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Title of extract: **The Significance of the Irish Personal Names in Culhwch and Olwen**

Name of Author: **Sims-Williams, P.**

Title/Author of book/edition (if applicable)

Name of Visual Creator or other acknowledgement (if applicable):

Journal details –title/Vol/Year (if applicable): **Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies Vol 29 (1982)**

Publisher: **University of Wales Press**

Pages scanned: **600 - 620**

Course of Study (Module name and number): **Celtic Arthur CYCS7021**

Name of Designated Person

authorising scanning:

E. L. Harris

Date authorised: 27.03.17.

Moodle/Powerpoint

The Significance of the Irish Personal Names in *Culhwch ac Olwen*

DISCUSSIONS of Irish influence on medieval Welsh literature, ever since Kuno Meyer noted the presence of Irish personal names and place-names in *Culhwch ac Olwen*,¹ have assigned an important place to this eleventh- or twelfth-century tale, which is known to us from an incomplete text in the mid-fourteenth-century White Book of Rhydderch and a complete, but linguistically modernized, text in the Red Book of Hergest of c. 1400.² *Culhwch* is indeed 'one of the most productive sources for any correlation of the parallels between early Welsh and Irish literature'.³ But it is far from clear that the presence of motifs and themes which can be paralleled in Irish literature is evidence for Irish influence of the same order as the proper names; in fact it may be questioned whether such parallels are evidence at all, so uncertain is their interpretation. In the absence of internal or external evidence of borrowing from Ireland one has to suspend judgement as to whether a motif or tale came from Ireland to Wales or passed the other way,⁴ or whether it was inherited from a remote Common Celtic period, or was common to many early literatures through polygenesis or oral dissemination.⁵ Too often Celticists have fallen into the trap of reading medieval Welsh tales through Irish spectacles because it is often easier to find parallels in Irish than in Welsh on account of the comparatively early demise of folk-tale recitation in Wales⁶ and the relative dearth of surviving medieval Welsh narrative literature—most of the stories alluded to in tracts like the *Triads* or *The Thirteen Treasures of the Isle of Britain* are

¹ K. Meyer, 'Early Relations Between Gael and Brython', *Trans. of the Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion* (1895-6), pp. 73-4.

² The former will be cited by column from WM = *The White Book Mabinogion*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Pwllheli, 1907), reprinted, with introduction by R. M. Jones, as *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch: Y Chwedlau a'r Rhamantau* (Cardiff, 1973). The latter will be cited by page from RM = *The Text of the Mabinogion from the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. John Rhŷs and J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Oxford, 1887). In WM Evans completes the part of *Culhwch* not preserved in the White Book from RM; I cite this part from WM. Other abbreviations used in this article are: CGH = *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, i, ed. M. A. O'Brien (Dublin, 1962); DIL = *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (incorporating *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language*), ed. E. G. Quin et al. (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 1913-76); DP = *The Description of Penbrokshire by George Owen of Henllys*, ed. Henry Owen, 4 parts (London, 1892-1936)—the references are mainly to notes contributed by E. Phillimore; EWGT = *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, ed. P. C. Bartrum

(Cardiff, 1966); GPC = *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language*, ed. R. J. Thomas et al. (Cardiff, 1950-); LHEB = Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953); TYP = *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Welsh Triads*, ed. and trans. Rachel Bromwich, 2nd edn. (Cardiff, 1978).

³ I. Ll. Foster, 'The Irish Influence on Some Welsh Personal Names', in *Essays and Studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill*, ed. John Ryan (Dublin, 1940), p. 28.

⁴ See Kenneth Jackson, *The International Popular Tale and Early Welsh Tradition* (Cardiff, 1961), pp. 122-4; R. Bromwich, 'The Celtic Literatures', in *Literature in Celtic Countries*, ed. J. E. Caerwyn Williams (Cardiff, 1971), pp. 32-3.

⁵ See P. Sims-Williams, 'The Evidence for Vernacular Irish Literary Influence on Early Mediaeval Welsh Literature', in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. D. Whitelock et al. (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 235-57, esp. pp. 236-9.

⁶ Cf. P. MacCana, reviewing Jackson, *International Popular Tale*, in *Celtica*, vii (1966), 242-3.

not extant. A few examples from the beginning of *Culhwch* may suffice to illustrate the nature of these problems.

The 'set piece' description of *Culhwch* setting off for Arthur's court (which nicely balances the 'set piece' description of the heroine further on) is reminiscent of descriptions in Irish sagas.¹ Windisch pointed out that the following passage in particular is closely paralleled in *Táin Bó Cúailnge*:

pedeir tywarchen a ladei pedwar carn y gorwyd mal pedeir gwennawl yn yr awyr uch y benn gweithu uchtau gweithu istaw.²

Indeed the motif is very common in Irish, even occurring in *Cathcharpat Serda*, a model set piece or 'run' for Irish story-tellers,³ and this may give the description of *Culhwch* an illusory Irish flavour. It is a pity that Windisch did not know a similar passage in the later Welsh tale *Araith Wgon*:

'Mi a allaswn ddyfod ar wasgwyn gwynn . . . dan i bedwar karn a dorrai bedair tywarchen ir wybyr, yn debygach i bedair morwennol noc i bedair tywarchen ddayarol.'⁴

This could be a direct reminiscence of *Culhwch*, but since this *araith* appears to be a parody—or perhaps merely a reflection—of the 'runs' of Welsh oral story-tellers⁵ it is as likely that both it and *Culhwch* exemplify an image that was part of the stock-in-trade of the Welsh story-teller. Direct influence from Ireland to Wales or vice versa cannot be proved, still less knowledge of Irish literature on the part of the author of *Culhwch*.

When he reaches Arthur's hall, *Culhwch* has a conventional exchange with the porter (which has parallels elsewhere in Welsh and Irish); then the porter, *Glewlwyd*, reacts by making a high-sounding speech to Arthur, which has the function of increasing the stature of both *Culhwch* and Arthur in the world of the tale:

'Mi a uum gynt yghaer se ac asse, yn sach a salach, yn lotor a fotor; mi a uum gynt yn yr india uawr ar india uechan; mi a uum gynt [etc. etc.] . . . teyrndynon tec a welsam ni yno: ny weleis i eirmoet dyn kymryt ar hwnn yssyd yn drws y porth [yr] awr honn.'⁶

¹ Cf. Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin* (Cardiff, 1938), pp. 64-5.

² WM 455. 'The horse's four hooves would cut four clods like four swallows in the air above his head, sometimes in front of him and sometimes behind him.' Ernst Windisch, *Das keltische Britannien bis zu Kaiser Arthur* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 158.

³ 'Cathcharpat Serda', ed. and trans. C. O'Rahilly, *Celtica*, xi (1976), 197 and 199. For lists of further instances, see P. Sims-Williams, 'Riddling Treatment of the "Watchman Device" in *Bramwen* and *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*', *Studia Celtica*, xii/xiii (1977-8), 99 and 117.

⁴ *Yr Areithiau Pros*, ed. D. Gwenallt Jones (Cardiff, 1934), p. 10. "I could have come on a white Gascon horse . . . which would strike up under its four hooves four clods into the sky, more like four sea-swallows than four earthly clods." Cf. Thomas Parry, *A History of Welsh Literature*, trans. H. I. Bell (Oxford, 1955), pp. 79-80.

⁵ On the *areithiau* see *ibid.* p. 131; Brynley F. Roberts, 'Tales and Romances', in *A Guide to Welsh Literature*, ed. A. O. H. Jarman and G. R. Hughes (Swansea, 1976-), i. 240-2; Morfydd E. Owen, 'The Prose of the Cywydd Period', *ibid.* ii. 373. The original meaning of *araith* in titles such as *Araith Wgon*, usually translated 'oration' or 'rhetoric', is uncertain. The word may originally have denoted an assembly or meeting (cf. Old Irish *airecht*) and have come to be applied to encounters of all kinds and to the language used in them or in describing them. Cf. the semantics of *cyfranc* and *dadl* (: OIr *comrac* and *dál*). Could *araith* mean 'altercation, flyting' (cf. Vannetais *areih* 'querelle, dispute violente')? For *araith* and cognates, see GPC s.v. and J. Vendryes et al., *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (Dublin and Paris, 1959-), s.v. *airecht*.

