THE SIR JOHN RHŶS MEMORIAL
INAUGURAL LECTURE

"SIR JOHN RHŶS"

By SIR JOHN MORRIS-JONES

Read January 28, 1925

WHEN the British Academy did me the honour to invite me to deliver the first "Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture" the Secretary suggested that I might find it convenient to select a subject connected with some work of Sir John Rhŷs. I welcomed this suggestion; indeed, it seemed to me that the fittest theme for the inaugural lecture would be a general appreciation of the work of the scholar and Academician in whose memory the lectures have been founded. I promised the Secretary a long while ago to write such an appreciation for the *Proceedings* of the Academy; and I am glad now to have the opportunity not only to redeem that promise, but to be present here in person to pay my tribute to the memory of my old teacher. I have undertaken a difficult task: for days I have been struggling with the problem of how to compress into the compass of a single lecture any adequate, and at the same time clear, account of a life's work so voluminous and so many-sided. I will begin by recounting briefly the chief events of his life, confining myself to those that have some bearing on his work.

John Rhŷs was born in June 1840 in a cottage on a farm near Ponterwyd at the foot of Plinlimmon. His father's name was Hugh Rees; all the Rhŷses of Wales had tamely submitted to this mutilation of their name by English officials, except those who had adopted the French spelling *Rice*, which has come to be pronounced like the common noun *rice*. But John Rhŷs was a philologist from the cradle, and had the courage of his convictions; like Morgan Rhŷs, the hymn-writer of the eighteenth century, he adopted, early in life, the Welsh spelling of his Welsh name.

His father worked on the farm, and farmed a few acres of his own. The children had to help; but it became evident very early that John was not fitted by nature to be a farm-hand. At scaring crows and keeping the cattle from the corn he was an utter failure—he always had 'his head in a book'; so the farmer's daughter, a neighbour of mine, used to say many years later. So Hugh Rees, who was

himself a reader and had a small collection of Welsh books, allowed the boy, perhaps encouraged him, to follow his bent. At first the only educational facilities existing in the neighbourhood were classes, euphemistically called schools, held in farm-houses; young John attended and probably learned something at two of these; but the foundation of his life's work was laid by a weaver, one Dafydd Gruffudd of Wern Deg, who taught him the elements of Welsh grammar. When a British School was built at Ponterwyd, John became one of its first pupils; he did not remain there long, but left to attend a similar school under a better teacher at Pen Llwyn, about seven miles distant, where he became a pupil teacher. In due time he was admitted to the newly opened Normal College at Bangor, where he does not seem to have distinguished himself; in the pursuance of a course designed for the training of elementary teachers originality was perhaps a disadvantage. However, at the end of his two years' course he obtained his certificate, and was appointed master of a small British School at an out-of-the-way place called Rhos-y-ból, in the north of Anglesey.

Here he became known as a writer in the Welsh papers of letters and articles on the language and antiquities of Wales. He made the acquaintance of two clergymen of neighbouring parishes, the Rev. Chancellor Williams of Llanfair-ynghornwy, who is said to have given him some instruction in Latin and Greek, and the Rev. Morris Williams of Llanrhuddlad, a distinguished Welsh poet and Master of Arts of Jesus College, Oxford, who is said to have brought him to the notice of Dr. Charles Williams, the Principal of the College, when the latter was on a visit to Beaumaris in 1864. The history of these happenings is rather obscure; but the result was that the Anglesey schoolmaster was awarded a scholarship at Jesus College in 1865, and entered the College as an undergraduate in October of that year. In spite of his lack of early training he took a Second Class in Classical Moderations, and a First (said to be the best of his year) in Greats, which gained for him a fellowship at Merton College. He took his degree in 1869. During his vacations he had attended lectures at the Sorbonne and in Heidelberg, and had studied in the original manuscript the Luxembourg glosses, which he edited in the first volume of the *Revue Celtique* in 1872. In the year 1870 he studied in Leipzig under Curtius and Brockhaus; in 1871 he matriculated at Göttingen, but returned to Wales on being appointed Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools for the counties of Flint and Denbigh. He made his home at Rhyl; and before he left Wales again he had seen and studied on the spot nearly all the old inscribed

stones in the Principality. In 1874 he delivered at the University College, Aberystwyth, the series of lectures which formed the basis of his first book, *Lectures on Welsh Philology*.

