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A Neglected Welsh Triad.

BY

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I. INTRODUCTORY.

THE Welsh Historical Triads have never been edited collectively. Consequently the variant readings have not been properly presented and the mistakes made in transcription have not received their respective antidotes. Neither has the explicatory and, at times, unconscious punning of mediæval scribes been appraised at its true value. The complex obscurity in which the student of our racial origins is involved is extremely serious. But its existence is at last becoming recognised.

In the *Preface* to his recently published work *History of the Later Roman Empire* (from A.D. 395 to A.D. 565) Professor Bury lays stress upon the fact that we know less of Britain at the period of Germanic invasion than of any other part of the Roman Empire. And he remarks that Britain seems to be the only exception to the rule that the change of masters in the western provinces of the Empire was not the result of anything that could be called a cataclysm. "The German peoples, who were much fewer in numbers than is often imagined, at first

settled in the provinces as dependants, and a change which meant virtually conquest was disguised for a shorter or longer time by their recognition of the nominal rights of the Emperor. The consequence was that the immense revolution was accomplished with far less violence and upheaval than might have been expected. This is the leading fact which it is the chief duty of the historian to make clear."

In so far as Anglian Britain is concerned that duty cannot as yet be claimed to have been realised by any scholar who has undertaken to play the part of an historian. Much less can it be supposed to have been fulfilled. The output of historical work in our country, when the investigation of folk-origins is concerned, can only be described as racial. The tendency to select the truths that countenance the compartment-method of research and either support restricted racial views, or are not definitely opposed thereto, is universal. The consequences of this are unmistakable and deplorable. English historians, for instance, are content to leave the investigation of the early history of Mercia severely alone. The racial and linguistic problems that that kingdom and its folk present are so disquieting that they prefer to acquiesce in one-hundred-and-fifty years of silence rather than avail themselves of traditions the sources of which are neither English nor Western Germanic. One consequence of this is that investigation into that side of Insular Germanic life which is neither English nor Saxon, and the traditions of which have been preserved for us by the Cymro and the Norman, is scoffed at and derided. The racial aloofness of the historian has led him to forget that our England is the product of an historical process and that, notwithstanding the fact that Roman Britain could not carry its Roman traditions of law and language onward into the

Middle Ages because its deadly enemies had overpowered its civilisation, nevertheless, in the words of Mr. R. G. Collingwood, "But for these facts England would to-day be speaking a Latin tongue, though in race she would be no less and no more Teutonic than she is"; *Roman Britain* (1913) p. 19. If *Germanic* be substituted for "Teutonic" I am in full agreement with Mr. Collingwood's conclusions.

The mental attitude of the Angle towards this problem is couched upon the conviction that there were no Germanic settlers in Britannia till A.D. 449, when the Saxons came and slew all the "Celts," or drove them away. This fatuity has developed into neglectful scorn of true racial conditions and into facile doubt in dealing with what it is not thought desirable to believe and apply: *ammau pob anwybod*. This neglect and inefficient facility are supinely regarded as proofs of scholarly fitness, and we go on, generation after generation, accepting the opinions of scholars who pretend that all is known and wish it to be believed that nothing is left to be discovered. But that is not true, and, as I asserted in *The Times Literary Supplement* of the 9th of October, 1919, "the material awaits the worker's hand. It is enormous in mass, priceless in value, infinitely interesting in its nature and variety. In order to reduce this material to utility and assimilate it, what are required are faith and confidence and willingness to work, in addition to learning and scholarship."

Of these desiderata the third, namely, willingness to work, is not discoverable. In the closing years of a long, busy, and scholarly life, the late Professor Skeat took profound interest in the study of English place-names. He was much hampered in his research work by the fact that the places named and indicated in the Anglo-Saxon

charters collected and edited by Dr. Birch in the "Cartularium Saxonicum" which was published twenty-five years ago, were neither listed nor indexed. To what is this negligence to be attributed? I will let Professor Joseph Wright answer. In the *Introduction* to the second edition of his "Old English Grammar" (1914), p. viii., he revealed the disappointment he felt at the non-fulfilment of promises made by other scholars to assist him: "The simple fact is that most people in this country who are competent to undertake such work either cannot or will not face the drudgery that it entails."

Similarly on the 7th of November, 1917, Professor Flinders Petrie read a paper before the British Academy on "Neglected British History". It is demonstrable that this charge of neglect was brought with justice and propriety. In advancing it Professor Petrie was partly dependent upon Geoffrey of Monmouth whose work Professor R. W. Chambers has well and truly styled "one of the most influential books ever written in this country". But Insular scholars, as Professor Chambers has pointed out, have been meekly waiting for 336 years for an edition of Geoffrey Arthur's "Historia Regum Britanniae" which shall be independent of the German edition that Jerome Commelin of Heidelberg issued in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and which shall take scholarly account of the texts of the thirty-four manuscripts of Geoffrey's work which are preserved in the British Museum Library.

With all this lassitude (and more) in view I wish to point to just one of the Welsh Historical Triads which would very materially help any open-minded students of Mercian origins who would but make diligent use of it. The particular Triad is that of the "Tri Unben Llys Arthur". It is a very ancient one and its value where Mercian and South Saxon historical legends are concerned

has never been detected. The following are the sources upon which I rely. I am prefixing the abbreviation that I shall employ when I refer to the different collections in which the text appears or is quoted.

ABER.—The Hengwrt-Peniarth manuscript.

HERG.—The Red Book of Hergest.

LLANEG.—The Book of Llanegwad.

PANT.—The Book of Paul Panton of Plasgwyn.

K. AC O.—The Mabinogi of “Killwch ac Olwen”.

RHON.—The Mabinogi of “The Dream of Rhonabwy”.

G. AP E.—The Mabinogi of “Gereint ap Erbin”.

I have set the oldest document first. But the text of ABER. is faulty in several particulars. In other collections we get variations and illuminative additions, and in the Mabinogion two of the *Tri Unben* are cited, and additional information about them which is both valuable and useful, is purveyed.

II. THE AUTHORITIES.

§ i.—ABER.

The oldest text of the Triad of the *Tri Unben Llys Arthur* is to be found in the Peniarth MS. No. 45A. This is now in the National Library of Wales, at Aberystwyth, and I am indebted to the kindness of the Librarian—Mr. John Ballinger, M.A.,—for photographs (positive, negative, and enlarged) of the page which preserves the Triad. The manuscript is water-stained and could not be reproduced well. The page measures approximately 5¼ inches by 3½. It is numbered 294 and has 27 written lines. The manuscript was formerly in the Hengwrt collection, No. 536 (*olim* 29). It comprises Geoffrey of Monmouth’s “*Historia Brittonum*” (*sic*); the Pedigrees of the Welsh Saints; the Pedigrees of the Men of the North; and the Triads of King Arthur and his Men.

Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans assigns the MS. to the late thirteenth century.¹

§ ii. Among the scribal peculiarities of this MS. are the tall *a*, which is so like a *d*,² and the tied *ll*, which invites mis-reading as *n*. To the latter scribal peculiarity is attributable the error made in reading which is presented in William Forbes Skene's edition of the Triads of Arthur and his Men.³ Skene's text yields "uordwytwn". In this *-twn* should be *-twll*. The text is given at the end of this chapter.

§ iii.—HERG.

The Triad also appears in the *Trioed* in the Red Book of Hergest in the Jesus College (Oxon.) Library, MS. No. 1. Except a few of its columns this MS. was written in the last quarter of the fourteenth and in the first quarter of the fifteenth centuries.⁴ These Triads were published by Professor Rhys⁵ who pronounced the earlier edition, namely *Cyfres II* in the "Myvyrian Archaiology," to be

¹ *Vide* 'Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language', Hist. MSS. Commission, vol. i, pt. ii (1899), *Peniarth*, p. 379.

² Cp. 'Early Welsh Script', by W. M. Lindsay, M.A., Oxford, 1912 (St. Andrew's University Publications, No. X.). In the Berne Gospels which were written early in the ninth century, *a* is very much like *d*; cf. p. 50, plate v. On p. 5, Professor Lindsay refers to the presentation of *ch* for *h*: e.g., *Gechennam*, *chippocritis*, *vechimenter*. These instances occur in the St. Chad Gospels which were written in the eighth century, or the ninth; and this digraph is also found in the Berne MS., v. pp. 15 and 16.

³ 'The Four Ancient Books of Wales' (1868). By William Forbes Skene. *Vide* Appendix, vol. ii, pages 456 to 464 (even numbers); from the Hengwrt MS. No. 536. It is the ninth Triad in this collection.

⁴ *Vide* Mr. J. G. Evans's 'Report' (note 1, above) vol. ii, part i (1902), *Jesus Col.*, Oxford, p. 5.

⁵ In *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. iii (1880), pp. 52-63. Also cp. Thomas Stephens's letter on the Triads in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd S., viii, (1862) pp. 64, 65. Stephens assigned the Red Book Triads to the mid-fourteenth century; the first *Cyfres* in the 'Myvyrian Archaiology'

carelessly reproduced, but deferred marking the errors "until all the important versions have been brought together". This has not yet been done. In the first edition of the "Myvyrian Archaiology"⁶ the word "Chaedyrleith" makes its appearance in this Triad, and it is followed by the numeral 4, vol. ii., p. 13. The foot-note corrects this to *Chaedyrieith*. In the second edition p. 397, the mis-reading is followed by the figure 4, but there is no explanatory foot-note. This error was repeated by Professor Rhys in 1880 (*vide* my note 5, *supra*), but corrected by him in 1887 (*vide* my note 7, *infra*).

to the mid-fifteenth century; and the third *Cyfres* to the sixteenth century. A few of the Historical Triads are quoted in poems of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

This is the only reference to the Triads listed in D. R. Thomas's 'Alphabetical Index to the First Four Series of *Archæologia Cambrensis*' (1846-1884). It was published in 1892. In Francis Green's 'Alphabetical Index to the Fifth Series' (1902) the word Triad does not occur.

⁶ (A). 'The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales': collected out of Ancient MSS. Poetry: vol. i (1801); Prose: vol. ii (1801), vol. iii (1807). *Trioedd Ynys Prydain allan o Lyvyr Mr. R. Vaughan o'r Hengwrt*, numbered i-xcii; vol. ii, pp. 1-19. *T. Y. P. allan o'r Llyvyr Coch o Hergest*, numbered i to lx, pp. 1-22 (at foot of each). *Trioedd y Meirch* numbered i-xi, pp. 20-22. *Trioedd Y. P.* numbered 1-126, pp. 57-75. *Amrywiaethau i'r Trioedd*, pp. 75-79; *A. i'r T. y Meirch*, pp. 79 and 80.

(B). The second edition (1870) with additional notes, pp. i-xxvi, 1-1247. The collections of the Triads appear as follows: *Cyfres I* (92 Triads) pp. 388-394. *Trioedd y Meirch* (11 Triads) p. 394. *Cyfres II* (60 Triads) pp. 395-399. *Cyfres III* (126 Triads) pp. 400-411. *Amrywiaethau i'r Trioedd Blaenorol*, pp. 411-414.

⁷ 'The Welsh Triads as they are given in the Red Book of Hergest in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford'. Ed. by John Rhys, M.A. and J. Gwenogvryn Evans, in the 'Text of the Mabinogion and other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest' (1887), pp. 297-308.

The Red Book gives 60 historical Triads in all. They are not numbered in the MS. Our Triad is printed on p. 303, lines 12, 13 and 14. On p. 319 Professor Rhys annotated *chaedyrieith* thus: "At first sight the [first] *i* looks like a regular *l*, but closer examination will show the top half of the would-be *l* to be an addition".