⁶ WM 457-8. "I was once in Caer Se and Asse, in Sach and Salach, in Lotor and Fotor; I was once

R. S. Loomis argued that Glewlwyd was based on Cú Roí, who makes a similar speech in *Fled Bricrend*:

'nocon fúar i nÉrind nach i nAlpáin nach i nEoroip [etc. etc.] . . . nech no chomollad fir fer frim.'¹

Unfortunately Loomis failed to observe that the 'Mi a uum . . .' formula occurs elsewhere in Welsh,² and that the recital of a list of countries visited is an elemental form of entertainment which can be paralleled elsewhere—for example, in the Old English poems *Widsith* and *Solomon and Saturn*.³ The vaguely similar rhetorical use to which the listing device is put in *Fled Bricrend* and *Culhwch* may be coincidental.

Culhwch, once admitted to the hall, demands Olwen as his bride in the name of Arthur's warriors, reeling off a list of them that amounts to eleven columns in the White Book text. In so far as this list has any function—for it is hard not to suspect its author of a provocative, Dadaist delight in bringing the fiction to a standstill⁴—it is to enhance the importance of Arthur and his court. (Later on the Oldest Animals' deference to Arthur's messengers has a similar effect.) Cecile O'Rahilly noted that 'the achievement of effect by the introduction of a resounding list of warriors and champions is very common in Irish tales' and that the explanatory and descriptive passages which accompany some of the names in Culhwch's list 'remind one forcibly' of the common tendency to explain epithets in Irish literature.⁵ One is bound to remark that similar features give a pronounced Irish flavour to parts of the Old Testament, the oldest part of the *Iliad* (the Catalogue of Ships), and, especially, the remote analogue to Culhwch's list of helpers in the *Argonautica*.⁶

The above examples are typical of the parallels between *Culhwch* and Irish literature. If such parallels are more numerous in *Culhwch* than in some other Welsh tales, that may be merely because *Culhwch* is unusually close to oral story-telling, which has many uniform

in Great India and Lesser India; I was once . . . We saw fine princely men there: (but) I never saw a man as fine as the one who is in front of the gate now.' On the names see E. Anwyl, 'Notes on Culhwch and Olwen', *Revue celtique*, xxxiv (1913), 413–14; Jones, *Areithiau Pros*, p. 79. Compare the formula 'I have travelled west, and I have travelled east', etc., in the Irish folk-tale translated by Myles Dillon, *There Was a King in Ireland* (Austin, Texas, 1973), pp. 59, 62, 66, and 70.

¹ *Lebor na hUidre*, ed. R. I. Best and O. Bergin (Dublin, 1929), lines 9202–5 (cf. *Fled Bricrend*, ed. and trans. George Henderson, Irish Texts Soc. ii (London, 1899), chapter 93). "I have not found in Ireland nor in Albion nor in Europe . . . anyone who would keep 'the truth of men' with me." Roger S. Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes* (New York, 1949), p. 238.

² 'Rhái o Gerddi Ymddiddan Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin', ed. Brynley F. Roberts, in *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd cysfwynedig i Syr Idris Foster*, ed. Rachel Bromwich and R. Brinley Jones (Cardiff, 1978), p. 315; Ifor Williams, *Lectures on Early*

Welsh Poetry (Dublin, 1944), pp. 26–7; and idem, *Chwedl Taliesin* (Cardiff, 1957), pp. 12–13.

³ M. Schlauch, 'Widsith, Vithförrull, and Some Other Analogues', *PMLA*, xli (1931), 969–87; *Widsith*, ed. Kemp Malone, *Anglistica*, xiii (Copenhagen, 1962), 77–9 and 117–18; *Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English*, ed. and trans. T. A. Shippey (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 86–7. On *Widsith* see also N. Jacobs, 'The Old English Heroic Ideal in the Light of Welsh Evidence', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, ii (Winter 1981).

⁴ But see Roberts, 'Tales and Romances', pp. 216–17.

⁵ *Ireland and Wales: Their Historical and Literary Relations* (London, 1924), p. 115.

⁶ On name-lists see, for example, Malone, *Widsith*, p. 118; C. J. Lofmark, 'Name Lists in *Parzival*', in *Mediaeval German Studies Presented to Frederick Norman* (London, 1965), pp. 157–73; G. Shepherd, 'The Nature of Alliterative Poetry in Late Medieval England', *Proc. of the British Academy*, lvi (1970), 59–61. On *Culhwch* and the *Argonautica*, see below, p. 612.

features in many lands.¹ One cannot prove that *Culhwch* was *not* influenced by Irish stories but, in the absence of clear evidence, I should prefer to agree with Sir Idris Foster that the story-telling devices in *Culhwch* which have Irish parallels can be regarded as traditional rather than borrowed.² It seems unlikely that any of the Irish parallels would be taken very seriously as sources rather than analogues, were it not for the Irish personal names in *Culhwch*, to which I shall now turn.

One is on safer ground with the proper names in *Culhwch*, for it is nearly always possible to distinguish borrowed names from mere cognates, because of the wide phonological divergence between medieval Welsh and Irish.³ On the other hand, a limitation of names (especially place-names⁴) as evidence is that it is often unclear what the borrowing of a name means in terms of *literary* influence. It is necessary to separate the Irish names which occur in the narrative proper from those which occur in Culhwch's eleven-column list, for reasons which will emerge. In the narrative proper we shall find that the Irish names display no influence from Irish literature and seem to be intended to provide a merely superficial Irish colouring to a tale set partly in Ireland, whereas in Culhwch's list we find the names of Irish literary heroes.

First, let us look at the narrative proper. Meyer identified the name of Diwrnach the Irishman, whose cauldron Arthur seizes for Culhwch's wedding-feast, with the Irish name *Diugurnach*.⁵ He regarded *Diwrnach* as an attempt at a phonetic spelling of the Irish name. That is plausible enough, but it must be observed that if the Irish name was taken over in the Irish spelling quoted above during the Old Welsh period of orthography (before c. 1150) we might also arrive at *Diwrnach* as the Middle Welsh form, given the use of *-ugu-* in late Old Welsh orthography to represent the semi-vowel denoted in Middle Welsh by *w*: compare *Diugurach* in the Book of Llandaf for later **Dywrach* or **Diwrach*.⁶ The name *Diugurnach* has no literary associations in Irish. One may guess that it was used because it

¹ See, for example, my 'Riddling Treatment of the "Watchman Device"', and 'Is it Fog or Smoke or Warriors Fighting?': Irish and Welsh Parallels to the *Finnsburg* Fragment', *BBCS* xxvii (1976–8), 505–14.

² 'Culhwch ac Olwen', in *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith yn yr Oesau Canol*, ed. Geraint Bowen (Llandysul, 1974), p. 81, also p. 72; cf. *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, ed. D. Simon Evans (Cardiff, 1977), p. lxxvii n. 42. See further Proinsias Mac Cana, *The Mabinogi* (Cardiff, 1977), pp. 11, 64–5, and 72–3, who treats some of the passages discussed above in terms of Welsh oral narrative tradition; also P. L. Henry, 'Culhwch and Olwen—Some Aspects of Style and Structure', *SC* iii (1968), 30–8.

³ But it should be noted, though the subject has attracted little attention from Celticists, that the Irish and Welsh may have been able to replace each other's names or name-elements with cognates in their own phonological systems; this certainly happened freely among speakers of the early medieval Germanic languages (cf. N. Jacobs, 'Anglo-Danish

Relations, Poetic Archaism and the Date of *Beowulf*', *Poetica* [Tokyo], viii (Autumn 1978), 28). In an acid note appended to the Bamberg cryptogram an Irishman in Wales is criticized for spelling the *-c-* of Old Welsh *Concen* by *-ch-*. See R. Derolez, 'Dubthach's Cryptogram: Some Notes in Connexion with Brussels MS. 9565–9566', *L'Antiquité classique*, xxi (1952), 359–75, and *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition* (Ghent, 1954), pp. 97–9.

