volume. But my great object, at which I have long been labouring, is to give our country a complete digest of Hindu and Musulman law. I have enabled myself, by excessive care, to read the oldest Sanskrit law-books, with the help of a loose Persian paraphrase" [he was soon able to dispense with any assistance both in Sanskrit and Arabic], "and I have begun a translation of Menu into English; the best Arabian law-tract I published last year."

He refers again to this book in a letter to Thomas Caldecott, Esq., dated Crishna-nagur, September 27, 1787. He says:

"I can only write in the long vacation, which I generally spend in a delightful cottage, about as far from Calcutta as Oxford is from London, and close to an ancient university of Brahmans, with whom I now converse familiarly in Sanskrit. You would be astonished at the resemblance between that language and Greek and Latin. Sanskrit and Arabic will enable me to do this country more essential service than the introduction of arts (even if I should be able to introduce them) by procuring an accurate digest of Hindu and Mahommedan laws, which the natives hold sacred, and by which both justice and policy require that they should be governed."

Colebrooke, and other Sanskritists, have made the intri-

cacies of Hindū laws familiar to all who take an interest in this subject. Sir William, in this department, was only one of many workers; but, in discerning the affinity of Sanskrit with the languages of Europe, he made a discovery of the highest importance, both in itself and in its results. This alone ought to give him an undying reputation. He laid hereby the foundation of the whole great fabric of modern comparative philology. German scholars are not often favourable to scholars of another country or another race; but the logic of facts has forced some of them to give this honour to Sir William Jones.

One of Sir William's earliest prose works was the *Life of Nadir Shah*, written by the latter's secretary, Mirza Mahadi Khan, to which I have already referred. It was published in 1768, when the author was only in his twenty-third year. It was again translated into English in the year 1773. This work was received with great favour by all classes, for the translation was well done, and the subject was then very interesting; Nadir Shah's death having occurred only twenty-one years before the life was published. He was a Persian adventurer, of low origin, born in 1688, at the village of Abuver, in the province of Khorassan. At that time the Afghans ruled over Persia, after a successful invasion, and cruelly oppressed it. Nadir Shah obtained much fame, at a very early age, for valour and military skill. While he was a young man he set before him the task of freeing his country from the Afghans, and became in a few years the leader of a formidable body of troops. He then proclaimed his purpose of expelling the Afghans, and a host of Persians joined his standard. He gained many victories. At length he entered Ispahan as a conqueror. Ashrāff, the Afghan ruler of Persia, was taken and put to death. Before the end of the year 1729 every trace of the Afghan usurpation had been destroyed. He then invaded successfully the

Afghan territory. As some of the Afghan fugitives had been kindly received by the Great Mogul (the Emperor of Delhi), he required that the fugitives should not find shelter in India; and, on this demand being refused, he led an army there, defeated the Mogul's troops, and entered Delhi on the 8th of March 1789. The Emperor fell into his hands, but he restored him to his throne, and returned to Persia, taking with him, however, an immense amount of treasure. He had an indomitable will, and cherished often generous influences; but long-continued supremacy of power corrupted his nature, and, having become a cruel tyrant, he was murdered by some of his own officers in the night of the 19th or 20th of June 1747.

As the campaign in India will probably be the most interesting part, to my readers, of Nadir Shah's life, I subjoin a couple of extracts from it:

“Mohammed (the Emperor of Delhi) and the Indian princes, who had been softened by a life of luxury and indolence, deceived by the vast number of their forces, determined to venture on a battle, and hastened to the support of Saadet (an Indian chieftain who led 30,000 men against Nadir Shah) with a vain confidence of victory. Nadir Shah was so far from being disheartened at the sight of this formidable armament, that he is said to have been animated beyond his usual degree of courage: he knew that an army of soft and enervated Indians were little able to oppose the hardy troops whom he had trained to arms by the most excellent discipline, and allured to engage with more ardour than ever by the hope of sharing the spoils of so rich a kingdom; he perceived the folly of his adversaries in bringing to the field such enormous pieces of ordnance, which they were unable to conduct with skill, and in depending upon the number of their elephants, which could not fail to distress and impede them in a general action. These considerations gave him such assurance of success, that he ordered Nasralla to stay behind with the greatest part of the artillery, and rushed with a wild impetuosity upon the Indians.”

The latter, however, fought with more courage than he had anticipated. They maintained the fight for five hours, but were at length defeated. The defeat became a rout, in

which many officers of distinction and 30,000 Hindūs, it is said, were slain :

“A great number of Indians were made captives, and all their elephants, horses, and instruments of war fell into the hands of the conquerors.”

Our next extract will be the account of the reception which he gave subsequently to the unfortunate Emperor. Mohammed had retreated to an entrenched camp, which Nadir Shah blockaded. In a short time the Emperor was compelled, by the want of provisions, to submit to his conqueror and to resign his crown.

“On the first of February”, the narrative continues, “Nadir Shah advanced towards Delhi ; and, on the seventh, he encamped in the Gardens of Shalehmal, where Mohammed obtained leave to enter the city, in order to prepare his palace for the reception of his vanquisher. Nadir followed him on the ninth, and was conducted to a magnificent edifice, built by the Mogul Shahgehan (Shah Jehan), which upon this occasion was decorated with every ornament that the treasury of Mohammed could supply. That unfortunate monarch, finding himself reduced to the condition of a private nobleman, prepared to attend his conqueror with the lowest marks of submission ; but Nadir Shah soon raised him from the state of dejection into which he was sunk, by declaring that he would reinstate him on the throne of his ancestors, and that he would repair the late breach in their friendship by maintaining a perpetual alliance with the Indian Empire, and by giving him a sure support upon every exigence.”

The Mogul was so much gratified by this generous act that he brought all his jewels and treasure to Nadir Shah :

“These treasures”, says Mirza Mahadi, “consisted of rich vases adorned with gems, vast heaps of gold and silver in coins and ingots, with a great variety of sumptuous furniture, thrones, and diadems ; among the rest was the famous throne in the form of a peacock, in which the pearls and precious stones were disposed in such a manner as to imitate the colours of that beautiful bird, and which was said to be worth two millions and a half sterling. The princes and ministers of the Indian court followed the example of their king, and vied with each other in making presents to Nadir Shah, who received in this manner about nine millions three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds, exclusive of the jewels, gold, and valuable pieces of furniture, which must have amounted to more than double that sum.”

To the translation of Nadir Shah's life two treatises were appended: (1) *An Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations*; (2) *The History of the Persian Language*. Since these essays were written when their author was only twenty-two years of age, they are little less than marvellous. They give evidence of a wide range of study in Oriental languages, for in the first essay Arabic poetry is discussed even more fully than Persian. I give an extract from his discussion of the latter:

"They (the Persian poets) pass their lives in a pleasurable, yet studious, retirement; and this may be one reason why Persia has produced more writers of every kind, and chiefly *poets*, than all Europe together, since their way of life gives them leisure to pursue those arts which cannot be cultivated to advantage without the greatest calmness and serenity of mind. There is a manuscript at Oxford containing the lives of an hundred and thirty-five of the finest Persian poets, most of whom left very ample collections of their poems behind; but the versifiers and moderate poets, if Horace will allow any such men to exist, are without number in Persia."

The Persian poets are doubtless many in number, and much of their poetry is of a high order of merit, but it must be remembered that Sir William wrote his essay in 1769, when authors were not numerous in any part of Europe. The balance against Europeans has long been redressed, and now our crowds of authors and their books far surpass in number the Persian writers, and even the Persian poets. The allusion is to the well-known words of Horace:

"mediocribus esse poetis

Non homines, non Dî, non concessere columnæ" (booksellers' shops).

Ars Poet., 373.

He speaks with great admiration of the Persian epic, the Sháh Nāma, and compares it with the Iliad of Homer:

"As to the great epic poem of Ferdusi, which was composed in the tenth century, it would require a very long treatise to explain all its beauties with a minute exactness. The whole collection of that poet's work is called the Shah Nāma, and contains the history of Persia from the earliest times to the invasion of the Arabs, in a series of very noble

poems, the longest of which is an heroic poem of one great and interesting action, namely, the delivery of Persia by Cyrus from the oppressions of Afrasiah, King of Transoxan Tartary, who, being assisted by the Emperors of India and China, together with all the demons, giants, and enchanters of Asia, had carried his conquests very far, and become exceedingly formidable to the Persians. This poem is longer than the Iliad; the characters in it are various and striking; the figures bold and animated, and the diction everywhere sonorous yet noble, polished yet full of fire. . . . I am far from pretending to assert that the poet of Persia is equal to that of Greece, but there is certainly a very great resemblance between the works of those extraordinary men; both drew their images from nature herself, without catching them only by reflection, and painting, in the manner of the modern poets, *the likeness of a likeness*, and they both possessed, in an eminent degree, that rich and creative invention which is the very soul of poetry."

Sir William's translation of *Isæus* will not interest anyone who is not a lawyer by profession. The notes are ample, and show an accurate knowledge of both Athenian and English law. They are marked, too, by that clearness of judgment which, in after years, brought him so much reputation as a judge. We may now turn to his translation of a celebrated work, the Institutes of Manu, the *Mānava-Dharma-Sāstra*, as the book is called in the language in which it is written. It is not a law-book in the European sense of the word, but rather a treatise on all matters connected with good conduct, or right usage, of every kind. The word *dharma* conveys to the mind of the Hindū the idea of a divine law, or pious rites, quite as much as that of civil law. Many of the rites or observances there enjoined are doubtless of great antiquity, but the book, in its present form, is not nearly so ancient as Sir William believed it to be, on the authority of his Brāhman teachers. It may, perhaps, be assigned to the 5th century B.C.; but, whatever may be the date of this compilation, it has wrought out for itself a deep reverence among the Hindūs. The first and last chapters are evidently later than the rest, and the first treats of theology, as that word is understood in India. Many of the statements are expressed

in language that is both solemn and impressive. Prof. Dowson, an impartial witness, says of Sir William's work, "Sir W. Jones's translation, edited by Haughton, is excellent, and is the basis of all others in French, German, etc."

An extract from the first chapter of this work will show what is the Hindū, or Vedāntist, idea of God and of creation :

"From *that which is*, the first cause, not the object of sense, existing (everywhere in substance), not existing (to our perception), without beginning or end, was produced the divine male, under the appellation of Brahmā. In that egg the great power sat inactive a whole year (of the Creator), at the close of which, by his thought alone, he caused the egg to divide itself ; And from its two divisions he framed the heaven (above) and the earth (beneath) : in the midst (he placed) the subtle ether, the eight regions, and the permanent receptacle of waters : From the supreme soul he drew forth Mind, existing substantially, though unperceived by sense, immaterial, and (before) mind (or the reasoning power) he produced consciousness, the internal monitor, the ruler ; And (before them both) he produced the great (principle of) the soul (or first expansion of the divine idea), and all vital forms endowed with the three qualities of (goodness, passion, and darkness), and the (five) perceptions of sense and the five organs of sensation. (Thus) having at once pervaded, with emanations from the Supreme Spirit, the minutest portions of six principles, immensely operative (consciousness and the five perceptions) He framed all creatures." (*Dist.*, 11 to 17.)

Sir William has successfully divined the meaning of two words—*sat* and *asat*—which have much perplexed later Sanskritists. "*Sat*", says Dr. Muir, in his *Sanskrit Texts*, "is supposed to mean existence *per se*, and *asat* is therefore represented as its logical opposite, or rather contradictory, the negation of being, or non-existence." Prof. Max Müller says that "some of the ancient sages, after having arrived at the idea of *Avyākṛita*, or Undeveloped, went even beyond, and instead of the *sat* or τὸ ὄν they postulated an *asat*, τὸ μὴ ὄν, as the beginning of all things" (*Sans. Lit.*, 324). No Hindū ever supposed that existence sprang from non-existence. *Sat* means the universe in its definite existing forms ; *asat* is the formless life of the Great Spirit from

whom the universe has emanated. Thus, in the *Rig Veda* (x, 72-3), "in the first age of the gods, entity (*sat*) sprang from non-entity (*asat*)." So it is said of the god Agni (*R. V.*, x, 5, 7) that he is both *asat* (unmanifested) and *sat* (manifest being); and in the *Ohhandogya Upanishad* it is said: "Some say that in the beginning was *asat* alone, without a second, and from this *asat* might the *sat* be born." *Sat* corresponds to the *daseyn* of the German philosopher Hegel, and Hindū philosophers have argued as he, that every something or manifest being is an effect, because otherwise we could only conceive it as absolute being, and therefore unlimited.

The year in which Brahmā lay inactive does not mean an ordinary year, but a fabulous period of time. A day of Brahmā is supposed, by a truly Oriental extravagance, to extend to four hundred and thirty-two millions of ordinary years, and a year of Brahmā is this extent of time multiplied by three hundred and sixty.

In the Hindū psychology the soul stands apart from consciousness (*ahan-kara*) and reason (*buddhi*). The *manas* (Lat. *mens*) is the faculty which transforms our sensations into perceptions; these are then transferred to consciousness, and from this faculty to reason, wherein they are seen by the soul as in a mirror.

The eight regions are so many points of the compass.

The three qualities are the three kinds of matter, of which it is supposed that all visible things are formed; the quality of goodness representing a fine, subtle kind of matter, resembling fire; that of passion, a restless, volatile kind, which leads to action; and action is but another name for trouble; that of darkness is a gross, low kind, prevailing in beasts and beast-like men.

The counsels given in this work are often pure and high-toned; but it was evidently composed by Brāhmans, for the

pretensions of this order are strongly supported. Thus we are told that—

“Good instruction must be given without pain to the instructed, and sweet gentle speech must be used by a preceptor who cherishes virtue. He whose discourse and heart are pure and ever perfectly guarded attains all the fruit arising from a complete course of studying the Veda. Let not a man be querulous, even though in pain; let him not injure another in deed or in thought; let him not even utter a word by which his fellow-creature may suffer uneasiness, since that will obstruct his own progress to future beatitude. A Brāhman should constantly shun worldly honour as he would shun poison, and rather constantly seek disrespect, as he would seek nectar. . . . Let the twice-born youth (a young Brāhman), whose soul has been formed by this regular succession of prescribed acts, collect by degrees, while he dwells with his preceptor, the devout habits proceeding from the study of scripture (the Vedas).”

The epithet twice-born belongs properly to the three upper classes or castes—the Brāhman, the Kshatriya (warrior), and the Vaisya (merchant or agricultural) class; but practically it is confined to the Brāhmins, whose reception of the sacrificial cord at the age of puberty, when they are endowed with all the privileges of their order, is considered as a second birth. They are far from seeking disrespect; in fact, they are inflexible in requiring every form and manifestation of honour to be offered to them.

Some of the laws, or injunctions, of the book are trivial and even grotesque, but a Hindū has little sense of humour, and his religion affects the whole of his life, even to its minor details. Some commentators, however, maintain that the laws of Manu were valid in the three past ages of the world, but have little authority in the present, the Kali Yuga or evil age. But some of the injunctions have become a part of a devout Hindū's life, as that of repeating the Gāyatrī every morning and evening. This is a very sacred distich in the *Rig-Veda* (iii, 62, 10): “We meditate on the pre-eminent brightness of God, the Vivifier. May he excite or animate our intellects.” In the *Institutes of Manu* it is said :

“Those men of the twice-born classes, by whom the *Gāyatrī* has not been repeated or explained, according to law, the assembly must cause to perform three *prājāpatya* penances (penances by fasting), and afterwards to be girt with the sacrificial string,” i.e., restored to his caste privileges.

So also :

“By three thousand repetitions of the *gāyatrī*, with intense application of mind, and by subsisting on milk only for a whole month, a Brāhman, who has received a gift from a bad man, may be cleared from sin” (xi, 192, 195).

Sir William’s translation of the *Sakuntalā*, a drama of the highest repute in India, is, I think, his best Sanskrit work. The *dramatis personæ* belong to the heroic or fabulous age. The heroine, S’akuntalā, who has given her name to the drama, was the daughter of Visvāmitra, one of seven great rishis or inspired poets, and a celestial nymph, Menakā. She was fed by birds in a forest until found and adopted by the sage Kanwa. When grown to woman’s estate she was accidentally seen in a wood by King Dushyanta, and such was her beauty that he fell in love with her immediately. They were married by what is called a *Gandharva* marriage, that is, by a mutual declaration of acceptance only. She was so much occupied by thoughts of her husband that she failed to honour the sage Durvāsas on his approach, and he pronounced on her the curse that she should be forgotten by her husband ; but he so far relented as to say that the curse should be removed when the king recognised a ring that he had given her. She went forth to seek her husband, and in bathing during her journey lost the ring. When she met Dushyanta he did not recognise her and refused to own her as his wife. In the meantime a fisherman had found the ring and brought it to the king. He recognised it, and was filled with remorse for having forsaken and rejected S’akuntalā. He went forth to find her, and eventually she was installed in his palace as the queen. It is said that she had

a son called Bharata, and that he succeeded his father on the throne. It is probable that the tradition had a basis of reality, for one of the names of India is still *Bharata-varsha*, the land of Bharata. The following extract shows Dushyanta musing as a lover :—

“Dush. I well know the power of her devotion ; that she will suffer none to dispose of her but Kanwa, I too well know. Yet my heart can no more return to its former placid state than water can reascend the steep down which it has fallen. O God of love, how can thy darts be so keen, since they are pointed with flowers? . . . Yet this God, who bears a fish for his banner (the Makara, a fabulous animal, sometimes identified with the shark or dolphin), and who wounds me to the soul, will give me real delight if he destroy me with the aid of my beloved, whose eyes are large and beautiful as those of a roe. O powerful divinity, when I even thus adore thy attributes hast thou no compassion? Thy fire, O Love, is fanned into a blaze by a hundred of my vain thoughts. . . . I can have no relief but from a sight of my beloved. This intensely hot noon must no doubt be passed by S’akuntalā with her damsels, on the banks of this river overshadowed with tamalas (trees that bear a white blossom). It must be so. I will advance thither. [*Walking round and looking.*] My sweet friend has, I guess, been lately walking under that row of young trees ; for I see the stalks of some flowers, which probably she gathered, still unshrivelled, and some fresh leaves newly plucked, still dropping milk. [*Feeling a breeze.*] Ah ! this bank has a delightful air ! Here may the gale embrace me, wafting odours from the water-lilies, and cool my breast, inflamed by the bodiless God, with the liquid particles which it catches from the waves of the Mālinī (a name of the Ganges and other rivers). [*Looking down.*] Happy lover ! S’akuntalā must be somewhere in the grove of flowering creepers ; for I discern in the yellow sand, at the door of yon harbour, some recent footsteps, raised a little before and depressed behind by the weight of her elegant limbs. I shall have a better view from behind this thick foliage. [*He conceals himself, looking vigilantly.*] Now are my eyes fully gratified. The darling of my heart, with her two faithful attendants, reposes on a smooth rock strewn with flowers.”

