

A Substratum as a Cultured Weapon

Karel Jongeling

1. For some time now a discussion has been going on as to whether the Insular Celtic languages were influenced by a substratum or not. Those advocating the substratum theory mostly relate this supposed substratum to the Afro-Asiatic languages. The modern discussion on this point begins with John Rhŷs, sometime holding the chair of Celtic in Jesus College, Oxford.¹ Apart from some remarks² which did not attract much attention his influence is felt in an article by Morris-Jones³ dating from 1900,⁴ which is seen by many as the beginning of the modern discussion on a substratum related to Afro-Asiatic. At first this discussion has been fierce and even unpleasant for those advocating the substratum theory, to such an extent that Morris-Jones never returned to the subject. A few others, however, followed, the most important being Pokorny⁵ and Wagner.⁶ Very recent is the important contribution by Gensler.⁷ Although still not accepted by every Celtic scholar the notion of insular Celtic being influenced by a substratum seems to be more acceptable now than a hundred years ago.⁸

Some of the main characteristics shared by insular Celtic and Afro-Asiatic are the following:

- 1 basic word order VSO,
- 2 order modified - modifier,
- 3 use and function of nominal clause
- 4 use of personal suffixes
- 5 the construction of relative clauses

These fundamental shared characteristics are so apparent that since the emergence of modern Welsh scholarship, around the year 1600,⁹ they have been noted and discussed, mainly by Welsh scholars. In the preceding period there seems to have been insufficient knowledge of Hebrew among those studying Welsh for this to lead to the comparisons as we know them from the 17th century and onwards. A decisive factor in the promotion of

¹ On John Rhŷs (1840–1915), cf. e.g. Stephens 1986: 520–521.

² Rhŷs 1877: 189f.; id. 1884: 261–63 (cf. *ibid.* notes); id. 1890a.

³ On Morris-Jones (1864–1929), cf. e.g. Stephens 1986: 414–5.

⁴ Morris Jones 1900.

⁵ On Julius Pokorny (1887–1970), cf. Wagner 1972.

⁶ On Heinrich Wagner (1923–1988), cf. Evans 1989.

⁷ Gensler 1993; cf. also Jongeling 1995.

⁸ Greene 1966: 132: "It will be clear, I think, that there is at the moment no consensus of opinion amongst those who seek to explain the peculiarities of insular Celtic by linguistic interaction, on the one side, or between them and those who prefer to work within the framework of Indo-European development; what must not be overlooked is that the studies begun by Morris Jones, even though they failed to reach the conclusion envisaged by him, have had a profound effect on our understanding of insular Celtic, and that any scholar who neglects them does so at his peril."

⁹ Cf. Gensler *ibid.*

Hebrew was the translation of the bible into Welsh and its subsequent revision.¹⁰ It is, of course, well known that a more direct relationship with Hebrew has been supposed for several other European languages in the same period. It has not been our aim, however, to discuss this general issue.

In the following pages we will discuss the more important scholars studying the similarities between Welsh and the one Afro-Asiatic language they knew, or knew best, viz. Hebrew. Although their explanation of the similarities may differ, it is interesting to see how most of the Welsh scholars choose their conclusions concerning the relation of Welsh and Hebrew to convey the idea of the great antiquity of the Welsh language, therewith enhancing its respectability in comparison to English.

2. Several scholars studying Welsh during the 17th to 19th centuries advocate the view, that, while Hebrew was the language of paradise, Welsh found its origin at the confusion of tongues during the building of the tower of Babel, as described in the eleventh chapter of Genesis. Some explicitly remark that the new tongues were only dialects of Hebrew and not new languages.¹¹ This situation, of course, easily explains the remarkable similarities of Welsh and Hebrew. The feeling of some that Welsh and Hebrew are almost the same language follows from the same type of reasoning.

Others, however, stress the fact that Welsh in its present form does not directly originate from the confusion of tongues. They insist upon a history, based upon information from Genesis x 2, where Gomer is mentioned as the eldest son of Japheth, the eldest son of Noah. These historical facts are combined sometimes with information from classical sources, probably giving the story a highly scientific flavour to the eighteenth century reader.¹² The differences with those advocating Welsh as one of the mother tongues is in many instances rather small. The most important authors advocating these theories are presented in the following subsections.

Another explanation of the similarities shared by Welsh and Hebrew is projected much later in history than the confusion of tongues and the Gomerian theory. Many scholars were convinced of the close relationship between the language Caesar encountered in Gaul and the Welsh language and they tried to relate the characteristics combining Welsh with oriental languages to a period of contact between Gaulish and

¹⁰ The first complete Welsh Bible translation appeared in 1588; a revised edition was published in 1620 by Richard Parry; it is fairly certain that the revision was supervised by John Davies.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. Thomas 1746, p. 7.

¹² A good example of this type of reasoning is John Lewis (1675–1747, cf. *DNB* s.v.), a historian who highly valued the factor language in historical studies, because the relationship of languages enables us to know the relationship of peoples, although he does not directly use linguistic material. He remarks (Lewis 1729: 17): “When Noe and his Children had left the Ark, and were grown so numerous, that they were forc’d to separate for new Habitations, the Issue of Gomer the Son of Japhet, the Son of Noe, seated themselves first in Italy, and from thence they came into Gaul, and of Gomer were called Gomeritae, and by the Greeks Galatae, as appears by Josephus de Antiquitat. l. i. c. 7. and by Zonaras, calling themselves and Country Cymbri, and their Language Gomeræg or Cymbraeg, which is the Language of Gomer or of the Cymbri, which they continue to this Day; Genebrard saith, they also inhabited the Countries which the Danes, Norwegians and Goths, now possess.” Although he is convinced of the antiquity of the Welsh language (ibid.: 27.): “Now as to our Cimbæg or British Tongue, I think there is no Nation whose Language is less mingled or corrupted”, he does not speak of a special relationship between Hebrew and Welsh. As he was clearly well versed in the literature of his time (he quotes e.g. Dr. Davies as an authority on the perfect quality and antiquity of the Welsh language), this may be a deliberate choice.

Phoenician in the Western Mediterranean.¹³

It is interesting to note that this notion found its way into popular literature even in the beginning of this century.¹⁴

3.1. *John Davies: 1621, 1632.*¹⁵

The first strong advocate of the connection of Welsh and Hebrew has been John Davies, the revisor of the Welsh Bible translation, and the author of a grammar and a dictionary of the Welsh language in the first half of the 17th century. Defending the study of Welsh and explaining its antiquity and special character he remarks in the introduction of his Welsh grammar¹⁶

Further, the more a language can be judged noble, perfect, old and apt to express the feelings of the soul, and so practical, the more comparability it has with Hebrew, the only language of the human race for about 1700 years, and afterwards the mother, fountain and archetype of all languages. In this respect no language is, I believe, superior to British, no language is equal to it. If you look at the letters, they are highly comparable to the Hebrew ones in sound. If you look at variability of nouns and pronouns, without case, only distinct in number, at the root of the verb being the third person singular, at affixed pronouns, pronounced as one together with other words, at the variations of the indeclinable parts of speech, at the absolute and construct forms of nouns, you would almost say that it is Hebrew. If you look at the laws of the accents, that only occur in the ultimate or penultimate syllable, just as in Hebrew. If you consider the phrases, ways of speaking, syntax of the utterance, than certainly nor Greek or Latin, even less some vulgar one, do express themselves literally so with Hebraisms, as British does, which will become clear in this booklet

¹³ Cf. also Vallancey 1772: 42–51, who explains the Punic passages in the Poenulus of Plautus as an Irish text (an explanation taken up again in almost the same form by Ali & Ali 1994); he also claims Maltese to be rather Punic than Arabic and to be closely related to Irish, giving a list of comparisons *ibid.*: 9–18; apart from the linguistic evidence he points to similarities in the religions of the speakers of Punic and Irish, *ibid.*: 19–26.

¹⁴ In *The Strand Magazine*, 40, no 240, of December 1910, pp. 638ff. the following words of doctor Watson were noted down by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in the story entitled “The adventure of the Devil’s foot”: “The glamour and mystery of the place, with its sinister atmosphere of forgotten nations, appealed to the imagination of my friend, and he spent much of his time in long walks and solitary meditations upon the moor. The ancient Cornish language had also arrested his attention, and he had, I remember, conceived the idea that it was akin to the Chaldean, and had been largely derived from the Phoenician traders in tin”. After the completion of the story the great detective himself remarks: “And now, my dear Watson, I think we may dismiss the matter from our mind and go back with a clear conscience to the study of those Chaldean roots which are surely to be traced in the Cornish branch of the great Celtic speech”.

¹⁵ On John Davies (c. 1567–1644), cf. e.g. Stephens 1986, p. 132.

¹⁶ Davies 1621, p. [ix]ff.: “Deinde, si eo nobilior, perfectior, antiquior, et ad animi sensa exprimenda, aptior, commodiorque lingua iudicanda sit, quo maiorem cum Hebraea, unica generis humani per 1700 plus minus annos lingua, omniumque deinceps linguarum matre, fonte, et archetypo, habet congruentiam; Britannicam hac ex parte nulla, credo, superat, nulla aequat. Si enim literas spectes, sono cum Hebraeis quam optime conveniunt. Si nominum, pronominumque ἀπρώτων sine casibus variationem, solis numeris distinctam; verborum radicem, tertiam personam singularem; pronominum affixa, cum vocibus aliis in unam dictionem coalescentia; partium orationis etiam indeclinabilium variationes; formas denique vocum absolutas et constructas; pene Hebraeam esse dixeris. Si accentuum leges, nunquam nisi in ultima penultimave syllaba occurrunt, ut nec in Hebraea. Si phrases, locutionum modos, orationis syntaxin, consideres; certe nec Graeca nec Latina, minus vulgare ulla, ita ad vivum Hebraismos exprimit, ac Britannica: quod in isto libelle manifeste liquebit”

And in the few introductory lines to the syntax Davies remarks:¹⁷

The syntax of Welsh differs much from that of Greek and Latin, but it is very nearly like Hebrew, as will be clear from the following.