⁴ I intend to discuss the Irish geography of *Culhwch* elsewhere.

⁵ WM 482 and 498. Kuno Meyer, 'Zur keltischen Wortkunde, III', *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft*, xxv (1913), 449, no. 45. For further examples and spellings, see the reviews of Meyer by C. Marstrand in *RG*, xxxvi (1915–16), 367, and xxxvii (1917–19), 294; *DIL* s.v. *Diugurnach*; CGH 310 and 589.

⁶ R. J. Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru*, i [all published] (Cardiff, 1938), pp. 13–14. Cf. LHEB 387.

had an obvious Irish flavour to it, the ending *-ach* (from **-ākos*) being very common in Irish personal names.¹ (Welsh had *-awc*, later *-og*, from **-ākos*.) Arthur's expedition to Ireland to fetch Diwrnach's cauldron is generally agreed to be a euhemerized version of a mythological expedition to the other world, similar to the one in the early Welsh poem *Preideu Annwn*.² Since the otherworldly island has been euhemerized as Ireland—the obvious candidate for a Welsh euhemerist to choose—an Irish name for the owner of the cauldron has been introduced; but clearly it does not point to an Irish origin for the story itself and the question of Irish literary influence hardly arises.

It is even possible that *Diwrnach* is not the earliest Welsh form of the name of the owner of the cauldron. The late medieval tract, *The Thirteen Treasures of the Isle of Britain*, says that the cauldron of Dyrnwch Gawr boiled for the brave but not for cowards (just like the one in *Preideu Annwn*). In the manuscripts the giant's name is variously spelled *Dyrnwch*, *Dyrnog*, *Tyrnog*, *Dyrnfwch*, etc., but never *Diwrnach*, and the epithet 'the Irishman' (*gwydel*) is not used.³ This suggests that in the extant tale in *Culhwch* the Irish name *Díugurnach* (or even a Welsh common noun in *diwr-*) may have contaminated an originally Welsh name, most plausibly *Dyrnawc/Dyrnog* which would be cognate with the Gaulish name *Durnacos*.⁴ Yet it is probably easier to suppose that *Diwrnach* was the original name and that the forms in *Dyrn-* and *-wch* (cf. *Culhwch*) and *-og* represent attempts to Cambricize the name. *Diwrn-* would have been associated with Welsh *dwrn* 'fist'⁵ and transformed into *Dyrn-* in accordance with the rule of *w* → *y* in the accented syllable of polysyllables (e.g. *dwrn*, pl. *dyrneu*).

In *Culhwch* Diwrnach Wyddel is the *maer* of the king of Ireland, whose name is given as *Otgar* or *Odgar mab Aed*.⁶ The meaning of Latin *maior*'s Celtic derivatives varied considerably, but since Diwrnach is in charge of a cauldron *maer* is probably best translated 'steward'. The patronymic *Aed* is Irish *Aed*, the commonest of all early Irish personal names, which must have been well known in Wales; it occurs already, in the spelling *Aed*, in the Welsh annals s.a. 879.⁷ It may have been used at random by our author as a well-known Irish

¹ M. A. O'Brien, 'Old Irish Personal Names', *Celtica*, x (1973), 223.

² K. Jackson, 'Arthur in Early Welsh Verse', in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. Roger S. Loomis (Oxford, 1959), p. 16; I. Ll. Foster, 'Culhwch and Olwen and Rhonabwy's Dream', in *ibid.*, p. 35. On *Preideu Annwn* see also Roger S. Loomis, *Wales and the Arthurian Legend* (Cardiff, 1956), pp. 131–78, and Sims-Williams, 'Evidence for Vernacular Irish Literary Influence', pp. 243–8.

³ For texts and discussion, see E. I. Rowlands, 'Y Tri Thlws ar Ddeg', *Llên Cymru*, v (1958–9), 33–69, esp. pp. 60–2; P. C. Bartrum, 'Tri Thlws ar Ddeg Ynys Brydain', *Études celtiques*, x (1962–3), 434–77, esp. pp. 467–8; TYP 240, 246, and 335; and cf. the review of the first edition of TYP by Rowlands in *LlC* vi (1960–1), 238.

⁴ Attention was drawn to the Gaulish name by Rowlands, *LlC* vi. 238. Cf. GPC s.v. *dwrn*.

⁵ *Dwrn* also means 'hilt'. There may also have been

some influence from the name of Rhydderch's sword in the *Thirteen Treasures*: *Dyrnwyn* 'White Hilt'. As the *i* element in the *iu* diphthongs was on the wane (D. Greene, 'The Diphthongs of Old Irish', *Ériu*, xxvii (1976), 40 and 44) continuing influence from Irish pronunciation might explain the change from *Diwrn-* to *Dwrn-*, but there is no need to posit this.

⁶ WM 482, 497, and 498.

⁷ O'Brien, 'Old Irish Personal Names', p. 232; *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1952), p. 138. See also EWGT 168, s.n. *Aed(d)*. The diminutive *Aedán* was well known in Wales in the form *Aedan*, and this would have reinforced the traditional spelling of *Aed*. Cf. EWGT 168, s.n. *Aeddan*; TYP 264–6; Ifor Williams, *The Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*, ed. Rachel Bromwich (Cardiff, 1972), pp. 179–80. There was the saint *Aidan* in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The spelling of *Aed* as *Eth* in the *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* (ed. Evans, pp. cxiv, 5, and 56)

name.¹ The name *Otgar* or *Odgar* is more instructive, for it is not an Irish name. The *g* stands for [g] or (bearing in mind the probability of an original in Old Welsh spelling) for [j] (compare OW *Catgen* = MW *Cadyen*).² In the later tale *Gereint vab Erbin* the steward of Arthur's court (*ystiward llys Arthur*) is called *Odyar franc*.³ One wonders if he was suggested by the *Odgar* in *Culhwch* whose *maer* owned the cauldron. Be that as it may, his epithet 'the Frank' or 'the Frenchman' points to the identity of the name with Old French *Og(i)er*. Loth, in a note to *Gereint*,⁴ regarded the Welsh *dy* as a spelling of OFr *g* [dʒ]; and the same could be true of the *tg/dg* in *Culhwch*, allowing for Old Welsh orthography. Yet the borrowing could be much older. *Og(i)er* derives from the Frankish name *Audagari*. With the falling together of [aʏ] with Gallo-Roman [aʏ], which gave [o] by the sixth century, with syncope and with Frankish *i*-umlaut, *Audagari* produced the regular Latinizations *Odger(i)us*, *Otger(i)us*, *Og(g)erius*, etc., in documents of the ninth century and later.⁵ But conservative spellings persisted, such as *Autgarius* and *Otgarius*, which did not show the umlaut of the [a] to [e]. The form *Otgar* in *Culhwch* may point to a written form *Otgarius*, for both in the Frankish suffix *-gari* and (for uncertain reasons) in the Gallo-Latin suffix *-ariu(s)* (originally [aʀu]) the *a* had been pronounced [e] or [ie] for centuries.⁶ On the other hand, an oral borrowing of [ɔdʒer] or [ɔdʒier] or [ɔdʒiɛr] might also result in OW *Otgar* by association with the common Old Welsh element *-gar* [jar].⁷

The appearance of a Frank in Ireland or Wales would occasion little surprise,⁸ were he not said to be the king of Ireland and given the Irish patronymic *mab Aed*. One might

is a later, phonetic rendering. Cf. T. F. O'Rahilly, 'Notes on Middle-Irish Pronunciation', *Hermathena*, xx (1926–30), 162–3; *idem*, *Irish Dialects Past and Present*, 2nd edn. (Dublin, 1972), pp. 31–2; W. A. Craigie, 'Gaelic Words and Names in the Icelandic Sagas', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, i (1897), 454; *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer*, ed. Kenneth Jackson (Cambridge, 1972), p. 134; and below, p. 613 n. 3. The form *oed* for *Aed* in RM 110 is as likely to be a scribal error as to be an archaic rendering of *Aed*; see below, p. 606 n. 2.