When Matthew Arnold's reproach that at Oxford there was "no study or teaching of Celtic matters" was removed by the creation of the Chair of Celtic in 1877, all the authorities agreed that Rhŷs was the man to fill it; he submitted testimonials from Whitley Stokes, Prince Lucien Bonaparte, Nigra, D. Silvan Evans, Leskien, Curtius, Brockhaus, Schuchardt, Samuel Ferguson, D. R. Thomas, Hübner, U. J. Bourke, Ascoli, Robert Jones, d'Arbois de Jubainville, and Henri Gaidoz, the founder of the *Revue Celtique*. He held the chair until his death. In 1895 he was elected Principal of Jesus College. He was a member of the famous Departmental Committee of 1881, which gave Wales the University Colleges of Bangor and Cardiff; he acted as secretary or member of several Royal Commissions connected with Wales or Ireland; he served Wales on these bodies with a loyalty hardly realized by his fellow countrymen; and in particular, both as Commissioner and in other capacities, rendered invaluable services to Welsh education. He died suddenly, at his home in Jesus College, on the 17th of December, 1915.

John Rhŷs was the third great Welsh philologist. The statement sounds like a quotation from the *Mabinogion*, for it is the formula always used in referring to the triads. This seems to have struck M. Gaidoz, who had the *esprit*, as he says, to compose the appropriate triad, to be added to the triads of names:

> Tri doethion bro Gymru, dysgedig yn yr ieithyddiaeth Gelt-aidd: Gruffudd ap Robert, Edward Llwyd, ac Ioan Rhys.[1]

> 'The three wise men of Wales, learned in Celtic philology: Gruffudd Robert, Edward Lhuyd, and John Rhŷs.'

Gruffudd Robert was a Catholic refugee in Italy in the 16th century. He published in Milan in 1567 a Welsh grammar written in Welsh,[2] in which he showed that a considerable number of Welsh words were derived from Latin. He compared these with their originals, and discovered that the Latin consonants underwent *regular* changes in Welsh; thus initial *v-* always becomes *gw-*: Latin *vīnum*, Welsh *gwîn*; medial *p* gives *b*: Latin *cupidus*, Welsh *cybydd* 'miser'; but after *r* it becomes *ff*: Latin *corpus*, Welsh *corff*; similarly *t* after *r* becomes *th*: Latin *porta*, Welsh *porth*; and so on, through all the

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[1] *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement*, 1917, p. 18.

[2] A page for page reprint made from the only two copies known to have survived (one in the British Museum and one less imperfect at Wynnstay) was issued in sheets as a supplement to the *Revue Celtique*, 1870–1883.

common combinations. Here, then, is the discovery made of *law* in sound-change—the root principle of comparative philology, which had to be re-discovered before a science of language became possible.

Edward Lhuyd's [1] *Archaeologia Britannica*, a large, closely printed folio of 460 pages, was printed at Oxford "at the Theater", and published in 1707. It consists of grammars and vocabularies of the Celtic languages, with a treatise on "Comparative Etymology", which contains remarkable anticipations of some of the methods and results of modern philology. The idea of development in language, which is usually traced back to Herder's *Ursprung der Sprache*, 1772, was laid down by Lhuyd in 1707 as the clearly defined principle which it was the object of his "Comparative Etymology" to prove. He describes "the division of a language into dialects"; it happens by what he calls "alteration", though he once suggests "deviation"— he is trying to find a term to express the exact idea which since Darwin is familiarly known by the technical term "variation"; dialects, he goes on to say, "by further changes growing unintelligible, become in time distinct languages". Here is the theory of development in a nutshell. To exemplify and prove it he compared the sounds of words which appeared to him to be cognate in Welsh, Irish, Latin, Greek, English, German, and the Romance and other European languages, and discovered some of the correspondences which, formulated more fully and correctly for Latin, Greek, and Germanic more than a hundred years later by Rask, and borrowed from Rask by Grimm, are now known as "Grimm's law".[2]

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[1] *Lhuyd* was the spelling, in the phonetic alphabet adopted by him, of the name spelt in Welsh *Llwyd*, and in English modified to *Lloyd*.