Even in the form of their poetry Hebrew and Welsh are comparable.¹⁸

In the syntactical description of Welsh several points of comparison between Welsh and Hebrew are to be found. In many instances the same points are still stressed by those concerning themselves with the substratum on the British Isles. Apart from these syntactical points and questions of use of morphological categories, Davies also supposes a direct relationship between some Welsh and Hebrew morphemes. In his Welsh and Latin dictionary,¹⁹ he remarks in the introduction:

However, because our language has so many obsolete words, and this is thus since antiquity, and for so many centuries, it lies almost unused. To British and Hebrew almost the same has happened, that it has now begun at the end of centuries to be cultivated; Munster says, that we owe everything which is now known about Hebrew to Elias Levita, who wrote in 1518. Add further how through the ragings of wars, the jealousy of enemies, damage through time, negligence of our own people, almost all old British books, which might have shown the ancient use of words, and thus might have been passed down until our own time, have been lost. If someone would like to doubt its antiquity, one argument of its antiquity should be sufficient, because its origin and through which pedigree it originated, is completely ignored. Some imagine it originates from Gaulish,²⁰ because that is near, others from Latin,

¹⁷ Ibid.: 156: *Syntaxis autem Britannica a Graeca et Latina multum dissentit, et ad Hebraicam quam proxime accedit, ut ex sequentibus patebit.*

¹⁸ As explained in the last chapter of the grammar.

¹⁹ Davies 1632, introduction: *Quod autem tot obsoleta vocabula nostra habeat lingua, & ab antiquitate sit, & quod per tot secula, inculta penè jacuit. Linguae enim Brit. idem ferè contigit quod Hebraeae, ut nunc in fine seculorum coli tandem coeperit; nam & omnem quam in Hebraea lucem habent secula nostra, Eliae Levitae, qui scripsit anno Aerae Christianae 1518, nos debere ait Munsterus. Adde quod bellorum rabie, hostium invidia, temporum injuriâ, hominumque nostrorum incuriâ, cuncti ferè antiqui perierunt libri Brit. qui antiquum vocabulorum usum monstrare potuissent, & ad nostra usque tempora traduxissent. Sicuti de ejus antiquitate dubitare placuerit, huic vel hoc unicum sufficiat antiquitatis argumentum, quòd origo ejus, & quâ sit matrice genita penitus ignoretur. Somnient alij à Gallicâ, ut viciniâ; alij à Romanâ, ut victrice; alij ab alijs linguis ortam, Mihi, si sensu meo abundare permittor, ab omnibus Europaeis & Occidentalibus linguis, saltem quales nunc sunt & multis retrò seculis fuerunt, alienior esse videtur, quàm ut ab illis derivari posse vel somnietur: eorumque aridet sententia, qui Babele natam existimant. Orientalium matricum unam esse opinor, aut certè ab Orientalibus immediatè prognatam. Pro quâ licet opinione ut pro aris & focis dimicare nolim, ausim tamen affirmare Linguam Brit. tum vocibus, tum phrasibus & orationis contextu, tum literarum pronuntiatione, manifestam cum Orientalibus habere congruentiam et affinitatem; cum Occidentalibus Europaeis ferè nullam, nisi quam à Romanis hîc aliquando importantibus, & Anglorum commercio dudum contraxit. Et qua Graeca, & Latina ejus discipula, et Europaeorum aliae, voces ab Orientalibus deductus se habere contendunt, cur non & nos easdem ab Orientalibus non ab illis accepisse putemur, cum illae frigidius crudius, rudiusque, quam nos, eas ab Orientalibus deducant? Qui à Gallicâ h.e. Celticâ ortam volunt, utcunque sese conjecturis, ut ad eorum delenda argumenta in promptu cuiq.; possit esse spongia.*

²⁰ The relation supposed between British (Welsh) and Gaulish was of long standing of course, based upon the information of the classical writers, cf. e.g. Holinshed 1577, fol. 4b: "What language came first wyth Samoths & afterwarde with Albion, & the Gyants of his companie, it is hearde for me to determine, sith nothing of sound credit remayneth in writing which maye resolute us in the truth hereof, yet of so much are we certaine, that the speach of the auncient Britons, and of the Celtes had great affinitie one with another, so that they were either all one, or at the leastwyse such as eyther nation wyth smal helpe of interpreters might understand other, and readily discern what the speaker did meane." Holinshed related the Welsh language rather to Greek than to any other linguistic entity, cf. ibid. fol. 5a: "It is a speache in mine opinion much savouring of that, which was sometime used in Grecia, and learned by the reliques of the Troyanes, whylest

as the victorious language, and others again derive it from other languages. But to me, if it is permitted to speak my mind, this language seems to be so different from all the European and Western languages, at least such as they are at present and have been for many centuries past, that it is impossible to suppose that it may be derived from them. And I am best pleased with the sentiment of those, who suppose it to have originated from Babel. According to my opinion it is one of the oriental mother-tongues, or at least immediately sprung from the Oriental languages. Although I do not want to fight for hearth and home, I would venture to stress that the British language in words, phrases, clause construction, and in the pronunciation of the letters has a clear comparability and relationship with the Oriental ones, and almost no relation with the western European ones, apart from what was brought here by the Romans or what the trade with the English lately occasioned. As Greek and its disciple Latin, and others of the Europeans, have filled themselves with loans from Oriental languages, why do we not suppose that we also have got the same as loans from the Oriental languages and not from them, when they, more cold, crude and rude than we are, want to derive them from the Oriental languages? Those who want it to have originated from Gaulish, i.e. Celtic, in whichever way one should imagine this, that to delete their arguments at once, it may be wiped out.²¹

Note how Davies insists upon the comparability of Welsh and Oriental languages on different points, viz. phonology, syntax and vocabulary, among which syntax has a prominent place, both in his grammar and his dictionary. All these points strengthen his belief in the special place of Welsh among the world's languages. This special place is described as highly superior to any other language, apart from Hebrew.

they were captive there, but how soever the matter standeth, after it came ouer into this Islande, sure it is, that it could neuer be extinguished for all the attempts that the Romans, Saxons, Normans, and English men coulde make against that nation, in any manner of wyse."

²¹ As perhaps is to be expected in a dictionary, Davies mainly stresses the comparison of words. One of the reasons why Welsh words are not always directly recognisable as derived from one of the oriental languages is the reversed order of sounds because these languages are written backwards. We quote from his introduction: "From the oriental languages, which are read from right to left, words easily go over to languages which are read from left to right, because these ones read in their way, what they in their way have written, as may be seen from the erroneous reading דָּרַחַךְ for דָּרַחַךְ [the Tetragrammaton] (on which see above); thus from דָּרַחַךְ, dharac, we say *cerdded*, from the root *cerdd*, walk; and from טֶרֶפ, Terep, we say *praidd*, what was earlier written as *prait* & *praid* [flock]; and from נֶשֶׁק, Nesek, *kusan* [kiss], etc. (Orientalibus linguis quae à dextrâ ad sinistram leguntur, voces faciliè in linguas quae à sinistrâ ad dextram leguntur, transire, his suo more legentibus quae illi suo scripserunt, ut videre est in erroneâ lectione דָּרַחַךְ pro דָּרַחַךְ de qua ante; sic à דָּרַחַךְ Dharac, nos dicimus *cerdded*, à radice *Cerdd*,. Inceda, ambula; & à טֶרֶפ, Terep, dicimus *Praid*; quod veteris scribebant *Prait*, & *Praid*; & à נֶשֶׁק [Davies 1632 incorrectly prints נֶשֶׁק], Nesek, *Kusan*, & c.)". In many instances the comparability is even less obvious than in the above examples. Sometimes only one or two letters with a comparable sound are the basis of the comparison; cf. e.g. the following examples:

Aberth, *sacrifice*, from Hebrew זֶבַח zebach [sacrifice].

Ach, *pedigree, family, kinship, geneology*, Heb יָחַשׁ iachas, *family, pedigree*.

Achles, *shelter, refuge, asylum, protection, place where something is saved, defence*.

Heb. חָלַק, *Chalak*, is to soften, to caress, to greet lovingly.

[Aberth, *Sacrificium*, Ab Heb. ibz, Zebach.

Ach, *Stemma, prosapia, parentela, genealogia*, Heb יָחַשׁ iachas, *prosapia, genealogia*.

Achles, *confugium, refugium, asylum, protectio, locus ubi quod sovetur, defensio*. Heb.

חָלַק, *Chalak*, est lenire, blandiri, adulari.]

The least attractive part of his comparisons is to be found, without a doubt, in his dictionary. This is, of course, because his method is lacking in consistency and all comparisons are, from a modern point of view, useless and incorrect. But also on this point Davies is a child of his time. As far as we can see, however, there is no reason to suppose that his Hebrew comparisons in any way influenced his description of the meaning of Welsh words.