⁵ For forms see Marie-Thérèse Morlet, *Les Noms de personne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1968–72), i. 43; and especially Rita Lejeune, *Recherches sur le thème: les chansons de geste et l'histoire*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, cviii (Paris, 1948), esp. pp. 91–104. Cf. Pierre Fouché, *Phonétique historique du français* (Paris, 1952–61), ii. 296–7.

⁶ For differing opinions on *-ariu(s)*, see Pope, *Latin to Modern French*, pp. 14–15; Fouché, *Phonétique historique*, ii. 411–15; François de la Chaussée, *Initiation à la phonétique historique de l'ancien français* (Paris, 1974), pp. 119–20. Diphthongization of [e] to [ie] occurred in all Proto-French dialects except for Poitevin in the south-west, and it was also absent from Old Provençal; see Pope, *Latin to Modern French*, pp. 18, 105–6, 163–4, and 193. In later Old French, including Anglo-Norman, [ie] became [iɛ] (*ibid.* pp. 192, 428, and 443).

⁷ J. Lloyd-Jones, 'The Compounds of *gar', *Celtica*, iii (1956), 198–210. Cf. LHEB 439. Note also the discussion in DP iii. 265 n. 1, of a possible early dialectal change of *-ien* (< *-gen*) to *-ian*.

⁸ For discussion of references to Franks in Ireland and Wales, see GPC s.v. *ffranc*; Williams, *Beginnings of Welsh Poetry*, pp. 95–6; *idem*, *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry*, pp. 29–31 and 73, and references, to which add Kuno Meyer, *Fianaigeacht*, Todd Lecture Series, xvi (Dublin, 1910), p. x n. 1.

¹ Compare the kings of Brittany and France in WM 462, 466, and 502, *flergant* and *Gwilen-hén* (or *gwilenhin*), whose names are taken from Alannus Fergannus (Duke of Brittany 1084–1112) and William the Conqueror. See TYP cxii–cxiii and 528; J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain* (Berkeley, 1950), p. 195; Foster, 'Culhwch and Olwen and Rhonabwy's Dream', p. 38.

² WM 385 and 412. Cf. I. Ll. Foster, 'Gereint, Owein, and Peredur', in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. Loomis, p. 195.

³ *Les Mabinogion*, trans. J. Loth (Paris, 1913), ii. 122 n. 2. On the survival of [dʒ] in Insular French, see M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French*, 2nd edn. (Manchester, 1952), p. 450. *Og(i)er(s)* le Danois appears as *Oger* in the Welsh Charlemagne stories edited by Stephen J. Williams, *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, 2nd edn. (Cardiff, 1968).

speculate that at an earlier stage Otgar was *maer* to the king of Ireland or to Diwrnach, or even *maior* (Mayor of the Palace) of the Franks,¹ but the most obvious and likely explanation is that the author of the story was unable to distinguish one foreign name from another and used Irish and Frankish names interchangeably. This explanation is supported by the occurrence of a *Gwittart mab Aed brenhin Iwerdon* in Culhwch's long list of names.² *Gwittart* is, of course, Frankish *Withard* with the normal Gallo-Roman or Welsh substitution of *Gw-* for *W-*.³ Another suspicious 'Irish' name is that of *Gwrgi Seueri*, whom Arthur finds with Otgar in the west of Ireland.⁴ *Gwrgi* is a common Welsh name and *Seueri* is reminiscent of the Latin name *Seuerus*, which is well attested in early Britain in inscriptions, annals, and genealogies.⁵ The use of the genitive (from *filius Seueri*?) suggests the use of a Latin source.⁶ All these names suggest that the author or authors of the main narrative of *Culhwch* had only the vaguest notion of Irish nomenclature.

Certain sections of Culhwch's eleven-column list of the heroes whose help he seeks give quite the opposite impression, for here there are a number of well-known names from Irish literature, five of them grouped together. This discrepancy need occasion no surprise, for the list, or parts of it, could easily be the work of a different author. The redactor of the main narrative may have taken over the name-list as a pre-existing composition (compare the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad*), perhaps not originally intended as part of *Culhwch ac Olwen*; or sections of it may have been lifted from other lists; or it may have been added by other hands after the composition of *Culhwch*; and it may have been interpolated with new names at every stage up to the writing of the White Book in the mid fourteenth century. There is in fact evidence of interpolation in the White Book itself. In the middle of the list the scribe left a nine-and-a-half line gap (perhaps reflecting a similar arrangement in a parent copy) which may have been intended to receive further additions. In the Red Book the equivalent of four of these blank lines is filled in with the name and description of Gwefl fab Gwastad (perhaps reflecting a late-fourteenth-century addition to the parent copy, if the White Book and the Red Book share a common exemplar), and on another occasion the scribe of the Red Book, Hywel Fychan, also inserted the passage on Gwefl into the gap in the White Book.⁷ If the textual history of the rest of the name-list was as complicated, it is

¹ Williams, *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry*, p. 73, quotes 'pipinus maior rex francorum' from the *Annales Cambriae*, s.a. 714.

² WM 466 (but RM 110 has *oed* for *Aed*, see above, p. 604 n. 7, on p. 605). The epithet 'king of Ireland' presumably qualifies *Aed*, rather than *Gwittart*, since Odgar mab Aed is elsewhere called *Odgar brenhin Iwerdon* (WM 498).

³ For [w-] > [gw-] see Pope, *Latin to Modern French*, pp. 227-8, and Fouché, *Phonétique historique*, iii. 559-68. Cf. *Guitardus*, etc., in Morlet, *Noms*, i. 221; and note the *Guitardus* in Geoffrey of Monmouth (discussed by Tatlock, *Legendary History*, p. 133), conceivably the source of the name in *Culhwch*, perhaps indirectly through the *Brutiau*. One might get *Gwittart* from Old English **Wid(e)ard*, but this combination of elements is not

attested; and *Odgar* cannot be from Old English, where the cognate is *Eadgar*.

⁴ WM 497.
⁵ See EWGT 213, s.n. *Severus*; *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*, ed. R. A. S. Macalister (Dublin, 1945-9), i. 356 and 450, nos. 373 and 472. *Seuerus* appears among the planets in *Facsimile and Text of the Book of Taliesin*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Llanbedrog, 1910), p. 79.

⁶ Compare the case of *kaer glini* and the character *glini* in WM 489, which may derive from a Latin *Castra Gleui* (Gloucester, Welsh *Caer Loyw*) and an eponymous *Gleui*. See W. J. Gruffudd, 'Mabon vab Modron', *Y Cymmrodor*, xlii (1931), 139-40; Foster, 'Culhwch ac Olwen', *Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith*, p. 75.

⁷ On Gwefl see Jackson, *International Popular Tale*, p. 75, and the review by Mac Cana, *Celtica*, vii, 245-6; and cf. the material discussed by W. B. Stanford,

a possibility, until we have proved otherwise, that all the Irish names were added as late as the mid fourteenth century—the period, interestingly, when Welsh poets begin to refer to the Irish hero and heroine, Fionn and Deirdre.¹

The main group of Irish names is near the beginning of Culhwch's list: '(a) chnychwr mab nes. a chubert .m. daere. a fercos .m. poch. a lluber beuthach. a choruil beruach'.² These are illustrious names in Irish literature, especially in the Ulster cycle of tales: Conchobor mac Nesa, Cú Roí mac Dáiri, Fergus mac Róich, Lóegaire Búadach (?), and Conall Cernach. The scribal corruption is extensive, indicating a succession of scribes to whom the names meant nothing. Thus *beruach* is presumably a corruption of *kernach*, with the Anglo-Norman use of *k-* for [k] before front vowels especially, which is normal in Middle Welsh and occurs also in some Irish texts written by Anglo-Norman scribes (such as the later parts of the *Annals of Inisfallen*).³ A more helpful scribal error, from the point of view of dating the list, is *poch*, which is probably a miscopying of *roch* in a Welsh manuscript that employed the old Insular 'long' *r* (ʀ).⁴ I do not know any evidence for a Welsh scribe using the 'long' *r*, except when imitating an early exemplar, later than c. 1126.⁵ Similarly *coruil* is probably