The following extract shows Dushyanta, as restored to his right mind, and filled with remorse for having rejected S’akuntalā. He is attended by Mādhavya, the royal jester, and Misracēsi, a nymph of celestial origin.

"*Mādh.* Let me know, I pray, by what means the ring obtained a place on the finger of S'akuntala.

"*Dush.* You shall know, my friend. When I was coming from the holy forest to my capital, my beloved, with tears in her eyes, thus addressed me: 'How long will the son of my lord keep me in his remembrance?'

"*Mādh.* Well, what then?

"*Dush.* Then, fixing this ring on her lovely finger, I thus answered: 'Repeat each day one of the three syllables engraved on this gem, and before thou hast spelled the word Dushyanta, one of my noblest officers shall attend thee, and conduct my darling to her palace.'—Yet I forgot, I deserted her in my frenzy.

"*Misr.* (aside). A charming interval of three days was fixed between their separation and their meeting, which the will of Brahmā rendered unhappy.

"*Mādh.* But how came the ring to enter, like a hook, into the mouth of a carp?

"*Dush.* When my beloved was lifting water to her head in the pool Sachitirtha, the ring must have dropped unseen.

"*Mādh.* It was very probable.

"*Misr.* (aside). Oh, it was thence that the king, who fears nothing but injustice, doubted the reality of his marriage; but how, I wonder, could his memory be connected with a ring?

"*Dush.* I am really angry with this gem.

"*Mādh.* (laughing). So am I with this staff.

"*Dush.* Why so, Mādhavya?

"*Mādh.* Because it presumes to be so straight when I am so crooked. Impertinent stick!

"*Dush.* (not attending to him). How, O ring, couldst thou leave that hand adorned with soft long fingers, and fall into a pool decked only with water-lilies? The answer is obvious: thou art irrational. But how could I, who was born with a reasonable soul, desert my only beloved? . . . O my darling, whom I treated with disrespect and forsook without reason, when will this traitor, whose heart is deeply stung with repentant sorrow, be once more blessed with a sight of thee?

(A damsel enters with a picture.)

"*Dush.* (gazing on it). Yes; that is her face; those are her beautiful eyes; those her lips, embellished with smiles, and surpassing the red lustre of the Carcandhu fruit (the jujube tree, *Zizyphus Jububa*); her mouth seems, though painted, to speak, and her countenance darts beams of affection blended with a variety of melting tints. . . . Yet the picture is infinitely below the original."

Dushyanta eventually finds S'akuntalā in the forest where he had first met her, and falls at her feet. She bids him arise, assures him that she rejoices that he had denied her only in ignorance. The curtain falls on a happy group of Dushyanta, S'akuntalā, their son Bharata, some attendants, and two radiant divinities; for the drama belongs to a far distant age, when the gods were supposed to visit the earth.

The only other writings of Sir William that I can now discuss are his contributions to the Bengal Asiatic Society's *Transactions*. He founded this Society, was its first president, and, during the few remaining years of his life, its largest contributor. He gave a preliminary discourse on the institution of the Society, and afterwards read papers on "The Orthography of Asiatic Words"; "The Gods of Greece, Italy, and India", a beginning of comparative mythology; "The Hindūs", an anniversary discourse in the year 1786. These discourses were continued until his death in 1794, but he contributed also papers "On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindūs"; "A Preface to the *Institutes of Hindu Law*"; "On the Philosophy of the Asiatics"; and, as if to show the variety of his attainments, an almost exhaustive paper on Indian botany, a study in which he loved to occupy his leisure hours. I can only give an extract from a discourse on the Persians. I select it because it shows that Sir William was not only the first to discover the relationship of the Sanskrit language to others of the Aryan group, but that he also led the way in the study of the Zend, which Auquetil du Perron had brought before the world a few years before, in his translation of the Zendavesta. It would be an easy task for a competent scholar to show that we know more now, and have more correct knowledge, of this language, after the labours of Windischmann, Spiegel, Haug, and others; but a just critic will only express his surprise and admiration that so much had been done, and well done,

in these hitherto unknown departments of research, while the study was yet in its infancy. Sir William writes, in his address to the Bengal Asiatic Society, in 1789 :

“ Besides the Parsi and Pahlavi, a very ancient and abstruse tongue was known to the priests and philosophers, called the language of the Zend, because a book on religious and moral duties, which they held sacred, and which bore that name, had been written in it, while the *Pazand*, or comment on that work, was composed in Pahlavi, as a more popular idiom. . . . The Zend and the old Pahlavi are almost extinct in Iran, for among the six or seven thousand Gabra, who reside chiefly in Yazd and in Cirman, there are very few who can read Pahlavi, and scarce any who even boast of knowing the Zend ; while the Parsi, which remains almost pure in the *Shahnamah*, has now become by the admixture of numberless Arabic words, and many imperceptible changes, a new language. I can assure you, with confidence, that hundreds of Parsi nouns are pure Sanskrit, with no other change than such as may be observed in the numerous *bashas*, or vernacular dialects of India ; that very many Persian imperatives are the roots of Sanskrit verbs ; and that even the moods and tenses of the Persian verb substantive, which is the model of all the rest, are deducible from the Sanskrit by an easy and clear analogy ; we may hence conclude that the Parsi was descended, like the various Indian dialects, from the language of the Brāhmins.”

We all know now that the Persian language is allied to the Sanskrit, as one of the large Aryan group ; but in 1789 Sir W. Jones was proclaiming a new discovery in this department of knowledge, and was acting, in this as in other fields of research, the difficult part of a pioneer in unknown regions.

We have now to speak of the poetry of Sir William Jones. This, though not without interest, need not detain us so long as his prose ; for, though it is generally fluent and graceful, it is not marked by the *mens divini* which creates all poetry of the highest kind, except perhaps in the hymns which he addressed to some of the Hindū gods in the latest years of his life.

As an example of the easy flow and grace of his earlier poetry, I may offer the opening lines of “The Seven Foun-

tains: an Eastern Allegory", written in 1767, when he was in his twenty-first year. It treats of human follies:

"Decked with fresh garlands, like a rural bride,
 And with the crimson streamer's waving pride,
 A wanton bark was floating o'er the main
 And seemed with scorn to view the azure plain;
 Smooth were the waves, and scarce a whispering gale
 Fann'd with his gentle plumes the silken sail;
 High on the burnish'd deck a gilded throne
 With orient pearls and beaming diamonds shone;
 On which reclin'd a youth of graceful mien,
 His sandals purple, and his mantle green;
 His locks in ringlets o'er his shoulders roll'd,
 And on his cheek appear'd the downy gold;
 Around him stood a train of smiling boys,
 Sporting with idle cheer and mirthful toys;
 Ten comely striplings, girt with spangled wings,
 Blew piercing flutes or touch'd the quivering strings;
 Ten more, in cadence to the sprightly strain,
 Waked with their golden oars the slumbering main;
 The waters yielded to their guiltless blows,
 And the green billows sparkled as they rose."

His early poetry consisted chiefly of translations from Arabic or Persian; but one of his early poems was a version of Petrarch's ode on his beloved Laura. It is one of his happiest efforts as a translator:

"O! well-remember'd day,
 When on yon bank she lay,
 Meek in her pride and in her rigour mild;
 The young and blooming flowers,
 Falling in fragrant showers,
 Shone on her neck, and on her bosom smil'd:
 Some on her mantle hung,
 Some in her locks were strung,
 Like orient gems in rings of flaming gold;
 Some, in a spicy cloud
 Descending, call'd aloud,
 'Here Love and Youth the reins of empire hold.

I view'd the heavenly maid,
 And, rapt in wonder, said,
 The Groves of Eden gave this angel birth ;
 Her look, her voice, her smile,
 That might all heaven beguile,
 Wafted my soul above the realms of Earth."

One of his translations, in this instance from the Persian, presents in a single verse a sentiment that appeals to a general sympathy. It is often quoted, but will bear repetition.

" There, on the nurse's lap, a new-born child,
 We saw thee weep while all around thee smiled ;
 So live, that sinking in thy last long sleep,
 Thou still mayst smile, while all around thee weep."

The odes to which I have referred undoubtedly show that Sir William rose to a higher degree in poetic composition than in his early years, and perhaps, if his years had been prolonged to the average extent, he might have sent forth poems that the world would not willingly let die. I give an extract from the hymn on Surya, the Sun, because it requires little acquaintance with Hindū mythology.

" Ye clouds, in wavy wreaths,
 Your dusky van unfold.
 O'er dimpled sands, ye surges, gently flow,
 With sapphires edg'd and gold.
 Loose-tressed morning breathes,
 And spreads her blushes with expansive glow ;
 But chiefly where heaven's opening eye
 Sparkles at her saffron gate,
 How rich, how regal in his orient state !
 Ere long he shall emblaze th' unbounded sky,
 The fiends of darkness yelling fly ;
 While birds of liveliest note and lightest wing,
 The rising day-star sing.
 Who skirts the horizon with a blazing line,
 Of topazes divine ;
 E'en in their prelude, brighter and more bright,
 Flames the red East, and pours insufferable light."

The most popular piece of Sir William's poetry is certainly his high-spirited poem beginning with "What constitutes a state?" It has a manly strain, which has always commended it to Englishmen of all classes, and of every school of political thought. It is often quoted, but may be new to some of my readers, and may fittingly close this part of our discussion.

"What constitutes a state?

Not high-raised battlement or laboured mound,
Thick wall or moated gate,

Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned.
Not bays and broad-armed ports,

Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starr'd and spangled courts,

Where low-born baseness wafts perfume to pride;
No—men, high-minded men,

With powers as far above dull brutes endued
In forest, brake, or den,

As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
Men who their duties know,

But know their rights, and, knowing dare maintain,
Prevent the long-aimed blow,

And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain;
These constitute a state;

And sovereign Law, that, with collected will,
O'er thrones and globes elate,

Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.
Smit by her sacred frown,

The fiend Dissension, like a vapour sinks,
And e'en the all-dazzling Crown

Hides his faint rays, and at her bidding shrinks."

EXTRACTS FROM HENGWRT MS. 34.¹

EDITED BY J. GWENOGVRYN EVANS.

I.

KYMYDEU A CHANTREUI KYMRY.

folio 70.

Gŷbyddet pobyl vzutanyeit panyó feith Santref yffydd y
 Mozgannóc yn y arglŷyddiaeth ae escobaeth./ Y kyntaf
 yó cantref býchan./ Ýr eil cantref yó góyr a chetweli./ y
 trydydd yó cantref gozenyd./ Y petóy^d yó cantref Pen-
 ychen./ Ý pymhet yó gwynllóc ac edylýgyon./ Y chwechet
 cantref yó Góent is koet./ Y seithuet cantref yó gwent
 yóch koet./ Ystrat yó ac Euas y rei y elwit yn ddóy
 lawes gwent yóch koet./ Ac heuyt Ergin ac an ergin mal
 y mae y cóbyl teruynau yn llyfr teiláo.

Pan yttoedd Edgar vzenhin yn lloegyr a Hywel dda vab
 Sadell yn tywyssaóc deheubarth kymry./ Sef oedd hynny
 y ⁴trydydd taleith./ yd oedd y vozgan hen holl vozgannóc
 yn tagnouedus hyt pan geifaódd Hywel dda y dzeifyáo am
 Estrat yó ac Euas. **P**an glybu Edgar vzenhin hynny ef a
 dyuynnaódd attaó Hywel dda a Morgan hen ac ywein y vab

¹ This MS. is known as the KWTTA KYVARWYDD, and is supposed to have been written, for the most part, by Gwilym Tew of Glamorgan, who flourished in the middle of the 15th century. The *Extracts* are printed from the editor's transcript, and readers must not place the same reliance upon the accuracy of the text as if there had been an opportunity of revising the proof with the original. The alternative readings in the footnotes are from Hengwrt MS. 275, in the autograph of John Jones of Gellilyfdy. It was also intended to give alternative readings from the *Red Book of Hergest*, but this could not be done in time for this number of *Y Cymmrodor*.

ydd y lys ef yn llundein. / Ac ef a warandewis yfyr yr
 ymryffon a oedd ryddun. ef a teruynóyt dŵy gyfreithlaón
 varn y llys pan / yó Hywel dda a treifaódd yn andlyedus tróy
 [fol. 70b] gamwedd Morgant hen ac ywein y vab. Ac am
 hynny diureinaó hyóel dda ozugant o yftrat yó ac Ewas
 dzagywydd ac yn ol hynny / Edgar vzenhin a gennathaódd
 ac a roes y ywein vab Morgant hen yftrat yó ac Ewas o veón
 y yfcoabaeth landaf a chydarhau hynny dŵy weithzedoedd
 ydaó ac yó etiuedyon vŷth. o gytŷynnedigaeth a thystolyaeth
 holl archeŷcŷb. eŷgyb. ieirll. a barónyeit lloegŷr a chymŷr.
 dan roi eu melltith yr neb a ddiureinei blóyf theilaó ac
 Arglóydiaeth vorgannóc or gwledydd hynn. / Ac heuyt
 bendigedic vei ay katwei mal y dlyei yn dzagywŷdd. ar
 gweithret a wnaeth Edgar ar hynn yn trŷffordŷ llandaff y
 mae ynghadó./*

folio 71.

LLŷma enweu kymŷdeu holl gymŷr ar kantreui.

ŷEGEINGL.

Kantref kymót { Confilld¹
 Pŷestatam²
 Ruddlan. }

* *This poetry occurs at the bottom of folio 70b.*

Rŷt hiraeth etgy llaeth góyn }
 Am eur na charyat mozóyn } *Rŷs ap dd ap Ier.*

Hudaól gózaól am gozŷó }
 Hiraeth am eur bennaeth byó }

Gwladeidd oedd y vziclóydaó }
 Glegr du gwae loegr o daó }

Gwaór gein kauas gwŷr góynedd }
 Gan dduó ór yn vyó o vedd }

¹ Kouñfylt.

² Pŷestatyn.

DYFFRYN CLŴYT.

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----|---------------|--|--|
| | K. | K. | { Coleyan llannerch Ruthyn } | |
| GŴYNEDD BER- UEDD WLAT. | | Cantref kymŵt | { Yr ystrat uŵch aled Is aled } | |
| | | C. | K. | { uŵch dulas is dulas Creuddyn } |
| | C. | K. | { Yftrat alun Hobeu ¹ Ial } | |
| Ros. | | | | |
| | C. | K. | { Merford vukuan Maelaŵr faefnec } | |
| PYWYS VADAŴC | } | C. | K. | { Tref ywein Croes ofwallt Y groefuaen } |
| | | C | K | { Pan Hendŵy ² Kynlleith uŵch rayadyr } |
| | | C. | K | { Dimael ³ Edeirnaŵn Glyn dŵfyrdŵy } |
| <i>folio 71b.</i> | | | | |
| PYWYS 6 ^t s ^{id} | } | C. | K. | { Is Rayadyr Mychein llannerch Huddŵl ⁴ } |
| | | C. | K | { Deuddŵr Yftrat marchell Gozdŵŵz iffaf } |
| PYWYS WE NŴYNŴN | | C. | K. | { Kyueilaŵc Maŵddŵy uŵch hanes is hanes } |

¹ Yr Hobeu.² Nanheuduy.³ Dinmael.⁴ Lannerç hudol.

| | | | | |
|------------------|---|----|----|---|
| ELUAEL | } | C. | K. | { u6ch mynydd Is mynydd llythyfnog ¹ |
| | | C. | K. | { Dyffryn teueiddyat Soydd inogen Penwellt |
| BUELLT | | C. | K. | { Soydd dinan } { Soydd dzeffys } { Is Iruon } |
| PENWEDIC | | | | |
| KAREDIGYAON | } | C. | K. | { Geneurglynn Kymot peruedd Creuddyn ² |
| | | C. | K. | { Meuenidd ³ Anhuna6s Pennardd |
| | | C. | K. | { Mabwynyon Kaer wedza6s |
| | | C. | K. | { Gwionionydd Is koet |
| <i>folio 68b</i> | | | | |
| YSTREAT TY | } | 6. | K/ | { Hiruryn Kymot peruedd Is kennen |
| | | C. | K/ | { G6hy ⁴ Ketweli Karnwyllan |
| | | C. | K/ | { Mallaen Kaea6 Maena6r Deila6 |
| | | C. | K/ | { Kethina6c Mabeluy6 Mabudzyt Widigada |

¹ Lecdyfnog.² Y Kreuddyn.³ Looks more like Menneuidd. John Jones reads Meufenydd.⁴ G6hy. The r in MS. 34 is in a different ink and irregular in form.