3.2. *Samuel Bochart, 1646.*²²

The very interesting study by Samuel Bochart, a native of northern France, of the history and culture of the Phoenicians contains a chapter on the relationship of Phoenician, a language closely related to Hebrew, and Gallic.²³ At the conclusion of the preceding chapter Bochart remarks:²⁴

Learned people discuss a lot on the question of what is the old Gallic language and from where it originated. Among most it is agreed that the British language, which is used this day among the Welsh in Britain, and in the Breton region of Gaul, forms the remainder of that language, which the ancient Britons and Gauls spoke. This is the opinion of Beatus Rhenanus, Gesnerus, Hottomannus, and recently also of Camdenus, who confirms the point, which until now was dubious, with so many reasons, that the dispute seems to be settled. But Camden and others fail to notice what I am about to say; this tongue agrees in so many points with Phoenician, that it cannot be accidental. The next chapter will show that I have not asserted this boldly, but even if this is unpleasant for some, still I hope that from the scholarly community will not be absent those whom this gem of antiquity may not displease.

The relationship between the two languages is elucidated by several examples of comparable words. However, in the conclusion of the chapter in which he discusses many of the words also to be found with John Davies, he remarks:²⁵

It is firmly established that the Gauls and Carthaginians, because of their trade, or wars, or rather, as we think, that, because of some old Phoenician colony brought to Gaul, the ones borrowed many words from the others, though they had different languages. This is made abundantly clear by the personal names in use among the Gauls. Most of these surely do not suit the character of the Holy Language, while almost all nouns of the Carthaginians are purely Hebrew. It is not necessary that we prove by means of examples that the case is quite clear by itself.

Boxhorn,²⁶ one of the few people during the seventeenth century outside Wales and Brittany studying the Welsh language, is like Bochart studying the origin of the Gaulish tribes. He discusses Davies's dictionary, and he makes it abundantly clear that he is not one of his adherents.²⁷

²² Samuel Bochart (1599–1667), cf. *BUM* xxviii: 178–180.

²³ Bochart 1646: 734–758, chapter i / xlii: Gallicum sermonem priscum Phoenicio in multis fuisse similem (= Bochart 1692, column 660–682): Gallicâ linguâ veteri quae fuerit & unde orta docti multa disputant. Et inter plerosque convenit sermonem Britannicum, qui hodieque in usu est apud Cambros in Britannîâ, & in Armoricano tractu Galliae, illius linguae esse reliquias quâ tam Britanni quam Galli veteres locuti sunt. In eâ sententiâ fuere Beatus Rhenanus, Gesnerus, Hottomannus, & nouissimè Camdenus, qui rem hactenus dubiam tot confirmaret rationibus, ut videatur litem decidisse. Sed Camdenum & alios fugit quod dicturus sum; nempe hunc sermonem cum Phoenicio convenire in tam multis, ut res non possit esse fortuita. Id me temere non affirmasse docebit caput sequens, quod si nonnullis taediosum est, tamen ex doctorum numero spero non defuturos quibus hoc antiquitates καμηλιον non displiceat....

²⁴ Bochart 1646: 733 = Bochart 1692 column 695.

²⁵ Ibid.: 758 (= column 682): Constat igitur Gallos & Poenos, etsi propter commercia, vel communia bella, vel, quod suspicamur potius, propter vetustam aliquam Phoenicum coloniam in Gallias deductam alij ab aliis multa vocabula mutuati sint, fuisse tamen ἑτερογλωσσους. Quod abunde docent virorum nomina, quae apud Gallos in usu erant. Horum enim pleraque à Sacrae linguae genio prorsus abhorret, cum Poenorum nomina ferè omnia merè sint Hebraice. Nihil opus est ut exemplis probemus rem per se manifestam esse....

²⁶ On Boxhorn (1612–1653), cf. Morgan 1973: 220ff.

²⁷ Boxhorn 1654: 94: Hactenus ille: cujus haec omnia nunc exhibenda videantur, ut constaret, quae &

Thus far he (i.e. Davies); all his ideas must be explained now, so that may be decided which and of which quality are the reasons of those, who suppose that the origin of all languages is to be sought from Hebrew. To me they seem to be far from the truth, worthless and silly.

and further:²⁸

According to the same Davies, sometimes words remain in other languages, but with a changed meaning, as *Sus*, which means horse in Hebrew, but pig in Latin, *Salus* meaning three in Hebrew and health in Latin.²⁹ How can one read this without laughing? And yet there are those, who embrace this type of lunacy as if they were oracles.

Note how Boxhorn, with reason, shows his scorn for Davies's Hebrew comparisons in his dictionary,³⁰ but seems to have missed the interesting comparisons in the syntactical field made by the same author in his Welsh grammar.³¹

3.3. *Aylett Sammes, 1676.*³²

Sammes, an English author, relates part of the Welsh vocabulary to Phoenician rather than to any other language. In spite of this Phoenician influence, he supposes that the original inhabitants of Britain were rather of German origin than related to the inhabitants of Gaul.³³ Sammes dismisses the theory that the Britains, the Cymry, are descendants of Gomer,³⁴ and he also proves that the Cimbri were a German people.³⁵ After the Phoenicians had found their way to Britain, their language had much influence on the language spoken there. Sammes supposes that Phoenician had an even stronger influence on Welsh than on Gaulish. To make his point he compares several Welsh words with Phoenician ones:³⁶

Brit.	Phoenician	English
<i>Crag</i> , or <i>Careg</i> ,	<i>Carac</i> , <i>Crac</i> ,	A Hill.
<i>Corn</i> , plur. <i>Kern</i> ,	<i>Coran</i> , plur. <i>Kern</i> ,	A Horn.
<i>Caer</i> , from whence came <i>Caerlŷle</i> ,	<i>Caer</i> , from whence <i>Carthage</i> ,	A City.
<i>Get</i> ,	<i>Gwith</i> ,	A Breach.
<i>Caturfa</i> ,	<i>Kat-erva</i>	A Troop.

And he remarks directly afterwards:³⁷

cujusmodi sint illorum rationes, qui Linguarum omnium origines ex Ebraea petandas esse arbitrantur. Mihi certe à veritate alienae, frivolae & ineptae esse videntur....

²⁸ id. *ibid.*: 99: *Aliquando, ita idem Daviesius, manent in aliis linguis voces Ebraeae, mutata significatione, ut Sus Ebraice equus est, Latine porcus, Salus Ebraice tria, Latine sanitatem significat. Quod quis sine risu legat? Et tamen sunt, qui ejusmodi deliria tanquam oracula amplectantur....*

²⁹ Were Davies and Boxhorn aware of Augustine's remarks on *salus* / *šaluš* in Hebrew and Latin?

³⁰ A dictionary which he accepted for the rest, since he reprinted it in Boxhorn 1654.

³¹ Davies 1621.

³² Aylett Sammes (1636?–1679?), cf. *DNB* s.v.

³³ *Ibid.*: 10.

³⁴ And at the same time he dismisses the etymology of the name Gomer as "utmost border", which had been used to prove the relation between Gomer and the Islands at the utmost border of the known world.

³⁵ *Ibid.*: 11–3.

³⁶ Sammes 1676: 60.

³⁷ Sammes 1676: 61.

I will proceed now to shew, how that most of those words of the Ancient *Britains* and *Gauls*, which Mr. *Camden*³⁸ brings to prove them one and the same Nation; proceeded from the *Phoenicians*, and that there is as much, or rather more similitude between the *Phoenician* and *British*, than between the *British* and *Gaulish*.

This remark is followed by a lengthy study of more Phoenician words that may be found in Welsh.³⁹

3.4. Charles Edwards, 1677.⁴⁰

Charles Edwards reserves the last chapter of his well-known *Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant*⁴¹ for some remarks on the relation of Welsh and Hebrew. G.J. Williams⁴² supposes influence of John Davies on Edwards, which, of course, is possible, but it is clear from a comparison of the material presented by the two scholars, that, though the idea may have been influenced by Davies, its demonstration is the work of Edwards himself. In this chapter he compares a number of words and phrases which sound alike. In the introduction he remarks that he believes Hebrew and Welsh to be originally the same language:⁴³

And that venerable language, which is the one the first men spoke before the original sin, and in which so much of the scriptures has been written, is the mother of Welsh, and that Chaldean (i.e. Aramaic) is its sister, can be understood from what follows. Truly, during my studies in them I have been surprised and I have rejoiced seeing words of my country in strange languages which were so aged and honourable. Greek, Latin and English words were pushed into Welsh before the sword, or released inside together with trade and teaching, while the composition of these languages is different from it. But Hebrew is completely uniform with and equal to it. Its letters are more natural for our language than those which we use at this time.

³⁸ Camden 1586, p. 13: "Nunc ad linguam ventum est in qua maximum est huius disputationis firmamentum, & certissimum originis gentium argumentum. Qui enim linguae societate coniuncti sunt, originis etiam communione fuisse coniunctos homo opinor nemo inficiabitur. Quod si omnes omnium historie intercidissent, & nemo literis prodidisset nos Anglos è Germanos, genuinos Scotos ex Hibernis, Britones Armoricanos à nostris Britannis prognatos fuisse, ipsarum linguarum communitas hoc faciliè euinceret, imò faciliùs, quàm vel grauissimorum historicorum autoritas. Si igitur priscos Gallos & nostros Britannos eadem vsos fuisse linguae docuero, eiusdem etiam originis fuisse, vt fateamur, ipsa vis veritatis extorquebit." [Now we proceed to language, in which the greatest proof of this discussion, and the surest argument with regard to the origin of peoples is to be found. That those who are connected through a communal language, are also connected through the same origin, nobody, I suppose, will deny.] Then follows a long list of Gaulish words from classical sources compared to Welsh.

³⁹ Ibid.: 61–70.

⁴⁰ On Charles Edwards (1628– after 1691), cf. e.g. Stephens 1986: 164.

⁴¹ Published for the first time in 1667, and reprinted several times during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, while scholarly editions of the same work were published in this century; the numbers indicating the different impressions do not seem to be related to each other in all instances; I quote the photomechanical reproduction of the 3d edition (1677), which appeared in 1936.