'Monsters and Odyssean Echoes in the Early Hiberno-Latin and Irish Hymns', in *Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400-900: Festschrift presented to Ludwig Bieler*, ed. John J. O'Meara and Bernd Naumann (Leiden, 1976), pp. 114 and 116. For the possibility of *Gwefl* being a genuine personal name, see M. A. O'Brien, 'Notes on Irish Proper Names', *Celtica*, ix (1971), 212; and P. Mac Cana, 'On the "Prehistory" of *Immran Brain*', *Ériu*, xxvi (1975), 49. On the hand of the insertion in the White Book, see p. vi of the introduction to *Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch* by R. M. Jones and, especially, an article by Gifford Charles-Edwards, which she kindly allowed me to read in advance of publication. She shows that Hywel's style of writing differs from his style at the corresponding place in the Red Book. This suggests that he made the insertion in the White Book on a different occasion from his writing of the Red Book passage. See now Gifford Charles-Edwards, 'Hywel Vychan: Red Book and White Book', *National Library of Wales Journal*, xxi (1979-80), 427-8 (with Pl. xxi).

¹ But note that neither Fionn nor Deirdre is mentioned in *Culhwch*. On the late medieval references to them, which I intend to discuss elsewhere, see TYP lxxxii and n. 1; Sims-Williams, 'Evidence for Vernacular Irish Literary Influence', pp. 255-6.
² WM 460. For discussion of these heroes, see the references in the index to Rudolf Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* (Halle, 1921).

³ C. O'Rahilly (*Ireland and Wales*, p. 114 n. 2) suggested that the *b* was a miscopying of *lc*. I think this explanation less likely. The single *l* of *coruil* does not need such an explanation. The corruption of **kernach* to **hernach* may have been helped by contamination with the name of *Brennach Wydel* in TYP 45-6 and 288.

⁴ Of course the 'long' *r* occurs throughout the Middle Ages in Irish manuscripts, but it is unlikely that one was the source of the error *poch*. If an ignorant Welsh scribe copied from an Irish manuscript one would expect him to copy *poich* not *poch*, assuming that his exemplar was in traditional Irish spelling. (Though note the suggestion that Fergus may have had a mother called *Roch* in *Cóir Anmann*, sect. 282, ed. Stokes in *Irische Texte*, ed. Whitley Stokes and Ernst Windisch, iii. 2 (Leipzig, 1897), p. 406.) The spelling with *-och* suggests either that the Welsh transcriber was knowledgeable enough to know that the *i* in *Róich* was merely a glide-vowel (and would therefore be unlikely to get the *r*-wrong), or that the name was transmitted into Welsh orally (therefore with [r-]). Middle Irish *Róich*, *Róig* was disyllabic in Old Irish (see Thurneysen, *Heldensage*, p. 92; Thomas F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin, 1946), p. 480 n. 1), but the reduction of *oi* to *ói* is thought to have occurred as early as the eighth century, at least in some Old Irish speech. See Greene, 'The Diphthongs of Old Irish', p. 43 (where the reference to Bergin should be to *Ériu*, iii).

⁵ See the facsimile of a copy of a document of 1126 by Scribe C facing p. 29 of *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans with John Rhys (Oxford, 1893). Hand C is 'clearly a thirteenth-century hand' (T. J. Brown, cited by W. Davies, 'Liber Landavensis: Its Construction and Credibility', *English Historical Review*, lxxxviii (1973), 336 n. 5), so the scribe was probably imitating the script of the original document, as is suggested by E. D. Jones, 'The Book of Llandaff', *NLWJ*, iv (1945-6), 153. Jones also notes odd examples of 'long' *r* in the transcripts of papal bulls by Scribe Db (later twelfth century)—see, for example, *tnoumur* in the facsimile

a miscopying of *connil*, with confusion of *u* and *n* and of Insular *r* and *n*;¹ *connil* would be a reasonable way of writing Irish *Conall* in the Welsh orthography of the first half of the twelfth century (and later, for instance, in the Black Book of Carmarthen), when *i* was used to represent the svarabhakti vowel [ə] which developed in final consonant clusters involving resonants.² The spelling *fercos* for *Fergus* may reflect an Old Welsh exemplar. Late Old Welsh had no sound [rɣ],³ so a Welshman would have to choose between leaving out the [ɣ]—as in the river name *Fferws* (OW *Ferrus*⁴), if this really is a loan from Irish *Fergus*⁵—and substituting [g] for it. In *fercos* [g] seems to have been substituted for [ɣ] and to be represented by *-c-*, as is normal in Old Welsh orthography, whereas in Middle Welsh one would expect *-g-*.⁶ The *u*, rather than *w* (6), in *c(h)ubert* for *Cú Roí* presumably goes back to an older orthography than that of the White Book, though not necessarily one as old as the Old Welsh period, seeing that the representation of [u(:)] was so slow to settle down in the Middle Welsh period. The Irish name has evidently been confused with the Welsh form of the Old English name *Cuðberht*: OW *Cubert*, MW *Cwbert*.⁷ One may contrast the (trisyllabic) transcription of the name in the early Welsh *Marwnat Corroi m[ab] Dayry* as (in the spellings of the early fourteenth-century manuscript) *Corroy* and *Corroi*.⁸

The above traces of copying from Insular script and of Old Welsh orthography point to a Welsh archetype of c. 1150 or earlier for the group of five Irish names in question. So early a date is quite possible from the point of view of Irish phonology. The most interesting form is *c(h)nychwyr*. The phonetic development of the popular name *Conchobor* is hard to trace, owing to the conservatism of Irish scribes, but weakening of the spirant *b* is already attested in the form *Ochonchor* for *Ó Conchobhair*, which surprised T. F. O'Rahilly in the

facing p. 42 of *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâu*—and argues that these are taken over from earlier twelfth-century transcripts of these bulls. For another example of 'long' *r* in a thirteenth-century imitative hand, see F. G. Cowley and Nesta Lloyd, 'An Old Welsh *Englyn* in Harley Charter 75 C 38', *BBCS* xxv (1972-4), 411. There is no question of imitative script in *Culhwch*, so c. 1126 seems a reasonable, if provisional and approximate, *terminus ante quem* for the exemplar of the name *fercos m. poch*.

¹ On the latter see D. N. Dumville, 'Palaeographical Considerations in the Dating of Early Welsh Verse', *BBCS* xxvii (1976-8), 247-8. Influence from the Old Welsh name *Conuil* could explain the *u* for *n*, if there was an intermediate stage **conuil* before *coruil*.

² LHEB 337; D. Simon Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 1964), p. 12. Cf. below, p. 614 n. 3. In **kernach* (*beruach*) we have the [ə] of *Cernach* spelled *a* in Welsh; but svarabhakti did not occur in a cluster *-nch* in Welsh and, besides, *-ach* was a familiar termination in names (see Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd*, pp. 1-18, and below, p. 616).

³ LHEB 466-9; cf. the review by D. A. Binchy, *Celtica*, iv (1958), 291-2.

⁴ *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâu*, ed. Evans and Rhys, p. xlvii.

⁵ Thus J. Rhys, 'The Goidels in Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5th ser. xii (1895), 38-9; DP iv. 424-5.

⁶ Compare the substitution of French *g* for Irish *gh* in *The Song of Dermot and the Earl* (O'Rahilly, 'Middle-Irish Pronunciation', p. 159). Cf. LHEB 438.

⁷ See *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20*, ed. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1941), p. 3; *Brut y Tywysogyon: Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones, 2nd edn. (Cardiff, 1973), p. 4; *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1971), p. 10. Note also the places *Gwbirt* in Cardiganshire and *Cubert* (*Egloscutbert*, 1402) in Cornwall; see Gilbert H. Doble, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Truro, 1960-), iv. 50; O. J. Padel, 'Cornish Language Notes: 5, Cornish Names of Parish Churches', *Cornish Studies*, iv/v (1976-7), 21.