BRECHINA6C.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| { | S | K | Kantref selyf Kym6t trahaern |
| | S | K | { Talgarth Yftrat yw Egl6ys ieil |
| | C | K | { Tir Rawlf Llywel Cruc Hywel |

KEMEIS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| C | K | { u6ch neuer Is neuer tref dzaeth |
|---|---|---|

DYUET.

| | | | |
|-------|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| AMLYN | C | K | { u6ch ku6ch Is ku6ch Eluet |
|-------|---|---|-----------------------------------|

folio 69

| | | |
|---|----|---|
| C | K. | { Penryn a derlis Hftloof Talacharn |
|---|----|---|

DEU GLEDYF

| | | | |
|---|----|----|-------------------------------|
| { | S. | K. | { Amgoet Pennant Huefre |
| | S | K | < Hlanehadein Hastell gwis |
| | S | K | < Goet Raath Maenawr bir |

PENVRO

ROS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| S | K | { Penuro Haglfozdd Gastell gwalchmei H garn. |
|---|---|---|

PABIDYA6C

| | | |
|---|---|---------------------------------|
| S | K | { Hyny6 Penkaer Pabidya6c |
|---|---|---------------------------------|

MORGANNŌC

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----|----|---|
| GORENYTH | Ⓔ. | K. | { Rōng nedd a thawy Rōng nedd ac Auyn Sir yr Hōndzōt Sir iarll y koet du. Maenaōr glynn Ogōr |
| PENYCHEN. | Ⓔ | K. | { Meifkyn Glynrothnei ¹ Maenaōr tal y vann Maenaōr ruthyn |
| <i>folio 69b</i> | | | |
| KYMŌT BZEI NAŌL. / | Ⓔ | K. | { Kibour Seinghenydd Yōch Kaeach Is Kaeach |
| ⒺWENLLYŌC. | Ⓔ. | K. | { Kymōt yr heidd Kymōt kenaōl Kymōt eithaf Edlygyon Kymōt y mynydd |
| ⒺWENT. | Ⓔ | K. | { Is koet Llebnydd Tref gruc Bryn buga |
| | Ⓔ | K. | { uōch coet Teirtref Ergin |
| Y DDENA | | | Ⓔantref Koch yn y ddena hyt gaerloyō |

Raldehy yō ynys pyr or pyr hōnnō y kauas kaf-
tell Maenaōr pyr y enō. /

Sm : Cantredo2 : Northwallie xv Comodo2 : xxxvj

Sm : Cantredo2 : Powifie viij Comodor : xxj

Sm : Cantredo2 : Meneueñ dioc : xxj . Comodo2 : lxiij

* * * * *

¹ Looks like r, but the letter is very indistinct. John Jones reads Glynrothnei.

fol 82.

HENWEU KYSTEDLYDD YNT

| | | |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------|
| Kyhauall | Kyfeiffioz | Kymra6t |
| Kychwior | Kyfefell ¹ | Kyfwyrein |

HENWEU LLAW YNT

Nedeir . Adaf . Palf . Angat . Mun . Afcrc

HENWEU DU6 YNT

Douydd . Celi . Peryf . Deon . Ren. /

II.

OLD WORDS GLOSSED.

| | | | | | |
|-------------|---|--------------|----------------------|---|-------------|
| Ofeb | = | keleennic | Llafar | = | glas |
| Ofp | = | diethr | Llumon | = | ll6do |
| Aes | = | tarian | Llugenydd/ | = | fyrb6r |
| Addam | = | dieithyr | Prain | = | llys |
| Adyen | = | tec | Peu[es] | = | gwlat |
| Amwyn | = | amdifffyn | Paueis | = | tarian |
| Amerwy | = | pozffil | Peiryant | = | tidie6 |
| Iolo | = | addoli | Pothon | = | keneubleidd |
| Efnys | = | gylynyon | Pen knut | = | penz blaidd |
| Argledzdydd | = | vchel | Pelire | = | cat |
| Eddigor | = | argl6ydd | Kwyl | = | llys |
| Elyflu | = | llygot lawer | Rigot | = | pilori |
| Eruit | = | mor | Renuedd ² | = | golut |
| Edmic | = | vrddas | Maranedd | = | tryffoz |
| Echwyd | = | croyw | Meuedd | = | golut |
| Didzyf | = | diffeith | Meyn | = | lle |
| Daffar | = | darpar | Men | = | lle |
| Llafanad | = | kel6ydd | Maon | = | Arglwyddi |
| Llywy | = | rieni | Chwec | = | melys |
| Llillen | = | gafr | Cafnar | = | cat |
| Llallofan | = | arglwydd | Kymelri | = | cat |

¹ ? Kyfefell.² Evidently a clerical error for Rheuedd.

| | | | | | |
|----------|---|------------------|-----------|---|--------------|
| Kyfergyr | = | Ewñ ¹ | Cenyftr | = | coloz |
| Clegyr | = | kerric | Cynghwem- | | |
| Cerby[t] | = | ffiaret | yeint | = | edißeirieint |
| Ceubal | = | Cafn Maör | Cywy*** | = | llewen[ydd |

III.

also folio 12a

Kerbyt yó charret ./
 Rigot yó pilozí ./
 Karedd yó pechaót .
 Kaódd yó llit ./
 Mahon yó arglwyddi .
 Meuhedd [yó] golut
 Maraured² yó trýffor
 Mant [yó] helm
 Mehyn a men yó lle .
 Mangre [yó] lle.
 Molaót yó maól .
 Modzydaf [yó] kyf gwenyn .
 Keli douydd . Ren peryf . deon .

¹ Ewñ. The capital of this gloss is hard to make out : if it is not E, it must be either G or C.

² This word occurs in extract II as Maranedd, which I suppose is the only form.

ON THE
CIRCULAR HUTS
SOMETIMES CALLED *CYTTIAU 'R GWYDDELOD*,
AND THEIR INHABITANTS.

BY THE REV. ELIAS OWEN, M.A.

No. II.¹

THE earliest remains of human abodes in Wales are the *cyttiau* or hut habitations. They are circular, occasionally ovoidal in shape; their dimensions vary, but are generally small. The foundation-stones of these huts have reached our days, and are found in many places, particularly in the uncultivated or partially cultivated parts of Wales. Where they stand they are in no one's way, and it is to this fact that we are indebted for their preservation. To my knowledge many of them have disappeared from the upland farms in the present century.

Here and there the remains of a single hut are to be met with on the commons or uncultivated land, with its large foundation-stones set on end, and the *débris* of fallen walls on each side of them. But generally several small huts are found in a group, nestling in thick walls, and surrounded by an encircling wall; and often a deeply worn trackway, with erect stones on either side, leads from one group of remains to another, showing that a community with common interests lived in these huts. The dimensions of these habitations are so limited, and the simplicity of their arrangement such, that their inhabitants had evidently but few wants, and

¹ See *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. ix, pp. 120-140.

were entirely ignorant of many conveniences of life that in our days are within the reach even of a farm servant. Still, we observe traces of a mode of living which indicates a certain amount of civilisation.

In the immediate neighbourhood of these primitive abodes is generally a camp, situated on an elevated spot of ground, into which, in cases of emergency, the inhabitants of the circular huts could retreat; and the flint arrow-heads which are found in these huts indicate that war, against either men or wild animals, was an occupation of the ancient inhabitants of the country. In close proximity to these ruined abodes are to be seen patches of ploughed land, having very narrow furrows or butts. The ploughed land is often protected by the remains of walls, originally erected to keep out animals that fed on grain; but this is not invariably the case, for here and there one meets with ploughed fields having no surrounding walls. This would lead us to the conclusion that originally these small fields were protected by stockades or hedges, which in the lapse of ages have disappeared. The quantity of grain sown in those days was small, and must have been quite inadequate to the wants of the people, so that we must suppose they lived chiefly by the chase, or, when not distant from the sea, on shell- or other fish.

Whorls have been discovered in these huts, their presence showing that the inhabitants were acquainted with a rough kind of weaving; and possibly some of the small fields were devoted to the cultivation of a kind of hemp or flax which was converted into cloth. That corn was used and made into bread is an undoubted fact, for corn-crushers or querns are found in these primitive habitations.

There is another feature connected with these ancient abodes which cannot be passed over, and that is the evident care taken of the dead by their inhabitants. Here and there

on the hill-sides, but not close to the huts, are to be seen *cistfeini*, which have been pillaged, it is true, but which still retain features pointing to a religious faith held by those ancient people; and when by mere accident one of these burial-places has been for the first time opened, small cups and bone pins have been discovered in it. The cups would lead us to suppose that they were placed there for the use of the dead in the spirit-world. The *cistfaen* as now seen consists of stones placed on edge in rectangular form. Into the *cist* the body of the dead was put, and then it was covered with a capstone, and a heap of stones was piled upon the grave. Around the interment a circle of stones was placed. But the *cistfaen* which has reached our days has in most cases been deprived of its superincumbent stones, and in other ways mutilated.

Judging from the character of the masonry and the formation of the hill-huts found in the large camps or fortifications on Conway town hill, Penmaenmawr, and Tre'r Ceiri, I have but little hesitation in saying that all these remains belong to the tribe or race of people that built and inhabited the huts that dot the Carnarvonshire hills; nor do I doubt that the circles of stones on Penmaenmawr and the Aber hill belong also to no other people than those whose homesteads I am describing.

We have, therefore, as I believe, glimpses of the history of a remote past in these remains. All that is required is the key that will enable us to read aright the silent document. These ancient remains have not been carefully explored. Perhaps it is just as well that they have not all been desecrated by curious collectors of antiquities. We shall understand better how to investigate such monuments, as our knowledge and proper appreciation of the past increases. For the present, I will content myself with describing these remains as they were twenty-five years ago; but, before I

have finished this series of papers, I shall have something to say on the civilisation of their inhabitants.

The foundation-stones of the detached circular abodes may still be seen along the Carnarvonshire hills, and they are all that has reached our days of these most ancient homesteads. It should be stated that there are two sets of foundation-stones to these old walls, an inner and an outer, the intervening space being filled with stones. The diameter of these detached huts varies, some being but eighteen feet, or even less, across, whilst others are larger. They have but one entrance, about three feet broad, and on each side of this doorway is still to be seen in many instances the stone doorpost, three or four feet above the ground. There are no holes in these stones into which hinges could have been inserted, and therefore we can only conjecture how the entrance was secured from wind and weather and unwelcome visitors. It might have been secured by a huge stone from the inside, or by a wickerwork door. In whatever way the privacy of the hut was obtained, the contrivance must have been simple, and corresponded in character with the primitive abode itself. There are no traces of windows of any kind. Light and heat reached the interior through the doorway, and the entrances, most likely, were usually open in the daytime. Hearthstones they had, and quantities of wood ashes have been found, either on or close to the hearthstone. Ancient stone corn-crushers have also been found in the huts, and even iron, if the testimony of my informants may be believed. I see no reason why it should be doubted, for they knew nothing of antiquarian disputations respecting the stone age, bronze age, and iron age, and merely stated what they had observed.

It is very seldom that a perfect example of these detached abodes is found in Wales, but an old man supplied me with the following particulars of one that he had accidentally

discovered. He was engaged in clearing a rough, uncultivated piece of ground for potato-planting; as he struck the pickaxe into the ground it came into contact with a stone, and he thought he heard a reverberating sound, as if the ground underneath the spot was hollow. Repeated trial-blows of his pickaxe confirmed him in this opinion, and, as it turned out, he had discovered a beehive-shaped primitive abode.

This hut stood in a plot of ground called Buarthau, on Gerlan farm, which is on the mountain-side, about a mile from the modern town of Bethesda. Before the spot was touched it had the appearance of a mound of earth, and a colony of ants had made a lodgment on it. Upon clearing away the soil slabs of stone came in view; and upon removing these an underground circular chamber was exposed. The walls were of stone, the roof was formed of stones overlapping each other, and the whole building resembled a large beehive. The entrance was four feet high and three feet broad. The stones about the doorway were cemented with cockleshell mortar. The floor was of tempered earth, such as is met with at present in mountain cottages. The fireplace was opposite the door, and possessed an iron grate, the bars of which were very close to each other. This grate was thrown away by the discoverer, being too much corroded to be of any use. A hole above the fireplace served as an escape for the smoke. About a wheelbarrowful of wood ashes was on the hearthstone. Around the fireplace several large stones were arranged, as if for seats. My informant told me that he and another man rifled and destroyed this singular hut in the vain expectation of discovering hidden treasures.

There are several important items in the above description worthy of special notice. The wood ashes found prove that the fuel used when it was occupied was wood, and not peat,

which was and is still consumed in the neighbourhood of the hills. At present there is not a single tree near these remains; indeed, I may repeat what I said in my first paper, that the Carnarvonshire hills are naked, and have been in their present state for a length of time. This hut evidently was occupied at a time when the country was well wooded, as probably was the case from very ancient times to within two hundred years of our day. The existence of iron in this hut may be considered a difficulty; but as I shall have to refer to this matter more fully, I will only say here that it is not improbable that some of these *cyttiau* were inhabited up to a comparatively late period, and slightly improved by their later and somewhat more refined occupants. This will account for the presence in this hut of what would in the most remote ages be considered superfluous appendages, such as an iron grate and a mortared entrance.

The mortar made of cockleshells, with which the stones were cemented in this beehive abode, should not lightly be passed over. Mortar made of cockleshells is often to be met with in the oldest houses in the parishes of Llanllechid and Llandegai. The old farm-house of Plas uchaf, in the parish of Llanllechid, now converted into a barn or stable, has cockleshell mortar in its walls, and so has an old building by Pont Tŵr, near Bethesda. Mr. Elias Williams, an intelligent farmer, now dead, who lived at Bronydd, in the parish of Llanllechid, described to the writer the manner of converting cockleshells into lime. He stated that a hole was dug in the ground and filled with wood and layers of cockleshells. The whole was ignited and kept alight until the shells crumbled to lime. This use of cockleshells suggests that formerly shell-fish formed an article of consumption of the people. The writer has seen heaps of shells exposed by cutting into the ground in more than one place in Carnarvonshire. That cockles were eaten by the Roman soldiers in

Anglesey is evident from the remains found in Roman camps in that island.

The late Rev. W. Wynn Williams, in an interesting letter published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1856, when describing the Roman remains at Rhyddgaer, Anglesey, says: "And quantities of cockleshells were found at the same time and place" (3rd Ser., vol. ii, p. 326).

Miss Angharad Llwyd, in her *History of Anglesey*, pp. 69-70, states that the inhabitants of Anglesey, in consequence of the ravages of the Danes, were reduced to such straits that they were obliged to resort to shell-fish to assuage their hunger. Her words are:

"In consequence of famine, which was caused by this 'Cenedl Ddu', the Grim Tribe of Marauders, the islanders were constrained (for the *first* time) to eat shell-fish."

"Naw cant a phedwar ugain a deg, y diffethwyd Môn, gan y Genedl Ddu. Bu am yr un amser ryfelu, a lladdgarwch mawr rhwng pendefigion Gwynedd a Phowys; ac bu rhyvel rhwng Mredydd ab Owain, ac Ithel ab Morgan, Brenin Morgangwg, achos anrhaith gwyr Mredydd yn eu newyn. Gan drudaniaeth. a'r amser hwnnw y dechrewyd bwytta cregyn y môr."

A footnote informs us that this extract is taken from *Llyrr Ieuan Brechva*. The following is a translation: "In the year 990 Anglesey was devastated by the Black Race (Danes). There was at the same time war and much slaughter between the chiefs of Gwynedd and Powys; and there was war between Maredudd ap Owain and Ithel ap Morgan, King of Glamorgan, on account of the pillaging of Maredudd's men in their famine. Owing to the scarcity at that time began the habit of eating shell-fish." All that this quotation means is, that the only available support of the famished islanders in the year 990 was shell-fish. People had undoubtedly long before the year 990 commenced eating cockles,

as is shown by Mr. W. Wynn Williams's statement. It is very likely, judging from the heaps of shells in Carnarvonshire, and the conversion of them into lime, that from remote ages people resorted to the sea for food.

The roof of the hut above described was conical, and composed of overlapping stones, but it would be unsafe to infer therefrom that all these huts were formed in the same way. The diameter of some of them is almost too great to suppose that the roof was of stone, and very probably they were often covered over with wood, arranged so as to form a dome, and it is not unlikely that the whole roof was protected by a coating of sods, which would cause the hut at a distance to resemble a mound of earth. It is difficult to ascertain the height of the walls of the huts, but, drawing a conclusion from the varying breadth of the foundations, they must have differed in this respect; probably the outer wall would not be much above four feet. The hut, being conical in form, would be of considerable height in the centre.

From what has been said of these abodes, it will be seen how simple they were in construction, and how very primitive the habits of the people who dwelt in them must have been.

The grouped abodes are generally found in the neighbourhood of the detached circular huts. They resemble the latter in construction, but differ from them in being protected by a thick surrounding wall.