[2] The following are some of Lhuyd's equations, with a selection from his numerous examples (his Welsh spelling normalized) :—

Latin p = German f: Lat. *piscis*, Ger. *fisch*; Lat. *pater*, Ger. *fatter*; Lat. *pes*, Ger. *fus*; Lat. *pedis*, Belg. *foet*, †Eng. *fot*, p. 19, col. *c*.

Welsh p, Greek π, Oscan p = Irish k, Ionic κ, Latin qu: W. *pa* 'what?' Ir. *ka*; W. *pen* 'head', Ir. *keann*, p. 20 *a*; Gk. $\pi\hat{\omega}s$, Ion. $\kappa\hat{\omega}s$, etc.; Gk. $\tilde{\iota}\pi\pi os$, Lat. *equus*, p. 20 *b*; Lat. *qui*, W. *pwy*; Lat. *quatuor*, W. *pedwar*; Lat. *quidquid*, Osc. *pitpit*, p. 24 *b*.

German(ic) b, Welsh b = Lat. f: Ger. *bruder* [W. *brawd*], Lat. *frater*; W. *brwd*, Lat. *fervidus*; W. *blodeu*, Eng. *blossom*, Lat. *flos*, pp. 20 *c*–21 *a*.

Greek, Latin, Welsh, Irish, Sclavonian k = Teutonic h: W. *cuddio*, Eng. *to hide*; W. *celyn*, Eng. *holly*; Gk. $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu$, W. pl. *cŵn*, Lat. *canis*, Ger. *hund*, †Eng. *hunde*; Lat. *cor, corde*, Ir. *kroidhe*, Eng. *heart*; Lat. *centum*, W. *cant*, †Eng. *hund*, mod. *hundred*, p. 24 *a*.

These equations will perhaps be accepted as a sufficient justification of the above statement; as they are mixed up with others that are fanciful, and as derived and original sounds are confused, it is not claimed that Lhuyd discovered the *law* of Rask.

Rhŷs worthily completes the triad. His first published work, apart from fugitive letters in the Welsh weeklies, was a paper which he wrote before he left Rhos-y-ból, and which appeared in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1865. The subject is "The Passive Verbs of the Latin and the Keltic Languages". The first and most important point dealt with is the Latin passive suffix *-r*. Bopp had explained it as representing the reflexive pronoun *se*, by rhotacism, or the change of *s* to *r*, which of course is common in Latin; thus *amatur* derives its passive meaning 'he is loved' through the middle 'he loves himself'. To this theory Rhŷs raises two objections:

(1) The pronoun *se* is third person; if *amor* comes from *amo-se*, it meant originally 'I love *him*self' instead of 'I love *my*self', as the theory requires. This objection does not settle the matter, because if the formation had come about in the third person it might have spread to the other persons by false analogy when its original meaning had been forgotten. This is, no doubt, what actually happened.

(2) The second objection is that the passive suffix *-r* is in common use in Irish and Welsh; and no such thing as the change of *s* to *r* is known in the Celtic languages. This is decisive; it was, in fact, the objection which ultimately proved fatal to the theory. Of course no notice was taken of it at the time. In my old school Latin Grammar, the fifth edition of Kennedy, 1879, I find, p. 181, the "passive personal endings are formed by agglutinating *se*".[1] Thus we were still taught in the eighties the theory which had been refuted by Rhŷs in the sixties.

Having thus disposed of the old explanation he proceeds to offer his own. The passive in Welsh and Irish is an impersonal; *cerir fi* is not really 'I am loved' but 'people love me', the exact equivalent in meaning of the French *on m'aime*. Now the French *on* is a reduction of *homme* from the Latin *homo* 'man'; and in German *man* itself is used in the same way. So he suggests that the ending *-r* is a reduction of *vir*, Welsh *gŵr*, Irish *fer* 'man'. This explanation is, of course, as erroneous as the other; but it shows a clearer perception of the direction in which the solution was to be sought. The starting-point has been found—it is the impersonal meaning of these *r*-forms: Welsh *molir fi*, Irish *moltar me* 'one praises *me*', not '*I* am praised'. This impersonal use is very common in Latin: "*sic ītur ad astra*"—Latin *ītur*, Welsh *eir* 'one goes'.[2] The suffix

[1] Cf. p. 58, where the supposed development of the passive conjugation is described in outline.