⁸ Edited and discussed by me in 'Evidence for Vernacular Irish Literary Influence', pp. 249-51. With the spelling of *Cú Chulainn* as *Cocholyn* in this poem one may compare the *Gauell Cocholyn* (var. *Cocholyn*) in the early fifteenth-century Extent of Merioneth, printed from an Elizabethan transcript in *The Record of Caernarvon*, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1838), p. 279. Attention was drawn to this by Rhys, 'Goidels in Wales', p. 32.

early thirteenth-century *chanson de geste*, *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, and led him to suggest the needless emendation: 'leg. something like *Oconchover?*'.¹ Compare also *u Conuir* in the so-called *Cottonian Annals* under the year 1233 (a contemporary entry).² The form (*regis Reotri nepotis*) *Conchor*, apparently referring to Ruaidhri Ó Conchobhair of Connacht (d. 1118),³ appears already in a part of the Book of Llandaf written in the third quarter of the twelfth century;⁴ as Welsh names were accented on the penult a Welsh scribe wishing to preserve the initial accentuation of the Irish name *Conchobor* would be sure to seize on any weakening of the Irish [β] to eliminate it altogether in his Welsh transcription. It is a pity that the orthography of the Book of Llandaf does not allow us to tell whether its scribe intended *Con-* to be pronounced [kon], as in Irish, or as [kən], with substitution of the cognate Welsh name-element (MW *Cyn-*). Certainly the form *Cynchwyr*, which may show such substitution, can be found in the sixteenth-century manuscripts of Gruffudd Hiraethog and his school, presumably following Middle Welsh sources. (These manuscripts mention an Irish king *Cynchwyr* or *Cyncher* whose daughters married early thirteenth-century Welshmen,⁵ and confound him with another Irish *Cynchwyr* whose daughter, Catrin, had a son who was alive in 1352 (Ieuan Wyddel).⁶ The latter one, they say, gave his name to *Porth Cynchwyr*,⁷ which was the same as, or in the township of, Porthaml, in Llanidan, Anglesey.⁸) The initial *cn-* in *Culhwch* is also of interest. In later Irish a svarabhakti vowel arose between the *n* and *ch* of *Conchobhar*, at the eventual expense of the first *o*, which was eliminated by what Pedersen calls 'an apparent metathesis' to give *Crohúr*, etc. (with secondary *cr-* < *cn-*).⁹ O'Rahilly's first example of this development is *Knochor* (Tyrone and Down, 1602), beside *Connchor* (Armagh, 1602),¹⁰ so *cnychwyr* in *Culhwch*, if taken to reflect the Irish 'apparent metathesis', would have to be placed very late. However, metathesis may have occurred independently in Welsh—compare, for instance, *Trichan* beside earlier *Tirchan* (i = [ə]) in the Book of Llandaf¹¹—especially as *nch* was an alien cluster. One may also compare the early development of *cnifer* < *cynifer*, and the noun *grwmseit* in the

¹ 'Middle-Irish Pronunciation', p. 156.

² 'The Annals in Cotton MS. Titus A. xxv', ed. A. Martin Freeman, *RC* xlii (1925), 299.

³ So J. S. P. Tatlock, 'Caradoc of Llancarfan', *Speculum*, xiii (1938), 147. The identification in Foster, 'Irish Influence', p. 31, is impossible.

⁴ *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâu*, ed. Evans and Rhys, p. 1. For the date of the hand (Hand B), see p. xxix, and Jones, 'Book of Llandaff', p. 155.

⁵ National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS. 134, p. 132; edited by P. C. Bartrum, 'Pedigrees of the Welsh Tribal Patriarchs', *NLWJ* xiii (1963-4), 103; and xv (1967-8), 157-8 (corrigenda).

⁶ Bartrum, *NLWJ* xv. 158. Mr. Bartrum kindly refers me to the references to Katrin uerch Kynchwyr in Peniarth 177, pp. 167 [= Peniarth 215, p. 209], 169, and 229; and in Peniarth 139, pp. 9 and 287.

⁷ Mr. Bartrum in *NLWJ* xv. 158 cites Peniarth 287, p. 948; and also refers me to Peniarth 177, p. 167 [= Peniarth 215, p. 209].

⁸ Mr. Bartrum writes to me: 'Plas Newydd

yMhorth Cynchwyr (Pen. 139, p. 292, Pen. 136, p. 255) and Plas Newydd yMhorthaml (Pen. 177, p. 188) were the same place, from which it appears that Porth Cynchwyr was the same as, or in the township of, Porthaml, in the parish of Llanidan, Menai. This was confirmed for me by Prof. Melville Richards.'

⁹ Holger Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* (Göttingen, 1909-13), i. 329. This is discussed under the heading 'Metathesis' in the handbooks to Irish dialects—for example, Brian Ó Cuív, *The Irish of West Muskerry* (Dublin, 1944), p. 128; Tomás de Bhaldraithe, *The Irish of Cois Fhairrge*, rev. edn. (Dublin, 1975), p. 115. Cf. O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present*, p. 93; also R. L. Thomson, 'Svarabhakti and Some Associated Changes in Manx', *Celtica*, v (1960), 124.

¹⁰ *Irish Dialects Past and Present*, p. 22.

¹¹ W. Davies, 'The Orthography of Personal Names in the Charters of *Liber Landavensis*', *BBCS* xxviii (1978-80), 556.

manuscripts of *Culhwch*, which contains *grwm* < *gwrwm* < *gwrwm* < *gwrwm*.¹ It is also possible that *Cnychwr* may have replaced **Conchwr* or *Cynchwr* through association with the common noun *cnwch* 'hill, hump', whose composition form is *cnych*- because of the *w* → *y* rule mentioned above in connection with the comparable case of *dwrn* and *Dyrnog*;² *Cnychwr* might be felt to be a compound of *cnwch* and *-wr* 'man'. Alternatively the first element might have been regarded as *cnych* 'copulation', *Cnychwr* forming an obscene nickname from the composition form *cnych*- (*y* = [ə]).³

Probably, then, the group of five Irish literary names belongs to an early stratum in *Culhwch*'s list. The person who wrote them down clearly knew what they sounded like, perhaps because he heard them from the lips of an Irish-speaker or, if he was using a source written in traditional Irish spelling, because he knew what values to assign to the Irish letters. How much the names meant to him in terms of Irish literature is impossible to tell. (Obviously they can have meant nothing to some later copyists.) The rendering *mab nes* appears to show that he recognized *Nes(s)a* in *mac Nes(s)a* as the genitive of *Nes(s)*,⁴ or knew that Irish *nes(s)a* meant 'nearer' and so translated it by Welsh *nes* 'nearer'; yet it is also possible that the name reached him in a Latin source in the form 'filius Nes(s)', or that he wrote 'm. nesa' and that the *-a* was lost, scribally or orally, by being confused with the Welsh conjunction *a* 'and'.

The only other name drawn from Irish literature in *Culhwch*'s list occurs further on: *Scilti scawntroet* (var. *yscawntroet*), whom Cecile O'Rahilly convincingly identified as the Fenian hero *Cailte* (*Caolte*).⁵ She suggested that 'the initial *s* might arise from hearing the Irish name in an enumeration with the word *agus* or *is* preceding it'. If so, little knowledge of Irish literature could be inferred; but the *s*- could also have arisen during transmission in Welsh under the influence of the Welsh epithet *scawntroet* 'light-foot'. This epithet recalls the Irish epithet *cos-lúath* 'swift-foot' applied to *Cailte* in a poem attributed to Fland mac

¹ See GPC s.vv. *cynifer* and *gwrmsaid*; WM 487 = RM 127. For the opposite change, as in *cynwch* < *cnwch* (Ifor Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, new edn. (Liverpool, 1969), p. 28), see LHEB 338; Evans, *Grammar of Middle Welsh*, p. 13.

² See above, p. 604. Because of the contrary pulls of the reduction rule and of vowel harmony the form *Cnwchwr* would imply a variant *Cnychwr* and vice versa; cf. the river name *Llychwr/Llwchwr*, OW *Lychur/Luchur* (DP iii. 309, n. 1; cf. iv. 373 and n. 4).