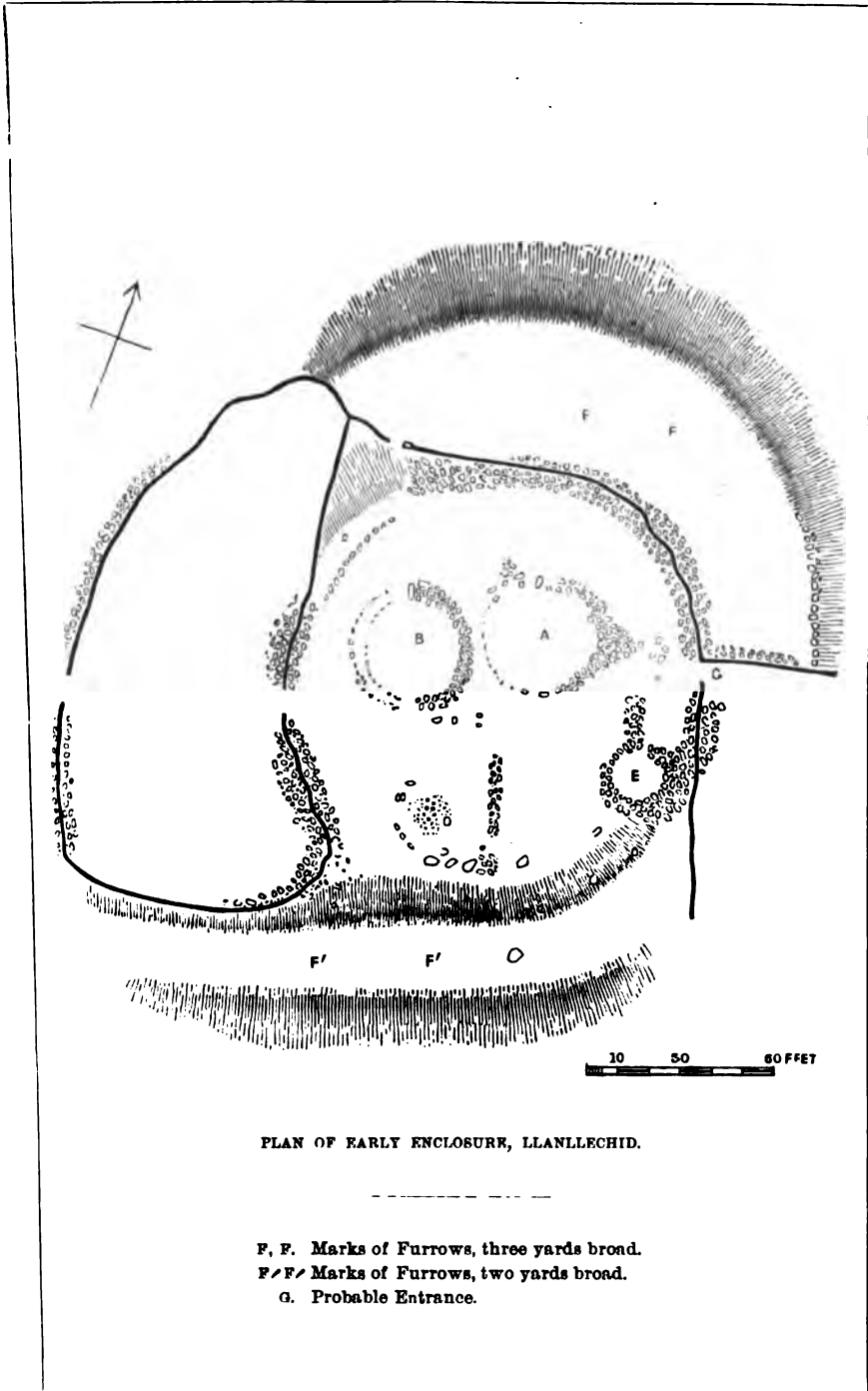
The accompanying plans, for the use of which I am indebted to the courtesy of the editors of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, will show the kind of structures I am now about to describe.

The first plan is that of an enclosure near Tan y Bwlch farm, in the parish of Llanllechid. It stood in a field between the house and the mountain. Since I took the plan, a quarry has been opened on the farm, and I am unable to

state the condition of these remains at present ; this is, however, of little moment, as the group was carefully inspected before the quarry was commenced.

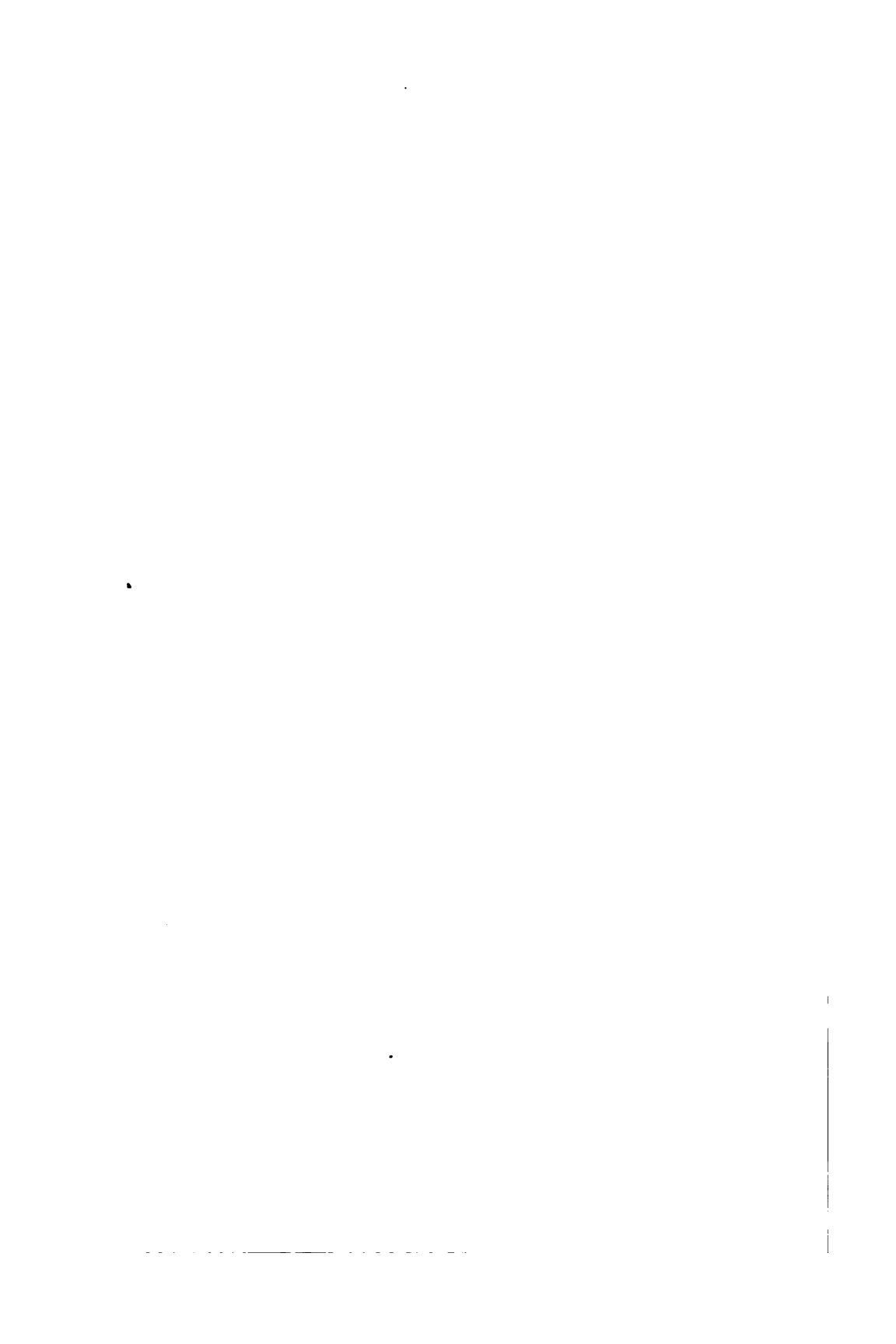
Upon reference to the plan, it will be observed that the enclosure appears to have been protected by two walls, an outer and an inner. The inner, at the time the plan was taken, was much thicker than the outer wall, but originally this might not have been the case. A modern wall, shown by a black line, has been built upon the outer wall, and indicates its direction, although at present there are no remains of it. A late tenant of the farm, who removed this outer wall, informed me that it was continued all along the border of the ridge represented in the plan. It was not equidistant throughout its length from the inner wall. The space between the two walls has been cultivated, and the narrow furrow-ridges have reached our days. There are also marks of the plough on the narrow strip of ground marked F¹, F¹ on the plan. It will be observed that these are small plots of ground to be subjected to the plough, but, in other like cases, similarly small patches are to be met with, as, for instance, on the uplands above Aber village, Carnarvonshire. There are no traces of a wall about the ploughed ground to the south of the group, which was probably protected from intrusion by a wooden fence. These patches of ploughed ground show that the inhabitants were acquainted with the cultivation of grain.

The circular inner enclosure measures from north to south 164 ft., from east to west 140 ft. It was protected by a thick wall, the *débris* of which in places are 26 ft. wide. This wall, therefore, must have been, when in its perfect state, of considerable thickness and height. Within the area are four ovoidal buildings, marked on the plan, A, B, C, D. The two larger, A and B, measure respectively 31 ft. by 30 ft., and 23 ft. by 20 ft. The entrances to these buildings have their



PLAN OF EARLY ENCLOSURE, LLANLLECHID.

- F, F. Marks of Furrows, three yards broad.
 F/F Marks of Furrows, two yards broad.
 G. Probable Entrance.



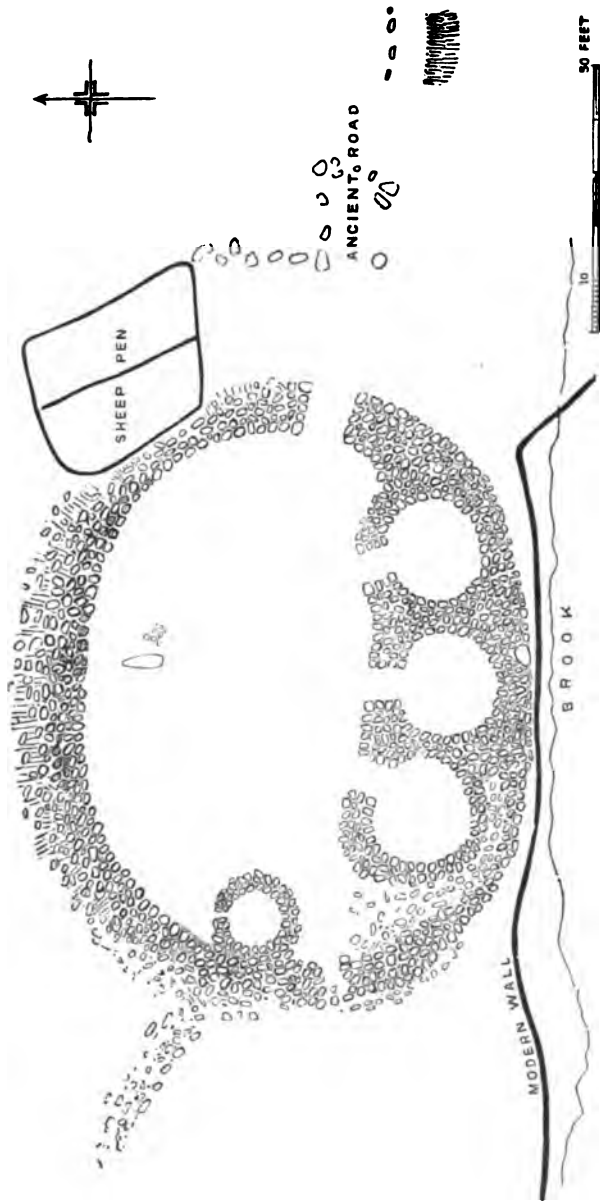
stone doorposts still standing in their original position ; and from them we find that the entrances were respectively 6 ft. and 5 ft. wide. From the large dimensions of these two enclosures one would suppose that they were appropriated to the housing of the live stock. The enclosures c and d are in a dilapidated state. They were less in diameter than the larger ones, and were probably family residences. Several of the foundation-stones of these circular buildings have not been disturbed, and show that the walls were about 6 ft. thick. The area in which these remains stand was at one time level, but at present it is disfigured by heaps of stones, and parts are overgrown with hawthorns and brambles.

An enclosure similar to the one I have just described was cleared away in the same neighbourhood some years ago, and a quern was discovered among the ruins. That hand-mills should be picked up in such places is to be expected, since the inhabitants grew wheat. A large find of crushers and querns was made by the tenant of Bodfeirig Farm, in the parish of Llandegai, when clearing away a group of these circular huts. I visited him, and saw several of these querns and crushers; some of them were small and rude in form, but all had done good service in their day. Iron scorix were found at the same time, in the same place, by the same man. I have no doubt these corn crushers and querns are still in existence, and most likely are kept where they were when I visited the place, viz., by the front door. The front door is seldom used by Welsh farmers as a means of ingress to their houses, and the relics would be less liable to removal or interference there than elsewhere. I was told that arrow-heads were found when this clearance was made; these I did not see, but my informant said they were flint arrow-heads.

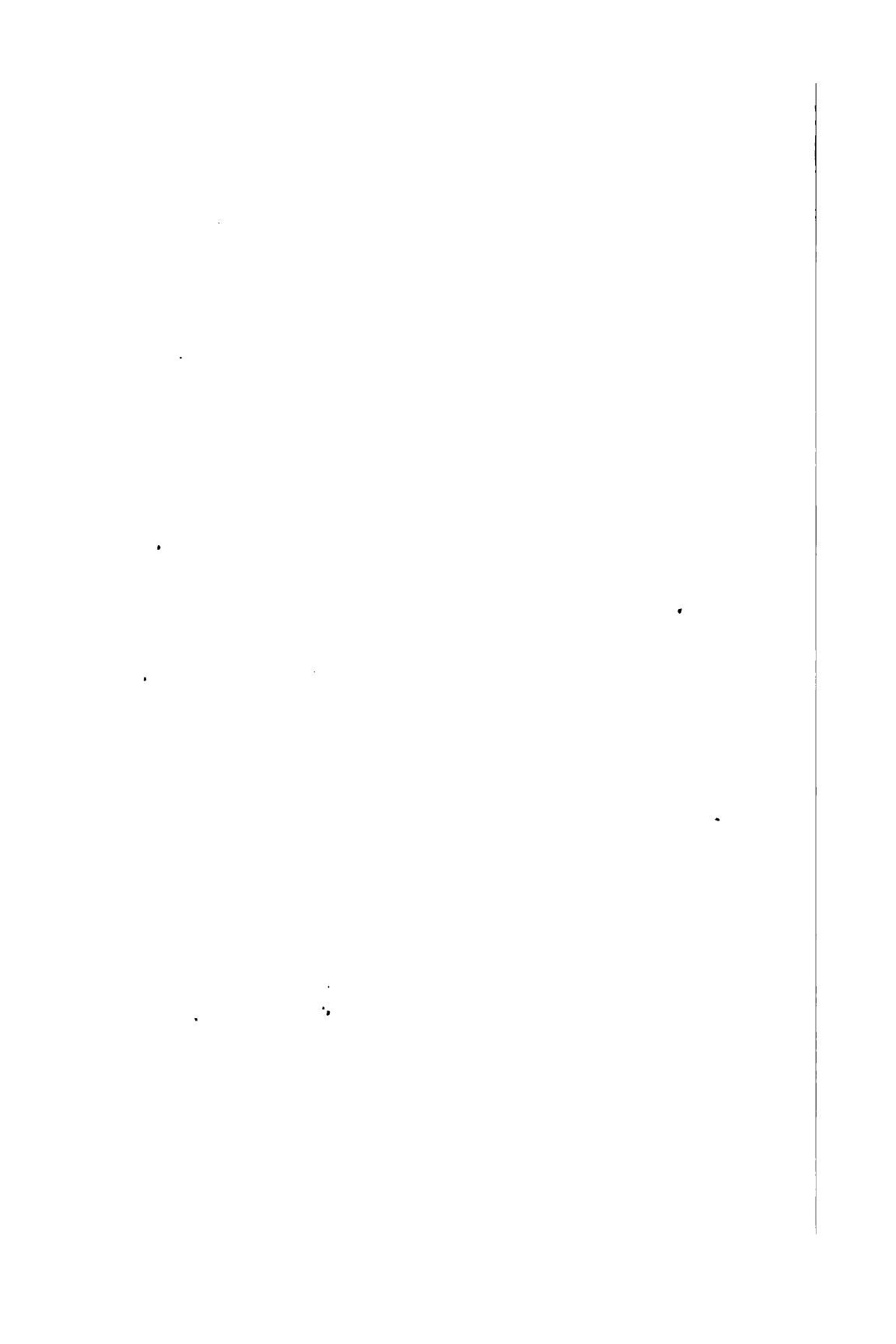
Another ancient homestead, which differs in several particulars from that just mentioned, stands on Ffridd Corbri, in the parish of Llanllechid; its situation is about three

hundred yards north-west of a curious natural rent in the hill, called locally Bwlch y Nylchi; but it is also named Ffos y Rhufeiniaid. The whole of this district abounds in ancient vestiges. There are in it several circular enclosures, erect stones, and more than one old zigzag roadway, and above the Ffridd on the hill are, or were, several *cistfeini* and *carneddi*, and a curious huge boulder stone called Carreg y Saethau, once used for sharpening arrows. There are also two small hill-forts, into which the occupants of the many ancient abodes could on an emergency retreat. An old road, traceable on the hill-side, descends to the Ffridd, and is crossed by ancient boundary walls erected after it had ceased to be used. In the Ffridd it is about two yards broad, and has along its sides erect stones; it proceeds from one group of homesteads to another. As it approaches the one I shall now speak of, its breadth is increased to about three yards, and large stones are on either side. From this, the main road, a branch leads to the enclosure, entering it on the south side, while the main road proceeds northward along the west of the enclosure to other remains.