§ iv. Now, why did the early scribe seek to interpolate an *l* and why is *Caedreith* spelt in that curious way? The Red Book Triad makes no reference to Porthfawr the father of “Caedreith” and the introduction of Caedyrieith mab Seidi exhibits mnemonic confusion with Triad 90 of *Cyfres I*. The omission of Porthfawr is a serious one. Moreover the mis-spelling of his son “Caedreith’s” name and the mis-attribution of Seidi as Caedreith’s father are inexcusably erroneous.

§ v.—LLANEG.

The third collection of Triads in the “Myvyrian Archaeology” (1801) presents a curious addition to what I prefer to regard as the true text. On p. 57 we are informed that—“Y Trioedd canlynol a gymmerwyd allan o Lyfr ysgrifenedig y diweddar Barchedig Mr. Richards o Lanegwad yn Ystrad Tywi, a fu ym menthyg gyda’r Parchedig Mr. T. Walters, o Landocha ym Morganwg, gennyf fi Iolo Morganwg.” The Triad appears as No. 114 in this collection (ed. 1, vol. ii., p. 74; ed. 2, p. 410), and after reciting it (as given below) the *Cyfres* continues:

§ vi. “sef oeddent yn Dywysogion yn Berchennogion Gwlad a Chyfoeth, a gwell oedd genddynt no hynny aros yn Farchogion yn Llys Arthur, gan y bernid hynny yn bennaf ar bob anrhydedd a bonheddigeiddrwydd, a ellid wrth a gair y Tri Chyfiawn Farchawg.”

§ vii. This is rendered as follows in the notes to Lady Charlotte Guest’s translation of the *Mabinogion* (1848): “because they were princes possessing territory and dominion in preference to which they remained as knights at the Court of Arthur, as that was considered the chief

of honour and gentility in the opinion of the Three Just Knights”.

§ viii.—PANT.

A manuscript formerly in the possession of Mr. Paul Panton of Plas Gwyn provided the editors of the first edition of the “Myvyrian Archaiology” with the text of *Cyfrës I.*⁸ This Panton MS. is believed to have been transcribed by the Rev. Evan Evans, c. 1780.⁹ It was numbered 13.

§ ix.—K. AC O.

In the Mabinogi of “Kilhwch ac Olwen,” in HERG., we may find among the names of the warriors that Cilhwech mab Cilydd mab Celyddon Wledig appealed to¹⁰—(1) Ffleudur Fflam Wledic; (2) Gobrwy mab Echel Uordwyttwll; (3) Echel Uordwyttwll himself; (4) Llary mab Kasnar Wledic.

§ x.—RHON.

In the “Dream of Rhonabwy” (in HERG.) we find among the counsellors of King Arthur, Gobrwy mab Echel Vorddwyttwll, Llary mab Casnar Wledig, Fleuddur Fflam and Carieith mab Seidi.¹¹

It is noteworthy that Casnar Wledig was assassinated in A.D. 448 and that Celyddon Wledig was born on June the 16th, A.D. 364, at mid-day, during a wonderful eclipse of the sun. Cilydd, the son of Celyddon Wledig, married

⁸ *Vide* ed. 1 (1801) vol. ii, p. 77, No. xv; ed. 2 (1870) pp. 389, 412, No. 15.

⁹ *Vide* J. G. Evans's *Report* (*u. s.* note 1), vol. ii, pt. iii (1905), *Panton*, pp. 817, 818.

¹⁰ *Vide* ‘Text of the Mabinogion’ (*u. s.* note 7) (i) p. 106, l. 22; (ii) p. 107, l. 4; (iii) p. 107, l. 5; (iv) p. 107, l. 23.

¹¹ *Vide* ‘Text of the Mabinogion’, p. 160: *ffleudur fflam*, l. 2; *karieith mab seidi*, l. 5.

a daughter of Anllawdd Wledig, by Gwen, daughter of Cunedda Wledig. Another of Anllawdd's daughters, Eigra, was mother of King Arthur, who was born in the year after the appearance of the awe-inspiring comet of A.D. 443. Arthur was slain in A.D. 492.

§ xi.—G. AP E.

In the Mabinogi of Gereint the son of Erbin four of the pages at King Arthur's Court are named. They are—“Cadyrieith mab Porthawr Gandwy, ac Amhreu [MS. presents *-en*] mab Bedwyr, ac Amhar mab Arthur a Goreu mab Cystennyn.”¹²

¹² *Vide* 'Text of the Mabinogion', p. 246, l. 18. The name *Cadyrieith* occurs without affiliation on p. 258, l. 15, and p. 286, ll. 24 and 27. “Cadyrieith vab Porthawr Gandwy” occurs on p. 246, l. 18.

III. THE TEXTS.

ABER.	HERG.	LLANEG.	PANT.	K. AC O.	RHON.	G. AP E.
Goronwy	Grouw	Goronwy	Gowronwy	Gobrwy	Gobrwy	
m. Echell	uab Echel	ab Echel	m. Echel	m. Echel	m. Echel	
Uordwyttwl		Forddwyttwl	Forddwyttwl	Vordwyttwl	Uorddwyttwl	
a Chadreith		a Chadraith	a Chadeeit			Cadyrieith
m. Porthuawr		ab Porthor	m. Porthawr			uab Porthawr
Gadu		Godo	Gadw			Gandwy.
a Ffleidur	a Ffleudwr	a Ffleidur	a Ffleudur	Ffleudur	Ffleudur	
Fflam.	Fflam	Fflam	Fflam	Fflam	Fflam	
	uab Godo	mab Godo		Wledic		
	a Chaedyrieith					
	uab Seidi					

Triad xv. Triad xxvi.
 "Myv. Arch." "Myv. Arch."
 Vol. ii. p. 4: Vol. ii. p. 13:
Echel, Ffleudur

Gadu
Ffleidur
Godo

Note 3: *Ffleidur*

§ xii. Having brought the variants together I will now submit my reading of the text of the Triad. It is as follows :

xv. Tri Unben Llys Arthur: Goronwy mab Echel Uordwyawl a Cha[l]dreith mab Porthuawr Uandw a Ffleid ur Fflam Gwledic mab Godo.

My rendering of these lines is—

Three Sovereign Princes of the Court of Arthur: Garnwio son of Ecel the Seafarer; and Aldrēth the son of Portimâr of Mandu[essedum, *i.e.*, Mancetter]; and Duke Flēd the Flam[and] the son of God[mund].

IV. THE PRINCES COMMEMORATED.

- i. Arthur.
- ii. *Echel Uordwyawl*: Ecel the Seafarer.
- iii. *Goronwy*: Garnwio son of Ecel.
- iv. *Porthuawr Uandw*: Portimâr of Mancetter.
- v. *Ca[l]dreith*: Aldrēth son of Portimâr.
- vi. *Godo*: Godmund.
- vii. *Ffleid ur Fflam Gwledic*: Duke Flēd the Fleming.

ARTHUR.

§ xiii. Of the identity of the Cornovian king at whose Court the sons and successors of the three Insular Germanic kings were trained in knightly service there should be no doubt. But there is a very complex problem awaiting the attention of any students of our island story who will give humble consideration to it. The King Arthur mab Uthyr Pendragon mab Cystennin Corneu of Cymric history¹³ is not the “Artus Konung af Bertangeland” of the “Thidreks saga af Bern.”¹⁴ Neither can

¹³ See my Paper on ‘Some Old Welsh Pedigrees’, in *I' Cymmrodor*, vol. xxiv (1913), pp. 74-85.

¹⁴ *Vide* The ‘Wilkina Saga’, ed. by J. Peringskiöld, 1715.

the King Arthur who, according to Malory, married Guenever the daughter of King Leodegrance of Cameliard be the same as Arthur mab Uthyr.¹⁵

§ xiv. "Leodegrance" is a trouvère's presentation of a latinisation of the Germanic and O.E. name Leodegar; *sc.* *Leodegaranus*. "Cameliard" presents Brythonic *c* for O.E. *h*, according to rule, and the district in Norfolk that has shrunk into the hundred of Humbleyard is intended.

§ xv. Our King Arthur mab Uthyr Pendragon was born in the year after the appearance of the great and awe-inspiring comet of A.D. 443.¹⁶ In his fifteenth year—*i.e.*, in A.D. 459, he became *Dux Bellorum* and in A.D. 470 he won the victory of the *Mons Hagonicus*, *i.e.*, Aconbury in Herefordshire.¹⁷ The MSS. yield *badonicus* [with *b* : : *h* and *d* : : *g*]. In A.D. 492 Arthur was defeated and slain at Camlan.

§ xvi. One of King Arthur's earliest enemies was Hradil the king of the Gautas of Northumberland. In O.E. this prince is styled "Hræthel the Gæat," in accordance with dialect. In Arthurian Romance he appears as Cradelmas, Cradelment, King of North Wales¹⁸

¹⁵ In Bk. I, ch. xv of the 'Morte D'Arthur', we read that King Rience of North Wales made great war upon King Leodegrance of Cameliard. In ch. xvi, we are told that King Ban and his brother King Bors went into the land of Cameliard and rescued its king, after which Arthur fell in love with Leodegrance's daughter Guenever. In III. i, the wedding is arranged. In X, xxxvi, we read of two knights of Camiliard, cousins of Queen Guenever, named Sir Guy and Sir Garaunt. *Bân*, *Bors(ena)*, *Leodegar + anus*, *Guy*, *Garant* and *Guinever* are all Germanic names.

¹⁶ The comet of 443 is mentioned in Geoffrey's 'H.R.B.', VIII, xv. It is synchronised therein with the death of Aurelius Ambrosius.

¹⁷ *Vide* my Paper on 'Local Names in the *Arthuriana* in the *Historia Brittonum*; *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*. Bd. V (1904) S. 103-123. The facile assumption that the Brython would have called Aque Sulis "Mons Badonicus" in the sixth century is absurd.

¹⁸ *Vide* the 'Morte D'Arthur', Book I, chapters x, xii and xiii.

(= Cumbria) and also as Tradilyvaut [with $t :: c^{19}$ and $u :: g^{20}$]. “Tradil y uaut” indicates Cradil y Gaut. The initial c for h is Brythonic and quite regular: ep. *cam*, *Catu* and *Cuno* with their O.E. cognates *hām*, *heathu* and *Hun*.

§ xvii. Hrâthel the Gēat’s first wife was a sister of the Theodric who was king of the Franks in Widsith-Hama’s day.²¹ Theodric actually reigned over Mæringaburg for 30 *missera* (i.e., half-years²²) after the death of his own father’s brother Eormanric, the king of the Gōtas of Old Saxony, and he died in A.D. 457.²³ Insular

¹⁹ The scribal confusion of t and c is frequent. In his *Introduction* to the text of the eighth century Latin and Anglo-Saxon Glossary (1890), Mr. J. H. Hessels gives six instances of t for c ; v. p. xxxvii. This is also found in Gildas and I believe it to be at the root of our difficulties with respect to the *Truculensis Portus* in the ‘Agricola’ of Tacitus. *Truculensis*, with $T :: C$ and $c :: t$, misrepresents *Crutubensis*, a form of “Rhutupium”.

