

## THE SETTLEMENT OF BRITTANY.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Society on June 4th, 1890.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> This is so. See his *Celtic Britain*.—Ed.

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

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

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

Perhaps I should mention a third theory, which was held by the late Mr. T. Wright. According to him the British dialects had been entirely supplanted by a form of Latin before the Romans evacuated the country, and the existence of the Welsh, and formerly of the Cornish language, can only be accounted for by a migration from Armorica in the 5th century.<sup>6</sup>

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

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

<sup>6</sup> See *Arch. Camb.* for 1858 (3rd Series, vol. iv.), pp. 289-305. This "theory" is as groundless and worthless as everything, or nearly everything, that the late Mr. Wright advanced or wrote on Celtic subjects. Mr. Wright's scholarship in matters of Welsh history was about on a par with the Latin and Scriptural scholarship which led him into those two famous blunders—the first of which consisted in reading the last word of *fungar vice cotis* as "*totis*," and translating the whole 'I will discharge all functions in turn,' and the second in translating *lepra Syri* 'the leprosy of *Syrus*!' (See the clever and amusing article *Antiquarian Club-books*, in the late Rev. Richard Garnett's *Philological Essays*, pp. 122-3).—Ed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>8</sup> A larger number than is generally supposed exist in French, e.g.,



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

that language; and many of these are ecclesiastical terms. It has been said, in fact, that the only foreign influence which had modified to any appreciable extent the language, the laws, or the customs of the Britons was that which had been exercised by the Church. It is a moot point as to when the Christian religion first made its way into Britain; but it is supposed to have been nominally at least triumphant before the end of the fifth century. The British Church distinguished itself by a vigorous independence in the matter of certain rites and customs in respect to which the Roman pontiffs were anxious to obtain a Catholic uniformity. Augustine is sent to require their submission on these points, one of which is the mode of calculating the date of Easter, the other a peculiar form of tonsure. The British bishops meet Augustine on the frontier, and refuse their submission, according to the well-known story, because he remains seated on their appearance, thereby showing an un-Christian arrogance which disqualifies him from being their primate. They will have nothing to do with him, not even will they join in a mission to spread the Gospel among the Angles.<sup>6</sup> Between the lines of the narrative is to be seen a stubborn national spirit which was largely anti-Catholic in its tendencies. Bede remarked that the Britons were accustomed to hold as nought the religion of the Christian Angles, and treated them just as if they were heathens. We shall find the same traits in the Breton church a century or two later; an indication of relationship corroborative of the migration.

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

<sup>6</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 2 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 150).

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>8</sup> See note 1 on p. 70, *supra*.

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

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



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

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

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

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

Taking up the slight sketch of his life which we commenced, Gildas remained at Llanilltyd until he was fifteen years of age. He then (says one of his biographers, the monk of Rhuis) went to Gaul, and after seven years' sojourn in that country he returned to Britain with a great pile of books ; for he had been imbued by his master Illtud, *himentanis collibus, minacibus præruptis vallati* [*al. vallatis*] *et densissimis saltibus, marinisque* [*al. marisque*] *rupibus vitam, suspecta* [*al. suspectam*] *semper mente, credentes, in patria licet trepidi perstabant.*"—ED.

<sup>4</sup> See note 1 on p. 70, and pp. 74-7, *supra*. Additional evidence of the migration is furnished by Gildas' contemporary Procopius, who obviously means some part of Britain by *Brittia*, though he duplicates the island into two, *Brittia* and *Brettania* ; possibly by the former he meant Lower, by the latter Upper, Britain, and believed the Bristol Channel to be a sea dividing the two. The following is the passage of Procopius referred to, taken from *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, lxxiv. : *Βριττιαν δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἔθνη τρία πολυανθρωπώτατα ἔχουσι· βασιλεὺς τε εἰς αὐτῶν ἐκάστῃ ἐφέστηκεν. ὀνόματα δὲ κείται τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖτοις Ἀγγίλοι τε καὶ Φρίσσονες καὶ οἱ τῇ νήσῳ ὁμώνυμοι Βρίττωνες· τοσαύτη δὲ ἡ τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται οὕσα, ὥστε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ πολλοὺς ἐνθένδε μετανιστάμενοι, ξὺν γυναῖξί καὶ παισὶν, εἰς Φράγγους χωροῦσιν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνοικίζουσιν εἰς γῆς τῆς σφετέρας τὴν ἐρημοτέραν δοκοῦσαν εἶναι.*