Upon referring to the accompanying plan, it will be seen that this homestead is ovoidal in shape, and apparently had two entrances; but that on the west side is not clearly defined, as is shown in the plan, while that on the east is distinctly marked. The enclosure measures from east to west 120 ft., and from north to south 90 ft. The thickness of the wall at the entrance is 10 ft., and its uniform breadth 8 ft. The apartments are arranged along the south side of the enclosure, and are nestled in the wall. They are circular, having a diameter of 18 ft., and their doorways measure, commencing with the most eastward, 5, 6½, and 6 ft. broad respectively, whilst the passage or thickness of the wall at the entrance is in all cases 7 ft. On the west side of the enclosure, facing the entrance, is a single circular apartment, 10 ft. in dia-



PLAN OF EARLY ENCLOSURE, LLANLLECHID.



meter, with a doorway $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. broad. The internal area into which all these apartments open is level; there is a solitary flat stone a few feet from the north wall, $8\frac{3}{4}$ ft. long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. broad, and by its side flourishes an old hawthorn tree. The height of the surrounding wall, as it now stands, on the south side, is only a few feet above the ground. On the north and west sides there is a fall of about 10 feet in the ground, the enclosure being on a natural platform; and along this bank are strewn stones that once formed a wall on this side. Adjoining the enclosure is a modern sheep-pen, which most probably was built with stones quarried from these remains. It is worthy of notice that the apartments have their backs to the quarter whence storms usually come. There is another road which leads to this enclosure, and proceeds therefrom to other groups of remains in an eastward direction, so that it may be said that this was an important homestead. A very extensive and pleasing view of the surrounding country is obtained from the spot. Penmaenmawr, Anglesey, Dinas Dinorwig, and the peaks of several parts of the Snowdon range are seen at a glance.

There are many remains similar in construction to this group on Ffridd Corbri to be seen in various parts of Wales. One at the foot of Foel Rhiwen, in the parish of Llanddeiniolen, has, in addition to the main features of this homestead, certain peculiarities, which prove that local requirements were not disregarded by the builders of these ancient abodes.

In Cornwall are to be seen huts identical in form with those on Ffridd Corbri. Two of these groups are described and delineated in Blight's *Churches of West Cornwall*, pp. 134-5, 144. Of that at Chysauster Mr. Blight writes:—

“This [one of the ancient huts at Chysauster] is formed of a thick wall faced externally and internally with stones built together without cement, the intermediate space being

filled with earth. On the north-east side, the highest part of the ground, the wall is about 2 ft. high and 9 ft. thick from the external facing to the small circular chambers. On the opposite side the wall is constructed on a rampart, sloping away from its base, and its height, exclusive of the rampart, is about 9 or 10 ft., the breadth 4 ft. The entrance faces a little east of south, and forms the approach to a passage somewhat more than 20 ft. in length, and contracted in width towards the interior of the dwelling. Passing through this we came into a large open area 32 ft. by 34, *from which openings led into small chambers apparently constructed within the thickness of the wall* on the east and north sides. Three of these chambers are from 15 to 12 ft. in diameter; the fourth, opposite the entrance, being of much greater dimensions. One half of the second cell on the right of the entrance is deeper than the other. All these chambers are regularly walled; in some instances the stones appear to have been slightly overstepped, and thus gradually approaching as they increased in height, and giving the structure somewhat of a beehive form. The stone-work, however, does not appear to have converged sufficiently to have formed a perfect dome, and the apex of the roof was probably constructed of furze and turf laid on branches of trees. The large open area could only have been roofed by the erection of a pole in the centre, with others converging to its summit from the surrounding walls. No traces, however, of such construction exist, neither does it seem probable that this space was ever covered in. The dimensions of this hut [the whole enclosure] are about 80 by 65 ft. Three or four yards north of this is another, somewhat less in size, on nearly the same plan: there are, however, but three cells, and the outer wall follows the shapes of these cells, not being carried around in a continuous curve as in that described above. This second hut has, within the large open area, two walled pits, each 6 by 3 ft., and similar in

character, though much less in size, to those in the camp on Worle Hill in Somerset, and to those found in some of the Cornish hill-castles" (pp. 134-5).

This description agrees in general with the ancient homesteads that are found in Wales, but Mr. Blight calls the whole structure a hut, which term might, with greater propriety, be applied to one of the four chambers built into the wall of the homestead. The small chambers may have been separately occupied by various members of the family, or by different families closely connected. Be this as it may, the striking similarity between the Welsh and Cornish vestiges of these most ancient abodes is remarkable, and but few would have the temerity to say that they all alike owe their origin to the Irish, as Camden supposed was the case with the circular huts in Anglesey. It may be said that like monuments and similar dwellings may have been erected by offshoots of the same race, but not necessarily by any particular branch of that race.

In my next paper I will describe other homesteads of the prehistoric inhabitants of Wales, similar in construction to those that are the subject of this paper, but varying therefrom in a few minor particulars. A few only of these dwellings have been explored and their contents made public. The Hon. William Owen Stanley made some valuable researches among the huts in Holyhead Island,¹ and we are greatly indebted to him for the light which he was instrumental in throwing upon their ancient occupiers. The work, however, of careful investigation of these remains in various parts of Wales has not been systematically taken in hand by competent persons. A few earnest workers have done a little, but much remains to be done. The writer knows of a veritable town of circular huts that has never been described, and perhaps has not had many visitors.

¹ *Arch. Camb.* for 1868, 3rd Ser., vol. xiv, pp. 385 *et seq.*

Tumuli have been desecrated for the urns they contained. Cathedrals, churches, and castles are visited by numerous sight-seekers, and antiquaries wrangle over Roman roads whilst they have neglected the most interesting set of remains that have reached our days—the abodes of the people of prehistoric times. Personally, I am not sorry that they have been neglected, for when I see ancient stone implements in museums, and eagerly ask, or endeavour to ascertain, where they were found, I can obtain only meagre, if any, information about them. The real value of such remains is enhanced a hundredfold when it is known where they were discovered. Private owners of stone relics I meet with, time after time, who are unable to give the history of the treasures they possess. The intrinsic value of their treasures is lost when it is not known whence they came; but when the finds are associated with the place of discovery, real knowledge is increased. Querns I have seen in many places, and could not ascertain the exact circumstances connected with them. If, however, the possessor of any one of them could have said that it was found when a prehistoric detached circular abode was being cleared away, he would have supplied me with valuable information. I am, therefore, with these circumstances before my mind, not displeased that the ancient homes of the ancient people that have bequeathed their history to us in these truth-speaking relics have not been pillaged by mere collectors of curiosities.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF WELSH MUSIC.

BY JOSEPH BENNETT.¹

THE title of my paper assumes that there is such a thing as Welsh music. I cannot find it in my heart to pass over, as quite unworthy of notice, our friends who are sceptical about its existence, and I am the less inclined to do so because I know them well. Indeed, I have the best reason in the world to know them: I was once a sceptic myself. These are days of frank confessions on literary and artistic matters, and if I make a clean breast I am well kept in countenance. Let me say, then, that there was a time, long past now, when I presumed to discuss publicly questions connected with Welsh art, and all the while had no *practical* knowledge of the subject. A certain *bookish* acquaintance was, no doubt, mine, but, looking at the entire subject from a distance, or nearer, by occasional attendance at an Eisteddfod, when I lost myself in wonder at observances that seemed to me grotesque, I saw only that which was superficial, and had no suspicion of what lay beneath. It strikes me very forcibly that those who look down upon Wales in regard to music do so because of equally imperfect light, and, it may be, a certain amount of prejudice. To be sure, their position is not altogether without seeming excuse. If challenged to sustain it, they would probably turn upon you and say: "Where is the great composer whom Wales has given to music? What illustrious executive artists has she produced?—artists, we mean, who are known universally? Where are the evi-

¹ An address delivered to the Society on April 25, 1888.

dences of high culture within the bounds of the Principality? Tell us where we can find the orchestras of Wales? Vocal she is, we grant; that and nothing more." In this manner our unbelieving friends would, no doubt, administer a series of knock-down blows to our faith, doing so with much appearance of contemptuous pity, because, as I should put it, a small and poor country, cut off by position from the great currents of European artistic life, and by language, to some extent, from many educational and stimulating influences, has not done that which populous and wealthy England, at whose feet the whole artistic world pours its treasures, can hardly be said to have accomplished.

I confess to you that when I look upon the state of music in Wales I am full of sympathy and admiration. The Alpine tourist sometimes experiences those feelings through the action of an analogous cause. As he wanders about the lower slopes of the great mountains he takes the flowers as a matter of course. They are fed by gentle rains and streams of living water, while a bright and genial sun shines upon them? How *should* they grow if not under such conditions? Thousands of feet higher, where the snow lies at midsummer and the icy breath of the glaciers is ever felt, a solitary plant lifts up a tiny bloom to the steely sky, the one outcome there of nature's gentler and more beautiful influences. The tourist thinks more of that brave and tender thing than of its countless fellows below. His heart is touched by it; and saying, as he passes on, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," he receives a lesson which should never be forgotten. You will be at no loss to apply this illustration. Where should music flourish if not in rich and populous countries, able by their wealth to draw to themselves the talent of the world? Take England as an example. Considering the agencies which have been at work in this division of our common island ever since Handel arrived

here, a hundred and seventy years ago, Englishmen should be the most musical people under the sun. We have spent our money upon the art lavishly, if not always with perfect wisdom. We have encouraged the settlement amongst us, or the frequent visits to us, of the best musicians through successive generations ; and it is no exaggeration to say that whatever service the world could render to music in England has been secured on its own terms. How different is the situation of Wales in this regard ! Music, as there existing, is the product of an unaided people. Granted that in the more populous parts of South Wales immigration brings with it a certain proportion of talent from without. This, however, is but a small factor in the case, and assuredly has very little to do with music as we find it in the northern counties of the Principality, where the native race exists with no more than the thinnest stream of admixture. Last New Year's Day I acted as adjudicator at the Eisteddfod of Merionethshire, held in Dolgelly, and enjoyed my first opportunity of estimating the musical condition and resources of a district, as distinct from those of the whole land. I am not here to flatter Wales and the Welsh, and I should despise myself if I offered either to country or people the insult of undeserved praise. I am, however, here to express unfeigned admiration of the ability shown by the amateurs of what, from its physical conformation, is the most isolated and least accessible part of the Principality. Certainly the music I there heard grew among the mountains, like our solitary ice-bound Alpine flower, owing nothing to influences from without, doing nothing save fulfil the law of its own being. As in Merionethshire and its neighbourhood, so, *mutatis mutandis*, in all Wales. You people of the twelve counties have none to thank for your music but the God who gave it to you. It is emphatically your very own, the offspring of your feelings, the vehicle of your sympathies and aspirations,

the voice of your innermost nature, in which the stranger can have no part. See to it that you value the precious inheritance, and use it for the benefit of the generations whose it will be when you have passed away.

Under the circumstances you can endure with placid minds the veiled taunts of those who ask for your great composers, your world-known artists, and your higher culture. Let such splendid apparitions be wanting altogether: that is scant proof that you have no music, or that you are not destined to high distinction when your resources are cultivated, as sooner or later they will be, to the highest pitch.

I have not yet finished with our sceptical friends. It is desirable to take seriously the matter at issue between us, and try to make them see things as they are. In days when religious controversy ran high a certain militant divine published a tract entitled "A Short Way with Dissenters". It is unnecessary to point out whether or not he had invented a more painful method of slitting noses and cutting off ears. Enough that he had got hold of a "short way" for bringing people round to his opinion. I also have a "short way", only a few minutes long, and to further its exemplification let us suppose that an unbeliever in Welsh music is sitting before us.

Sir, I address myself to you, and invite your attention to the fact, easily demonstrable, that Wales possesses a great store of distinctive, national music—none the less distinctive essentially because the structure of its melodies lacks the features which most easily arrest attention. Welsh national music is comparatively free from the peculiarities which, I admit, give piquancy to that of many other countries. It has not the special scales of some, nor the varied and striking rhythms of others. How has this come about? In part because the national instrument of Wales was a more perfect instru-

ment than, say, the pipes of Scotland and Ireland. In other part because the isolation of the Principality preserved its popular music from admixture with that of other lands, and kept it intact as an expression of the people's taste and feeling. But though Welsh national airs are largely free from the structural features met with elsewhere, it does not follow that they lack a character of their own. Here I can call in as witness an eminent musician who is perfectly unprejudiced. Mendelssohn wrote a "Scotch" symphony, because he found individual character in Scottish music; Dr. Villiers Stanford has lately written an "Irish" symphony, because he has found character in Irish music; and Mr. Frederic Cowen not long ago produced a "Welsh" symphony. Why? Not, we may be sure, because he was unable to find character in Welsh music. No, indeed, the distinctiveness of Welsh airs must have been exceedingly obvious to him; for his work teems with melodies which every Welshman, I venture to say, would without a moment's thought claim as deriving their inspiration from his national muse. So, sir, we have advanced one step in our demonstration, and you can urge nothing against it. But now I invite you to consider what sort of distinctiveness is that which Welsh national music possesses. If it be not specially the distinctiveness of form, what is it? I contend that it is the higher distinctiveness of meaning and expression, proceeding from the feeling of the people rather than from the peculiarities of an instrument. Undoubtedly we have in Welsh music the outcome of a national sentiment, kept free from adulteration through centuries, and as pure in the present day as ever it was. For proof of this take the fact that its prevailing expression is precisely that which we should expect in the case of a small and weak people holding on to the mountainous fringe of a country whose fat plains were once their own—a people sensitive by nature, enthusiastic, ardent,

and proud of a past which, though one of untoward fate, was never in the darkest day one of humiliation. In the songs of these folk we should look for a tender melancholy, such as is never absent from the music of dwellers in a mountain land, a mournful cadence, the condensed expression of emotions generated in a mournful past; and, on the other hand, enthusiasm, ardour, devotion, such as make instinct with life every bar of "the March of the Men of Harlech". That these are the peculiarities of Welsh music I need not tell you, but I commend the fact to the consideration of our sceptical friend, and invite him to consider whether in this case we have not a genuine thing—a real emanation from the spirit of the people.

Our unbeliever curls his lip with scorn, and exclaims, "You have been talking to me of a mass of common tunes which anybody can make by the dozen. Tell me, I say again, of your Welsh oratorios and symphonies, of the art of the study, not the poor little musical blossoms of the wayside." If our friend can make by the dozen tunes which the people will place in the national catalogue, I know publishers who are ready to strike with him a very profitable bargain. But does he not reflect that all music is founded upon national music? The orchestral symphonies of the great masters are but developments of dance forms that once prevailed amongst the people—forms that still survive, almost intact, in the symphonic minuet. The noble and lofty oratorio has sprung from a source equally popular. In Italy, it based itself upon a blending of the common Church intonations with the songs of the people; while in Germany its most conspicuous feature was the choral tunes known to every man, woman, and child in the land. Does not our friend reflect also that composers of the present day are more and more coming out of their studies to pick the wayside flowers of which he so contemptuously speaks? Those

musicians are wise. Amid their books they were in danger of becoming musty and stale ; outside they breathe the free air of heaven, and derive strength from contact with the living soul of the people. But this is not all. We have come upon days in which everything that is national lifts up its head and asserts itself. And why not national music, the destined saviour of the art, as I believe, from the artificialisms and conventionalities of the schools ?

I have now done with the sceptic, who must, in his secret soul, have been all along convinced that Wales possesses in her national music the basis of a higher culture, which will be entered upon only when her people recognise its possibilities, to which I now, for a few minutes, invite your attention.

In the first place let us look at the fact that there are circumstances both favourable and unfavourable to the development of Welsh music. Among the unfavourable circumstances may be reckoned the comparative lack of great centres of population, and the thin scattering of the people over large and mountainous areas. I may couple with this the obvious circumstances that the masses, with whom are found the needful enthusiasm and devotion, are poor, while, at the same time, they cannot rely to such an extent as one would desire upon the sympathetic co-operation of those who have money to spare. Musical culture, unfortunately, is not carried on without expenditure, and the requisite funds in such cases, when obtained at all, are principally due to the close contact and strong fellow-feeling of great towns. It is true that Wales possesses the Eisteddfod, which directly encourages and rewards musical culture. But it does not provide the means of culture, save, perhaps, in a very small degree ; and that, after all, is the main point. Eisteddfodau, national or local, are frequently compelled to withhold their prizes, and that, for the most part, in connection with just those branches

of musical attainment which require organisation and funds. I have often been struck with this fact during the last twenty years, and I am not sure that I have observed a very material improvement in that period. In regard to solo and chorus singing, which involve little outlay, and make but small demand upon time, there is never a lack of worthy candidates; but when prizes for proficiency upon orchestral instruments, for concerted performance upon orchestral instruments, composition, or, indeed, for any of the higher forms of musical skill are in question, the result is seldom such as we would have it. Hence the impression that the Welsh are a singing people and nothing else. But that is one of the foolish generalisations to which a swift popular logic must ever be prone. The people who can excel as singers can excel also as instrumentalists, and—provided they get an average supply of the talent which is born, not made—as composers. If they do not, it is a sure sign of lacking opportunity and material resources. I shall presently indicate how the difficulty of Wales in this respect may be, partially at least, overcome. But if the Principality suffers through the conditions to which I have just called attention, it is immensely favoured in the thoroughly musical character of the people. Here is, indeed, the unique strength of the country, the foundation which renders possible the most splendid and perfect edifice that the musical architect can design. Vain are all efforts to make a musical nation of one which has not an artistic temperament. You might as well hope to build a castle in the air and live in it. Wales possesses that temperament, at any rate in respect of music. You see its outcome in the devotion of the people to such forms of the art as are available; in the extraordinary merit displayed on the Eisteddfod platform by innumerable competitors, in the large proportion of Welsh public singers who have risen above the mass of their countryfolk and entered

professional life, and in the marvellous fire and enthusiasm which, at times of performance, bespeak the existence of a nature that passes into a state of intense activity when music calls. All this is proverbial, and I need not stop to demonstrate it. The point to observe is that with such a people anything can be done. The soil is ready for higher cultivation ; there is assurance of a good crop, and the only remaining question is how the work of musical husbandry shall be set about.