[2] On the impersonal use of the Latin passive see Ernout, *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, xv. 273–333.

is found not only in Italo-Keltic but also in Indo-Iranian, where it is a third plural ending appearing in some tenses instead of the usual *-nt*. Sanskrit brings us pretty near the Aryan mother-tongue, and probably preserves the original value of the suffix. Thus the Welsh *dywedir* ' on dit ' is originally synonymous with *dywedant* ' they say '. ' They ', like ' we ', may be indefinite ; the indefinite use of the third plural, as in ' they say ', is a natural and common way of expressing the impersonal meaning ' on dit ', from which the passive ' it is said ' differs only by a shade ; and the fact that *-r* is a peculiar ending, not like *-nt* an obvious third plural inflexion, fully and satisfactorily accounts for its coming to be understood in the latter senses, and losing its definite third plural meaning.[1]   When a formation has been thus traced to a suffix in the parent language it cannot be traced farther ; the suffix *-r* is no more to be explained than the suffix *-nt*.

I look upon this first attempt of Rhŷs, in spite of its crudities, as a very remarkable feat.   A young elementary schoolmaster, absolutely self-taught as a philologist, challenges one of the most widely received doctrines of historical grammar ; shows that it is unscientific because it is not founded on comparison ; and proves that by the test of comparison it falls to the ground.   The comparison on which he insisted is now a commonplace of philology, and con- stitutes one of the strongest arguments for the close relationship of the Italic and Celtic languages.[2]

In the early seventies he continued the work begun by Gruffudd Robert, and made a systematic study of the Welsh words borrowed from Latin, the results of which appeared in a series of articles in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis* for 1873,-4,-5.   The Latin element in Welsh

[1] The personal *r*-forms of the Latin passive and deponent and Irish deponent conjugation seem to have been developed out of a double 3rd pl. formation made out of the middle suffix *-nto* and the parallel *r*-form *-ro*, thus *-nto-ro* or *-ntro* (whence Latin *-ntur*, Irish *-tar*) ; when the pl. value of the *r* was forgotten a 3rd sg. was formed on the analogy of this, thus *-to-ro* or *-tro* (whence Latin *-tur*, Irish *-thar*, and the Old Welsh *-tor*, which can only come from the disyllabic *-to-ro*) ; from the 3rd sg. the *r* spread to other persons.   The only surviving *r*-forms in Welsh occur in the pres. ind. and pres. subj. ; there is one for each tense, formed by adding *-r* directly to the stem.   This is the equivalent of the original formation, and is found also in Oscan and Umbrian.

[2] Sommer, *Hdb. der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, 1902, p. 528.   Pedersen has attempted to revive the old theory by making phonetic assumptions which are demonstrably untenable for Celtic, *Vergl. Gram. der keltischen Sprachen*, ii. 400 (1913).   The discovery of the *r*-suffix in Tocharish proves it to be Indo-European, Meillet, *Bulletin de la Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, xxiii. 66 (1922).   It occurs also in Armenian, see Iarl Charpentier, *Die verbalen r-Endungen der indo-germanischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1916, pp. 113 ff.

is of more importance for philology than loan-words generally are, because it consists of words borrowed into the British mother-tongue, and provides a considerable vocabulary in which the sound-changes by which British became Welsh can be traced. This field was worked so thoroughly by Rhŷs that he left little for his successors to discover in it.

His *Lectures on Welsh Philology* appeared in 1877, and in a revised and enlarged second edition in 1879. In this work he showed that the laws of sound-change revealed in the Latin element have operated over the whole vocabulary ; he illustrated them from the remains of the British language—mostly proper names to be found in ancient authors, on coins, and in inscriptions : the inscriptions are dealt with in some detail. He traced the history of the Welsh sounds, and threw a flood of light on the initial consonant mutations which had seemed so mysterious a feature of the language. He compared Welsh sounds with Irish, and added Celtic equivalents to the list of Aryan correspondences. Of course he was applying established methods to new material ; but discoveries are only made by the adoption of sound methods, and if every etymology and detail of phonetic change brought to light is to be accounted a discovery, this book teems with discoveries.