⁴² Williams 1936: xiii–xxxiv.

⁴³ Edwards 1677, p. 394: Ac mai'r iaith barchedig hon a lefarodd y dynion cyntaf cyn pechu, ac ym mha vn yr ysgrifenydd cymmaint o'r yscrythyrau yw mam y Gymraeg, ac mai'r Chaldaeg yw ei chwaer gelli ddeall wrth y ganlyn. yn ddiau wrth ystudio arnynt mi a ryfeddais ac a lawenychais weled geiriau fy'ngwlad mewn ieithoedd dieithr ydoedd mor oedranus ac anrhydeddus. Geiriau Groeg, Ladin, a Saesneg a hurddwyd i'r Gymraeg ar flaen cleddyf, neu a ollyngwyd i mewn gyd a chwt masnach a dysceidiaeth, tra yw cyfansodiad yr ieithoedd hynny yn anhebygol iddi. Ond y mae'r Hebraeg yn ollawl vn brýd a gwëdd â hi. y mae ei llythrennau hi yn naturiolach i'n iaith ni na'r rhai yr ydym ni yn eu harfer y pryd hyn.

Then follow, in the order of the Hebrew alphabet, words from Hebrew (Aramaic) compared to Welsh ones.⁴⁴ In this comparison Edwards allows himself a lot of freedom to arrive at similarly sounding words. Cf. e.g.:

Hebrew words and one Chaldaic one, which are used in our language

	Hebrew		Welsh
אוֹבִידָה	ʾōvīda	I shall destroy	I destroy, I shall vex (mutated form of <i>gofidiaf</i>)
אֶבֶן	ʾeven	stone	stone (mutated form of <i>maen</i>)
אֲדָנִי	ʾadnē	bases (plur. cstr.)	soles (mutated form of <i>gwadnau</i> , pl. of <i>gwadn</i>)
אוֹהֶל	ʾohel	tent	tent. lair, couch (mutated form of <i>gwâl</i>). ⁴⁵

The same view, with a repetition of partly the same material, he published in a short volume,⁴⁶ consisting of only eight pages, perhaps to confront another audience with this material, as the first column of his examples in this edition is given in Latin. Concluding this small volume, Edwards remarks:

Characteristic for the Jews and Welshmen is the way of singing. I have heard Jews singing hymns in the synagogue with rhythms very common with us Welshmen.⁴⁷

Charles Edwards is the only scholar we came across in this study who shows to be aware of this contemporary use of Hebrew. His feelings about the superiority of the Welsh language are aptly expressed in the introduction of this volume:⁴⁸

When encumbered with some Hebrew studies, I seemed to hear the first patriarchs and the holy prophets speaking Welsh, and divulging the great deeds of God through our idiom.

3.5. *Pierre Yves Pezron, 1703.*⁴⁹

Pezron, a Breton by birth, takes Celtic to be one of the mother languages originating from the confusion of tongues at the building of the tower of Babel, without, however, stressing the special character of the language, or supposing the Welsh form of the

⁴⁴ Edwards 1677: 395–405; the words are given in two columns, the number of examples is 490; the Hebrew words are given in transcription, apart from the first word in every column which is printed in Hebrew script and in transcription.

⁴⁵ *Geiriau Hebraeg, ac ymhell un Chaldaeg a arferir yn ein iaith ni.*

Heb.	Cymr.
אוֹבִידָה Obhidah	dinistraf, Ofidiaf.
Aebhen.	faen.
Aedenei.	wadnei.
Ahal.	pabell. wâl.

⁴⁶ Edwards 1676; the copy studied in the National Library of Wales directly starts with the introduction, signed: Lond. Decemb. 24. 1675. Carolus Edwards, indicating that the booklet appeared probably in 1676.

⁴⁷ *Peculiaris etiam est Hebraeis & Cambro-Britannis in cantu symphonia. Audivi Judaeos in synagogâ hymnos canentes modulationibus apud nostros Cambrenses consuetissimis.*

⁴⁸ Edwards 1676: 1: “Cùm Hebraicis studiis aliquantis per incumberem, Patriarchas priscos, & Prophetas sanctos Cambro-Britannicè loquentes, & nostro idiomate Magnalia Dei patefacientes, mihi visus sum audire.”

⁴⁹ On Paul Pezron (1639–1706), cf. e.g. Jöcher iii, kol. 1483–1484.

language being something special. Pezron gives Gaulish, which for him is Celtic, the honour of having originated from the confusion of tongues. As others, he supposes Gomer to be the ancestor of the Celts:⁵⁰

Et quel peuple a-t-il fondé, sinon les *Gomariens*, des quels, selon Josephe, les *Celtes* ou les *Gaulois* ont pris leur origine? Si *Gomer* est la veritable tige des *Gaulois*, comme je l'ay montré cy-dessus, par tant de preuves & d'autoritez, il faut qu'il ait eu une Langue toute differente de celle des autres peuples; & ç'a été la *Celtique*. La Langue des *Celtes*, établis dans les Gaules, a donc été dès les premiers siècles, la Langue des *Gomariens*, postez originaiement dans la haute Asie, vers l'Hyrkanie & la Bactriane. Et la Langue des *Gomariens* a sans doute été celle de *Gomer*, qu'ils ont eu pour Chef & pour Fondateur. Si ç'a été celle de *Gomer*, il faut qu'elle soit une de celles qui sont nées dans la confusion, arrivée du país de Babylone. Toutes ces inductions me paroissent si bien suivies, si naturelles & si veritables, que je ne vois pas comment on les puisse contester.

Relating Gomer and the Celts was a historic fact of quite a reputation, because already with Flavius Josephus one finds the remark that the Galatians, i.e. a Celtic tribe, descend from Gomer.⁵¹ From this point it is easy to come to the conclusion that the antiquity of Celtic may be proven by its near relation to Hebrew:⁵²

Si vous joignez à toutes ces raisons une nouvelle preuve, qui est, que la langue des Celtes encore aujourd'huy est remplie de mots, qui viennent tout visiblement de celle des Hébreux, & qui en viennent de toute antiquité; il demeurera pour constant, que cette Langue a été celle de Gomer, & de ces descendants.

As Pezron is not as biased as most Welsh writers, he insists upon the influence of several other languages on Celtic, prominent among which are Greek, Latin and German, which he proves on the basis of the vocabulary.

3.6. J. L., 1716.

In his apologetic treatise on the ancient Britons, this unrecognised author also treats of the Welsh language, showing that he is well aware of the current theories, and stressing especially the more illustrious descent of Welsh than that of English:⁵³

The British Language must be own'd more excellent than many others, because it has many Hebrew Words in it, and has a greater Affinity with the Hebrew in the *Affixes* of Verbs, than any *Western* Language. Tho' the Fate of Conquest oblig'd the unfortunate *Britons* to retire to their Hills, yet the utmost Effort of their Enemies could never drive them from thence, so that they still retain their Original Tongue. Permit me to do a Piece of Justice to that antiquated Language, in contracting what the learned *Fuller* is pleas'd to say more at large concerning it. Speaking of the old *Britons* he saith, (1) Their Language is native: It was one of those which departed from *Babel*, and herein it relates to God, as the more immediate Author of it, whereas most Tongues in *Europe*, are generated from the corruption of Originals. (2) It's unmix'd, needs no Foreign Words to express it self; the *Romans* were so far from making the

⁵⁰ Pezron 1703: 184f.

⁵¹ Cf. e.g. Flavius Josephus, ed. Niese 1887: I 123.

⁵² Ibid. 188.

⁵³ L. 1716: 9.

Britons do, that they would not speak as they would have them: Their very Language never had perfect Conquest in this Island. It's the least mix'd of any in *Europe*, with Foreign Words. (3) Unaltered. Other Tongues are daily disguis'd with Forreign Words, so that in a Century of Years, they grow Strangers to themselves, as now an Englishman needs an Interpreter to understand *Chaucer's English*, but the *British* continues so constant to it self, that the Works of *Merlin* and *Taliessin*, who wrote about a Thousand Years since, are at this Day intelligible in that Tongue. (4) It's durable, which had its Beginning at the Confusion of Tongues, and is likely not to have its Ending till the Dissolution of the World.

It is plain that L. follows the tradition which starts with John Davies. Note how, like Davies before him J. L. speaks of the enemies of the Welsh language, who did not succeed in contaminating this second eternal language which is not "likely to have its Ending till the Dissolution of the World". It is a poignant example of the uneasiness felt concerning the strength of Welsh against the pressure of English, even at that time.

3.7. *Henry Rowlands, 1723.*⁵⁴

In his historical account of the isle of Anglesey Rowlands discusses the question whether the language originally spoken on the island was the same as modern Welsh. Beginning from the confusion of tongues, he argues that languages were formed, based upon the primeval language, Hebrew. Then he finds two reasons for the assumption that Welsh was the original language still spoken on Anglesey, of which we quote the first:⁵⁵

First, There are very many antient *British* words which have no resemblance at all, no coherence in Sound and Signification with the words of any other Language in the World except the Hebrew, so as to be in any possibility of being derived from them, as far as could be yet perceiv'd; which evinces that the *British* Language is, in its radical Parts at least, plainly *Aboriginal*; No Footsteps of it anywhere appearing, but in those Places where 'tis allow'd the antient *Celtae* for some while inhabited, or their *Gaulish* and *British* Offspring had sent their Colonies.