In attempting to realise the possibilities of Welsh music close attention must be paid to such conditions as those I have brought before you. On the one hand it is imperative to consider the scattered nature of the population, their comparative want of means for self-culture, and the present obvious deficiencies in their musical education. On the other, as an incentive, and as making a thoroughly good case for effort and help, the musical temperament of the people should be kept in view. Taking a general survey of all the circumstances, what should be done to turn possibilities into actualities ?

Let me imagine that I am appointed musical dictator of Wales—a wild supposition, involving, by the way, a very novel form of English dominion. I apologise for it, but hope you will allow it for the sake of argument. My first act as dictator would be to call into existence a National Musical Association of Wales—a body working with the Eisteddfod, but occupying a sphere which, as I showed just now, that institution does not fill. The National Musical Association should be composed of delegates from the twelve counties, so elected as to represent the musical public of their respective localities, and meeting annually, at the same time and place as the Eisteddfod, for the discharge of deliberative and executive functions. To that body I would entrust the fostering of musical culture throughout the country. It

should collect and distribute funds in aid of local effort, make arrangements for efficient teaching where such are necessary, and generally, without hampering the action of localities, exercise a wise supervision by means of the local representatives. It may be objected at once that this would never do. Musicians, I shall be told, are very touchy people, and the first attempt at control or even authoritative influence by the National Association would kindle the flame of revolt. Well, musicians are touchy, there can be no doubt about that. Sensitiveness is the badge of all their tribe, and if they were not sensitive they would not be musicians. But it does not follow that they are exactly fools, blind to their own interests, and heedless about the welfare of their art. Many an association such as I have hinted at exists among classes quite as jealous of individual and local liberty, and receives loyal support in return for the benefits of union and co-operation. I put aside, therefore, as a mere bugbear the idea of inability to carry on such an institution in music. It need hardly be pointed out that the National Musical Association of Wales would occupy a commanding position, and that its responsible, representative character would afford a guarantee of good results to those of the more wealthy classes who might be interested in, and inclined to promote its object. Moreover, its mission would be first and chiefly to the districts which now are least able to make their position and wants known. There would, perhaps, be little need for its agency in great and thriving towns like Cardiff and Swansea, and the attention which might otherwise be absorbed there could be bestowed upon the country districts, where often the flame of devotion to music burns most brightly.

In fancy I see it thus at work, buttressing the weak points in the edifice of Welsh music, coming as a vivifying stream into arid lands, and cheering the hearts of thousands

of amateurs who had wished for and despaired of a day of better things. I can, of course, only indicate in the roughest manner the constitution and functions of the Association, but among its duties should be the establishment and government of a National Academy of Music for the education, as far as possible by Welsh teachers, of gifted youth. My objection to sending the musical students of one nationality and country to be trained by the professors of another is very strong, and, I hope, founded on reasonable considerations. I object because, if there be anything in national temperament, associations, and modes of thought, you are not likely to develop it among your prospective musicians by placing them where every influence is foreign and in a certain sense destructive. Depend upon it that the music of a country must be run on the lines of its nationality in order to prosper. The French and Germans know this well, so do the Italians, the Bohemians, and the Russians, whose school of music is now so rapidly coming to the front. At present Welsh students bring their national fervours and enthusiasms, their peculiarities of musical thought and expression to London, where in many cases, I fear, the fervours and enthusiasms are stifled, and the national forms of thought and expression are replaced by certain cosmopolitan respectabilities of a conventional type. Hence they go back with a veneer over them that makes them almost unrecognisable by their proud and reverencing, but unsophisticated friends. In my capacity as musical dictator I would certainly keep Welsh musical students at home in close touch with the genius of their own country, breathing the atmosphere in which that genius lives, surrounded by national traditions, and pulsating with every feeling that moves their fellows. The young plant would then grow in its native soil, under its native sky, and amid conditions wholly harmonious with its life. Only when the stamp of national culture had been

indelibly impressed would I encourage cosmopolitan culture, which then could do little harm.

With such an academy established in Wales, and supported by the best native teachers, we might reasonably look for the rise of the Welsh school of composition to a higher plane that it has yet attained—or perhaps I should say, for its spread over a larger surface. There are Welsh composers, able and energetic, who remain in their own country, but work in an area restricted by the condition of things around them and the exigencies of life. The students of the future would, I trust, enter upon a richer inheritance, and be qualified by their ampler training to make of it the best use.

I have said that one duty of the National Musical Association of Wales should be the organisation of teaching-power for localities where it can hardly exist without aid, and here I touch what is, perhaps, the most important question of all. The possibilities of Welsh music will scarcely begin to be realised till you can bring out of the people all there is in them, and direct it in the best way.

Allow me to remind you of what has already been said with regard to the well-nigh exclusive devotion of the Welsh to vocal music, and the erroneous conclusions sometimes deduced therefrom. Unquestionably those conclusions, however mistaken, point to a serious weakness in Welsh art, one of so grave a character that attention should anxiously be given to it at the outset of any proposed reform. I am not sufficiently acquainted, I fear, with the Welsh people to be able to say whether their neglect of instrumental music is in any measure due to indifference. Perhaps, if a better informed speaker follows me this evening, we shall have authoritative opinion on the point, but I cannot see any reason why we should expect to find indifference to a legitimate form of music on the part of a musical people. The fact, however, remains that the condition of orchestral

music in Wales is very low. When the National Eisteddfod was held in Cardiff some years ago, a competent orchestra had to be brought from London at great expense. At the Merionethshire Eisteddfod in January last, even the small number of instruments required for the evening concert was imported from Liverpool at a cost which the local fund could ill-afford. Again, when the London Eisteddfod of last year offered a handsome prize for orchestral competition, only one band appeared, and that was sent by the cosmopolitan town of Cardiff. Now, I say that these facts indicate a very serious state of things, because no country can claim to have advanced beyond the elementary stage of musical culture as long as the whole vast field of instrumental music is neglected. Contention on this point is barely possible, and if it were offered I should be tempted to go further, and say that the measure of a nation's knowledge of and skill in instrumental music is the measure of its status in the art. There are special reasons why this should be, but I refrain from troubling you with them now, not anticipating that any objection will be raised to the general principle. Seeing, then, that instrumental music in Wales remains at a low ebb, the first-question is as to the reason, the second as to the remedy.

As to the reason, I am not, as already stated, qualified to pronounce with authority; but I can offer an opinion. In my view the cause may be inability to make the necessary outlay for instruments, and the difficulty of obtaining teachers as well as of paying for their instruction when found. The cost of orchestral instruments, it is true, has gone down of late, and they can now be obtained sufficiently good in quality for a sum which, by comparison, is small. Still the figure they command is often prohibitive in the case of working-men; besides, what is the good of buying an instrument with nobody at hand to show how it should

be used? A man cannot teach himself the fiddle with any success for orchestral purposes; and an attempt at self-instruction on the trombone or French horn would probably lead to emphatic hints from the neighbours that exercises of such a kind are better suited for some solitary spot among the mountains than for the populous vales. If the obstacle in the way of Welsh instrumental music be want of money and organisation rather than want of will, there is no need to despair. At any rate the height and depth of the impediment can be measured, and no question arises of accomplishing that most difficult of all tasks—persuading a man to part with his prejudices. Well, what is to be done? Hand the matter over to my National Musical Association of Wales, which I assume to have some funds, however small, wherewith to make a beginning. And how would the Association begin? That I cannot say, because one man, with only one man's brain, is unable to anticipate the reasoning and conclusions of many brains, each perhaps better cognisant of the premises than his own. We are all at liberty, however, to form some sort of idea for ourselves, and I can imagine that the National Association, taking the most helpless of the districts which express a desire to be assisted, would encourage the purchase of instruments by advancing a certain proportion of their cost, to be repaid by easy instalments as the local members of the Association may deem best. The next step would be to provide teachers, one for each of the two divisions of the orchestra—strings and wind; there are plenty of men qualified to instruct amateurs on this comprehensive scale. They should be itinerant, as schoolmasters were in times of yore, and proceed from local centre to local centre throughout the district, meeting their pupils and carrying on the good work. "Oh!" some men without faith may exclaim, "this is perfectly Utopian." Well, what if it is? Many ideas to which that term was once

applied have long been ranked among the common-places of practical life. Besides, those who cry "Utopian" cannot know much about the musical enthusiasm of the Welsh people. With enthusiasm you can do anything. It is the power that moves mountains more readily than simple faith. Indeed, it has the might of fanaticism, and, before now, fanaticism has wrought miracles of achievement.

I have long wished thus to bear my testimony to the immense and, in some respects, unworked mine of musical wealth which exists in Wales. Gold has been found there lately, I know not to what extent, and just now I care not. A more important fact is that a God's gift, exceeding in preciousness the so-called precious metal, lies all over the surface of the land. When I think of the possibilities of the treasure, I see that little corner of Great Britain shining like a star in the firmament of music, its light fed from the exhaustless store of national feeling and enthusiasm. But to this end the mine must be worked, the ore must be refined and made fit for the uses of men. It is for Welshmen to say whether this shall be done, and the most made of the bounty of heaven. Much has already been achieved. The vocal music of great masters pervades Wales as constantly as the ripple of mountain streams; the larks in the sky sing there no more spontaneously than do the men who dig and delve on the earth. Why not set about completing the work, till every district in the country shall be, for musical purposes, sufficient unto itself, and the top-stone of the edifice shall be brought forth with songs and gladness? For this the Welsh people must organise, organise, and still more organise, helping one another, and, without waiting for the bounty of those who can give much, contribute, each for himself, the mickles that together make a muckle. Then, but not till then, shall we see the possibilities of Welsh music approaching their realisation.

AN UNPUBLISHED WELSH FRAGMENT.

At the top of p. 91 of *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. vii, mention is made of a small Welsh fragment of a religious character, of about the end of the 16th century, stitched into the end of Hengwrt MS. No. 202. The following is a transcript of the fragment, which is curious in many ways:—

“ . . . pwy sydd yny blaen. ac am hyny y mae kwmpas yn ddi gynvigeñ. paham y maer poers or tü asay yr eglwys. er mwyn mae tü yr iddewon yw sef yw hyny tyr gardod. sef ywr gardod bedydd. er mwyn hyny ny ddyly ef ddyfod lle del kriston nes kael bedydd. paham y mae raid day wr y ddala mab wrth vedydd. o achos maer gwr a bier dayparth or mab. ar wraic a bier dayparth or verch. paham y maer bedydd-vaen islaw drws yr eglwys. am nadodyr ytiffedd yna yn kael kwbl o vedydd. arwyd yw hyny pan ddel gwas y lys arglwydd my ddyly ef vyned yr dal vaüs ac ef yn was. paham y maer gangell yn is nor eglwys. achos mae tü düw ywr gangell. ar plwyf a bier eglwys ac y mynai ef vod y düw ef yn is nor eglwys dyn pan ddiodefswys ef angay dros yn pechoday brynton ni y ddangos mor ostyngedic vy ddüw. [p. 2] paham y dechryr y bedydd yny poers. y ddangos mae siral duw ywr poers. ac mewn siral y mae roi maicheon y ateb y gyffraith y brenin. ac velly mae raid dyfod ac alltrawon y vod yn rwym dros y kriston y ateb y ffydd düw. paham y maer bedydd vaen is lawr drws gangell yddangos mae parlwr düw ywr gangell ac ny ddyly dyn ddyfod y barlwr düw heb gael kwbl o vedydd. paham y maer ganwyll yn olaini ynechray kristen ac oer y ddiwed. y ddangos y seren a ddoeth y nolaini yr byd y nol ganedigaeth krist yr hon seren amddangoses y styffan

verthyr yn gyntaf ar y ddayar hon. paham y gw'nair y dwr bendigaid kyn y fferen. achos mae y dwr a ylch pob tomrwydd a thomlyd a bydyr ywr pechoday a thü y weddiaw ywr eglwys ar dwr bendigaid addyr pob dryc ysbryd oddywrth pob ryw ddyrn val y bo ef dailwng y weddio ar düw ac y wrando yr yfferen. [p. 3] paham y gwisce yr affairiad yr ifferengris am dano. y ddangos mae knawd yn harglwydd ni Iesü grist yw y lliain gwyn. paham y maer gwregis ar ycha yfferengris. y ddangos y düw ymwregysv ynghylch y genol athwel wrth olchi traed y ddysgybloñ nos Iay kabled. paham y maer dday diped amliw ar odre y fferengris ynol ac ymlaen hyny arwyddoka yr hoel a drewis yr iddewon drwy ddwy droes grist nes yddy ymdangos ynol ac ymlaen. paham y maer dday diped amliw ar y ddwy lawais. y ddangos y ddwy hoel a drewis yr iddewon ynwyllaw krist. paham y mae yr yffedoc o liain am ben yr yffayriad. y ddangos mae y kyowrsi a roddes martha am ben krist wrth ddiodeff ar y groes. paham y maer tiped amliw ar yr yffedoc. y ddangos y goron ddrain [p. 4] ddrain ysbins a ododes yr iddewon am ben krist. paham y maer ystol am vynwgl yr yffayriad. y rwymo yr yffayriad y wsnaethy ddüw nny ffydd val y by grist y fydd yr iddewon y rwymo wrth biler maen yn hoeth ay ysgwrsio. paham y maer ffanwn ar y llaw asay yddaw y ddangos yr drindod wnaythir or asen asay y addaf gymar affriod yddaw. pa ham y maer wisce amliw am dan yr yffayriad. o achos gwisgo or iddewon ddillad estronawl am dan grist pan ysbailiwyd oy ddillad y hvu. paham y dechryr yr yfferen ar y pen deay yr allawr. o achos y ddüw wnayther addaf ac efa ay doddi ymradwys nny tü deay yr byd. paham ysymydir y llyffyr yr tü asay yr allor tra vair yn darllain yr yfengill ac yr kesegry korf krist. achos y addaf dori gorchmynay düw a myned y yfferne yr tu asay or byd."

E. P.

Reviews.

LLYVYR DU CAERVYRDDIN. Facsimile of the BLACK BOOK OF CARMARTHEN. Reproduced by the Autotype Mechanical Process. With a Palæographical Note. By J. GWENOGVRYN EVANS, Honorary M.A., Oxford. Oxford: issued to subscribers only by J. G. Evans, 7, Clarendon Villas. 1888.

THE subscribers to the Old-Welsh Text series cannot have failed to be pleased with the reproduction of the "Black Book of Carmarthen" which Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans has placed before them. The original, as our readers are probably aware, is the oldest known MS. in the Welsh language. It is said to have been among the possessions of the Priory of St. John the Evangelist and St. Teulyddog at Carmarthen, a house which was founded at some period anterior to the year 1148, and at the dissolution of the monasteries to have been handed over to Sir John Price, the Welsh antiquary,¹ who was among the commissioners for their suppression. Its subsequent history is uncertain, but some time before the year 1658 it fortunately found its way into the Hengwrt collection, and passed with the rest of this collection into the Peniarth library in the year 1859. It is a small volume consisting of fifty-four leaves of vellum, which measure some 6½ by 5 inches in size, and contain from nine to twenty-one lines of writing on either side. The handwriting varies to some extent, as does also the orthography, in different parts of the MS., which is made up of more than one originally distinct "book", and, in the present Editor's opinion, is by no means in a complete condition. Its contents are almost entirely poetical, and comprise forty-three distinct compositions (besides a short fragment), for the most part without titles or authors' names. A few are on religious topics, but the majority are founded on Welsh mythical and historical sagas. Of these the "*Afallenau*" and the "*Hoiianeu*" are

¹ To the same antiquary, or to his son, Sir Richard Price, appear to have belonged parts of the MSS. *Cott. Vesp.* A. xiv (probably from Brecon), *Dom.* A. i (probably from St. David's), *Vesp.* E. iv, and another MS. now in the Cottonian collection.

the best known. Some of the contents have been published in the *Myfyrian Archæology*, and the whole in Skene's *Four Ancient Books*, but in neither case in a manner to meet the requirements of scholarship, and we are glad to see that a diplomatic edition of this important text is among Mr. Gwenogvryn Evans' undertakings.

The beautiful facsimile before us, which for the present may go far to supply the want, so clear is the writing of the greater part of the MS., is executed by the autotype process, and reproduces not only the written matter of the MS., but the exact appearance of its ancient pages, with all the stains, creases, flaws, and other marks of time faithfully represented. The tint of the prints being very similar to that of a vellum page, the reader practically has the original before him in every detail except the colours of the illuminated initials, and a few words of the MS. which can only be read by placing the pages in more than one light. The pigment used in autotyping being carbonaceous, the reproduction is permanent, and can undergo no deterioration as long as the paper remains unchanged. We have carefully examined these autotypes from beginning to end, and find them all of equal excellence. Mr. W. R. Wynne, the owner of the MS., with his customary liberality, placed every facility for their execution at the Editor's disposal, even going so far as to allow the book to be taken out of its binding, in order that better negatives might be secured.