²⁰ For scribal errors presenting g/u confusion ep. the following: “exugiae” for *exuuiæ*; “frigula :: friuola”; Pleumund :: Plegmund; “flg” for *flu(uis)* about 20 times in Bertram’s Map of Britannia; “Legministre” :: *Leuministre*; “Meigh” :: *Mawn*. For the documentation of these scribal errors *vide* ‘Notes and Queries’, 12 S. viii, p. 517 (June 25, 1921). The errors extend from the eighth century to the thirteenth.

²¹ The probability of this depends upon my identifications (1) of Herthegn; (2) of Herthegn’s son Herbort, and (3) of Herbort’s sister’s son Boppe from Tenelant, with Hrethel, Hrethel’s son Herebeald and Herebeald’s sister’s son Beowa, i.e. Beowulf. We are indebted to ‘Biterolf’, to the ‘Vilkina Saga’ and to ‘Beowulf’ for these genealogical facts. See my note in *Notes and Queries*, 11 S. XII, p. 133 (August 21, 1915).

²² In the old poem known as ‘Deor’s Lament’ which is preserved in the tenth-century Codex Exoniensis we get the statement: “Theodric ahte thritig wintra Mæringaburg; thæt wæs monegum enth”—i.e. Theodric owned Mæringaburg for thirty winters; that was known to many. The period is doubled and we must understand thirty *missera*, or half-years—namely from A.D. 442 to A.D. 457.

²³ I date Theodric’s death in 457 because he was ruler of the Franks and must have preceded Hilderic with whom the unlegendary history of the Franks actually begins. Hilderic was ruling in 458.

Saga, *sc.* "Beowulf," says that Hæthegn, Hræthel's son and Beowulf's uncle, accidentally killed his own brother Herebeald. Continental Saga²⁴ says that Herbort (*i.e.*, Herebeald) the uncle of Boppe from Teneland (*i.e.*, Beowa or Beowulf) accidentally slew a brother, fled the wrath of his father Herthegn (*i.e.*, Hræthel), and went to the Court of his mother's brother, Theodric. After a time Herbort or Herebeald was sent by Theodric to Bertangenland (the *g* here=our *y*) to woo Hilda, the daughter of King Artus, as a bride for his uncle Theodric. Consequently, Artus and his father-in-law Leodegar were ruling locally in Britain before A.D. 457; and, moreover, before that year Artus of Britannialand himself had a marriageable daughter.

§ xviii. Now Arth- is one vocable and Art- is another. Cymric Arth- indicates earlier Art-, while Alemannic Art- points to original Ard-. In "P.P."²⁵ we get 17 names which begin with Ard-; 4 whose headword is Erd- (< Ardi); 21 whose headword is Art- and 14 which present Ort. In Searle²⁶ we may find 8 with Ard-; 6 with

²⁴ *Vide* Wilhelm Grimm's review of the 'Biterolf' in his 'Die Deutsche Heldensage' (1829), chap. 45, pp. 123-153. The references to King Artus of Britannialand do not occur in the 'Biterolf'. They are to be found in the 'Vilkina Saga'; *vide* Grimm (*u. s.*) chap. 81, pp. 175-183. For a most illuminating review of the Dietrich-Artus-Herbert tale see 'Traces of Matriarchy in Germanic Hero-Lore', by Albert William Aron, Instructor in German at the University of Wisconsin (1920), pp. 28, 29.

²⁵ Under 'P.P.' I refer to the 'Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli Augiensis Fabariensis', ed. Paulus Piper (1884) in *Monumenta Germanicæ Historica*. This work is of the utmost importance to all who wish to study Insular Germanic names of men and places open-mindedly.

²⁶ *Vide* 'Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum: A List of Anglo-Saxon Proper Names from the time of Beda to that of King John', by William George Searle, M.A., 1897. This work is most useful and is a monument of industry.

Art-, Arth-; 25 with Ord-; and 3 with Ort-. The possibility of Insular confusion of Gmc. Art- with Brythonic Arth- is great.

§ xix. As I have already pointed out²⁷ the "Notitia Dignitatum" clearly indicates that, at one time, the first two stations at the eastern end of the Wall of Hadrian were occupied by cohorts that had been originally recruited from the Lingones and the Cornovii. The first name is presented in the Insular form "Lengones"; the second is the Brythonic representative of Celtic *Cornavii* and it yields primary *ō* for Celtic *ā*, according to rule. The Old Welsh *ou* points to *oues*, the nom. plural of *u*-stems; cf. the Gaulish *Lugoves*²⁸. The Roman Wall is believed to have been completed by A.D. 210. But the preservation of the folk-names of the Lengones and the Cornovii right down to A.D. 400, at least, is no proof that those tribes at that date were contributing their quota to the regiments that bore their respective ethnic names. Mr. G. L. Cheesman²⁹ renders us aware that the names of cohorts and *numeri* no longer had tribal value or connexion in the fourth century. He says: "in the second century the cohorts and *alae* of the Augustan system, with certain definite and limited exceptions, were recruited locally from the provinces in which they were stationed, without any attempt to justify the ethnical titles which they still bore."

§ xx. The Cyrenecester near the Wall³⁰ coupled with

²⁷ *Vide* *Y Cymmrodor*, 1919, § 35, p. 181.

²⁸ *Vide* 'An Introduction to Early Welsh', by John Strachan, LL.D. (1909), p. 23, par. 27 (*b*).

²⁹ *Vide* 'The Auxiliaries of the Roman Imperial Army', by G. L. Cheesman, M.A. (1914), p. 85.

³⁰ *Vide* 'John of Wallingford' (†1258) in 'Church Historians of England' (ii, pt. 2), ed. and tr. by Joseph Stevenson (1854) p. xviii (note) and p. 530. Cp. also 'The Name of Cerdic' in *Y Cymmrodor* (1919), vol. xxix, p. 181-2.

the Lengones and Cornovii; and the Cyrenecester in Gloucestershire, which was previously called Corinium and which was the DuroCornovium of early Roman times, certainly link up King Arthur, the descendent of Ceri the Tall of Lengonia, with the district between the Walls. The bronze tablet found at Cilurnum (see Bruce, *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, 1895, p. 267) has a special bearing upon this question inasmuch as it records the granting of Roman citizenship to the *emeriti* of Continental cohorts serving in Britain in the time of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138 to 161).

ECEL THE SEAFARER.

§ xxi. ABER. yields "Echell" but all the other texts present *Echel*. The aspiration of the medial *c* has resulted in a pun: "echel" means an 'axle-tree'. The epithet applied to this prince varies. It should be—*Uordwyawl*. Cp. *uordwytwll*, *om.*, *forddwydtwll*, *uorddwytwll*, *vorddwyttwll*, *vorddwyttwll*.

These variants point to *uordwyawl*, a misreading of *uordwyawl*, the lenated, mediæval form of *mordwyol* 'seafaring'. The late Professor Kuno Meyer believed that the word that is actually indicated is *forddwydtwll* and to that he assigned the meaning 'with perforated thigh'.³⁰¹ We will return to this presently.

§ xxii. *Echel* is occasionally referred to in Arthurian romance. In the 'Brut y Brenhinoed' we read of a prince variously named *Echel*, *Achel*, and even *Achilles*. He is styled "Brenhin Denmarc". In the 'Historia Regum Britanniae' (IX. xii.) Geoffrey Arthur gives a list of princes, prelates and noblemen who were invited to attend the coronation of King Arthur at CairLeon in A.D. 473. Among them were Lot, King of

³⁰¹ Vide the *Glossary* to Professor Strachan's work (note 28, *supra*), p. 258, *Echel*, and p. 276, *twll*.

Norway, and "Aschillius", King of Dacia. This Aschillius and a later king of Norway named "Olbriect" both met death at Camlan according to Geoffrey. If we remember that in the *Additamenta Nennii* in the 'Historia Brittonum'³¹ the kingdom of Northumbria is spoken of as "Regnum Nordorum" we shall be able to understand the mistaken ascription of Lot and Olbriect (*i.e.*, Æthelberct) to the kingdom of Norway. Æthelberht, *Rex Nordorum*, was the great-grandfather of the King Ida who died in A.D. 559. As the battle of Camlan was fought in 492 there would not appear to be any chronological or genealogical difficulty in dating Ida's death 67 years after that of "Olbriect" whom I identify with Æthelbert, Ida's third ancestor.

§ xxiii. Neither "Achilles" nor "Aschillius" has any real claim upon us and we may cling to "Echel," who is called "Rex Dacorum" by Geoffrey.³² This aspirated, punning form of *Ecel* points to *Ecil* > *Acil* and thereby accounts for the quasi-learned form "Achilles". In the *Notitia Dignitatum*³³ we are told that the First Ælian Cohort of Dacians was quartered at Amboglanna, near the Wall of Hadrian and probably at Burdoswald.³⁴

³¹ *Vide* Mommsen's edition (1884) cap. lxxv, p. 208, *Chronica Minora*, III; "Rex Nordorum" and "Regnum Nordorum" occur three times collectively.

³² In Geoffrey's 'H.R.B.' we get "Aschillius rex Dacorum", : IX. xii; X, ix; XI, ii. In the 'Ystorya Brenhined y Brytanyeit', ed. Rhys and Evans (from the Red Book of Hergest, *supra*, note 7) and reproduced by Professor Strachan (*supra*, note 28) we get "Echel brenhin Denmare"; p. 162, l. 12; p. 179, l. 22; p. 192, l. 16.

³³ *Vide* 'Notitia Dignitatum utriusque Imperii', ed. Otto Seeck (1876) p. 410, for an important item connecting the Daci with the Lengones and the Cornavii in Britain "Sub dispositione Viri Spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum . . . per Lineam Valli". "Tribunus Cohortis Primae Æliæ Dacorum: Amboglanna". Cp. note 30, *supra*.

³⁴ *Vide* 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum', VII, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae*, ed. Æmiliius Hübner, 1873: Amboglannæ, No. 1291.

§ xxiv. Achillius was called King of Dacia because he was ruler of certain tribes of Dani who were asserted by twelfth-century legendists to be Greeks and who were equated with the Daci! In the *Note Uberiores* to the 'Historia Danica' of Saxo Grammaticus³⁵ there is an interesting note in which are discussed some of the reasons why Daci, Dani, and Græci are pretended to be of the same racial stock, and why Antenor was regarded as the king from whom the Daci drew their origin. Dr. Velschow, who prepared the note cited, unfortunately knew nothing about the Greeks of the Rhine,³⁶ and he dismissed the "etymologiarum lusus et fallaciæ" without accounting for the racial claims he derided and rejected.

§ xxv. We are now confronted by the question—What personal name does the mediæval Welsh "Echel" indicate? The name of Echel is not Celtic. Moreover, it is the name of an independent prince who was contemporary with King Arthur (459-492) and whose son was brought up at King Arthur's Court. In Arthurian saga there are two knights whose names reflect the unaspirated form of Ecel > Acel, namely "Aglovale" (=Agilowald) and "Accolon". The latter was the paramour of Arthur's sister Morgan la Fay and he is styled Sir Accolon of Gaul. Morgan la Fay was the wife of Wiern, a king of the Land of Gore. He is confusedly

³⁵ *Vide* 'Saxonis Grammatici Historia Danica', edd. Müller and Velschow (1858) vol. i, *Pars Posterior*, pp. 44, 45.