Because of this comparability to Hebrew, Rowlands supposes Welsh, i.e. Celtic, to be very old indeed:⁵⁶

All this, with the Guttural Pronunciation of some of our Syllables, the resemblance of many of our modern Words, and the near Affinity of our Phrase and Syntax with the most antient *Hebrew* Tongue, is and will be a convincing Argument, that our present Language in the more radical Strokes of it, is one of the primary Issues of that Sacred Fountain, that is, is the chief Remains of the antient Celtish or *British* Tongue, with which our Nation hath kept its ground, what few or no other Tongues or Nations in the World have done, for about the space of three Thousand and five Hundred Years.

He concludes his remarks with the following words:⁵⁷

⁵⁴ On Henry Rowlands (1655–1723), cf. e.g. Stephens 1986: 536.

⁵⁵ Rowlands 1723: 36.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*: 39.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*: 317.

The Result of my Proposition fairly determines this Issue, viz. that the British Tongue, having more of that Original Language in it, than all the rest together, may merit the Esteem of being reckon'd the antientest and least corrupted Language in this Western part of the World, which is what deserves our Notice, and what I think sufficient to say in this Proposition.

Perhaps less outspoken than some of his colleagues an expression like the “ancient British Tongue, with which our nation has kept its ground” is significant indeed.

3.6. *Theophilus Evans, 1740.*⁵⁸

An important work in this survey is *Drych y prif Oesoedd* (View of the primitive ages)⁵⁹ by Theophilus Evans, because it has been highly influential in Welsh historiography.⁶⁰ We are sure that many others defended the same ideas, but Evans's recapitulation of the reasoning of authors like John Davies⁶¹ and Pezron in his first chapter was probably one of the factors to make it accepted knowledge for many Welsh people. Evans took from Davies the idea that Welsh as such found its origin at the confusion of tongues, and combined this with the historical reasoning as e.g. found with Pezron, thus making Gomer speaking Welsh⁶²

Before, there was only one language spoken in the whole world, and that surely was Hebrew. But the world, although it was of one language and one speech before, now hears its inhabitants speak seventytwo languages; because many people have ancient histories telling how the mixing of the mother-language Hebrew came about. And in that great tumult, people were very happy in meeting someone they were able to understand; and they went here and there, until getting another; and thus everyone, they all came together, and stayed with each other in many heaps separately, the ones that were of one dialect. And who was speaking Welsh, you can imagine, but Gomer, the oldest son of Japheth the son of Noa the son of Lamech the son of Methusela the son of Enoch the son of Jared the son of Malaleel the son of Cainan the son of Enos the son of Seth the son of Adam, the son of God. There you have the race and the lineage of the old Welsh, how high anyone of earthly decent possibly might reach, we their offspring would be better than those. And I am quite sure and without doubt, that this

⁵⁸ On Theophilus Evans (1693–1767), cf. e.g. Stephens 1986: 194.

⁵⁹ Under this title the book was translated into English.

⁶⁰ cf. also the introductions in Thomas 1960 & Hughes 1961.

⁶¹ For the sources of Evans 1740, cf. also Thomas 1955: xiiiff.; Evans 1761 (1961): 117 mentions explicitly the grammar and dictionary of John Davies.

⁶² Evans 1740 (1865): 4, (1955): 3–4; cf. Evans 1716 (1961): 19: “Nid oedd ond un dafod-leferydd o'r blaen drwy yr byd mawr, sef yr Hebraeg, yn ddilys ddigon. Eithr y ddaear, ag oedd cyn hyny o un iaith ac o un ymadrodd, a glywai ei thrigolion ynawr yn siarad deuddeg iaith a thri-ugain; canys i gynifer a hyny y mae hên hanesion yn mynegi ddarfod cymyscu y fam-iaith yr Hebraeg. Ac yn y terfysc mawr hwnw, llawen iawn a fyddai gan un gyfarfod a'r sawl a fai'n deall eu gilydd, a hwy a dramwyent yma ac accw, nes cael un arall; ac felly bob un ac un, i ddyfod ynghyd oll, ac aros gyda'i gilydd yn gynifer pentwr ar wahan, y sawl ag oeddent o'r un dafodiaith. A phwy oedd yn siarad Cymraeg a dybiwch chwi y pryd hwnw, ond Gomer mab hynaf Japheth, ap Noah, ap Lamech, ap Methusela, ap Enoch, ap Jared, ap Malaleel, ap Cainan, ap Enos, ap Seth, ap Adda, ap Duw. Dyma i chwi waedolaeth ac ach yr hên Gymry, cuwch ar a all un bonedd daearol fyth bosibl i gyrrhaedd ato, pe bai ni eu heppil yn well o hyny. Ac y mae'n ddilys ddiammeu gennyf nad yw hyn ond y gwir pur loyw; canys 1. y mae hanesion yr hên oesoedd yn mynegi hynny; a pha awdurdod chwaneag am unrhyw beth a ddigwyddodd yn y dyddiau gynt na bod cof-lyfrau, neu Groniclau'r oesoedd yn tystio hynny. 2. Y mae holl ddyscedigion Crêd, (gan mwyaf ynawr) megis o un genau yn maenntumio hynny. 3. Y mae'r enw y gelwir ni yn gyffredin arno, sef yw hynny, Cymro, megis lifrai yn dangos i bwy y perthyn gwas, yn yspysu yn eglur o ba le y daethom allan; canys nid oes ond y dim lleiaf rhwng Cymro a Gomero, fel y gall un dyn, ie a hanner llygad ganfod ar yr olwg gyntaf.

is nothing but the pure bright truth, because 1: the histories of the ancient times tell it; and which authority is better in testifying about something which happened in earlier days than the records or chronicles of those times. 2. All teachings of the faith (mostly, now) are as of one mouth to maintain this. 3. The name, with which we are normally called, Cymro is as a livery showing to whom a servant belongs, showing clearly whence we came; because there is only the smallest difference between Cymro and Gomero, as one man may, even with a half eye, perceive on the first view.

Evans also quotes Pezron on this point, without mentioning the difference between their respective descriptions of the origin of Welsh and Celtic. Afterwards Evans remarks again on the Welsh language, in the fifth chapter of the first part of his study, *Moesau yr hen Frutaniaid* (The manners of the old Britons), commenting upon the relations between Welsh and resp. Latin, Greek and Irish.⁶³

On the old Welsh language, there is not much to say for me, but that it continued until lately almost uncorrupted without hardly any mixing, what hardly can be said of any other, apart from the language of the Jews, and the language of Arabia. Hardly anyone will be able to understand the Welsh language, or he understands also at least some Hebrew, Latin, Greek and Irish; because there is a considerable contact between these four and Welsh. (1) As far as Hebrew is concerned: there are several words passed completely to us, because of the mixture at the Tower of Babel; as e.g. in the following words: acheu, anudon, bwth, câd, caer, ceg, cefn, coppa, cylllell, golwyth, magwyr, neuadd, odyn, potten, tal, tommen, together with quite a lot other ones, and these are only a few of the exchanges between Hebrew and Welsh.

So, according to Evans, the Welsh language is very old and gives its speakers every reason to feel better than their neighbours.⁶⁴

⁶³ Evans 1740 (1865): 128; (1955): 125: "Am yr hen iaith Gymraeg, nid oes genyf fi ond ychydig i ddywedyd, ond iddi barhau hyd yn ddiweddar agos yn ddilwyr heb nemmawr o gymysg, yr hyn ni's gellir dywedyd ond prin am un arall, oddieithr iaith yr Iuddewon, ac iaith Arabia. Prin y gall neb deall y iaith Gymraeg yn llawn-fedrus, ond a ddeallo hefyd o leiaf ryw gymmaint o Hebraeg, Lladin, Groeg a Gwyddelaeig; canys y mae cryn gyfathrach rhwng y pedair hyn a'r Gymraeg. (1) Am yr Hebraeg: y mae amryw eiriau wedi tramwyo yn gyfan atom ni, er maint oedd o gymysg yn Nhw'r Babel; megys yn y geiriau hyn a ganlyn, acheu, anudon, bwth, câd, caer, ceg, cefn, coppa, cylllell, golwyth, magwyr, neuadd, odyn, potten, tal, tommen, gydag amryw ac amryw eraill, nad oes ond ychydig neu ddim cyfnewid rhwng yr Hebraeg a'r Gymraeg."

⁶⁴ cf. also the privately printed *History of the Cymbri*, which appeared without naming its author in 1746, ascribed by some to Simon Thomas (cf. R.T. Jenkins in *Biography* 1959: 965), silk mercer in Hereford, although 1743 has been supposed to be the year of his death. However this may be, although the author does not speak explicitly about the relation of Hebrew and Welsh, he is an enthousiastical adherent of the Gomerian theory (p. 7): "Here it may be enquired, What sort of Languages those were which had their Rise and Birth upon this Occasion? [i.e. the confusion of tongues] that is Whether they were all intirely different from the Hebrew, and from one another; or only different Dialects? There is reason to believe, That all those new Languages, were but Hebrew, slit into so many Dialects: every Tongue carrying with it some Lineaments of the old Stock from whence it was hewn: and though each one might claim a near Kin to the Hebrew: Yet every one was so different from it, and also from each other, as to suffice for answering Gods Design, which was, to render them incapable of mutual Converse, and unfitt for Co-habitation." At the same time he also stresses the pre-eminence of the Welsh (pp. 23–24): "Thus we have traced the Genealogy of the *Cymry*; who, should they claim a Pre-eminence above all Nations under the Sun; *they should not be ashamed*; they having a just Right to it; as being descended from *Gomer*, the First-born Son of *Japheth*, who was the First born Son of *Noah*."