Into the date and authorship of the poems in this "Book" we will not now enter. Even the date of the MS. is a matter of some uncertainty in the present state of Welsh palæographical science. Skene (1868) referred the whole of it to the reign of Henry II (*Four Ancient Books*, ii, p. 316). The present Editor, after carefully weighing the evidence both of its calligraphy and of its contents, is of opinion that the earlier part was written in the reign of Stephen, and the remainder in those of Henry II and his son Richard (p. xvi). Mr. Evans, we may note, throws doubt on the prevalent idea that the development of calligraphy in Wales lagged behind that of England. "As far as we have been able to compare the manuscripts of France and England with those of the Principality", he says on p. xiii, "we incline to the belief that Dimetian scribes proved more susceptible to the influence of French models than their English brethren."

A HISTORY OF ANCIENT TENURES OF LAND IN THE MARCHES OF
NORTH WALES. By A. N. PALMER, F.C.S. Wrexham :
Woodall, Minshall & Thomas. Price 5s.

THIS is one of a series of works on local archæology in which Mr. Palmer has set an excellent example, which we trust will be followed by other local historians throughout the Principality. The district around Wrexham—afterwards the lordship of Bromfield and Yale—was conquered by Offa, King of the Mercians, the contemporary and correspondent of Charlemagne, in the course of his long reign, which was the first orderly epoch in Anglo-Saxon history. It was regained by the Welsh in the troublous times of the Norman Conquest of England, and was held by them for two hundred years. Offa seems to have planted English colonies there, as in other districts which he conquered; with the result that to this day the names of the townships are English, but those of the fields Welsh.

The value of the evidence of place-names in local history has been shown in a recent number of this Magazine. The old Welsh tenure of land was the tribal or family holding, which prevailed among all pastoral peoples throughout the world of whom any records can be obtained. It was no doubt an earlier stage of the system of land tenure by village communities, which can also be traced in countries as far apart as India and the Fiji Islands, and among the North American Indians. Private property in the soil began with arable land, and the process may be observed even in modern times, when some man of independent thought plants his potatoes in a corner of the common, and then surrounds his patch with a fence, which gives place to a hedge that soon grows high enough to support an intimation that "trespassers in this enclosure will be prosecuted".

Under the Welsh tribal system a district—it must be borne in mind, principally waste land—was held by a tribe under its petty king or chief, with his officers, the *maer* and *canghellor*. The holdings were of two kinds, the *tir gwelyog* or family-land, and the *tir caeth* or bond-land. The former was held by the *uchelwyr* or free tribesmen, alone entitled to the name of "Cymry", who were divided into groups derived from single *gwelyau*, each family hold-

ing being subdivided among the members for three generations from the head of the house. It is interesting to note that in these subdivisions the younger son took the original *tyddyn* or homestead with its croft, in accordance with the custom of all pastoral nations that the elder sons should migrate with a certain allotment of cattle as soon as they are able to lead a pastoral life. This custom has survived in the "Borough-English" of the English Law and the *Jüngstenrecht* (the right of the youngest) of the Germanic nations. The *tyddynau* of the *uchelwyr* were grouped in *maenolydd*, and from each *maenol* was due the *gwestfa* or food-rent (of which honey was an important element), taking the place of the earlier personal entertainment of the chief, and afterwards commuted into the *punt dwngc*, the pound of silver, which survives as the fealty- or tunk-rent. There were also due to the chief the *amobr* or fee payable on marriage of the *uchelwr*'s daughter (said, but without reason, to have originated from the right of *mercheta mulierum*, which prevailed, at any rate in Scotland, until the time of Malcolm the Third); the *ebediw* or heriot, payable on the death of an *uchelwr*; and certain public services, which appear likewise in the *trinoda necessitas* of the tenants of Anglo-Saxon *boc-land*, the land granted by deed out of the *folc-land*. The *tir caeth* was held by the *taeogion*, called in the Latin translations of the Welsh laws "*villani*", among whom were the *eilion* (*advenæ*) and *alltudion* (*exules*). The number of the *eilion* gives rise to the suggestion that they were not merely immigrants, but included remnants of the original Celtic invaders, or of their predecessors. But among all *taeogion*, as there was no pure Welsh blood, there were no family rights. All adult males shared equally, as in the custom of gavelkind, which obtains in Kent and elsewhere, but the youngest son took his father's *tyddyn*. The *taeog* could not bear arms, was bound to grind at the chief's mill, was debarred from free sale and from certain more liberal occupations, was liable in his *maenolydd* or *tref* (carefully separated from the *maenolydd* of the *uchelwyr*, there being eight free and four bond *maenolydd* in the commot) to the summer and winter *dawnau bwyd*, or contributions of food to the chief's table, and to the *cylch*, or support of the chief's household in his yearly progress. Below the *taeogion* were a class answering to the *bordarii* of *Domes-*

day, cottagers without oxen, and generally without land, and the *caethion* or slaves; the villeins in gross.

The old under-kingdoms were divided into *cantrefi*, or groups of 100 townships, corresponding to the hundreds of the Saxon shires, each *cantref* containing normally two *cymmydau* (commots). The commot was the unit of local government, and (in North Wales) consisted of twelve *maenolydd* of four *trefi* each and two super-numerary *trefi*. Each *tref* had four *tyddynau*, to each of which four *erwau* (acres) was the usual allotment.

The Welsh laws declare that that every free Welshman was entitled to four (formerly five) *erwau* of land freed from the common rights over them; he had also rights over the common turf and woods, and the right of common tillage—*cyfar*. The *erw* was the measure of the day's joint ploughing with eight oxen, four abreast, which ended at noon. The *erwau*, which were separated from each other by balks of turf two furrows wide, were allotted in proportion to the several contributions in oxen or material; and when the practice of common tillage died out these scattered strips, like the "yard-lands" in the English open fields, remained in the permanent possession of the holders. These strips (the German *hub*, the Irish and Scotch *rig*) appear in all systems of co-aration, tribal or village. Like also was the Saxon *æcer*, the *selio* or strip in the open field, the origin of the English acre, which a statute of Edward I fixed at forty perches in length and four in breadth. In the Teutonic communities we find—(1) the mark of the township; (2) the common mark (the waste); and (3) the arable mark (the cultivated area), which was periodically distributed and divided into the three great fields for the three-course rotation of crops.

"Arva per annos mutant et superest ager", says Tacitus in the well-known passage of his *Germania*—they change their plough-lands yearly, but there is enough of the grass-land over. So in Wales the same land was not at first ploughed every year, but went back into grass land, the enclosures (which were round the whole, and not the strips) being pulled down after the harvest for common pasture. The *tyddyn*—the English *town*, the Irish *tate*—was permanently enclosed. The common pasture, the traces of which lasted longer, was of much more importance than the common arable land, for the Welsh were a pastoral people, and, like other inhabitants of mountainous countries, had their *hafodau* or

summer dwellings in the hills, as opposed to their *hendrefi* or permanent dwellings in the lowlands. The common pasture included, after the harvest, the land set apart for hay, the *gweirdir*, similarly divided into strips, like the "lammas land" in England after the first of August (Lammas Day). The old tenure seems to have lasted until it was supplanted by the elaborate system, the outgrowth of Teutonic customs and later Roman law, before which the village communities in England had fallen. "Nulle terre sans seigneur"—the manorial system everywhere prevailed until in its turn it gave way in most districts to the modern system of freeholds and leaseholds.

In feudal times the commot became the lordship, the *maenolydd* of the *uchelwyr* and *taeogion* the manors, and the *trefi* the townships; the common waste was called the lord's waste, the *uchelwyr* were the manorial free tenants, and the *taeogion* the copyholders, the old Welsh customs in many instances becoming the customs of the manor. The right of all heirs-male to succeed to the inheritance was preserved by the Statute of Rhuddlan in the districts to which that statute applied (it also excluded the succession of bastards, and gave certain rights to females), and was not abolished throughout Wales until the reign of Henry VIII. By that time the common plough-lands had practically disappeared, but the common pasture survived until it received its death-blow from the four thousand Enclosure Acts passed between 1760 and 1844. On behalf of these Acts was alleged the inconvenience of the scattered strips and the greater productiveness of land in private ownership. Even Tusser had declared that one acre enclosed is worth three commons, and sung, or rather said,

" The country enclosed I praise ;
The other delighteth not me,
For nothing of wealth it doth raise."

But, as Lord Lincoln declared in 1845, the Acts often neglected the rights of those who were unable to be represented before the Parliamentary Committees. As the old rhyme has it—

" We oft condemn the man or woman,
Who steals the goose from off the common,
While the greater felon is let loose
Who steals the common from the goose."

HISTORY OF POWYS FADOG. By J. Y. W. LLOYD of Clochfaen, M.A., K.S.G. Vol. VI. Medium 8vo. London: Whiting and Co., Sardinia Street, W.C. Price 10s.

THE attendant circumstances add a touch of pathos to this, the concluding volume of the Chevalier Lloyd's work, for it was written under grave difficulties, when his health had given way and he was already preparing for the final change which we must all undergo; and yet he still worked hard at it, and finished it but a few months before his death, evincing an admirable amount of patience, fortitude, and perseverance. In him Wales loses a son who tenderly loved her, with all her history, traditions, and romances, and Welshmen have lost one whom they esteemed as a courteous, kindly, and talented friend, or a generous and munificent superior. We will not speak of faults—*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*—for what mortal is free from them? But rather let us consider what his energy has accomplished, what legacy he leaves to posterity, what store for future historians of our country.

The title of the work is somewhat misleading, since the author has included in it far more than the subdivision of Powys from which it is named, and in this, the sixth and last volume of his work, has passed to families beyond the territory of Powys Fadog, even though connected with those within it. We notice this rather as an excellence, a superabundance of good things, more than we have a right to expect; and, looking at it in this light, we cannot severely criticise the somewhat capricious manner in which these families have been selected. One characteristic of this volume seems to be that it was intended, to some extent, as a complement to the others, so that many parts of it have reference to what has gone before, and others are corrections of matter previously given. The opening chapter is of this description, referring to Glyndyfrdwy, of which we have already had an account in vol. i, where, indeed, we notice a discrepancy between our author, who relies upon the *Cae Cyriog MS.* for his authority, and Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, relative to Gruffudd, third son of Gruffudd Fychan, fourth Baron of Glyndyfrdwy. Our author states (vol. i, p. 198) that this Gruffudd had an only daughter and heiress, Eva, the wife of David ab Gruffudd ab Caradog ab Thomas ab Roderig

ab Owain Gwynedd. But Sir John Wynn¹ says that the aforesaid David ab Gruffudd married Eva, the daughter and heiress of Gruffudd Vaughan ap Gruffudd ap Moreiddig, and by her had that land which, in the Extent of North Wales, is called Gwely Griffry in Penyfed in Eifionydd, in the county of Carnarvon ; and the fact that the descendants of this David constantly quarter the arms, *azure*, three boys' heads couped at the shoulders proper, crined *or*, and entwined round the neck with a serpent *vert*, goes far to confirm the truth of Sir John's words, whereas we look in vain for the arms of the Barons of Glyndyfrdwy among the quarterings of David or his descendants. Nor does it make any difference that the quartering in itself is incorrect, since there can be no doubt that it is intended to represent Moreiddig, and this Eva is the only heiress who could bring it into the family. Sir John himself refers to its being questionable which of the two persons named Moreiddig is intended ; but a comparison of the pedigrees and the lands brought shows that it must be the bearer of that name connected with North Wales, *i.e.*, the son of Sanddef Hardd, and not he of South Wales, the ancestor of the Vaughans of Herefordshire ; and yet it was this latter who is said to have borne the boys' heads couped. On page 3 the boars' heads are erroneously marked *sable* ; in the trick of arms they should be *gules*, as is evident from the letterpress. We should have liked to be told why Lowry, the heiress of Tudor ab Gruffudd Fychan, lord of Gwyddelwern, carried her barony of Gwyddelwern to her son Elisse, the offspring of her second husband, rather than to the issue of her first husband ; it is only stated on page 4 that such was the fact. This Elisse was the ancestor of the Vaughans of Cors y Gedol, reference to whom is made in the Wynne pedigree at page 155.

With respect to Eva, who on page 6 is called *only* daughter and heiress of Llewelyn ab Dolffyn of Yale, *Harl. MS.* 1977 calls her Eleanor, and says she was "one of the heirs to" Llewelyn ab Dolffyn.

On p. 24 we have an interesting historical incident mentioned with respect to Rûg. King Gruffudd ab Cynan (the last to bear that title) was staying at the Grûg, or Rûg, when Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, and Hugh de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, came with a large body of horse and foot under pretence of visit-

¹ *Hist. of the Gwydir Family*, ed. Oswestry, 1878, pp. 25, 28.

ing him. Meirion Goch of Lleyn, like a second Judas, had made an arrangement with the Normans, and persuaded the king to go forth to meet them with but few followers, whereupon they seized him and carried him off to Chester, keeping him prisoner there for twelve years.

It must be borne in mind that our author does not exercise his critical faculties upon the matter brought under his notice, but accepts the pedigrees as he finds them, many of them in MSS. of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; thus (p. 32) Collwyn ab Tangno, Lord of Eifionydd, is said to have married Madlen Benlydan, daughter of Cynan ab Gwaethfoed, Lord of Cardigan, and sister of Ednowain Bendew. But, from pedigrees preserved to us by Guttyn Owen, we know that this name, Ednowain Bendew, stands for Edwal ab Owen Bendew, the son of Cynan ab Afandred ferch Weir, etc., from whom also descended in direct male line Iorwerth ab Rhiryd ab Iorwerth ab Madoc ab Edwal, who, according to *Harl. MS.* 2288, married Nest, the sole daughter and heir of Iorwerth ab Goronwy ab Einion ab Seissyllt, whence their descendants quarter the arms of Gwyddno Garanhir. If, therefore, Nest were the sole daughter and heir of Iorwerth, he could not be the ancestor of the Pryoes of Gunley, as stated at page 36—at least in the male line, which seems to be intended there: a difficulty which requires notice.

It would be interesting to many to know that John Lloyd of Pontruffydd, mentioned on page 43, and Rebecca his wife, the descendants of the old family of Lloyd of Rhagad, passed on that blood through their daughter Margaret to the present family of Lloyd of Rhagad. Under the head of Arddwyvaen, p. 64, etc., we have a most interesting pedigree, full of historical matter; but, unfortunately, the source from which it has been taken is not given. Rhiryd Flaidd is the common ancestor of so many families that this chapter of the work will be of widespread interest, amongst others, to the descendants of Gruffudd ab Ednyfed Fychan, who is said to have married Gwenllian, daughter of Rhiryd Flaidd, and by her to have been the father of Howel y Pedolau. This Howel is stated to have been the ancestor of Gruffudd Lloyd of Cinmael, whose daughter and heiress, Alice, is said on page 66 to have been the second wife of Richard ab Ieuan ab David ab Ithel Vychan of Tegeingl.

There is some difficulty about Howel y Pedolau, since *Add. MS.* 9864 calls him the son of Gruffudd of Henglawdd, by Gwenllian, daughter of Howel ab Trahaiarn ab Gwgan of Castell Wgan, co. Brecon, while in another place he is called fourth son of Griffith ab Iorwerth Goch ab Meredydd ab Methusaleh ab Hwfa ab Cynddelw, and his mother stated to be Gwerfyl, daughter of Iorwerth ab Madoc ab Rhiryd Flaidd. Then, again, *Harl. MS.* 1977 says that Gwenllian, daughter of Iorwerth ab Madoc ab Rhiryd Flaidd married Gruffudd ab Howel (y Pedolau) ab Gruffudd, and their daughter Gwladus was wife of Gruffudd Fychan of Nant Conwy, by whom she had two daughters, Morfudd and Angharad, wife of Cynric ab Robert, descended from Edwal ab Owain Bendew. If, on the other hand, we refer to the pedigree of Vaughan of Humphreston, the representative of Owain Bendew, we find that Richard ab Evan ab Davydd ab Ithel Vaughan did indeed marry two wives, but neither of them was named Alice, the first being Jane, daughter of William Glegg, and the second Margaret, daughter of William Madoc; he had, however, a natural brother, Rhys, who married Ales, daughter of Griffith Lloyd ab Ieuan, and had a daughter and heir, Catherine, wife of Piers Holland of Abergele. This is supported by *Harl. MS.* 1977 and *Add. MS.* 9865.