³⁶ Antenor was a king of Thrace who came with his sons to help the Trojans. He escaped to Italy and founded Padua, it is said. The Franks chose to identify a king of theirs named Ant- with him. That Ant- is the Antseg of the East Saxon royal pedigree and he was the Antis of Teutonic Saga. In Brythonic legend he comes forward as "Annhun rex Grecorum". The Greeks of the Rhine, *i.e.*, the Creacas, are intended: *vide* my note on 'The Greeks of the Rhine and the Creacas of *Widsith*', in *Notes and Queries*, October 31, 1914, 11, S.X, p. 341.

identified and erroneously called "Urience" by the trouvères. "Urience" = *Urienus* and the 'r' has suffered metathesis therein. *Urienus*, *Uiernus*, *Wiern* point to **Wierni* > **Wearn*i > "Warni." This sequence of vocalic change is in accord with Old English phonetic law. In 'P.P.' we get such men's names as *Uarni-causus*, *Vuarne-pertus*, *Uuarne-gausus*, *Warno*, *Wern*, and the like. The O.E. form corresponding to *Warni*, which is Upper German, is **Wiern*.³⁷ The scribal error "Urience" for **Uiernus* naturally and consistently appealed to all who knew of *Urien*, King of Rheged in *Y Gogle*d. But *Wiern* was a king of the Land of Gore, *i.e.*, of *Gyrwaland*, the Land of the *Gyrwas*³⁸ and he is so called by *Malory*.³⁹ I would identify *Sir Accolon* of Gaul, whom *Malory* mentions several times, with *Echel Mordwyawl*, *Eccel the Seafarer*. The unshifted *Aglo-* in "Aglovale" reflects the "Aglo-aldus" of 'P.P.' The addition of *-on* to the name *Accol*: *Accil*, is an instance of a custom that was current among the trouvères and is discoverable in their Brythonic sources.

§ xxvi. The name of *Ecel* is unquestionably Germanic. It points, through Alemannic dialects, to *Ecil*- > *Acil*- > *Agil*-. In *Ammianus Marcellinus* we may find an Aleman named *Agilo* "tribunus stabuli, tribunus deinde scutari-

³⁷ Cp. Professor Joseph Wright's 'Old English Grammar' (1908) §§ 66, 67. O.H.G. *tarni*, *secret*, O.E. *dierne* > **dearni* > **darni*. Similarly "Warni" became **Wearn*i < **Wierne* < **Wiern*. "Uiern", by scribal blundering, became *Urien* and that, when latinised, led on to **Urienus* < "Urience".

³⁸ See my note 'Where was the Land of Gore?' in *Notes and Queries* (1921), 12 S. ix, p. 248. The upward sequence of the folk-name *Gyrvi* of Bede's 'H.E.' is *Gyrwi* > **Gierwi* > **Gearwi* > **Garwi*.

³⁹ The Land of Gore was in the realm of *Logres*, *i.e.*, of *Lloegyr*. Those investigators who wish to identify it with Gower overlook this fact; cp. *Malory*, XVII, xvii. The Land of the *Gyrwas* included part of Lincolnshire and the Fens.

orum et magister peditum". A king of the Quadi named Agilimundus also appears in Ammian, xvii. 12, 21. The headword of this fourth-century compound name is AGILI, and that is one of the commonest of stems of Gmc. personal names. In 'P.P.' we get 39 combinations with this stem and no fewer than 225 entries of personal names of which either AGILI or one of its dialectal variants is the headword. Cp. Acili, Acila, Acela; Agil, Agel; Agli, Agle, Aglo, Agl-. The later and inflected forms are Ægil, Egili, Egel, Ecil, Echila, Ecela, &c. The true sequence of vocalic change is Agil, Ægil, Egil, Egel. In Alemannic the process was Agili, Acili, Acilo, Echelo. The unshifted Gmc. stem AGEL appears in the Agel-oco of Antonine's *Itinerary*. That stopping-place was near Littleborough, on the Trent. The endword -ōcum is the Insular representative of -ācum. We get this ending in the East Anglian Domnoc⁴⁰ and in a number of names of our west-country villages. Agelocum was opposite to Segelocum and that stopping-place presents the Gmc. name Segel. In 'P.P.' we find Sigilo, Sigloinus, Sigolonus (cp. Accolon), Sicilin, etc. Ælius Lampridius, a late third-century writer whose *Life of the Emperor Alexander Severus* is preserved in the 'Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ',⁴¹ tells us that Alexander Severus was murdered at Sicila—in Britain, as Ælius thought; but in Gaul, according to some others whose opinion he recorded. Sextus Aurelius Victor (c. 370) says "in Britain", quite clearly.

§ xxvii. As Echel is the name given to an independent prince who was ruling in Southern Britain in the third quarter of the fifth century the question naturally presents itself—Is this personal name preserved in any

⁴⁰ In the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede "in ciuitate Domnoc" ('H.E.' II, xv, p. 117) appears as "in Domnoc ceastre".

⁴¹ Edd. Jordan and Eyssenhardt (1864), vol. i, p. 259.

of the place-names of Anglian Britain? The reply is—Undoubtedly, and it is quite frequent in the Midlands. For instance—"Eccleston" occurs in South Lancashire and in Cheshire. "Eccleswall" is found in Herefordshire. "Ecclesall" occurs in Hallamshire, Staffordshire and Warwickshire. In Lancashire and Yorkshire there are two "Eccleshills", and in West Middlesex there was formerly an "Ecclesford". It is now called Ashford. In Kent we get the sib-name "Ecling Hill" and in Suffolk Domesday the sib-name occurs with grammatical accuracy in "Ecclingaham". In Northumberland there are an "Egglescliffe" and an "Eggleston".

§ xxviii. Some forms present Egles-, Ægeles-, and this is just the unshifted form of Ecel > Egil > Agili. Many years ago Edwin Guest declared that we ought to derive *Ægeles-* place-names from the Welsh *eglwys*.⁴² Similarly Professor Ekwall now assures us that Eccles-names are attributable to Welsh *ecclēs*, from Latin *ecclesia*.⁴³ We are to understand that when the Angles invaded the Brythonic districts beyond the Ouse they found churches in many places and, having learnt from the Brython what name a church was known by, they applied that name (so we are assured) to hills, tūns, fords, bourns, walls, halls, etc. Professor Ekwall has not dated the change from *ecclēs-* to *eglwys*. Neither has he accounted for the assump-

⁴² *Ide* 'Origines Celticae', II (1883), p. 170.

⁴³ See 'The Place-Names of Lancashire' by Eilert Ekwall, Ph.D. (1922), Cheetham Society, No. 81 (New Series), for 'Eccles', p. 37, and 'Eccleshill', p. 75. There is an Eccles in Norfolk and this form occurs in Domesday for *Nordfole*. In *Sudfole* there occurs an "Ecclingaham". How that is to be fitted in, to (or with), a British **ecclēs* Professor Ekwall has not revealed. Cp. "Redles", "Beccles", "Hasles" (which occur in *Sudfole*, *Sudfole* and *Herefordsc.*) with "Redelesnuorda" (*Nordfole*), "Becclinga" (*Sudfole*) and "Haslinge feld" (*Grentebriygc.*). Eccles and Ecclingaham are quite clear: they can only mean the estate of Eccle and the *hām* of the sons of Eccle.

tion that, in this instance, the Angle failed to keep the phonetic law which postulates O.E. \bar{i} in place of Latin \bar{e} in *ecclesia*.

I prefer to regard Ægeles- and Eccles- forms as owning cases of Ægel and Eccel which are not only normal dialectical resultants of the Old Gmc. name Agili, but one of which presents the sibname postulated—namely, Ecclinga.

§ xxix. Even if an Old English *eclis could be produced it would not help the Celtic derivationists. In the ‘Brut y Tywysogion’, in the *Red Book of Hergest*, in annal 934, we read of an “Eelis uawr tywysauc Seis”.⁴⁴ I identify this chieftain with Egil Skallagrim’s son who fought at Brunanburh on King Athelstan’s side. The same annal in the Brut yields “Etwin”, and each of these Gmc. names—*sc.* Egil and Edwin, has the media shifted in this Middle Welsh document.

§ xxx. Egil is well-known in legend. He was a brother of Wayland and Slagmund (erroneously called Slagfin), and the three were sons of that Wada the son of Wilkin, who ruled the Hælsings. In the Old Norse Lay of Wayland we may read⁴⁵—

“From the South, through Mirkwood, the young fairy maidens flew to fulfil their fates First Allrune, Cear’s fair daughter, took Egil to her bright bosom. The other, Herwor Swanwhite, kissed Slagfin. But Lathgund, her sister, clasped the white neck of Weyland.”

In line 42 we read again of “Hladgudr Hladvess dottir”: Hlathguth the daughter of Hlodwe. Cear may, according to dialect, be pronounced Char or Kċar. The propinquity of the Lancashire Eccleston to Chorley, and

⁴⁴ *Ibid* The Red Book of Hergest (*u. s.* note 7), p. 263.

⁴⁵ *Ibid* ‘Corpus Poeticum Boreale’, edd. Gudbrand Vigfusson and F. Yorke Powell (1883), vol. i, pp. 168-175.

of the Buckinghamshire "Ægelesburg": Aylesbury, to Chorley Wood and Waddesdon and Chearsley, is noteworthy.

On the top of the Franks casket, in the British Museum, which is believed to have been made in the eighth century, the name of "Ægili" appears in runes above the figure of an archer.⁴⁶ This is the pure O.E. form of Agili.

§ xxxi. The name of Ægil's wife's father, "Kiar," is profoundly interesting. It brings us at once to the Cotentin, and in that region of Gaul we find Cherbourg and Jersey, Guernsey and Alderney. These modern island-names all present Gmc. possessives, and their respective etymons are *Ger-es-ig, *Wern-es-ig, and *Aldr-in-ig (the "ig," or island, of Aldro). It is, of course, tempting to find the name of Echel's son Garnwio in "Guernsey"; but we must remember that Gern-, like Ger-, should have become Jern- (cp. Jerningham) in French; and that in Old French initial *gu* points to older *w*: cp. *guerre*, 'war,' Frankish *werra*; *gué* > *vadum*, 'ford'; *guèpe* > *vespa*, 'wasp.'⁴⁷

§ xxxii. Kiar, Ciar (pron. 'char' as in "Charrington") was an important prince in the early fifth century. In the Old Norse Lay of Hlod and Anganty, line 3,⁴⁸ we read that "In the days of old Anganty ruled the Gōtas, Waldar the Danes and Kiar the Welsh (of Gaul)". In the 'Atla kvida'⁴⁹ we are told that Gunnar of Burgundy's helm and shield came to him from the hall of Kiar—

⁴⁶ See 'Handbook of the Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England', by Dr. George Stephens, F.S.A. (1884), pp. 142-147.

⁴⁷ See 'A Historical Grammar of the French Tongue', by Auguste Brachet; tr. by G. W. Kitchen, M.A. (1874³), p. 64; *g* from primitive initial *v*; Vasconia: Gascoyne; Vardo: Gard; Vapincesium: Gapençais.

⁴⁸ *Vide* 'C.P.B.' (*supra*, note 45), I, p. 349.

⁴⁹ *Vide* 'C.P.B.', I, p. 46, l. 29.

“or hallo Kiars”. As Kiar ruled the Welsh of Gaul we may identify his name with the etymon of the O.E. name of Cherbourg—*sc.* “Kiæresburh”.⁵⁰

The connexion of Ægili: Echel, with Kiær, and the fact that he married a daughter of Cear of Valland, or Gaul, justifies the assertion that *mordwyawl*, ‘the Seafaring’ has a better claim upon us than the imaginary word which is suppose to mean “thigh hole,” but which was rendered for me by a Cardiganshire lady as “the sea with two holes,” and pronounced “ridiculous”.

