WELSH PLACE-NAMES:

A STUDY OF SOME COMMON NAME-ELEMENTS.

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With Notes by the Editor.

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

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

[2] Feb. 8th, 1890.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a sentence as '*Mae o'n byw yn y tŷ cóch*,' it is above all things important, if one would ascertain the original point of a place-name, to fix the meaning of its different elements at the time it first grew into a proper name. If this is neglected, we shall go egregiously astray: coming across a *Tre-wern*, we shall conclude that this *gwern* or 'marshy flat' was once covered by a thriving market town; the name *Cyfoeth y Brenin* will precipitate us into wild speculations about the site of the royal treasury; it will puzzle us to understand what point there could have been in calling a brook *Hir-nant*.[1] Only when we learn that *tref* anciently denoted a village or hamlet, that *cyfoeth* is Old Welsh for 'land or territory,' and that a common meaning of *nant* is 'a glen or valley,' do these names yield up to us their secret. A study of the primitive significations of the words employed in making place-names is therefore a necessary preliminary to the analysis of individual local names; and what I propose to do in the rest of this paper is, if I can, to fix the meaning of certain elements which enter largely into the formation of such names in Wales. The names with which I shall deal will be names of a particular class, those which denote human habitations, or involve the political and social organization of the Old Welsh. Names expressing merely physical characteristics, such as *Rhós Góch, Pennant, Esgair Hir, Aberystwyth*, I shall not touch, but take up those alone which testify to the presence of man. In attempting to ascertain the original sense of a name-element, it will sometimes be necessary to call in the aid of philology; but more real help will be gained from historical and topographical evidence, from observation of the use of the term in ancient Welsh documents, and from the circumstances under which it is found distributed as a name-element over the soil. This must be the excuse of a

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1] In Irish or Gaelic *Dun Brettan*, *Dun Chaildenn* respectively.—ED.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Ed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[7] P. 141.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

By the Editor.

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

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

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

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

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

"Am wyth am edrywyth
Am doleu dynwedyd";

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[9] Also called *Yverdon*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(*m*) There was also a widely distributed diminutive form *dinan* (compare *castellan* in note (*t*), *infra*), apt to become *Dinam* or *Dinham* in place-names. In Cornwall we have the tautological form *Cardinham*, anciently called *Cardinan*, and in the Romances (in which it is named as a place where King Arthur held his court [1]) *Caradignan*, *Caradigan*, or the like, forms which our sapient commentators have conceived to stand for *Cardigan*, which before the Normans was no more the name of one particular spot than 'Oxfordshire' is now. In Brittany the name is probably found in the town of *Dinan*. In Wales it occurs as *Dinham* (anciently *Castell Dinan*,[2] *Lib. Land.*, 32, 43) in Monmouthshire, as *Dinam* in Anglesey, in *Llysdinam* in Breconshire (so called from the *dinan* which gave its name to *Swydd Dinan*, one of the three Commotes of the Cantref of Buallt), in *Mandinam* on a hill near Llangadock, and probably in *Llandinam* in Montgomeryshire. *Dinan* was also the ancient name of Ludlow or its castle, still preserved in a place there now called *Dinham*. A place called *Dinan* also gives its name to a township and to a spot

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Caer in Welsh is feminine; but it is to be noted that in Cornish place-names *car-* very often does not alter the mutable consonant that follows it; as in the names *Carmeal*, *Carmellow*, *Carmelor*, *Carmerrance*, *Carminow*, and *Carbilly*, all in Bannister's *Glossary of Cornish Names*. Of these names *Carminow*[1] seems to contain the Welsh man's name *Mynyw*, *Menyw*, or *Menw* (for which see *Red Book Triad* No. 20 in *Y Cymmrodor*, vii. 126-7, and the Oxford *Mabinogion*, pp. 302; 107, &c.; 147); and *Carbilly* or *Carbilla* (which gives or gave name to at least four places in East Cornwall) is certainly for *Caer Beli*,[2] or rather *Caer Feli*, as it would be in Welsh. Now this shows *Caer* to have been in Britain of common gender, which is exactly what we should expect, if it were derived from the neuter *castrum*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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