Of course he made mistakes—some big mistakes. He thought the British forms in Latin inscriptions of the sixth century represented the speech of the time, and post-dated the reduction of British to Welsh by several centuries. He stoutly held that the language of the Irish Ogam inscriptions was British; but it was not long before he saw his error here, and he corrected it in his *Celtic Britain*, which appeared in 1882, second edition 1884. In this work he brought his knowledge of the ancient British and Goidelic languages to bear on the ethnology and early history of Britain. It contains much philological matter that is still valuable, such as the numerous notes on Celtic names, though of course some of them need correction or revision.[1] But in his ethnology he was not so happy. He had adopted the theory, first propounded by Lhuyd, of the invasion of the island by two waves of Celts : first came the Goidels, or primitive Irish, and settled here ; then followed the Britons, or primitive

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[1] For example, the supposition that the *tt* of *Brittones*, which gave Welsh *Brython*, is more original than the *t* of *Britannia*, and the consequent absurd derivation of the name from the word which gave Welsh *brethyn* 'cloth', Irish *bratt*. It is now well known that "hypocoristic" doubling is common in proper names as well of tribes and places as of persons ; cf. *Galli* beside Γαλάται, and, for the exact form here (*Brittō*, pl. *Brittones*), Gk. Νικοττώ for Νικοτέλεια, etc.

Welsh, and drove the Goidels before them into Ireland and Scotland.[1] The Ogam inscriptions being now recognized by Rhŷs as Irish seemed to confirm the theory : he attributed them to the descendants of Goidels who had held their ground. Although the Ogam alphabet is a late Goidelic invention, and although the distribution of the stones points clearly to their being the monuments of settlers from Ireland, he clung to his view to the end. But I think it is now generally agreed that the theory has been definitely disproved by Zimmer, who vindicated the Irish tradition of direct migration from the Continent in his posthumous paper *Auf welchem Wege kamen die Goidelen vom Kontinent nach Irland?* published in 1912.

From his study of the ethnology of Britain Rhŷs was led further afield, and took part in the controversy concerning the cradle of the Aryans. He gave his adhesion to the European theory in a paper which appeared in the *New Princetown Review* for January 1888. He returned to the discussion of " The Early Ethnology of the British Isles " in his Rhind Lectures in 1890, and again in 1900 in *The Welsh People*, a composite work written in collaboration with Sir David Brynmor-Jones.

But ethnology was not the only subject of inquiry which drew him away from his studies in pure philology ; he devoted even more time and thought to the subject of mythology. His Hibbert Lectures on *Celtic Heathendom* were delivered in 1886 ; but the matter was re-written and much expanded before the book appeared in 1888. No literature in Gaulish or British has come down to us, and there is not much to say about historical Celtic gods and goddesses beyond their names and the rough identifications of them with Roman divinities made in inscriptions and in the works of Latin writers. But Rhŷs compared the oldest Irish and Welsh sagas, in which the heroes and heroines are degraded gods and goddesses ; attempted to trace the mythology from which the tales had grown, and to re-construct the Celtic Pantheon. Unfortunately he attempted also to explain the whole in terms of the solar myth theory, which in his undergraduate days, when Max Müller was a name to conjure with,

[1] Lhuyd's exposition of the theory is in his Welsh preface, *At y Kymry*, beginning at the bottom of the second page, where he explains that he derives it not from any recorded history, but from a comparison of the languages. " The old inhabitants of Ireland ", he says, " were Goidels and Scots. The Goidels were old inhabitants of this island [Britain], and the Scots came from Spain. . . .. The Goidels anciently inhabited England and Wales ; . . . in my opinion they were most probably here before our coming into the island, and our ancestors drove them into the North," whence they made their way to Ireland. He goes on to say that this is news which no one has told before.

had seemed to be the clue to the interpretation of all mythology. His belief in the theory was shaken by the reception of the book, and in the preface to the supplementary volume, *The Arthurian Legend* of 1891, he half apologizes for continuing to use its terms:

> They are so convenient [he says]; and whatever may eventually happen to that theory, nothing has yet been found exactly to take its place.