Walland, *Wealland* and *Walholant* are respectively Old Icelandic, Old English and Old High Dutch names for Gallia or Gaul. The O.I. Kiar is reflected in O.E. *Ceorra*⁵¹ and that postulates an older *Cearra*. The place-names Charrington, Chorley, Cherbury and Cheriton derive their etymon from this personal name. It is customary for scholars to explain the Cheritons as meaning ‘cherry-town’. This is as little deserving of attention as the supposition that Cheesborough and Chiswick were concerned with cheese. The *s* of *cires*, Latin *cerasus* from Greek *κεράσιον*, was not dropped in O.E. “Cheriton” is the representative of an O.E. adopted form **Cerintun*, the *tín* of *Cearo*.

GARNWIO THE SON OF ECHEL.

<i>Goronwy,</i>	<i>Gronw,</i>	<i>Goronwy,</i>
<i>Gowronwy,</i>	<i>Gobrwy,</i>	<i>Gobrwy.</i>

⁵⁰ The Land MS. of the Saxon Chronicle, ed. Plummer (1892), annal 1091 (p. 226), reads: “se eorl him to handan let Uescam ond thone eorldom æt On ond Kiæresburh”; Earl Robert surrendered Fescamp to King William and the earldom of On and Kiæresburh, *i.e.*, Cherbourg.

⁵¹ Cp. Searle (*u. s.* note 26): *Ceorra* c. 802, a deacon in the diocese of Worcester; B.C.S. 304; K.C.D. 181. Attempts have been made to derive “Cherbourg” from a supposititious *Cesaris burgo*.

§ xxxiii. Several Old Welsh names of men ending with *-onwy* are presented in the Mabinogion and three such occur in the short 'Poem of Daronwy'⁵² wherein we may find "Mathonwy," "Daronwy" and "Garonwy". "Adonwy" occurs in 'IV.,' i. 393, 417. The variants *Gronw* and *Gobrwy* clearly indicate that mediæval Welshmen, although they had a name Goronwy in national use, were nevertheless occasionally diffident about giving that name to the son of Echel. Now, as Echel is Germanic and not Celtic, as I have proved, what Gmc. name can it be that was allowed to assume the form "Goronwy" in Cymric speech? In the reign of King Edward the Confessor there was a moneyer in office whose name is recorded as "Garnwi". This form occurs only once in Anglo-Saxon times.⁵³ But in Domesday Book we may find *Gerne-berne*, *German* and *Gernio*.⁵⁴ In 'P.P.' there are to be found *Gerniu*, *Cherniu*, and also *Gernuuic*. This Upper German name postulates an O.E. *Garnwīh* and in West Saxon the *īh* of Anglian and Gmc. words became *ēoh*: cp. Anglian *wīh*, 'idol,' with West Saxon *wēoh*, earlier *wīoh*.⁵⁵ Similarly the *Mere-wio-ing-* of Beowulf, l. 2921, corresponds to the Frankish form *Mero-uech-us* of the 'Historia Francorum' of Gregory of Tours. These variations justify the assumption that the extremely rare but dialectically reflected name "Garnwi" represents earlier *Garnwēoh* > *-wēoh* > *-wīh*. A Welshman would naturally remember and present such a personal name in his own lingual form of Garonwy or Goronwy.

⁵² See Skene, 'IV', No. x, vol. i, p. 269.

⁵³ See 'Catalogue of the English Coins in the British Museum' ed. H. A. Grueber (1887), vol. ii.

⁵⁴ See the lists of landowners and tenants in Sir Henry Ellis's 'General Introduction to Domesday' (1833).

⁵⁵ Anglian and Old Saxon *wīh*, *temple*; Gothic *weihs*, *holy*; West Saxon *wēoh*, *earlier wīoh*. Cp. Prof Wright's O.E. Grammar, §§ 49, 127. 192.

§ xxxiv. In Domesday Book the following instances of the stem GERN- > GARN-I are recorded:

Gerneham	<i>Lincolesc̃.</i>	W. R.
Gernvic	<i>Eurvicsc̃.</i>	W. R.
Gernefelle	<i>Summersete.</i>	
Gherneslete	<i>Devenesc̃.</i>	
Ernemude	<i>Hantesc̃.</i>	
Erneselle	<i>Summersete.</i>	
Ernicote	<i>Oxenefordsc̃.</i>	

Of these place-names "Ernemude" is Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight, and "Ernicote" represents *Gernincote*, the cot of a man named Gerno. The last place-name presents Insular Suevic elided possessive: cp. "Cheriton", "Portitun", "Chenesitun", *et al.* "Gerne" is the reduced form of O.E. *Gernan*, the possessive case of *Gerna*, the pet-form of the headword *Gerni* > *Garni*.

PORTIMAR OF MANCETTER.

Porthuawr, om., Porthor, Porthawr, om., om.

§ xxxv. In Old Welsh a consonant that was flanked by vowels was reduced or lenated: *e.g.* "pechadúr", "cegin", "niver" (for Latin *peccator, coquina, numerus*). Similarly phrases like **tōta mārā* 'great people', became susceptible to this change, and Celtic *tota mara* is now "tud vawr".⁵⁶ Another Old Welsh phonetic law requires the aspiration of *t* after *r*: *e.g.* "Mawrth", "parth" "porth" (for Latin *Mart-em, part-em* and *port-um*). Old Celtic *ā* became *ō* when accented and *aw* when atonic. Hence the Early Welsh "Porthvawr" postulates an earlier form with unaspirated dental tenuis and a vowel between *t* and lenated *m*. This would be either *Portimār* or *Portamār*.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Cp. Strachan (*u. s.* note 28), p. 9, § 12.

⁵⁷ Cp. Strachan, 'Consonantal Changes', *rt* < *rth*. § 11 *c* (p. 8).

§ xxxvi. In Old Celtic we find a number of compound personal names ending with *-mār-os*. But Porthvawr is the name of a ruling king in Britain, an *unben* who, as I shall prove, was not of Brythonic race. He was Germanic. Hence the endwords *mār* and *mawr* are not the same. The first is Gmc. and signifies 'famous'; the second is Celtic and means 'great'. The Gmc. ending *-mār* is not found in Old English records except in the case of Ithamār, Bishop of Rochester *c.* 580⁵⁸. He was "de gente Cantuariorum", *i.e.* he was a Juthung or Jute, and that was an Alemannic tribe.⁵⁹ Now Alemannic *mār* postulates O.E. *mær*, *mēr*, and that is not uncommon as an endword in O.E. personal names. Consequently Alemannic *Portimar* keeps step with Mercian *Bordimær*, Anglian *Bordimēr*. These O.E. dialectal forms postulate an earlier *Bardimær* in West Saxon.

§ xxxvii. It is noteworthy that this name *Bardimær* does not occur in 'P.P.' either in Alemannic or Low German. That is a very important point and when I add that no occurrence of either of these forms is recorded in Searle's 'Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum'⁶⁰ it becomes clear that we have to do with a very rare name. As a Brythonic Triad yields Porthvawr which, as we have seen, indicates the dialectal Almc. *Portimār* which postulates a Low German *Bordimær*, earlier *Bardimær*, it behoves us to enquire whether "*Bardimær*" is to be found recorded in Arthurian saga. The result of enquiry shows that it

⁵⁸ *Vide* Bede, 'H.E.' III, xiv, p. 154; III, xx, p. 169.

⁵⁹ "Juthungi Alamannorum pars"; cp. Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, vi, 1., ed. V. Gardthausen (1874) vol. i. p. 124. The conflux of tribes called Alemanni included Suevi, Lentienses and Juthungi; cp. my note in *Notes & Queries*, 12 S. 1, 201-203 (March 11, 1916) on 'Ammianus Marcellinus and the Legend of the Holy Grail'.

⁶⁰ In Searle we get the following names: Bardel, Bardwulf Berter; Bardi; Beartigo (runic); Bertana; Bertellinus; Bertor; Bardo and Port.

does occur therein but that it is obscured by scribal errors which were doubtlessly occasioned and accelerated by its rarity. The name we seek is preserved in the *Morte D'Arthur* as "Basdemegus" and "Bagdemagus".⁶¹ The former presents *s* for *g*⁶² and *g* for *r*,⁶³ and the latter presents *g-g* for *r-r*. Bardemarus is the latinised unshifted earlier form of Partimār < Portimār. "Basdemegus" points to the Anglian presentation of Bardemær (with normal *ē* for *ǣ*).

§ xxxviii. The dialectal forms preserved in 'P.P.' are Pardus, Parto, Porto; Perdi, Perti, Perta. The unshifted forms preserved in 'P.P.' are Bardo, Bart, Berdo, Berto, Berti. The stem BORD does not occur in 'P.P.' and we do not find it in Searle's 'Onomasticon'; but "Borda" is recorded in Domesday Book, and in an Anglo-Saxon charter we get the diminutive *Bordeli* indicated in "Bord-

⁶¹ "Basdemegus" occurs in the *Morte*, II, xi: Merlin also told Arthur "that Basdemegus was his cousin and germain unto King Uriens". This form only occurs once. "Bagdemagus" occurs quite frequently. He was a knight of the Round Table and king of the Land of Gore; cp. notes 38 and 39 *supra*. The trouvères stuttered over the form of his son's name. The true form was Megilianus. We get Meliganus, Meliaganus, Meliagaunce and Meliagrance. In the Saxon Chronicle Meliaganus, the son of Bagdemagus, is Mægla the son of Port. The earlier form indicated is Magili. In 'P.P.' we get the shifted Alemannic form Maceli-

⁶² The scribal confusion of *s* and *g* occurs occasionally in early mediæval script: cp. my letter to The Times Literary Supplement of May 29, 1919, for documentation of the following instances; "Suennet" for *Guennet*; "Mascus" for *Magnus*; "Sulsise" for *Wulsige*; "Merseat" for *Mergeat*; "syntasma" and "syntasmata" for *syntagma* and *syntagmata*.

⁶³ For documentation of the following instances of *g/r* confusion see my article on 'Local Names in the *Arthuriana*' in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, Bd. V. (1905), pp. 120-121; "guinntguic" for *guinntruis*; "laggi" for *Largi*; "uulgagorum" for *Fulgarorum*; also "berse" for *Beyse*; "agrecoria" for *abgetoria*; "royth" for *Goyth*; "roit" for *Goit*; "ruoihm" for *Guoinui*.

elestun".⁶⁴ Bordesley near Birmingham is well known. The stems recorded are therefore unshifted, half-shifted and shifted. They occur as follows:

	Half-Shifted.		Shifted.	
Bardo	Bart	Pard	Parto	Porto
Berdi	Berti	Perdi	Perti	
Berdo	Berto		Perta	

§ xxxix. The 'Libri Confraternitatum' of Upper Germany are neglected by students of our earliest onomastics and they find it much easier to assert that Insular P-names are "Celtic" than to refer to 'P.P.' and investigate the difficulties in which they are enmeshed. Why English scholars do not declare the P-names of Anglian Britain to be Brythonic is incomprehensible. Although the scholars who tell us that these P-names are "Celtic" are prone to write these problems off in this way, they never tell us where the "Celtic" stems they profess to depend upon are to be found. For instance, Pilling, a Lancashire hamlet, is said to present a "Celtic" name.⁶⁵ But where is that name recorded? Is it discoverable in Victor Tournier's 'Indices Grammaticæ Celticæ'? Or in R. A. Stewart Macalister's *Indexes* to 'Studies in Irish Epigraphy'? Or in Alfred Holder's 'Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz'? Or in Alfred Anscombe's 'Indexes to Old Welsh Genealogies'? Where place-names in Anglian Britain are concerned the body of Welsh pedigrees which extend upwards in time to the middle of the third century should certainly be considered worthy of consultation, and the term "Brythonic" should be employed in connexion therewith. But it is always "Celtic". That

⁶⁴ *Vide* Birch, 'Cartularium Saxonium', No. 739 (vol. ii, 454) and Kemble, 'Corpus Diplomaticum Ævi Saxonici', No. 375, ii, 212. In 'P.P.' we get the half-shifted and i-infected form Bertilo; cp. Bardulu. ⁶⁵ *Vide* 'The Place-Names of Lancashire', (*ut s.*, n. 43) p. 140.

might mean anything recorded between Bohemia and Finisterre and between Gibraltar and the Faroe Isles. It is much too vague and evasive.