3.8. *Thomas Richards, 1753.*⁶⁵

In the introduction to his extensive Welsh-English dictionary Richards quotes several authors mainly to impress the reader on the point of the antiquity of the Welsh language. Although Pezron is adduced to show that Welsh and Gaulish are one and the same language,⁶⁶ he does not mention the descent of Welsh through Gomer (cf. below). In his remarks on the similarity of Welsh and Hebrew Richards depends upon the authority of John Davies.⁶⁷ The almost romantic view of the value of the Welsh language is aptly expressed in the following lines:

And as this Language has continued for such a long Series of Ages past, so we have no Reason to doubt but that it is the Divine Will that it be preserved to the End of Time, as we have the Word of God most elegantly and faithfully translated into it.

Note that Richards has the same feeling about the longevity Welsh as expressed by J.L.

3.9. *John Walters, 1771.*⁶⁸

John Walters, admitting that Welsh and Gaulish are the same,⁶⁹ is again a strong, though not original, advocate of John Davies, also quoting other authorities to substantiate the venerability of the Welsh language.⁷⁰

... *M. Bullet*, who, in his *Memoires sur la langue Celtique*, “appears to have made some progress, as a professed Critic expresses it, in all the languages of the earth”. This Gentleman has run in the same course with his countryman, the learned *Pezron*, but has out-stripped him in the race, and advanced so far beyond him as to make the *Celtic* to be a dialect of the original language communicated by the Creator to the first Parents of mankind. And admitting the primitive language to have been the *Hebrew*, which, I fancy, very few will dispute, he is not singular in his opinion; for a very learned person of our own Nation, in his *Enquiries concerning the first inhabitants, Language, & c. of Europe*, published about the same time, supposes the *Celtic* a sister-dialect of the *Hebrew*.

Walters then quotes Davies from the introduction to his dictionary (v. supra), and a few pages later he remarks, referring to Rowlands 1723:⁷¹

Though it may be thought, by this time, to be unnecessary for the elucidation of the subject; yet I can by no means prevail with myself not to mention the ingenious *Rowlands* on the occasion, who, in his *Comparative table of languages*, hath paralleled 300 *Hebrew* words with an equal number taken from the ancient languages of *Europe*, corresponding therewith both in sound and signification, so as to evince an affinity and near resemblance between them. And having remarked that, of these 300 *Hebrew* words more than half that number

⁶⁵ On Thomas Richards (1710–1790), cf. e.g. G.J. Williams in: *Biography* 1959: 854.

⁶⁶ Richards 1753: v–vii; we quote the second edition Trefriw 1815.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*: vii–viii.

⁶⁸ On John Walters (1721–1797), Stephens 1986: 623.

⁶⁹ Walters 1771: 17; this book is probably correctly dismissed by Tourneur 1905: 134 as “un éloge académique du gallois qui n’offre rien de bien particulier”; Walters’s dictionary (Walters 1794) was a more important contribution to the study of the Welsh language, but does not go into the possible relation Hebrew and Welsh.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 21–22.

⁷¹ *Id.*: 25.

answer our present *British* or *Welsh* sounds, as near as can be expected at so remote a distance both of time and place, he very naturally concludes, "That the *British* tongue, having more of that *original* language in it than all the rest together, may merit the esteem of being reckoned the *most ancient* and *least corrupted*, language in the Western part of the world".

Walters, like others, stresses especially the uncorrupted tradition which has kept the Welsh language almost unchanged for a very long time.⁷²

3.10. Eliezer Williams, 1840.⁷³

The English works of the Welshman Eliezer Williams contain an interesting paper entitled "Historical anecdotes relative to the energy, beauty, and melody, of the Welsh language, and its affinity to the Oriental languages, and those of the south of Europe". In this short treatise Williams not only compares the Welsh vocabulary to that of Italian, French, Spanish and Greek, but he also remarks:⁷⁴

... but the roots of most of the ancient British, or real Welsh words, may be regularly traced in the Hebrew.... Scarcely a Hebrew root can be discovered that has not its corresponding derivative in the ancient British language.

Although Williams does not express himself quite clearly on the reasons for these similarities, his authorities and comparisons make him, at least in this discussion, an adherent of the theories of John Davies and his followers. Elsewhere,⁷⁵ however, he adopts the theory that all words in all languages may be brought back to a limited series of original sounds, consisting of a vowel or a consonant followed by a vowel, with a definite original meaning. These primitive elements may be combined to form words with extended meanings. He proves his theory by giving a long list of words⁷⁶ containing the element *bal* (i.e. *ba* + *l*, having lost its vowel in the combination). In this list he collects words from the following languages: Welsh, Irish, Armoric, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Swedish, Italian, English, Spanish, French, Russian. Williams maintains that, of course, Welsh has preserved more of these original elements than any other language. In his remarks on this theory, more or less related to those of Rowland Jones, Williams does not refer to his combination of Welsh and Hebrew elsewhere in his writings. Remark also that, although Williams calls Welsh the "ancient British language", the apologetic tone is less pronounced than with earlier authors.

⁷² Cf. also John Hughes (1776–1843; cf. *DNB* s.v.; R.T. Jenkins in: *Biography* 1959: 381.); his prize essay for the Cambrian Society (1823) contains a short remark on the relation of Welsh to Hebrew (p. 3): "The structure of the Cymreig, evinces its affinity with languages which confessedly are regarded the most ancient, and particularly, the Hebrew; as to which a learned Antiquary has affirmed, 'that the British tongue, having more of that original language in it, than all the rest together, may merit the esteem of being reckoned the *most ancient* and *least corrupted language in this western part of the world*'. Hughes uses the same quotation of Henry Rowlands as John Walters before him. This view does not obscure, however, Hughes's conviction that Welsh is directly related to the other languages of Europe (p. 4): "The Ancient Gauls and Britons spoke a language nearly similar. The Welsh or the Cymraeg, is one principal branch of the great Celtic stock, to which along with the Teutonic, we may trace all the languages of Europe".

⁷³ On Eliezer Williams (1754–1820), cf. the memoir by his son in Williams 1840.

⁷⁴ Williams 1840: 134f.

⁷⁵ Williams 1840: 185–96, in a chapter entitled "The nature of the primitive Language of Europe, and Language in general", being the second chapter of the first epoch, "Origin of the Britons – their history until the invasion of Britain by the Romans", of his "A Sketch of the History of the Britons under five Epochs".

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*: 190–6.

3.11. Several others have the same view of the comparability or even near equivalence of Hebrew and Welsh. We give only one example. Peter Roberts, in the beginning of the last century, without any linguistic or historical comment proposes to explain some old lines of poetry⁷⁷ as Hebrew:⁷⁸

pro: O Brithi Brith oi	lege: Hoi Berithi Berith hai	הוי בריתי ברית חוי	[hōy barūtī barūt hay]
Nu oes nu edi	Nuach iesh Nuach edi	נוח ישנ עדי	[noah yēš noah 'ēdī]
Brithi brith anhai	Berithi Berith ein hai	ברית ברית עין חוי	[barūtī barūt 'ēn hay]
Sych edi edi eu roi	Such edi, edi ha roe	סך עדי עדי הראה	[sok 'ēdī 'ēdī hā-ro'e]

i.e. Ho ! my covenant is the covenant of life.
 Noah, Noah is my witness,
 My covenant is the covenant of the fountain of life.
 The shrine ! is my witness; the prophet (viz., Noah) is my witness.

4. Relationship of Welsh and Hebrew is impossible to prove in spite of comparable syntactical features. We have encountered only one Welsh author, namely Thomas Llewelyn,⁷⁹ 1769, who explicitly dared to doubt the great antiquity of Welsh and its direct relation to either Hebrew or Phoenician. His remarks have a highly modern flavour. Thomas Llewelyn wrote on the Welsh of the Welsh Bible translation.⁸⁰ He is less impressed by the then current comparisons than several other authors and supposes Phoenician or Carthaginian influence, if something like that ever occurred, to be difficult to trace in later Welsh. His insight in the results of normal language change in time is remarkable when we compare his work with that of his contemporaries, cf. e.g. the following remarks⁸¹

If the ancient inhabitants of this island had ever any considerable intercourse with Phoenicians, Carthaginians, or other foreigners of a speech quite different from their own, they would then in all probability adopt some foreign words or expressions, and incorporate them with their own stock. But of this also we have no full and certain account. And supposing such an event to have happened; words thus adopted, at a period so distant, could not now be distinguished from the native and original terms of the language.

Those times are too obscure; too remote for our reach. In hundreds of instances, they leave us uncertain and dissatisfied in our inquiries; we must therefore descend lower down, and to much later times ere we arrive at the due distance, or fix ourselves in the proper station, where we may be able to distinguish; whether there be any thing exotic and adventitious in the composition of this tongue; and which of it's words are natives, or which are foreign.

At the same time, however, he does not disapprove of a comparison of Welsh and Hebrew, but he is a typologist *avant la lettre* rather than anything else. Compare e.g. the following remarks of his,⁸² in which he correctly differentiates between the comparable vocabulary as opposed to syntax:

⁷⁷ These lines are to be found in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*: 63, Evans 1910: 74 ll. 20–21.

⁷⁸ Roberts 1815: 33–4.

⁷⁹ On Thomas Llewelyn (1720?–1783), B.G. Owens in *Biography* 1959: 568–569.

⁸⁰ Llewelyn 1768, 1769.

⁸¹ Llewelyn 1769: 12f.

⁸² Llewelyn 1769: 140f., resp. 141f.

Excepting terms of this cast [i.e. direct modern loan words in the Bible translation], and perhaps some few others, such as *Aber*; *Caer*; *Sâch*, & c. we have, as far as I can find, hardly any words in the British tongue of a clear Hebrew complexion and affinity. Supposing the Hebrew to have been the original language of mankind, and the common parent of all other tongues, as is generally supposed; in that case numbers of common words, evidently of Hebrew parentage, might be expected to appear in this, and in every other version of the Old Testament. But if we entertain such an expectation we shall be disappointed. And whoever compares a chapter or a page of the Hebrew Bible with the corresponding page or chapter in the Greek, in the Latin, in the English, in the Welsh, or perhaps in any other European version; whoever, I say, will be at the pains to make such a comparison, will be able to discover the plain and certain origin of but very few words.