I think the solid contribution to knowledge made in these volumes has been underrated by reason of this false theory of origins: they contain an enormous amount of material brought together from all manner of sources, much illuminating comment, and many sound comparisons; and for a long time to come they will remain indispensable to all students of the subject.

He began to collect Welsh folklore towards the close of the seventies. His collections appeared in *Y Cymmrodor* and in *Folk-Lore*, and were republished with some additions, and with his collection of Manx tales, in his *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx*, which appeared in two volumes in 1901. He regrets in his preface that he did not commence his inquiries when he was a schoolmaster in Anglesey; but up to that date his education had been such, he says, as " to discourage all interest in anything that savoured of heathen lore and superstition "; and he " grew up without having acquired the habit of observing anything, except the Sabbath ". But " better late than *later*", as we say in Welsh;[1] he began early enough to make a great collection, much of which he himself rescued from oblivion. This unpublished matter he obtained " partly viva voce, partly by letter ". The comment is valuable in spite of the unhappy intrusion of the ethnological theory in the last chapter;[2] and this work alone would have secured for its author a considerable reputation. Mr. Sidney Hartland refers to it as " the two precious volumes of *Celtic Folklore* ";[3] and M. Gaidoz believes it will survive all his other books because it is so largely of the nature of documentation, and while theories are for the time, facts are for all time.[4]

Rhŷs's ethnological and mythological researches in the eighties, together with his work in connexion with Royal Commissions, left him no time to follow up his brilliant early studies in pure philo-

[1] " Gwell hwyr na hwyrach."

[2] He was clearly unaware of the fact that his theory (that the Celtic fairies represented the aborigines) had been elaborated by David MacRitchie in *The Testimony of Tradition*, 1890, and that Mr. Sidney Hartland had briefly but conclusively answered MacRitchie in his *Science of Fairy Tales*, 1891, pp. 349–51.

[3] *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1914–15, p. 223.

[4] *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement*, 1917, p. 201.

logy. With the exception of his *Outlines of Manx Phonology*, which appeared in 1894, and which is mainly descriptive, no purely philological work came from his pen after the publication of the second edition of his *Lectures on Welsh Philology* in 1879. He kept up his knowledge of the methods he had learnt, and of course of his own discoveries, by constantly applying them to the elucidation of names and to the interpretation of inscriptions. Epigraphy was the one subject which he never dropped; he would go anywhere to see a newly found inscribed stone; he was always interested in these monuments, and always finding something to write about them. The language of the British and Irish inscriptions was a subject which he had made his own, and on which he was undoubtedly the highest authority; but the continental Celtic inscriptions are older; they are written in dialects which perished, and their interpretation is still largely guesswork. In dealing with these in his last years, one feels that Rhŷs was using old tools which had become a little blunt; comparative philology had not stood still since he had ceased to make it the subject of his serious study. Yet his papers, which appeared in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, are of great value for the full record preserved in them of his readings of these inscriptions, and for their wealth of Celtic learning.

I imagine Rhŷs possessed the most extensive knowledge of Celtic matters of any man who ever lived. Everything had come under his notice: words, idioms, names, tales, beliefs, customs, tribes, races, monuments; and he had a wonderfully retentive memory. Everything Celtic interested him—except one: for literature as literature he did not care. He never took the trouble to master the rules of Welsh poetry; he read Welsh verse not with an ear for its music, but with an eye for words and names. Welsh and Irish literature, especially of the oldest periods, he knew, and none knew better; but for him they were quarries in which he dug for his philological and mythological material.