In the earlier part of the pedigree of Vaughan of Caer Gai, pp. 113-4 and notes, two difficulties are noticed, the first as to the descent of Llwydiarth. It seems clear that this estate came with Gwladus, the wife of Celynin, as the autograph copy of Lewys Dwnn's work¹ says; but, curiously enough, Einion, who succeeded to it, is not stated to be a son by this wife, but by Gwenllian, daughter of Meredith ab Rhydderch ab Tewdwr. What then became of Iorwerth, the son of Celynin by the heiress of Llwydiarth? The second difficulty is the possibility of Celynin or his father being contemporary with a granddaughter of Cynwrig Efell. We may compare the generations by taking the two lines of Einion and Cynwrig Efell; from the latter to Jenkyn of Llwydiarth is six generations inclusive, and from the former to Gwenhwyfar, Jenkyn's wife, is eight generations inclusive, so that it would not appear to be impossible that Celynin should be con-

¹ *Herald. Visit.*, i, p. 294.

temporary with a granddaughter of Cynwrig Efell. On page 135 we have an allusion to Basingwerk Abbey, from which it might be inferred that this religious house was given to Sir Robert ab Rhys, the ancestor of the eminent family of Price of Rhiwlas. If, however, we turn to the pages of Pennant's *Tours in Wales* (ed. 1883, i, p. 38), we find it stated that this abbey was given to Harry Parry, the son of Thomas ab Harry ab Cynric ab Ithel Vaughan, of the line of Owen Bendew, and that he, marrying Margaret, daughter of Jenkin or John Hanmer, had issue coheirs, the elder of whom, Anne, carried that property to her husband, William Mostyn. The explanation, no doubt, is that the estates of the abbey were divided.

On page 147 the arms of Howel Coetmor are given as "*Azure, or, chev., inter three fleurs-de-lys argent.*" No doubt the 'or' is a printer's mistake for 'a'; but there seems some question as to the fleurs-de-lys, since other authorities speak of them as spear-heads; but it is by no means uncommon in Welsh heraldry to find variations in the family coat.

It would have been a great advantage if our author had been able to expend a little more time and trouble upon the arrangement of his work, so as to give his readers a more continuous account of the same subject, instead of presenting it in detached portions, which have to be hunted out of different parts of the volume. Thus we have a portion of the pedigree of Price of Rhiwlas on page 149, a reference to it on page 299, a further instalment on page 421, and more still on page 476; but a comparison of the two latter portions shows some discrepancy, since at page 422 John Price is stated to be the son of Col. William Price by Mary, daughter and coheir of David Lloyd of Kiumel, while on page 476 his mother is called Mary, daughter and coheir of David Holland of Kinmael. There are also other differences between these two pedigrees, leaving a student somewhat in difficulties. In the pedigree of Vaughan of Cors y Gedol, page 164, we miss the name of Elizabeth, daughter of Rhys Vaughan, who married John Wyn of Ynys y Maengwyn—an alliance which not only connected two branches of the House of Osbern Wyddel and two great estates, but also would have proved a link between two portions of the work, since her name occurs on page 111 of vol. v, and her line of descendants is there continued until it ends in coheirs, Elizabeth, from whom the Corbets of Humphreton

Hall and Ynys y Maengwyn descended, and Catharine, wife of John Owen. A very interesting account of the Fitz Warine family, by Joseph Morris, is given on page 180, *et seq.*, tracing the line to Elizabeth, sister and heir of the tenth Fulk Fitzwarine, who became the wife of Sir Richard Hankford, Knt., and had issue a sole daughter and heiress, Thomasine, wife of William Bouchier, from whom descended the Earls of Bath of that name. We shall not resist the temptation to carry this matter a little further, as it is germane to our subject. John Bouchier, the second Earl of Bath, married thrice. By his third wife, Margaret, daughter and heir of John Dorington, he had issue Susanna and Bridget, wife of Arthur Pryce of Vaynor. His second wife, Lady Eleanor Manners, was the mother of his heir, John Lord Fitzwarine, who died in the lifetime of his father, leaving a son, William, who succeeded his grandfather as third Earl, and by his wife Lady Elizabeth Russell, daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford, had issue Edward, fourth Earl, who by Dorothy his wife, daughter of Oliver Lord St. John of Bletsho, had a son, who died young without issue, and three daughters, coheirs, viz.—Elizabeth, wife of Basil Earl of Denbigh, who died without issue; Dorothy, wife of Thomas Lord Grey of Groby; and Anne, wife of Sir Chichester Wrey, Bart. Lady Grey, the senior coheir, had issue a son, Thomas, who became second Earl of Stamford, but died without issue, when his two sisters became his coheirs. Elizabeth married Henry Benson, and Anne married James Grove, Serjeant-at-Law, whose daughter Penelope married Ralph Browne of Caughley, and is now represented by the families of Wylde-Browne and Vaughan.

There is a curious discrepancy between the pedigrees given on pp. 200 and 204. In the former Gruffudd ab Davydd ab Tudor has two sons, Howel and Madog. From Howel descends the family of Coetmor of Coetmor, in a direct male line, while on page 204 we are told that Gruffudd ab Davydd ab Tudor had a daughter Eva, heiress of Penrhyn, and wife of Gruffudd ab Heilin ab Sir Tudor ab Ednyved Vychan. This latter statement is the same as that made in the pedigree of Griffyth of Penrhyn in vol. iv, p. 341. The reference on page 210 referring to vol. v should be to page 282, not 146.

By a sudden mutation we are taken from Conway Abbey, concerning which there is some very interesting matter between pp.

276 and 300, to the Shropshire town of Oswestry or Oswaldestree. In line 18 of page 301 occurs "del arborem". Ought it not to be "vel arborem"? The list of the Earls of Arundel given on pp. 322-3, though in itself interesting, is rather misleading, since it might be thought from it that Thomas succeeded his father Philip, Earl of Arundel, in the lordship of Oswestry; but such was not the case, for this Philip, the twenty-third Earl of Arundel, was attainted in the matter of Mary Queen of Scots, and lost his head; and so the said lordship fell to the Crown, and was subsequently conferred by James I on Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, who, though half-brother to Philip, yet, being by a different mother, had none of the blood of the heiress of the Fitzalans, Earls of Arundel and Lords of Oswestry. It was this Thomas Earl of Suffolk who alienated the lordship, 24 James I, to Dame Elizabeth Craven, daughter of William Whitmore and wife of Sir William Craven, one of whose daughters, Elizabeth, married Sir Percy Herbert, from whom descends the present lord of Oswestry. Were the arrangement complete we should have expected here some notice of the township of Sweeney, near Oswestry, since we have the neighbouring places of Ilwyn y Maen and Llanforda, both formerly in the possession of the family of Lloyd, descended from Hedd Molwynog. The elder branch of the family was seated at Llanforda, John, the elder of the two sons of Richard Lloyd, succeeding to it under his father's will. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Peter Newton of Hsighley or Heighleigh, who, we are told by *Harl. MS.* 1041, was Chief Governor of Prince Arthur. Elizabeth was his daughter by his second wife Jane, daughter and heiress of Geoffrey Kyffin. After the death of John Lloyd his widow married Charles Walcot of Shropshire. The Christian name of their seventh daughter is left blank on page 358; it was Elizabeth, and she was the wife of Edward ab Rhys Wynn of Llandyssilio. A little lower down we have the alliance of John Lloyd of Llanforda with Mary Lettice, daughter of George Caulfeild of Oxfordshire, who is called "Baron Charlemont in Ireland"; but it does not appear that there ever was such a person as George Baron Charlemont. The explanation seems to be that the patent limited the descent of the title to the nephews of the first peer, and this George was a brother of that dignity, and predeceased him. Upon page 359 we are told that Col. Edward Lloyd had three

children by his wife Frances, daughter of Sir Edward Trevor of Bryn Cunallt, but the only one given is Edward Lloyd, the heir. Blakeway, in his *Sheriffs of Shropshire*, speaks pathetically of this Edward Lloyd, who by no means willingly parted with the family estates. The other children were George Lloyd, born in 1639, and Anne, who became wife of Thomas Kyffin of Oswestry, a family formerly seated at Sweeney. They were already cousins of the Lloyds through the family of Kynaston of Morton, and were descended from Geoffrey (or Gruffudd, as others call him), brother of Ieuan Fychan ab Ieuan Gethin ab Madoc Kyffin. The descendants of the Princes of Powys mustered strongly in that locality, especially the families of Kynaston and Tanat, the latter of which branched out into numerous sections, as Tanats of Abertanat, Kyffins of Glascoed, Kyffins of Oswestry, Vaughans of Golden Grove, Earls of Carbery, and the illegitimate branches of Tanat of Blodwel, whose heiress married Matthews, and Powell of the Park, near Oswestry. Of the above families the Tanats of Abertanat are represented in blood by the family of Lord Harlech, the Kyffins of Glascoed by that of Sir Watkin W. Wynn, Bart., the Kyffins of Oswestry and Earls of Carbery by that of Vaughan of Humphreston, Salop.

Passing on, we come (p. 374) to a fragment relating to Rhagad in Glyndyfrdwy, from reading which the conclusion would naturally be drawn that the present family were only connected with that estate by purchase. This, however, would be dealing but scant justice to them, for it ought to be a matter of satisfaction to them, and certainly is so to those interested in the descent and devolution of property, to know that the present owners are descended from the old family of Lloyd of Rhagad, through their ancestress Margaret, wife of Judge Lloyd, who purchased the property, and was daughter and coheir of Josiah Morrall of Plas Iolyn in Shropshire. The descent runs as follows :

John Lloyd of Rhagad, of the old family, had a daughter Catherine, wife of Robert Wynn of Plas Isaf, whose daughter and coheir Elizabeth became wife of William Owen of Pentre Gwyddel, and their daughter and heir Rebecca married John Lloyd of Pontruffydd, from whom descended Margaret, daughter of John Lloyd of Pontruffydd, wife of Josiah Morrall of Plas Iolyn, and mother of Margaret, wife of Judge Lloyd of Berth and Rhagad. The inte-

resting account of the Vaughans of Cors y Gedol, which follows on page 382, reflects upon the pedigree of Wynne of Peniarth, a House descended from the same stock; and the two may be conveniently compared, especially since the latter is given in tabular form. In this manner it will be seen that the name of the other daughter of Eignion, who is mentioned on page 386, was Tibot. Gruffudd ab Gruffudd ab Eynion of Cors y Gedol is said (p. 387) first to have taken the name of Vychan, but in a pedigree of Lewis Dwnn he is called Gruffudd Wynn. He was probably called by both names. His wife is said to be Maud, daughter and coheir of Sir John Clement of Tregaron, in Cardiganshire; and it is observed that her first husband was Sir John Wogan of Wiston. In an old family pedigree, however, in the possession of the writer, it is stated that "John Wogan &c. esqr mar: Mauld D & H to Jenkin Clement"; and this Jenkin was son of Sir William Clement, and had for his wife Jane, daughter of Griffith ab Nicholas of Newtown. This John Wogan was brother of Joan, wife of Sir William Perrot, whose daughter Margaret married William Vaughan of Cilgerran. On page 389 Humphrey Wynn of Ynys y Maengwyn is mentioned, and a reference given to p. 111—it ought to be p. 111, vol. v—where the devolution of the estate to the Corbets of Humphreston is given. The date of 350, assigned to Maelgwn Gwynedd on page 407, is far too early. On page 413 there is an elision in the pedigree of Gwenllian, who should be styled the daughter of Cynric ab Rotpert ab Iorwerth ab Rhiryd ab Iorwerth ab Madog ab Edwal ab Owen Bendew of Tegeingl. When speaking of the family of Parry of Tywysog (p. 435), our author very justly mentions their illustrious descent through the family of Brooke of Madeley, co. Salop; but it appears to us that he has passed by a much more interesting royal descent, while mentioning that from Edward III, since, through Margaret, the wife of Thomas Brooke of Madeley, there is a descent from the celebrated Margaret Countess of Salisbury, the last of the Plantagenets, who has lately received a new honour in being accorded the title of "Blessed". Rose, the wife of John Giffard, was the second coheir of Comberford Brook, but her uncle, John Brooke, carried away the representation of the family by marrying his cousin Margaret, the sister and heir of Basil Brooke of Madeley. This John was buried at Madeley, 25th April 1744, leaving an only

child, Elizabeth, wife of Henry Fermor of Tusmore, whose only child, Eleanor, married William Adams of Broseley, co. Salop. The tinctures of the arms of Cupper, mentioned in a note, page 440, are probably *argent*, on a bend inter two lions rampant *sable*, armed and langued *gules*, three plates.

We have lingered perhaps too long in speaking of and amplifying some of the interesting pieces of information contained in this volume. It not only bears the marks of being complementary to the preceding five volumes, but is more valuable, because there is less matter in it of a nature to which many would take objection, and which would interest few. The thanks of Welshmen and others are due to the writer for the amount of genealogical and historical matter which he has compressed within these six volumes, but it is much to be wished that some competent person would undertake a revision of the whole and reduce it to a uniform arrangement. It is evident that the author endeavoured to keep abreast of new matter which flowed in upon him during the publication of his work, and this praiseworthy effort has given it in many places a disjointed appearance. On the other hand, some corrections are still needed to make it reliable for students, and in several of the pedigrees the variations of different manuscripts are not sufficiently given. There is no attempt at a critical examination of the matter, dates, etc. ; indeed, to introduce that would have lengthened the whole to an inconvenient extent. We have good reason to be thankful for what we have, and when it is borne in mind how rare, comparatively speaking, works of any size upon Welsh history or genealogy are at the present day, we must view the *History of Powys Fadog* as an important contribution to our literature.

THE INDEX LIBRARY : A Series of Indexes and Calendars to British Records. Edited by W. P. W. PHILLIMORE, M.A., B.C.L., Queen's College, Oxford. London : Charles J. Clark. Price 2s. monthly.

UNDER the title of the *Index Library* there has appeared monthly since January of this year, 1888, a serial publication containing

matter extremely useful to those who concern themselves with antiquarian researches, whose labours among the dusty files and folios of British records it will greatly facilitate, making it at the same time possible for them to carry on such labours to a certain extent at their own firesides. The title is comprehensive, covering a wide area, and as time proceeds the editor, Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore, will doubtless furnish his subscribers with aids to inquiries ranging over the whole period for which British archives exist. The scheme is far from being completed yet, but a beginning has been made with an index of names to "Chancery Proceedings", *temp.* Charles I, and with similar indexes respectively to the "Signet Bills" issued from 1584 to 1624, to the "Royalist Composition Papers", and to the "Northamptonshire and Rutland Wills" for a century and a half, commencing with the year 1510. The last named are deposited at Northampton, but the other three series lie in the safe-keeping of the walls of the Public Record Office in London; and, indeed, on the shelves of the search-rooms of this national institution have long rested the manuscript originals of the indexes which are now in course of appearance in print. Henceforth the searcher, as far as he can avail himself of Mr. Phillimore's handy pages, added to from month to month, will avoid the less convenient manuscript volumes to which until now he could alone have recourse. From the catalogue of the contents of the *Index Library* given above, it will be seen at once that the information to which it is a guide does not relate in any great degree to subjects or localities which specially engage the attention of the readers of *Y Cymmrodor*. Still, the Principality and its sons are occasionally in evidence, as a glance over the columns of names will show. "Ameredith", "Apreece", "Aprrice", for instance, point unmistakably in one direction. There is little to be said, without travelling outside the proper scope of this notice, of the series of Records and State Papers to which guidance is thus provided by Mr. Phillimore. The "Wills" and "Chancery Proceedings" speak for themselves as far as their contents go. With regard to the other two series it will be sufficient to say that the "Signet Bills" are the instruments bearing the sovereign's signature which authorise the Lord Chancellor to pass letters patent under the Great Seal, and are chiefly concerned with high legal appointments; and that the

"Royalist Composition Papers" are documents of an extremely varied and interesting nature, containing information as to the estates, ages, and families of the Royalists who in the rigid times of Cromwell's rule found it necessary to make excuse for their existence, paying fines for their loyalty, and petitioning for the release of their property.

LLANELLY PARISH CHURCH: Its History and Records ; with Notes relating to the Town. By ARTHUR MEE. Llanelly: Printed at the "South Wales Press" Offices. 1888.

MR. MEE deserves the thanks of Welsh antiquaries for the care and pains with which he has placed this detailed account of Llanelly Church, its monuments and its records before them. His book is a handy volume of some 180 pages, illustrated by two excellent photographs, besides some rather rough woodcuts. Work of this kind is of solid value, and we should be glad to see more of it issuing from the press.

Our notices of Mr. Alfred Nutt's *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail* and of the second part of Mr. Silvan Evans' *Dictionary* are unavoidably postponed to the next number.

Notes and Queries.

ANGLESEY FOLK-LORE.¹

At Llangeinwen, some seventy years ago, there lived a farmer and his daughter. He was tolerably well off himself, but the neighbours noticed that his daughter was spending money at a very extravagant rate. She used to go to Carnarvon and other towns, and buy all kinds of things. People naturally wondered where she obtained all this money, but when she was asked she always made the same reply, viz., "I won't tell you; if I do, I shall die." At last her father, being determined to find out the secret, followed her one night out of the house and watched her movements. She went down a quiet lane, but soon left the path and went to a rough piece of ground covered with gorse. Here she joined a company of fairies (*tylwyth tég*), some of whom were playing fiddles, while the rest were singing and dancing in the moonlight. Her father was much alarmed at the sight, and ran away immediately. Next day he asked her where she had been the night before. She replied, "I can't tell you; if I do, I shall die." He then took a stick and threatened to beat her if she would not tell him. By this means he extorted from her the confession that the fairies used to fetch her out and make her go to their meetings, whether she liked or not; that they always used to see her home safely, and that all her supplies of money came from them. As soon as she had finished telling him this, she was taken ill on the spot, and died the same day.

W. W. COBB, M.A.

Atherstone, May 1886.

¹ See *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. vii, pp. 56 and 195-8.

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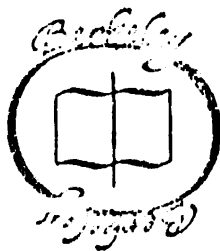
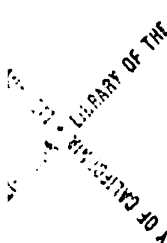


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