It is commonly said, that the British and the Hebrew are similar languages; but by this must be understood, not that they seem to be derived the one from the other, or that there are a great many radical words the same in each; but only that there is a similarity of sound in certain letters of both alphabets; that they are alike in some peculiarities of construction, especially in the change incident to several letters in the beginning of words. If any thing farther is intended hereby, it will be more, I believe, than can be warranted and supported by a fair comparison of the two languages.

The only time Llewelyn really compares a point in Welsh grammar to Hebrew is to be found in his remarks on the system of mutations in Welsh, and in accordance with his view just mentioned he does not speak of relationship but of an illustration and this only following another one from Greek:⁸³

To illustrate this subject yet further, recourse might be had to the oriental languages. In the Hebrew alphabet are six mutable consonants, called *Litterae Begadkephat*, having each of them a double sound, one soft and the other hard. For instance *hru* signifying *fruit* is sounded in different positions, *Pri* and *Phri*, with just the same variation as *Pen* and *Phen*, in the preceding tables: In the same manner תורה the Hebrew word for *Law* is pronounced *Torah* or *Thorah*, like the British *Tad* and *Thad*. And so is בן (sic) a *son* like *Bara* and *Fara*, sounded sometimes *Ben* and at other times *Fen* or rather *Ven*. But these mutations are much more limited in this language than they are in the Welsh: changeable letters in Hebrew are only six; whereas in the British they are nine: in the Hebrew also, the change of these letters is only double; whereas here they assume three or four different forms.

Note how Llewelyn not only uses Hebrew to illustrate Welsh, but at the same time also points out the differences as if he wanted to stress the fact that Hebrew and Welsh are not related to each other.

5. Conclusion.

It follows clearly from the preceding remarks that the subject of the relation between Welsh and Hebrew has been discussed vividly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a fact stressed by the inclusion of the subject among the topics to be discussed by the Society of Cymmrodorion in 1755.⁸⁴

⁸³ Ibid.: 64.

⁸⁴ *Constitutions* 1755, where among "General Heads, of Subjects to be occasionally considered and treated of (among others) in the Correspondences of the Society of *Cymmrodorion*" is mentioned (p. 33): "Of the Similitude between the *British* Tongue and the Eastern Languages. Cf. e.g. also a chance remark by an author

More or less basic is the recurring notion that Hebrew is the mother of all languages, these languages being confusions of Hebrew. For several scholars this leads to the idea that Welsh, being itself very old, is related to Hebrew, for others this means that all languages are in some way related to Hebrew, Welsh not being in a special position, as maintained by e.g. Bullet, a French author, not biased as the Welsh scholars who wanted to prove the antiquity and venerability of Welsh compared to English.

Another possibility is to find the reason for the special character of Welsh in an early influence of Phoenician upon the Celtic languages, which seems to originate from Bochart, and was maintained by Sammes. This view has also been upheld with regard to other Celtic languages, cf. also Betham, who calls the Celts (i.e. Gaul, the ancient Britons and ancient Irish) a Phoenician colony, but maintains that the Welsh, Cornish and Bretons are no Celts.⁸⁵ It is not by chance that this theory is not advocated by born Welshmen.

We find that the comparisons between Welsh and Hebrew have two different objects. For most authors the difference is in itself unimportant (thus already with John Davies). Only in the nineteenth century the difference between the syntactical and lexical comparisons becomes more clear.⁸⁶ Also with regard to the comparison of vocabulary some differences are to be observed. The main object is the comparison of words, as Davies and his followers did. Only Charles Edwards, the one surest of the near identity of Hebrew and Welsh, also finds many word groups and phrases sounding almost alike in both languages.

In a lecture on the history of Welsh scholarship G.J. Williams greatly laments the connection of Welsh and Hebrew, as made by John Davies:⁸⁷

Unfortunately Dr. John Davies was a great Hebrew scholar, and those who have consulted his dictionary will know of the comparisons between Welsh and Hebrew words which are to be found on every page. This had a most deleterious effect on Welsh studies. With one exception, all the scholars were obsessed with this idea, which made a serious study of the history of the language impossible.

Williams's negative reaction⁸⁸ only mentions the comparisons of Hebrew and Welsh vocabulary, which diminishes its worth considerably.⁸⁹ Furthermore, he seems to have missed the important ideological side of the discussion, viz. that the Welshmen discussing

probably not specially interested in the problem, John Torbuck, who wrote about his travels in Wales in 1738: Whether the *Welsh* tongue be a *splinter* of that universal one that was shatter'd at *Babel*, we have some reason to doubt, in regard 'ts unlike the dialects that were *crumbled* there; however, whether it be kin or no to other country speeches, it matters not ... (quoted according to *Anthology* 1941: 86–7).

⁸⁵ Betham 1834, passim; in Betham 1842 he upholds the same position, with the extra contention that Etruscan and Celtic is the same.

⁸⁶ Hugh Hughes (on Hugh Hughes (Tegai, 1805–1864), cf. D.T. Evans in *Biography* 1959: 377.), 1844: In the chapter on the syntax in the Welsh Bible translation Hugh Hughes prints a lengthy quotation from "Criticus" on the peculiarities of Welsh. In this highly interesting excursus Criticus notes that Welsh and Hebrew both employ inflected prepositions and that both languages use juxtaposition to indicate the genitive relationship. He also points to the usage in both Welsh and Hebrew to connect a singular noun with numerals, and to the derivation of verbs.

⁸⁷ G.J. Williams 1973–1974: 195–219.

⁸⁸ Cf. also Carr 1983: 77ff.

⁸⁹ Williams is followed by others, cf. e.g. Carr 1983: 77, who also singles out Lhuyd as the one scientific author among many romantic theoretical ones: Davies, Pezron who was followed by Theophilus Evans, Rowland Jones.

this issue used it to confirm the superiority of Welsh above other languages, including of course English.

References

- Ali, Ahmed & Ali, Ibrahim
1994³ *The Black Celts, An ancient african civilisation in Ireland and Britain*, Cardiff [1992¹].
- Anthology
1941 *They look at Wales, An Anthology of Prose and Verse*, Cardiff.
- Betham, Sir W.
1834 *The Gael and Cymbri; or an Inquiry into the Origin and History of the Irish Scoti, Britons, and Gauls, and of the Caledonians, Picts, Welsh, Cornish, and Bretons*, Dublin.
- 1842 *Etruria - Celtica, Etruscan literature and antiquities investigated; or, the language of that ancient and illustrious people compared and identified with the Ibero-Celtic, and both shown to be Phœnician* (ii vols.), Dublin.
- Biography
1959 *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940*, London.
- Bochart, Samuel
1646 *Geographicae Sacrae Pars Prior Phaleg seu de dispersione Gentium et Terrarum diversione facta in Aedificatione Turris Babel*. Cadomi.
- 1692 *Geographica Sacra seu Phaleg et Canaan, cui accedunt variae dissertationes philologicae etc.*, Editio Tertia, Lugduni Batavorum - Trajecti ad Rhenam.
- Boxhorn, Marius Zuerius.
1654 *Originum Gallicarum Liber in quo veteris et nobilissimae Gallorum gentis origines, antiquitates, mores, lingua, et alia eruuntur et illustrantur; cui accedit Antiquae Linguae Britannicae Lexicon Britannico-Latinum, cum adjectis & insertis etc.*, Amstelodami.
- Camden, William.
1586 *Britannia sive florentissimorum regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate chorographica descriptio*, Londoni [reedited several times].
- Carr, Glenda
1983 *William Owen Pughe*, Caerdydd.
- Constitutions
1755 *Constitutions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion in London, begun in the month of September 1751*, London.
- Davies, John
1621 *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae, nunc communiter dictae Cambro-Britannicae, a suis Cymraecae, vel Cambricae, ab aliis Wallicae, Rudimenta: juxta genuinam naturalemque ipsius linguae proprietatem, qua fieri potuit accurata methodo et brevitate conscripta*, London, 1621; editio altera Oxonii, 1809.
- 1632 *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae, Nunc Vulgò Dictae Cambro-Britannicae, A Suis Cymraecae Vel Cambricae, Ab Aliis Wallicae, Et Linguae Latinae, Dictionarium Duplex. Prius, Britannico-latinum, Plurimis Venerandae Antiquitatis Britannicae Monumentis Respersum, Posterius, Latino-britannicum*.

A Substratum as a Cultured Weapon

Accesserunt Adagia Britannica, & Plura & Emendatiora Quàm Antehàc Edita. Londini, Impress. In Aedibus R. Young, Impensis Joan. Davies Ss. Th. D. An. Dom. 1632.

DNB

Dictionary of National Biography London. [Because of the different editions, reference is to the entries].

Edwards, Charles

1671

Hanes y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, Oxford. 2d ed., Oxford 1676; 3th ed. *Y Ffydd Ddi-ffuant, sef, Hanes y Ffydd Gristionogol, a'i Rhinwedd*, Oxford 1677 [photomechanical reprint, with introduction by G.J. Williams, Caerdydd, 1936]; later editions e.g.: Shrewsbury 1722 [4th edition]; Dolgellau 1811 [4th edition]; Llanbedrog 1822 [ed. P. Williams]; Caerdydd 1856; Carmarthen [1860 ?]; Pwllheli 1883 [6th edition]; cf. also *Hanes y Ffydd yng Nghymru, Detholiad o'r Ffydd Ddi-Fffuant gan Charles Edwards, gyda rhagymadrodd a nodiadau gan Hugh Bevan*, Caerdydd [1948] – quoted according to the 1936 reprint of the third edition.