His own works will long remain quarries in which Celtic students will dig; and he has paved the way for them by the provision of a full and accurate index to each of his books. When one knows what to look for, the information—the fact required—is generally to be found, whatever may now be thought of the theory which is there built on it. He himself never regarded a theory as more than a working hypothesis; and no one was ever readier to discard a theory when it was found not to be consistent with all the facts. To a tiresome person who had not followed the development of his ideas he once said in class, " My dear fellow, you ought to know that

I relinquished that theory many years ago." I sometimes think that if he had found it less easy to relinquish theories he would have taken more time and trouble to verify them before publication. But in his pioneer work new light was continually coming in, and he had to publish at some stage or not at all, as he explains in his preface to his *Lectures on Welsh Philology*. And there were other risks in delay. He lived for discovery, and had as it were to peg out his claims. Lest he should be forestalled he would often contrive some way to introduce his new find into something he was writing, with which it had nothing to do; he made no secret of this, and it accounts for many of the curious digressions that make it difficult to follow the argument in some of his books.

Sir John Rhŷs was an explorer of antiquity. When a question had been definitely settled, it ceased to interest him; he was led by the explorer's instinct to make discoveries in fresh fields. The more difficult and obscure the matter, the more it attracted him, as in the case of the Gaulish inscriptions. But in his lecture-room he naturally dealt with established results, including of course his own discoveries in Welsh philology; and some of his pupils in the late eighties believed that in the light of these the orthography of the Welsh language could be rescued from the hopeless confusion into which it had been thrown at the beginning of the century by a mad etymologist whom Rhŷs always referred to as "that charlatan Pughe". They had formed themselves into a Welsh society called "Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym"; the matter was discussed at its meetings, and a scheme was drawn up under Rhŷs's guidance, and published in 1888. It was received in Wales with derision, and labelled "Oxford Welsh". But after some modification it was adopted in 1893 by the Welsh Language Society for its schoolbooks; it was made familiar to Welsh readers in Sir Owen Edwards's publications; and now, after further correction of detail, it has become the recognized standard, and Welsh orthography is becoming as uniform as English, and of course much more rational. The root ideas were Rhŷs's, so that it may be said of him not only that he threw light on past periods in the history of the language, but that he made history by ushering in a new period.

For fifty years he pursued his studies with untiring diligence and with hardly a break. The total number of his books, articles, and papers must be very large: I have been able to mention only his more important works. He made for himself a great name, and the story of his discoveries will form a stirring chapter in the annals of Celtic learning.

Of the man himself I will say, in conclusion, that he was the most unassuming of men—genial, kindly, witty ; and there was not one of his many friends who did not feel his death as a personal loss.   In Wales, where learning is not without honour, he will live long in the memory of his countrymen as a great scholar and a great Welshman of whom they have every right to be proud.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

When I saw the above lecture in print, I felt that it did scant justice to the remarkable productiveness of Sir John Rhŷs's pen ; and Sir Israel Gollancz agreed that a bibliography, even such as could be compiled without prolonged and special research, would be a valuable supplement to it.   Accordingly, I consulted the Librarian of the National Library of Wales, who kindly took the matter in hand, and supplied me later with the following list compiled for the purpose by members of the Library staff.—J. M.-J.

I

WORKS BY SIR JOHN RHŶS

1864.

Ieithyddiaeth Gymreig : cyfieithiad o bapyr a ddarllenwyd yn Eisteddfod Llandudno.   (In *Y Dysgedydd*, 1864, pp. 423–426.)

1865.

The Passive Verbs of the Latin and the Keltic Languages.   (In *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1865.)

1869.

[Letter from J. Rhŷs to the Rev. Robert Jones, on the Welsh word *Duw* (in which he connects 'Myn diawch' with the Sanskrit *Dyaus*).] (In *Athenæum*, 6th March, 1869, p. 350.)

1872.

Y Gymraeg a'r Eisteddfod.   Cyfieithiad o anerchiad a draddodwyd yn Eisteddfod y Gordofigion, Liverpool . . . 1871.   (In *Y Traethodydd*, vol. xxvii, 1872, pp. 154–165.)

Henafiaeth a phwysigrwydd ieithyddol llenyddiaeth y Cymry.   (In *Y Traethodydd*, vol. xxvii, 1872, pp. 368–380.)

The Luxembourg Folio.   (In *Revue Celtique*, vol. i, 1872, pp. 346–375, 503–504.)

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