³ In GPC the headword is *cnuch*, with the composition form *cnuch*- in the agent-noun *cnuch(i)wr*, but it is unlikely that this vocalism is original, since original *uch* should have given *uwch* (see E. P. Hamp, 'The Allophones of Medieval Welsh /x/ and /tʰ/, *BBCS* xvi (1954-5), 284-5); moreover, there is manuscript support for *cnych* and *cnychwr* (see also J. Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg* (Cardiff, 1931-63), i. 154, s.v. *knych*). O. H. Fynes-Clinton (*The Welsh Vocabulary of the Bangor District* (Oxford, 1913), p. 275) gives /kni:x/, and Melville Richards notes the dialect variant *cnwch*

which has caused the change of *cnwch* 'hill' to *cnuc* or *clwch* in place-names ('The Irish Settlements in South-West Wales', *Journal of the Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xc (1960), 147; cf. DP ii. 424; Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd*, p. 28). Phonetic variation can be especially marked in taboo words.

⁴ It has been suggested that this name is identical with *nes* 'weasel'; see Thurneysen, *Heldensage*, p. 273 n. 2; Johannes Lohmann, *Genus und Sexus* (Göttingen, 1932), p. 36 n. 1. The name is usually attested in the genitive, in Conchobor's matronymic, but for nominative *Ness* see, for example, *The Book of Leinster*, ed. R. I. Best et al. (Dublin, 1954-), ii. 400-1. Other nominatives were *Neissi*—for example, *Hibernica Minora*, ed. Kuno Meyer (Oxford, 1894), p. 50—and *Neasa*—for example, 'Cath Boinde', ed. and trans. J. O'Neill, *Ériu*, ii (1905), 176. For the possibility that *poch* (**Roch*) is a nominative matronymic, see above, p. 607 n. 4.

⁵ WM 463 (cf. *sgilti yscawntroet*, *Sgilti ysgawndroet*, in RM 108). See O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales*, p. 115 n. 3.

Máel Máedóc (d. 977), in an unedited eleventh-century (?) poem in the Book of Leinster, and in a tenth- or eleventh-century story about Finn and Gráinne in the Book of Lecan.¹ Still more, it recalls the epithet *coisettrom* 'light-foot' applied to *Cailte*, for the first time as far as I know, in a ballad which Murphy dates to the early twelfth century.² *Cailti co(i)s-etrom* also appears in the lists of Fenians in the Yellow Book of Lecan.³ The Welsh epithet *scawntroet* is probably a translation of the Irish one (unless one posits a Latin intermediary).

In *Culhwch* *Scilti* is listed among the sons of *Erim*: 'uchdryt mab erim. ac eus mab erim. A henwas edeinawc mab erim. a henbedestyr mab erim. a Scilti scawntroet mab erim'. Meyer suggested that *erim* is the Irish verbal noun *ér(a)imm* 'a driving, riding, drive, gallop, course, journey' and noted that *Érim* occurs as the name of a horse in *Acallam na Senórach*.⁴ A difficulty is that *Cailte* has no such patronymic in Irish literature and that it may easily have been transferred to *Scilti* from *Uchdryt* or one of the others, none of whom bears an Irish name.⁵ In the latter case *erim* might be an Old Welsh spelling of the rare Welsh name *Eiryf*,⁶ or a miscopying (through confusion of Insular *n* and *r*) of *Enim*, an Old Welsh spelling of the Welsh name *Heinif*.⁷

Some details about the *cyneddfau* (magic properties) of three of *Erim*'s sons are supplied, not necessarily by the writer who originally included their names in the list:

Teir kynedyf a oed ar y trywyr hynny. Henbedester ny chauas eiroet ac kyfrettei o dyn nac ar uarch nac ar droet. Henwas edeinawc ny allwys mil pedwar troedawc eiroet y ganhymdeith hyd un erw, anoethach a uei bellach no hynny. Scilti yscawntroet, pan uei wynhywl kerdet yndaw vrth neges y arglwyd, ny cheisswys ford eiroet am gwypei py le yd elei; namyn tra uei coet ar uric y coet y kerdei, a thra uei uynyd⁸ ar ulaen y kawn y kerdei, ac yn hyt y oes ny flygwys konyn dan y draet, anoethach torri, rac y yskafned.⁹

¹ 'Mitteilungen aus irischen Handschriften', ed. K. Meyer, *ZCP* viii (1912), 118; *Book of Leinster*, ed. Best et al. i. 238; 'Finn and Gráinne', ed. and trans. K. Meyer, *ZCP* i (1897), 459 and 460. For the dates of these three works, see respectively: *Duanaire Finn*, iii, ed. and trans. Gerard Murphy, Irish Texts Soc. xliii (Dublin, 1953), 441; lix (no. XX); and lix (no. XVIII) and 19. In *Duanaire Finn* the epithet *cos-lúath* belongs to *Corr* (ibid., p. 355, s.n.) not to *Caolte*, but the latter is still described as 'cos luath' in the folk-tale *Caolte na gCos Fada*, edited by Dubhglas de h-Íde, *An Sgeuluidhe Gaedhealach* (Dublin, 1933), pp. 190 and 193.

² *Duanaire Finn*, i, ed. and trans. Eoin MacNeill, Irish Texts Soc. vii (London, 1908), no. V, line 5. Cf. Murphy, *Duanaire Finn*, iii. 14.

³ *The Yellow Book of Lecan*, facsimile edited by Robert Atkinson (Dublin, 1896), pp. 119 and 325. Cf. L. C. Stern, 'Fiannsruth', *ZCP* i (1897), 473. Compilation of these lists may have begun in the eleventh century, according to Murphy, *Duanaire Finn*, iii. xli and lx.

⁴ K. Meyer, 'Early Relations', p. 73 n. 5, and 'Erim' *RC* xxxiii (1912), 96; *Acallam na Senórach*, ed. W. Stokes, in *Irische Texte*, ed. Stokes and Windisch, iv. 1 (Leipzig, 1900), p. 8.

⁵ The name *Uchdryt* (which also occurs at WM 460 and 468) is a loan from Old English (cf. DP iv. 405-6 and 499 n. 1). *Henwas edeinawc* is probably an error (influenced by the *henwas* of WM 465) for the *Anwas edeinawc* who appears, without patronymic, as one of Arthur's followers in WM 461 and in the poem *Pa gur yw y porthaur?* (ed. Roberts, 'Rhai Cerddi Ymddiddan', p. 301). Foster, 'Irish Influence', p. 30, connects him with the Irish noun *anfoss* and name *Anfos*. But *Anfos* has a long *ō* according to CGH 510 and is therefore irrelevant; while *anfoss* is merely cognate with *anwas*: see J. Loth, 'Irl. moy. *anfoss*, turbulence, agitation; gall. moy. *anwas*', *RC* xxxviii (1920-1), 57, and 'Irl. moy. *an-foss*, mouvement incessant, turbulence; gall. *anwas*, *angkywes*', *RC* xxxix (1922), 59-60 (misrepresented by Foster); GPC s.vv. *anwas* and *gwas*.

⁶ TYP 341.

⁷ See Wendy Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London, 1978), p. 129 and n. 3; Williams, *Canu Aneirin*, p. 337.

⁸ It seems as if something has dropped out here to the effect that 'on the tips of the peaks would he go, and as long as there was a marsh'.