§ xl. Out of 1242 briefs of pedigree indexed in my contributions to the 'Archiv für celtische Lexicographie' there are just 50 briefs which present P-names; and the actual number of different P-names is 19, including such un-Celtic forms as "Patern", "Petrun" and "Protech". As only 16 different P-names are recorded among hundreds of Brythonic names it should be clear that the customary method of dealing with the difficulty we have before us is an untrustworthy evasion.

§ xli. Why the word "Celtic" should be used at all in this connexion I do not know. Those half-hearted investigators who employ it in preference to "Brythonic" are obviously ignorant of the fact that the Irish Celt in the fourth century could not say initial *p* at all. In Victor Tourneur's *Index* P-name forms number just 54 and only about half of these could stand as actual names of Continental Celtic tribesmen. As this *Index* runs to 55 columns of about 2,200 forms the proportion of P-names is small.

§ xlii. In R. A. S. Macalister's *Indexes to Names and Words*⁶⁶ not a single P-word or P-name occurs. The early Irish inscriptions were reduced to order by Dr. Whitley Stokes and Professor Rhŷs. These scholars raised Ogham inscriptions to a place of the highest philological importance in Celtic epigraphy. With respect to 'P' I am fully aware that Professor Heinrich Zimmer in his article on 'The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland'⁶⁷

⁶⁶ 'Studies in Irish Epigraphy', Parts I, II, III (1897, 1902, 1907).

⁶⁷ This appeared in the tenth volume of the 'Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche', and was done into English in 1902 by Miss A. Meyer.

applied and developed a theory that the substitution of *c* in Irish for Latin *p* was due to British influence and could only be explained on the supposition that as the Brythons knew that their *penn*, *prenn* and *map* were represented in Irish by *cenn*, *crann* and *mac*, so they deliberately altered the Latin *pascha*, *pluma*, *purpura*, *puteus*, *pallium*, etc., to *casc*, *clum*, *corcur*, *cuthe*, *caille*, etc. Who it was that turned *Patricius* into *Cothraige* is not known. The Irish for *presbyter* is "crubthir" and in Ogham we get *qurimitir* (or its equivalents) and it would be quite in order to assert that the Ogham *qu* for *p* was due to inability to say *p*. But it would be absurd to suggest that this is a substitution which is attributable to the influence of Brythonic ecclesiastics. In Mr. Macalister's *Indexes* not one case of initial Irish *p* is listed, and only one case of medial *p* appears—*sc.* "Erpenn". Professor Rhys regarded this as due to foreign influence.

As the number of common nouns and proper names that have been deciphered in Ogham inscriptions, and have been listed in one or another of Mr. Macalister's three indexes, totals 478, the absence of *p*-names is important and noteworthy when we are concerned with "Celtic" misconceptions advanced by Teutonic scholars.

§ xliii. We will now return to Western Germanic *Port*. One objection to the assumption that I am making that the *a* of the stem *PART* > *BARD* was darkened to *o*, will, no doubt, be thrown forward with customary facility. I will meet it in advance. In 'P.P.'⁶³ 17 personal names with the head-word *ARD-* are listed; 21 with the *d* to *t*-shifted head-word *ART-*; 3 with the *i*-infection in *ERD-* and *ERT-*; and 18 with the darkening of *a* in *ORD-* and *ORT-*; *e.g.* *Artheri*, *Ortheri*; *Ardradus*, *Ordradus*; *Arduinus*, *Artuvin*, *Ortuvinus*; *Ardi*, *Ord*, *Art*, etc.

⁶³ *Vide supra*, note 25.

The variants justify the grouping of the various forms of the head-word in Bardimær < Portimar in the following way.

Bard < Pard

Bart < Part

Bord < Port

Berd < Pert

All these forms except *Pard* are presented in different English place-names.

§ xlv. The form Bord-, as I have said, does not appear in 'P.P.'; but there are about 75 forms of proper names which present the other variations of the Gmc. stem BARD that I have postulated and listed. Some of the names in 'P.P.' compounded with PERT, as Causiperto and Pertigausu, should be profoundly interesting to candid students of the onomastics of Roman Britain. *E.g.* Causis Almc and represents Gmc. Gaus-, O.E. *Gēas- < Gēs-. Now Causi, after adoption by the Angles, would become *Cēasi, *Ciesi, *Ciesa. The pet-name Ciesa in conjunction with O.E. *bui*, *bȳ* ('habitations'), would yield *Ciesanby < *Cieseby < "Keisby". Keisby is a Lincolnshire hamlet which is at the exact distance from Lincoln that Causennæ was from Lindum Colonia—namely 26 miles.

§ xlv. It is customary to jump to the conclusion that because the South Saxon name of Port is spelt exactly like the stem of the Latin word *port-us* it must therefore be an ætiological product acquired from *Portesmutha*, the O.E. name of Portsmouth.⁶⁹ If similarly unwise reasonings were applied to the man's name "Aspirin", which occurs three or four times in the Upper German 'Libri Confraternitatum' of St. Gall and Augsburg, the results would be equally ludicrous and untrustworthy. In O.E. *mūtha*

⁶⁹ 'Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel', ed. C. Plummer (1899), II, p. 13, *Ætiology*.

means 'harbour'; consequently, if "Port" = *portus*, Portesmūtha must mean Harbour's Harbour, and Portesham Harbour's Abode. But though the Latin stem *port* frequently occurs in O.E. civic words it is never accorded the possessive case in composition with another common noun.

Those scholars who rely upon the "ætiological abstraction" theory have never explained the southern Yorkshire "Portitun" of Domesday Book. This presents an elision of *-n*, and the full form of the name is *Portintun*. "Portin" presents the Alemannic possessive of weak nouns in *o*. It means the *tun* of Porto and the elision of *n* is frequent in Anglian dialects, and is found in the forms of not a few place-names. For instance, the Domesday Book form "Chenesitun" exhibits this elided possessive, and it is the Kensington of to-day. It is to this Almc. possessive *-in* that we owe the inexplicable, but frequently occurring forms of place-names with undeclined *-ing* which has caused so much disputation and adjustment among scholars who study English names of places.

xlvi. It is significant that in Sussex, where we have so many indications of Alemannic colonisation, we find the endword of Portslade agreeing with the endword of Cricklade, *i.e.* of Creacagelǣd, the Way of the Crēacas, or Alemanni. The true modern representative of O.E. *lād*, Almc. *leid*, is 'lode'; cp. the name of the river Evenlode. The Almc. *ei* was pronounced like *ai* in 'maid' and we have the same dialectal vocalisation in Lowland Scotch: *sc. bane, ane, stane*, instead of bone, one(ly), stone. The Alemannic settlers were fairly numerous between the Walls of Hadrian and Antoninus and the name of their country of Croucingo (as it is called in the seventh century work known as the Ravennate Geography) indi-

icates the *gouwe*, or land of Crouco, poss. *Croucin*. The modern "Craster" represents a sixteenth century "Craucester" and that form was used by Leland. It is the "Cair Grauc" of Nennius (the MSS. present *graut* and *grauth*). The Almc. name Crouco was latinised as *Crocus* and it appears as the name of an Almc. king who was allied with the Emperor Constantius Chlorus and was at York when Constantius died there in A.D. 306. The name of *Crocus* is preserved in *Crococalana* which means the (Almc.) *calān-* or (O.E.) *gelān-*lands of Crouco, the Almc. king just now referred to.

§ xlvii. The unshifted stem *BORD* is found in *Domesday Book* in *Bordesdene* (*Herfordsc̃*) and in *Bordourde* (*Hantes̃*, I. of W.). *Berdingeberie* (*Warwicsc̃*) presents the *i*-infection. In *Ledecestresc̃* we get a *Bortrod* and in *Cestresc̃* a *Bertintune*=at the *tun* of *Berto* > *Berti*; cp. *Perticausu* in 'P.P.'. But the most interesting of all the doublets is the one preserved by the Venerable Bede—viz. "Beardaneu" and "Peartaneu".⁷⁰ In the O.E. version of Bede attributed to King Alfred the Great we get "Peortanige" for the latter. This is Partney, near Spilsby. Beardaneu is Bardney, near Lincoln. The dialectal variations indicate tribal government: the vill of "Pearta" was inhabited by Alemanni who called their lord Bardemær, "Parta", "Pearta"; the vill of Bearda was inhabited by Angles who were Bardemær's own folk. The narrowminded objections that will be raised against this view are merely casual. The Upper German 'Libri Confraternitatum' yield many personal names which, like "Audipertu" and "Pertigausu", are not true to dialectal rule; but which, for that very reason, lend support to the assumption that there was a mingling of men of different tribes under one chief and that his own

⁷⁰ H.E., II, xvi, p. 117; III, xi, pp. 148, 149.

sib would speak his name in one way while the men of other tribes would severally say it in their own respective dialects and in accordance therewith.

§ xlvi. We must now enquire, Who was Portimār? We shall presently find—below, *sub* MANDU, that the royal seat of the *Unben* Portimar was Mandu[essedum], the Mancetter of to-day. This is near the Watling Street in Warwickshire, and it is most interesting to note that the Mercian cognates of Porti(mar), viz. Bordi, Berdi, are to be found at no great distance from Portimar's royal seat. They are Bordesley near Birmingham, and the *Berdingeberie* of the Warwickshire Domesday Book. The half-shifted forms Buringbury and Birtingbyrig in O.E. charters have misled students of Warwickshire place-names and they have derived the Burt-, Birt- forms from O.E. Beorht.⁷¹

I identify Portimar with Port, the father of Bieda and Mægla, who is spoken of in the Saxon Chronicle, at the year 501, as having landed at Portesmutha with his two sons. In the *Morte D'Arthur*, Bk. II, ch. xi, we are told on the authority of Merlin that Bardemerus was King Arthur's cousin and that he was "germain" unto King Urience, *i.e.* Uiernus. In Bk. XVII, ch. xvii, Bardemerus is styled King of the Land of Gore and we are told that he was slain by Sir Gawaine.

§ xlix. In ch. xxvii of the same book we read of King Bardemer's son "Meliaganus". This is a perversion of the latinisation of Megili—*sc.* Megilianus. Megili indicates Magili and that is the rule-right unshifted form of Mægla > Magila. Cp. 'P.P.' for Upper German and Ahnc. forms: *e.g.* Maceliu, Magel-ildus, Magel-potus. Only the form "Mægla" is found in Searle.

⁷¹ Cp. 'Warwickshire Place-Names', by W. H. Duignan, F.S.A. (1912), p. 26.