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

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

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

In following the remainder of Gildas's career we have to choose between two distinct lives, one written by Caradoc of Llancarvan in the twelfth century, the other by a monk of Rhuis (near Vannes, in Brittany) in the eleventh. Caradoc relates that Gildas undertook the charge of the monastery at Nantcarvan for a year at the request of Cadoc the abbot. At the expiration of that time they agree to live a secluded life for a season, and Gildas establishes himself on a small island called Ronech, Cadoc on another close by called Echni;<sup>1</sup> these are identified as the islands now

<sup>1</sup> "Ronech et Echni" is the reading of the 13th-century text of Caradoc's *Life of Gildas*, in the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. No. cxxxix., which Stevenson, taking his text from the Burney MS. 310, written in 1381 (at least a century later than the Corpus MS.), collated with another MS. of the 16th century (Royal MS. 13 B. vii.), thought it unnecessary to collate on account (he says) of the close agreement of the C.C.C.C. MSS. with the texts used by him!

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>6</sup> This antiquity is especially confirmed by the fact that he makes

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

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> Now St. Gildas-de-Rhuis. In Breton Gildas is called *Gwellas*.—ED.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup> See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 272-3.

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

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

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

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

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



By this kind of test the *cartulaires* of Redon and Landévennec are found to possess a special value.<sup>5</sup> The *Cartulaire de Landévennec* is chiefly interesting in containing the life of Winnaloë, or Gwennolë.<sup>6</sup> It was composed in the inscription on the stone at Llandyfaelog Fach in Breconshire, "Briamail Flou." Another later-Old-Welsh form was *Bramail*, occurring in a ninth-century entry in the *Book of St. Chad* at Lichfield and also in the *Liber Landavensis*, the exact modern continuator of which is found in *St. Bravel's*, the local pronunciation of St. Briavel's in Gloucestershire. The modern literary form *Briafael* occurs in the name of a place called *Kelli Uriaual*, mentioned in the *Englynion y Beddau* (*Black Book of Carmarthen*, fo. 34\*, Skene's *Four Books*, ii. 32).

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> It is a loan-word from Lat. *plebs*, *plebis*.—Ed.

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> From the meeting of the Odet and the Steir in the city; so *Quimperlé* is for *Kemper Ellé*, being situate at the meeting of the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>4</sup> See p. 70 *supra*, and note 1 thereon; also pp. 74—7, *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Renan, when he received the members of the Cambrian

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the passage from Procopius quoted in note 4 on page 78, *supra*; see also p. 67, *supra*.—ED.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### NOTE (a).

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

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

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

*Terra Cumbriorum* is used for Cumbria by the author of the *Life of St. Cadroe*, ascribed to the 11th century (see Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, 116<sup>2</sup>); and in the early part of the following century we find Duncan (the father of Malcolm Canmore), who was king of Cumbria, twice spoken of as *rex Cumbriorum*. In the 12th century Jocelyn of Furness, in his *Life of St. Kentigern*, uses for *Cumbria* the variant form of *Cambria* and its derivatives. In chap. xi. he mentions the *regio Cambrensis*, *regnum Cambrense*, and *regio Cambrina* (al. *Cambria*); in chap. xxix. he also speaks of *Cambrina regio*, and of Rederech or Rhydderch Hael, the well-known king who ruled at Alclud or Dumbarton, as reigning over *regnum Cambrinum*; whilst in chap. xxxi., when describing St. Kentigern's return from St. Asaph to Cumbria, he actually speaks of his having arrived "*de Wallia ad Cambriam*."<sup>3</sup> *Cambria* is also found for the county of Cumberland in a document printed in Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 280. On the other hand, Ailred of Rievaulx, Jocelyn's contemporary, and the *Chronicle of Carlisle* both call the

<sup>1</sup> See also *The Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, p. 340-1.

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

<sup>3</sup> See *Lives of St. Ninian, &c.*, pp. 181—3, 212-3, 216.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



tian, A. i., fo. 158<sup>b</sup>), must needs also refer to a northern, not to a strictly Welsh, Brychan.

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

"Ym prydein yn eidin yn adeuea6c.

Yggafran yn aduan brecheina6c.

Yn erbyn yn ysc6n gaena6c."

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

<sup>4</sup> See *Book of Deer*, vi., li., liii.