1676

Hebraismorum Cambro-Britannicorum Specimen, London, 1676.

Evans, Theophilus

1716

see Evans 1740.

1740

Drych y Prif Oesoedd, yn ddwy ran, Y Mwythig [quoted according to *Drych y prif Oesoedd, Y rhan gyntaf, golygwyd gyda Rhagymadrodd gan David Thomas*, Caerdydd, 1955 and compared with the edition Llanidloes 1865 (gyda rhagarweiniad a nodau eglurhaol gan y parch. Rhys Gwesy Jones)]; the first, much shorter edition, of this work appeared also in Shrewsbury, in 1716 [cf. *Drych y prif Oesoedd, yn ôl yr argraffiad cyntaf: 1716, golygwyd gan Garfield H. Hughes*, Caerdydd, 1961].

Evenas, Thomas

1816

An English and Welsh Vocabulary, or an easy guide to the ancient British language, to which is subjoined A grammar of the Welsh language by the late Rev. Thomas Richards, also, A dissertation on the Welsh language by the late rev. John Walters, M.A., 2d edetion, Dolgellau [first ed. Merthyr 1804].

Evans, J. Gwenogvryn

1910

The Text of the Book of Taliesin, Llanbedrog.

Evans, Emrys

1989

"Heinrich Wagner," in *Studia Celtica* xxiv/xxv: 157–160.

Gensler, Orin D.

1993

A typological evaluation of Celtic / Hamito-Semitic syntactic parallels, Ann Arbor [Dissertation].

Greene, David

1966

"The making of Insular Celtic," pp. 123–36 in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Celtic Studies, held in Cardiff 6–13 July, 1963*, Cardiff.

Holinshed, Raphael

1577

The Firste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande, London.

Hughes, Hugh (Tegai)

1844

Gramadeg Cymraeg sef, Ieithiadur Athronyddol yn yr hwn yr amlygir Deddfau yr Iaith Gymraeg yn nghyda Chyfarwyddiadau helaeth i'w deall, ei hysgrifenu a'i darllen yn briodol & c., Caernarfon, 1844/1 (2d

Karel Jongeling

edition Caernarfon 1850, 3d editioni bid., 1859, 4th edition ibid. 1864)
[quoted according to the fourth edition].

Jöcher, Christian Gottlieb (ed.)

1750/1751

Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon, darinne die Gelehrten aller Stände beschrieben werden, vol. i-ii, Leipzig 1750, vol. iii-iv, Leipzig 1751 (cf. Adelung).

Jongeling, K.

1995

"Afro-Asiatic and Insular Celtic," in *DS-NELL* 1: 135–65.

L., J.

1716

A true (tho' a short) account of the ancient Britons, in respect to their descent, qualities, settlements, country, language, learning, and religion; with the effigies of Llewelyn ab Gruffydd, the last Prince of Wales of the British Blood. By J.L. a Cambro-Briton, London.

Lewis, John

1729

The History of Great-Britain, from the first Inhabitants thereof, 'till the Death of Cadwalader, last King of the Britains; and of the Kings of Scotland to Eugene v. As also A short Account of the Kings, Dukes, and Earls of Bretagne, 'till that Dukedom was united to the Crown of France, ending with the Year of our Lord 688; in which are several Pieces of Taliessin, an antient British Poet, and a Defence of the Antiquity of the Scottish Nation; With many other Antiquities, never before published in the English Tongue: With a Compleat Index to the Whole, by John Lewis Esq. Barrister at Law, Now first published from his Original Manuscript ... London.

Llewelyn, Thomas

1768

An historical account of the British or Welsh versions and editions of the Bible with an appendix, containing the dedications prefixed to the first Impressions, London [also reprinted in Thomas Llewelyn, *Tracts, Historical and critical*, Shrewsbury, 1793: 1–117; quoted according to the reprint].

1769

Historical and Critical Remarks on the British Tongue and it's Connection with other Languages, Founded on it's State in the Welsh Bible, London [also reprinted in Thomas Llewelyn, *Tracts, Historical and critical*, Shrewsbury, 1793: 119–247; quoted according to the reprint].

Morgan, Prys

1973

"Boxhorn, Leibniz and the Welsh," in *Studia Celtica* viii-x: 220–28.

Morris-Jones, John

1900

"Pre-Aryan Syntax in Insular Celtic," pp. 617–41 in J. Rhys & D. Brynmor Jones, *The Welsh People*, London.

Pezron, Paul Yves

1703

Antiquité de la Nation et de la Langue des Celtes, autrement appelez Gaulois, Paris; also translated into English as *The Antiquities of Nations, more particularly of the Celtae or Gauls, taken to be originally the same people as our Ancient Britains by Pezron, Englished by [D.] Jones*, London, 1706; edited again in London, 1809 as: Paul Pezron, *The rise and fall of states and empires, or, the Antiquities of Nations, more particularly of the Celtae of Gauls*; another [2] edition London 181.

Rhys, John

1877

Lectures on Welsh Philology, London.

1884²

Early Britain - Celtic Britain, London (1882¹).

1890a

"Traces of a non-Aryan element in the Celtic family," in *The Scottish Review*, July and October 1890, xvi: 30–47.

A Substratum as a Cultured Weapon

Richards, Thomas
1753

Antiquae linguae Britannicae thesaurus, being a British, or Welsh-English dictionary ... to which is prefix'd a compendious Welsh Grammar, Bristol [new editions: Bristol 1759, Bristol 1761]; 2d edition: *Antiquae linguae Britannicae thesaurus, a Welsh and English dictionary: Wherein the Welsh words are often exemplified by select quotations from celebrated authors; and many of them etymologised, and compared with the Oriental and other languages; viz. Hebrew, Greek, Chaldic, Arabic, Syriac, Teutonic, Latin, French, & c. It is also adorned with many valuable British Antiquities, to elucidate the meaning of obscure words. To which are annexed A Welsh and English botanology; and A large collection of Welsh Proverbs; and to the whole is prefixed a Compendious Welsh Grammar with the rules in English ...* Trefriw, 1815; 3d edition: *Antiquae linguae Britannicae thesaurus, being a British, or Welsh-English dictionary ... to which is prefix'd a compendious and comprehensive Welsh Grammar, greatly improved*, Dolgelley, 1815; 4th edition: *Antiquae linguae Britannicae thesaurus, a Welsh and English dictionary ... to which are annexed a Welsh and English botanology and a large collection of Welsh proverbs and to the whole is prefixed a compendious Welsh Grammar ... the rules of Welsh poetry*, Merthyr Tydvil, 1839.

Roberts, Peter
1815

The Cambrian Popular Antiquities; or, an Account of some Traditions, Customs, and Superstitions, of Wales with Observations as to their Origin, London.

Rowlands, Henry
1723

Mona antiqua Restaurata, An Archaeological Discourse on the Antiquities, Natural and Historical, of the Isle of Anglesey, the Antient Seat of the British Druids. In two essays, Dublin [reprint New York 1979].

Sammes, Aylett
1676

Britannia Antiqua Illustrata: or, the Antiquities of Ancient Britain, Derived from the Phoenicians: Wherein the Original Trade of this Island is discovered, the Names of Places, Offices, Dignities, as likewise the Idolatry, Language, and Customs of the Primitive Inhabitants are clearly demonstrated from that Nation, many old Monuments illustrated, and the Commerce with that People, as well as the Greeks, plainly set forth and collected out of approved Greek and Latin Authors. Together with a Chronological History of this Kingdom, from the first Traditional Beginning, until the year of our Lord 800, when the Name of Britain was changed into England; Faithfully collected out of the best Authors, and disposed in a better Method than hitherto hath been done; with the Antiquities of the Saxons, as well as Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans. The First Volume, London.

Stephens, Meic
1986

The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales, Oxford & New York.

Thomas, Simon
1746

The History of the Cymbri (or Britains) For three hundred years From the Commencement of Christianity. Giving an account of the Patriarch of their Tribe: Their Peregrinations: Their Settlement in this Isle: Their Struggles with forrein Invaders: The Gospel Preach'd among them by Apostolical men. All that has hitherto writt relating to the Primo-primitive state of the British Isles, confuted: and the true History stated and demonstrated. All new discoveries, Hereford.

- Tourneur, Victor
1905 *Esquisse d'une histoire des études Celtiques*, (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège xv), Liège.
- Vallancey, Charles
1772 "An essay on the antiquity of the Irish language," in *Collectanea de rebus hibernicis*, ii/8: 251–336.
- Wagner, H.
1972 "Nekrolog Julius Pokorny (1887–1970)," in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* xxxii: 313–19.
- Walters, John
1771 *A Dissertation on the Welsh Language, Pointing out it's antiquity, Copiousness, Grammatical Perfection, with Remarks on it's Poetry; and other Articles not foreign to the Subject*, Cowbridge [This work was reprinted according to its title page in Evans 1816].
- Williams, Eliezer
1840 *The English Works of the late Rev. Eliezer Williams, ... with a memoir of his life, by his son, St. George Armstrong Williams*, London vi, [10], cclxxiv, 344 pp. [Contains (a.o.): "Historical anecdotes relative to the energy, beauty, and melody, of the Welsh language, and its affinity to the Oriental languages, and those of the south of Europe"].
- Williams, G.J.
1936 "Rhagymadrodd," pp. v–lxxvi in Edwards 1677 [edition 1936].
1973–1974 "The history of Welsh scholarship," in *Studia Celtica* viii–ix: 195–219.