§ i. The other son of Port, who is named Bieda in the Saxon Chronicle, is called "Byda" in Florence of Worcester.⁷² A cleric named Bȳda appears in the 'Liber Vitae Dunelmensis'; cp. Sweet, No. 640.⁷³ The sequence of vocalic changes runs thus: Gmc. Baudi, O.E. Bēadi < Biedi < Bieda < Bȳda < Bida.⁷⁴ This is found in the Sussex place-name Beeding near Portslade. Mægla's name may be preserved in "Malling", near Lewes.

MANDW.

§ li. The epithet applied to Porthvawr, or Portimar, is "Ga[n]dw", "Gandwy". We have here a frequent scribal error of mediæval times which obscures the meaning and renders the epithet unrecognisable. The scribal error referred to is *g* for *u*. It occurs so early as the eighth century and it is found in the Corpus Christi (Cambr.) Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary⁷⁵: e.g. "exugiae" and "frigula" for *exuuie* and *friuola*. In the twelfth century map of Britain printed by Bertram of Copenhagen the abbreviation "flu" for *fluuius* is repeatedly printed "flg". The error also occurs in the Grail Legend and a king who is named Aurest in some MSS. appears as "Agrestes" in the MS. of Mans.⁷⁶

§ lii. If we apply the needful correction to "Gandw" we get *Uandw*, and *Porthuawr Uandw* is quite in order. It

⁷² Vide 'Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi *Chronicon ex Chronicis*', ed. Benjamin Thorpe, 1848 (English Historical Society), p. 4: A.D. 501, Landing of "Port et duo filii sui Byda et Meagla", etc.

⁷³ 'The Oldest English Texts', ed. by Henry Sweet, M.A. (1885), p. 158, l. 167.

⁷⁴ Cp. Searle, 'Onomasticon', p. 106, "Bida", and also Dr. Joseph Wright's, 'O.E. Grammar', §§ 135, 136.

⁷⁵ Edited by J. H. Hessels (1890), v. *Introduction*, p. xxvii.

⁷⁶ Vide Alfred Nutt's 'Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail' (1888) *Grund St. Graal*, p. 61.

signifies Portimar of Mandu[essedum]. This town-name is preserved in "Mancetter", about 8 miles to the S.S.E. of which is Bedworth. This presents correpted *e* according to rule where an O.E. compound with long *e* in the head-word is concerned. "Manduessedum" presents the *essedum* of the Galli, Belgæ and Britons. This means a war carriage, and its connexion with Mandu is not clear. But the name of the station appears uniformly in Iter II of Antonine's Itinerary.

ALDRĒD.

Cadreith ; Cadraith ; Cadreith ; om., om., Cadyrieith.

§ liii. "Cadreith" is an old Welsh personal name. In the 'Gwarchan of Cynvelyn' in the *Book of Aneurin* we read that "Three only returned from Catraeth: Cynon and Cadreith and Cadlew of Cadnant". There is, however, considerable confusion in the tradition of the name of the son of Portimar of Mancetter. In the *Mabinogi of G. ap E.*⁷⁷ we find a brief list of the pages of King Arthur. It runs: Nyt amgen pedwar macwy. Sef rei oedynt: Cadyrieith uab Porthawr Gandwy ac Ambreu [MS. -en] uab Bedwyr a Goreu uab Custennyn". In some gatherings of the Trioedd a Cadyrieith ap Saidi displaces the son of Porthawr Vandw. Moreover the scribe of the Red Book may have had some reason for altering an *i* and making the name into *Cadyrleith*. Other forms are Karieith mab Seidi and Cas mab Saidi.⁷⁸ The most important testimony is that conveyed in *G. ap E.* which I have just now quoted.

§ liv. Now Cadyrieith and Cadreith are equally impossible as Gmc. names, and a Gmc. name is unquestion-

⁷⁷ The *Mabinogion*: Llyfr Coch; p. 246, l. 18; ed. John Rhŷs and J. G. Evans, 1887.

⁷⁸ MABIN. RHON., p. 160, l. 5; K. AC O., p. 110, l. 14.

ably postulated for the son of Bardemær: Portimar of Mancetter. I assume that the *c* of the conjunction *ac* was tacked on to the name and that the well-known Cymric name "Cadreith" usurped the place of a name that was really *A . . . dreith*. That this is equally impossible with Cadreith and Cadyrieith must be admitted. The vowels of *eith* reflect those of "Ffleid", which we shall presently see is the Gmc. Flæd, Flēd. Consequently we are faced by a Brythonic presentation of a name *A . . . drēt*: *A . . . drēd*, and I do not hesitate to amend this to Aldred which is a very common name in Anglo-Saxon times. No fewer than 65 occurrences of it are listed in Searle.⁷⁹ Moreover it appears in Aldersgate: Aldredsgate: Aldrethesgate,⁸⁰ and we also get it in the neighbourhood of Portslade. That old town was in the *Sudsex* half-hundred of "Eldritun" (now Aldrington), and this name presents the infection of *a* and the elided possessive. It points to an earlier *Aldrintun, the *tun* of Aldro.⁸¹ There is another Aldritone in *Northantsc̃*, two others in *Glowecstersc̃*, and one in *Wiltesc̃*. These all occur in Domesday Book and there are hamlets at no great distance from any one of them which yield some form of the stem BARD: PART: BORD: PORT. An unaspirated "Alterā" occurs in 'P.P.' and an aspirated "Haltero". The true Old High Dutch for Aldrēd is "Altrāt" and the half-shifted form "Aldratus" occurs in 'P.P.' side by side with Aldrath, Altarat and Alterat. For Anglian *ē* = West Saxon *æ*, cp. Wright, O.E. Grammar, 1908, § 188.

§ lv. Scholars who study Anglo-Saxon ignore the

⁷⁹ 'Onomasticon', 1897, pp. 198, 199, 200; Ealdred. Also see pp. 549, 550.

⁸⁰ Cp. 'A Dictionary of London', by Henry Harben, 1918, 'Aldersgate'.

⁸¹ Old High Dutch weak nouns in *-o* made their possessive in *-in*; cp. Professor Wright's 'Old High German Primer' (1906), § 121.

fact that the dental in *rād* < *rēd* became shifted to *t* in the eighth century, or earlier. In the "Bædæ Continuatio" (ed. Plummer) i. 362, in annals DCCXXXIX and DCLL. Cudræd and Ædelheard, who were kings in Wessex, are referred to as Cudret and Edilhart. We find the same hardening of *d* in "Cercic" (for Cerdic) in the Laud MS. of the Saxon Chronicle.

§ lvi. If we must retain the *C* of Cadreith we are really not hampered thereby. The initial *c* of cognate Brythonic words postulates a rough breathing in O.E.: cp. *cat*, *cae*, *cam*, *cwnol* with *heatho*, *hay* (=hedge), *hamm* (of the leg, or of a river) and *hundlic*. Hence a Brythonic Caedreith, if the form Caldreith is presumed to be postulated, demands Haldret, Haldræd or Aldred (with dropped *H*) in Gmc. languages.

GODO.

§ lvii. This name is reproduced uniformly in those MSS. of the Triads that yield the name of the father of Prince Flæd. It is not a Celtic name. No stem *Gōd* is to be found either in Victor Tourneur's 'Indices'⁸² or in Dottin's 'Manuel'.⁸³ In Gmc. names the stem *Gōd-*, used as a headword, is not at all uncommon. I know of no Anglo-Saxon prince who bore this name in the fifth century. We must, however, remember that the earliest recorded Gmc. possessor of Durolipons,⁸⁴ a station in the

⁸² 'Indices omnium vocabulorum Linguae Priscæ Gallicæ et Vetustæ Britannicæ quæ in 'Grammaticæ Celticæ' editione altera explanantur', *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie* (1907), III. Band, SS. 110-137.

⁸³ 'Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'Antiquité Celtique' par Georges Dottin, Professeur à l'Université de Rennes, 1906.

⁸⁴ For Durolipons cp. 'British Place-Names in their Historical Setting', by Edmund McClure, M.A. (1910) p. 108, note; also 'Celtic Britain' by John Rhys, M.A. (1904), pp. 229, 297, 300.

Fifth Iter of Antonine, was named Godmund: cp. "Godmundcestre" (*Huntedunscire*) in Domesday Book. In *Ledecestrescire* there was a "Godmundelia". This is also called "Gutmundeslea" in Domesday Book, and the shift of *d* to *t* is noteworthy: cp. § lv. In the West Riding of Yorkshire there was a "Gudmundham". This is the Goodmanham of to-day and it was called "Godmunding-aham" by the Venerable Bede.⁸⁵

§ lviii. "Godo" was represented in the Rhineland by *Godo*, *Goto*, and *Coto*. Four occurrences of Godo are to be found in the 'Liber Vitae Augiensis'; three of Goto as a headword in the same; and two of Coto. An O.E. stem *Gōd* which is indicated by the modern name Goodmanham, postulates an Upper German *Cuoto*, *Cuota*, *Cuot*-. "Cuoto" does not occur in 'P.P.' But we get the pet name *Cuota* thirteen times, and nine names with the headword *Cuot* are listed. *Cuod*- forms also occur and names such as *Guoda*, *Guota*, *Guoto* and *Guotmunt* maintain the connexion.

FFLEID.

Phleidur, *Ffleudur*, *Fleidur*,
Ffleudur, *Fflewdur*, *Ffleudur*.

§ lix. The three earliest MSS. present the vowel *ei*, and as the same Brythonic vowel is given here as that which represented the *ā*, *ē*, of Aldrēd we may hopefully enquire how the Gmc. dialects will respond to the Brythonic "Ffleid".

Brythonic	Ffleid	-reith
O.E.	Flāēd	-rāēd
O.H.D.	Flāt	-rāt
O.S.	Flād	-rād
Mid. Dutch	Flād	-rād

⁸⁵ H.E. ', II, xiii, p. 113.

Anglian	Flēd	-rēd
Mercian	Flēt	-rēt

§ lx. If we turn to Förstemann⁸⁶ we find Old Saxon place-names under FLAD: *sc.* Fladungon (eleventh cent.) and Fladesheim (tenth cent.). We also get the Upper German Flatmarasbiki (ninth cent.) which indicates the full form Flātmār. In 'P.P.' a number of vocalic puzzles is presented. Old High Dutch forms are Flatamar, Flātoolf and Flatueus. We also get Floti and Flotarius. Similarly the Old Saxon Flodebertus may be regarded as yielding the darkening of *ā* into *ō*. The forms Fleido and Flēdpret need explanation if they are to be regarded as Continental Flād-forms.

§ lxi. In the 'Liber Vitae Dunelmensis' we find a Fladgus, and there was a Flodwine among the English moneyers in the time of King Edgar. In Birch and Kemble the place-name Flædanburg, the Stronghold of Flæda, occurs in seven charters. This is Fladbury in Worcestershire. In Notts there is a Fledborough and in Kemble ('C.D.' dcccxviii) that appears as "Flatburche".

§ lxii. When we turn to Domesday Book we find a similar gathering of vocalic puzzles awaiting us. The scribal difficulty presented by the O.E. *æ* to the Norman scribe,⁸⁷ who rejected it, and wrote *a*, is before us in the Fladeburg of *Snotinghamscire* and the Flatebi and Flatesbi of *Eurwicscire*. If we could be sure of these forms we might assert that the names present the Almc. *ā* and the *d* to *t* shift. But the possibility that scribal *a* has taken the place of the tied letter *æ* is always present. The *Fl-d*-names in England indicate a mixture of four Gmc. dialects—namely West-Saxon, Anglian, Mercian-Suevic,

⁸⁶ Altdeutsches Namenbuch: Ortsnamen' (1913), I, 898.

