THE PERSONAL NAME-SYSTEM IN OLD WELSH.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

XIV Cent.—*Cyn*-frig Cynin, the name traditionally given to the "Eiddig" of Dafydd ap Gwilym.

XIII Cent.—*Kyn*-an (*Brut y Tywysogion—Myvyrian Archaiology*, 2nd edition, p. 650).

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[1] Cynawon cadud, cadrfeib Maredud. — *Gwalchmai:* Marwnad Madawg ab Maredudd.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> =wolf : another animal-name.

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

> = raven.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> = whelp.

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

> = dog.

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

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

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

-DELU.—Kyn-delu (*supra*).
> = image.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> = youth, serving-lad.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> = iron, the material out of which the best weapons were made. The epithet probably came into fashion in the prehistoric period, when, as we learn from Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.*, v, 12), iron was scarce, and reckoned a precious metal.

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

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

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

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

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

-March.—Cin-uarch (*Lib. L.*, p. 77); Cad-farch (*supra*); Gwydd-uarch (*supra*); Gur-march (*supra*); Lou-march (*supra*) ; Ryth-march (*Myv.*, p. 608).
= horse. Another totemistic name.

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

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

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

= strength. Cf. -wared.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A third result is

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

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

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

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

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

P. 121, l. 9, *for* s. *read* see.

P. 121, Note, l. 1, append a full stop to the word *Traeth.* [The serial *Y̆ Traethodydd* is meant.]

P. 127, l. 8 ; and p. 145, l. 7, for *Llythyriaeth* read *Llythyraeth.*

    ,,   l. 10 ; and p. 130, l. 8, *for* Guillaume *read* Guillome.

    ,,   4th line from bottom, *substitute a comma for the full stop after the word* roc.

P. 131, l. 9, for *Llew.* read *Lleu.* [The name *Lleuelys* is meant.]

P. 145, l. 1, for *Trysorfa* read *Trysorfa.*

    ,,   5th line from bottom, append a full stop to *Cann.* [*Cannwyll*, i.e. *Canwyll*, is meant.]

P. 151, l. 3, *for* Prichards *read* Prichard's [in which case *dele* the comma after the word] *or* Prichard.

P. 151, l. 4. *The word* ofer, *ending this line, is out of its place. It should begin the line.*

P. 155, l. 4 from bottom, append a full stop to *Rhydd.* [The name *Rhydderch* is meant.]

P. 157, l. 22, for *Marc.* read *Mart.* [The 8th-century Welsh glosses on *Martianus* Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii* (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 296 bottom) are meant by the abbreviation " *Mart. Cap.*"]

ERRATA, &c., IN VOL. IX.

P. 41, l. 11, for *Cin*-gien [1] read *Cin*-gen.

P. 41, l. 16, for *Com*-mail read *Con*-mægl.[2]

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[1] Professor J. E. Lloyd, of Aberystwyth, the author of the article ("The Personal Name-System in Old Welsh") in which this and the two following errata occur, desires to say here that, "owing to his article having been written at a distance from proper sources of reference, it is feared the reader will find in it a number of inaccuracies;" and, further, that for the correction of these three he is indebted to Mr. Phillimore.—[EDS.]

[2] Of the MSS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the Cottonian MSS. Tiberius, A. vi. (fo. 6ᵃ), and Tiberius, B. i. (fo. 120ᵃ), read *Conmægl.* (In Tiberius, B. iv., the part containing the entry is lost.) In Domitian, A. viii., fo. 38ᵃ, (*a*) in the *Anglo-Saxon version Coinmail* was first written, but corrected *eâdem manu* by a superposed *g* into *Coinmagil* (or possibly *Coinmaigl*) : (*b*) the *Latin version* of the passage (written immediately below in the MS., *but wholly omitted*

P. 49, 7th line from bottom, *for* Iudguoll *read* Iudguoll[auu].[3]

P. 57, l. 7, for *Welsh* read *Cymric*.

   „ l. 12, for *Celtica* (pp. [2]505—606) read *Celtiea*[2] (pp. 505—606) [; and see note on the erratum in Vol. viii., p. 114, l. 11, *supra*.]

P. 58, l. 3; p. 61, ll. 5–6; p. 63, l. 21; p. 64, l. 11; p. 81, l. 13; p. 90, 10th line from the bottom; p. 92, large print, l. 2; p. 97, l. 21, and p. 116, 5th line from the bottom, *for* Rowlands *read* Rowland.

P. 59, l. 12, for *elid rhygardarn* read *erlid rhygadarn*. [See *Myv. Arch.* (1st edn.), iii. 153, col. 2; 2nd edn., p. 843.]

P. 61, l. 1, there should be a full stop after *Lex*. It stands for *Lexicon*.

P. 62, small print, l. 4, put a full stop similarly after *Tal*, which stands for *Taliessin*.

P. 63, 4th paragraph, l. 1, for *Zeuss*, p. [2]512, read *Zeuss*[2], p. 512 [; and see note on the erratum in Vol. ix., p. 57, l. 12, *supra*]

P. 63, 4th line from bottom, a similar correction is to be made.

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in Thorpe's Rolls Edition, 1861, i. 33, 35, coll. 2) reads *Coinmagil*. Of the other two MSS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the Laud MS. 636 (in the Bodleian Library) reads according to both Professor Earle's edition (*Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, &c.: Oxford, 1865), p. 19, and the Rolls Edition (i. 33, col. 1, end) *Commagil*, au obvious transcriber's mistake for the *Coinmagil* of the Latin version of Domitian A. viii.—or some MS. of similar family; whilst the Parker MS. (MS. C.C.C.C. clxxiii.) has, according to the same two authorities (Earle, p. 18; Rolls Edn., i. 32, col. 1 end) *Commail*, an equally obvious mis-script for the *Coinmail* of the *Anglo-Saxon version* of Dom. A. viii., as first written by its scribe—or some MS. of similar family.

[1]The forms in *-mægl*, *-magil* (=*Maglus*, *-maglus*, on the early inscribed stones and elsewhere), were pronounced *-mail* at least as early as 730—750, as is proved by the form *Broemailus* (= the *Brohomagli* of the Voelas inscription) occurring in the oldest MSS. of Bede's *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 2.—[Eds.]

[3] The last three letters of the name in question have in the MS. whence it is cited (Harl. 3859, fo. 192ᵃ) been cut off by the binder; which misled Aneurin Owen or the transcribers he employed into reading here the non-existent name *Iudguoll*. See the reproduction of the original text on p. 164 of the same volume ix. (col. 2 end), and Note 5 thereon (pp. 164-5), where it is pointed out that MS. *B* of the *Annales Cambriæ* here has *Idwalaum* (leg. *Idwalauu*). Moreover, the *Brut y Tywysogion* also has *Idwallaûn* here; the name is now *Idwallon*.—[Eds.]