⁸⁷ The tied *Æ* occurs about 13 times as an initial in Domesday Book, but it is very rare in a medial position.

and Alemannic. In Domesday Book we find the following :

Fladeburg	<i>Snotinghamsc.</i>
Fledeberie	<i>Wirecestresc</i>
Flatebi	<i>Eurviesc. W.R.</i>
Flatesbi	do. do.
Fleteham	do. do.
Fletesbroc	<i>Statfordsc.</i>

The O.E. Flæda is preserved in "Flædanburg" in Birch and Kemble. "Flæd" is dealt with in Sweet's 'Oldest English Texts', § 605.

FFLAM.

§ lxiii. We must now consider the meaning of the word *Fflam*. "Ffleid ur Fflam" means Fleid, or Flād, the Flām. In Old Welsh the article is always *ur*. In Middle Welsh it became *yr*.⁸⁸ I regard "Ffleidur Fflam" as a mis-spelling of *Ffleid yr*; and I take "Fflām" as a folk-name; cp. "Cradil y gaut" = Hradil y Gaut, *i.e.*, Hræthel the Geat. In the New English Dictionary the correpted English folk-name is explained and the following forms are given :

Middle Dutch	Vlāming
Old Norse	Flāmingr
O.H.D.	Flaming
Mediæval Latin	Flamingus
French	Flamand

The puzzles presented by these forms are too numerous to be stated even and I will refer to Warnkönig, who in his 'Flandrische Staatsgeschichte' (I. p. 91), is faced by the same problem. He states that the Suevi were associated with the Old Saxons in the Germanic colonization of Flanders, and he believes that this assumption is rendered

⁸⁸ Cp. Strachan (*ut supra*, note 28) § 23, and § 1, *a* and *c*.

probable by the fact that fifteen villages in Flanders preserve the name of the Suevi as a headword: *e.g.* Suevezele, Sueveghem, etc. The Suevi of the fourth and fifth century were undoubtedly Alemannic and the recognition of that fact where English and late Roman Britannic place-names are concerned would clear up many of the difficulties that hamper research.

GWLEDIC.

§ lxiv. There now remains only the word "Gwledic" which is applied to *Fleid yr Fflam*, *i.e.* *Flæd* the Fleming. The late Sir John Rhŷs in 'Celtic Britain' (1904), p. 104, refers to the *Dux Britanniarum* and the *Comes Litoris Saxonici* of Roman times, and he says that it is highly probable that the leaders of the British armies after A.D. 410 were regarded by the provincials as the successors of those officials and as having a right to those titles. "The difference between a *comes* or count, and a *dux* or leader, was only an unimportant one of imperial etiquette in favour of the former; the office of both was called a *ducatu*s, and both *comes* and *dux* appear to have been rendered into Welsh by the term *gwledig*, a ruler or prince, which is the title always given in Welsh literature to Maximus, who was probably Duke of the Britannias before he made himself emperor".

§ lxv. The reference to a Fleming as *Gwledic* brings us down to the times, subsequent to the year 442, when the Britannias were lying under the government of the Saxons. It is customary to render the passage from a Gallic chronicle which I am about to cite and quote, as if it referred to conquest by the sword. I regard the passage referred to as the record of a diplomatic arrangement.

The particular chronicle cited comes to an end in A.D. 452.⁸⁹ At the nineteenth year of Theodosius, which ended in A.D. 442, we are told that “*Britanniae usque ad hoc tempus variis cladibus eventibusque latae in dicionem Saxonum rediguntur*”. In another Gallic chronicle which ends in 511,⁹⁰ at the sixteenth year of Theodosius we may read that “*Britanniae a Romanis amissae in dicionem Saxonum cedunt*”. A variety of efforts have been made to explain “*latae*” in the earlier chronicle. I regard the *l* as a common misreading of *s*⁹¹ and for *latæ* I would read *satiatæ*. It is quite possible that the chronicler wrote *satæ* and intended to convey the true meaning—‘satiated’ ‘glutted’, ‘cloyed’. To me the passage does not present any justification for the statement that it authorises us to assert that the Britanniæ were conquered by the Saxons in A.D. 442.⁹² I render it: The Britanniæ satiated with their misfortunes and with the consequences thereof are put under the authority of the Saxons.

§ lxvi. The first undoubtedly historical “Saxon” to become Dux Britanniarum was the Alaman who appears in Arthurian legend and in Old Welsh Genealogies as “Duke Ansirus” (=Duc Cansirus)⁹³ and as “Casnar

⁸⁹ *Vide* ‘*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*’, IX, p. 660.

⁹⁰ *Vide* ‘*M.G.H.*’, IX, p. 661.

⁹¹ These misreadings were furthered by the curious tendency in early mediæval times to write the letter ‘s’ backwards. This tendency caused *s* to take the place of *l*. With “Hailsaltede” and “Cair legeint” for *Hailsastede* (D. Bk. for *Sudseve*) and *Cair segeint* (Durham MS. of the ‘*Historia Brittonum*’) compare “Wlfesmescote” for *Wulfelmescote* in the D. Bk. for *Warwiċſc*; and “martyſi” for *martyli* in Hydatius (ed. Mommsen, p. 23).

⁹² Cp. H. M. Chadwick, ‘*The Origin of the English Nation*’ (1907), pp. 48, 49

⁹³ *Vide* ‘*The Morte DArthur*’, by Sir Thomas Malory (1485); *The Second Book of Sire Tristram*, chap. xxxviii.

Gwledic⁹⁴ and "Casnat Gwledig"⁹⁵ and "Cassanauth Gwledig".⁹⁶ He is the "Canser" of the Holy Grail⁹⁷ and the "Cāsēre" of Widsith-Hama.⁹⁸ Hama was Casere's seneschal at Binchester⁹⁹ and he tells us quite reliably that Cāsēre ruled the Creacas, or Alamanni, and also the Willas. The latter were the Wilsætas of Wiltshire, and the former dwelt in Northumberland and Durham. Their country was called "Croucingo" by Ravennas and one of its principal towns was named "Craucestre" in Leland's time. It is the "Cair Greu" of the Welsh Triads and is known to-day as "Craster", cp. § xlvi. Canser, the King of Northumberland, the Casnar Gwledig of the Mabinogion, became "Comes et legatus Aëtii" in Gaul, and is known as Censorius.¹⁰⁰ His death is recorded by Hydatius in A.D. 448.

⁹⁴ In the Mabinogi of Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet: (*u. s.* note 7), p. 25, l. 16. In the Mabinogi of Kilhwch ac Olwen: (*u. s.* note 7), p. 107, l. 23.

⁹⁵ In the Mabinogi of Rhonabwy: "Llara uab Kasnat Wledic"; p. 160, l. 2 (*u. s.* note 7).

⁹⁶ In the Llyfr Llewelyn Offeiriad (c. 1360): cp. my *Indexes to Old Welsh Genealogies*, No. 870, 'Archiv für celtische Lexicographie', III, p. 68.

⁹⁷ In L'Histoire de Grimaud "Kanser" occurs once; "Cancer" twenty-four times, and "Canfer" sixteen times.

⁹⁸ In the 'Traveller's Lay' or 'Widsith', preserved in the Codex Exoniensis which was written c. 990. See my revised edition, 'Transactions of the Royal Historical Society', 3rd Series, vol. ix (1915), p. 145, *Casere and the Creacas*.

⁹⁹ *Vide* 'Le Saint Graal', ed. by Emil Hucher (1875), vol. i, p. 579: "Kamaor seneschal d'Orbérique". "Orbérique" is a trouvère's mispresentation of Cor Benic, *i. e.*, Cor Bin, or Binchester.

¹⁰⁰ The forms vary greatly. In Hydatius Lemicanus we get *Censorius*, *Consurius* and *Censurius*; *vide* 'Continuatio Chronicorum Hieronymianorum ad annum cccclxviii'. The Bishop Hydatius was contemporary with Count "Censorius". He died about A.D. 470. In the "Chronicarum Libri IV" of Fredegarius Scholasticus (c. 650) we get "Cæsarius Comes" and "Cæsar".

§ lxvii. The first recorded king of Northumberland was Ida, the son of Eoppa. He began to rule in A.D. 547. It is customary to speak of him as founder of the kingdom; but cp. § xxii, *supra*. In the Grail Legends, in the Mabinogion, and in the Morte DArthur, three royal princes are connected with the throne of Northumberland. The first was the Causari < Cansēr referred to in § lxvi. He probably ruled between 420 and 432. He became a Count in Gaul, and in the latter year he is mentioned by Hydatius Lemicanus as the Count and Legate who was sent by Aëtius to negotiate with Hermericus, the king of the Suevi in Spain. These were Alamanni who had conquered Galicia. In 433, 437, and 440, Cansarius played a prominent part in the endeavour to restore Galicia to peace and good order. He was well known to Hydatius, the bishop of Chaves in that province, and was unquestionably an Alaman. Now Widsith-Hama (*supra*, note 98) tells us that he visited Cāsēre the ruler of the Creacas or Alamans, and says of Cāsēre (> Cansāri) that he “geweald ahte . . . Walarices”, i.e. possessed the rule of Gaul.

The Angles regularly dropped *n* before *s* and lengthened the preceding vowel. Hence came “Cāsēre”, through *Cāsāri, from *Cansārius. The contact of *n* and *s* was resented by the Brython, also, and as “Cansar” meant nothing to him he changed it to “Casnar”, which suggests *casner*, ‘anger’, ‘indignation’. The *ns* contact was, however, preserved in the Grail Legends; cp. my note 97. In the Morte DArthur we read of a Duke “Ansirus”, *supra* note 93. Duke Cansirus’s official coming and going between Gaul and Britain is very quaintly explained in the Morte DArthur.

§ lxviii. The next king of Northumberland appears in three legendary documents: viz., (1) in K. ac O. (*vide*

§ ix, *supra*); (2) in RHON. (*vide* § x, *supra*); (3) in the Morte DArthur, Bk. I, ch. x. In the Mabinogion this prince is called "Llary mab Casnar Wledig". In the Morte DArthur he is called "Clariance", king of Northumberland. This points to a Latinised form *Clarianus*, which is Germanic in origin. The former name "Llary" is a pun. It means 'meek', 'mild'. We have here the O.E. name "Claré". The eleventh-century *Clarembaldus* points to *Claren-*. Such English place-names as Clare and Clareborough preserve this personal name.

§ Ixix. The third prince of this house is called "Epinogris". He was "the king's son of Northumberland", *i.e.*, he was the son of the King Clari-anus who was opposed to King Arthur in A.D. 459; *vide* the Morte DArthur, VII, xxvi. The final *s* in "Epinogris" is an instance of the scribal confusion of *s* and *g*; cp. note 62, *supra*. "Epinogris" stands for *Epino Grig*. This presents the folk-name that is used in the English saying—"As merry as a grig". The Grigs were the Alamannic Creacas of Croucingou in Northumberland. The unshifted form of *Crēacas* is *Grēagas*, Grigs. The form *Crēac-* corresponds to *Crouc-*, *Crōc-*, the name of the Alamannic king who was allied to Constantius Chlorus in A.D. 305. "Epino" is the Alamannic shifted form of *Abino* < *Ebino*; cp. 'P.P.' for "Abini", "Ebina". The stem *EB-* is preserved in "Ebchester" in the county of Durham. That was the Roman station named *Vindomora*.