⁹ WM 463. 'These three men had three properties. Old-Walker never found a man who could keep pace

As his epithets suggest, Caílte was also portrayed as a great runner in Irish literature. Yet the Irish picture of Caílte is never so fanciful as that of Scilti scawntroet; indeed it is more like that of Henwas edeinawc.¹ While it is possible that the above description of Scilti was inspired by some Irish tale, it is not necessary to assume an Irish source, as the *cynneddf* attributed to him may have been inspired by his epithet (*y*)*scawntroet* alone (note 'rac y *yskafned*'). Many of the characters in *Culhwch* are highly elaborated versions of the 'magic helpers' who figure in the very old international folk-tale *Six Go Through The World*.² One of these is normally a great runner; for instance, in the Russian tale *The Flying Ship* we have a character called 'Swift-of-foot'.³ In the early instance of the 'helpers' in the story of the Argonauts we have Euphemus the swift-footed (πόδας ταχύς), who is the most swift-footed of men (ποδωκηέστατον ἄλλων):

κεῖνος ἀνὴρ καὶ πόντου ἐπὶ γλαυκοῖο θέεσκεν
οὔδματος, οὐδὲ θοοὺς βάπτειν πόδας, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἄκροισι
ἔχνεσι τεγγόμενος διερχῆ πεφόρητο κελεύθῳ.⁴

Since the author (or authors) of *Culhwch* was clearly intent on working up the 'magic helpers' motif (here giving us *three* runners instead of the usual *one*)⁵ it would be entirely natural for him to include the Irish hero (S)cilti scawntroet on the basis of his epithet alone and to attribute the *cynneddf* to him on his own initiative. The description of Scilti's light-footedness is an amplification of a widespread figure whose *locus classicus* is Vergil's description of Camilla:

illa uel intactae segetis per summa uolaret
gramina nec teneras cursu laeisset aristas,
uel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tument
ferret iter celeris nec tingeret aequore plantas.⁶

with him by horse or by foot. Old-Servant the Winged, no four-footed beast could ever keep up with him for the length of an acre, let alone anything more than that. Scilti Light-foot, when the whim was in him to run on his lord's errand, he never sought a road as long as he knew where he was going; instead, as long as there was a forest he would go along the top of the forest, and as long as there was a mountain he would go along the top of the reeds, and throughout his life no reed ever bent under his feet, let alone broke, because of his lightness.

¹ See, for example, the stories cited by Murphy, *Duanaire Finn*, iii. 18-19 and 442.

² Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale*, Folklore Fellows Communications, clxxxiv, 2nd revision (Helsinki, 1961), pp. 180-1; Jackson, *International Popular Tale*, pp. 71-5 and 133 n. 67; Gwyn Jones, *Kings, Beasts and Heroes* (London, 1972), pp. 68-71.

³ *Russian Fairy Tales from the Skazki of Polevoi*,

trans. R. Nisbet Bain, new edn. (London, 1915), pp. 27-33.

⁴ Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, I. 182-4: 'That man used to run along the swell of the blue sea; he did not immerse his swift feet, but with just the tips of his feet being wetted he was borne along his wet path.' Cf. IV. 1483.

⁵ Cf. Jones, *Kings, Beasts and Heroes*, p. 73.

⁶ *Aeneid*, VII. 808-11: 'That woman might fly over the topmost grains of the unripe corn and not be found to have crushed the tender ears as she passed, or might make her way over the ocean, poised on the swelling waves, and not touch the water with her swift feet.' Cf. Homer, *Iliad*, XX. 226-9; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, x. 654-5; and the description of a runner in that 'Guinness Book of Records' of the medieval world: C. Iulii Solini *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, ed. T. Mommsen, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1895), p. 25. There is an allusion to a Welsh hero who raced the wind in *Araith Iolo Goch*, in *Areithiau Pros*, ed. Jones, p. 15.

Similar figures may be found in Irish literature, in the story of Suibhne Geilt for instance—

ba hainminic nothaidhledh a c[h]ossa lár ar lúas a réime 7 an tan nothaidhledh ni bhenfadh a drucht do bharrúachtar an fheoir ar ettroma 7 ar aerddhacht an chéme nochingedh¹

—but there is no reason to suppose that it got into Wales from Ireland; indeed it may have originated in both countries spontaneously and independently. To sum up: the name and epithet of Scilti scawntroet clearly derive from Irish literature, but it is uncertain whether what is said about him does.

I am unable to establish when the name of Scilti scawntroet got into *Culhwch*. The separation of his name from the earlier group of five Irish heroes need not mean that it was an independent addition. It may mean merely that his name reached the compiler separately (for Caílte belongs to the 'Fenian Cycle' whereas the other five belong to the 'Ulster Cycle'), or the compiler may have wanted to save his name for the triad of runners quoted above. The spelling of Irish *ai* (*aoi*) by Welsh *i* results from a Welsh scribe either attempting to spell phonetically or copying from an orthographically untraditional Irish source.² It does not help to date the form because of our lack of evidence for the development of the Old Irish *i*-diphthongs,³ and while the spelling (*S*)*cilti* clearly reflects a later stage than the spelling *aed* for *Aed* (*Aodh*) in the main narrative, the latter form is an unsafe point of comparison, since the spelling *Aed* may already have been traditional in Welsh when *Culhwch* was written. The lack of a prosthetic vowel in *scawntroet* is also unhelpful; it merely shows that the epithet is older than the White Book, whose scribe regularly wrote prosthetic vowels and in fact did so on the second appearance of the name (*yscawntroet*). Prosthetic *y*- had been a feature of at least some Welsh pronunciation since at least as early as the first half of the tenth century and its acknowledgement in writing was a matter of orthographical convention.⁴ While its omission is typical of Old Welsh orthography, examples of such omission can be found even in the late Middle Ages.⁵ In the present instance the [ə] may have been especially weak on account of the preceding vowel at the end of *Scilti* (compare the distribution of

¹ *Buile Suibhne Geilt*, ed. and trans. J. G. O'Keefe, Irish Texts Soc. xii (London, 1913), sect. 12: 'It was seldom that his feet would touch the ground because of the swiftness of his course, and when he did touch it he would not shake the dew from the top of the grass for the lightness and nimbleness of his step.' Cf. *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension I*, ed. and trans. Cecile O'Rahilly (Dublin, 1976), lines 741-5 and 763-6. One must distinguish the merely practical motif that no one could be admitted to the Fianna if he broke a dead stick under his feet: see *Airem Muintiri Finn* (ed. and trans. Standish H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* (London, 1892), i. 93; ii. 100), followed by Geoffrey Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, ed. David Comyn and P. S. Dinneen, Irish Texts Soc. iv, viii-ix, and xv (London, 1901-14), ii. 334.

² Compare the Cottonian Annals for A.D. 1233-55 (see above, p. 609 n. 2) in which O'Rahilly found his first examples of *i* for *aoi* (*Irish Dialects Past and Present*, p. 36).

³ See Rudolf Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin, 1946), p. 42 (but on the element *mail* see the translators' note on p. 674, also Carl J. S. Marstrander, *Une Correspondence germano-celtique* (Kristiania, 1924), pp. 27-9); J. Shaw, 'L'Évolution de "vieil-irlandais *ae, ée, ai, oi*" dans les dialectes gaéliques', *ÉC* xii (1968-9), 147-56; K. Jackson, 'Some Remarks on the Gaelic Notitia in the Book of Deer', *Ériu*, xvi (1952), 91-2, and *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer*, pp. 133-5; also Greene, 'Diphthongs of Old Irish', p. 44, and above, p. 604 n. 7.

⁴ LHEB 527-8; K. Jackson, 'The Date of the Old Welsh Accent Shift', *SC* x/xi (1975-6), 40-1.

⁵ E. P. Hamp, 'On Dating and Archaism in the *Pedeir Keinc*', *THSC* (1972-3), 96-7. For examples in names see DP ii. 352 n. 7, 358 n. 1, and 410 n. 41; C. A. Gresham, 'The Aberconwy Charter', *Arch. Camb.* xciv (1939), 150 (*scubordynemreis*).

prosthetic *e-* in early Old French¹) and its pretonic position. One has to conclude that (*S*)*cilti scawntroet* may have been added to *Culhwch* at any date between its composition and the fourteenth-century manuscript. A fourteenth-century date is tempting in view of the knowledge of the name of Cailte's companion Finn which is shown by some fourteenth-century Welsh poets.²

There are no more undoubted Irish names in the list (apart from *Brys uab bryssethach*, discussed below). *Tathal twyll goleu* ('Tathal of manifest treachery') is usually regarded as a borrowing of Irish *Túathal*, but that is phonetically difficult.³ Yet as *Tathalius* occurs as the name of an Irish king in the Cambro-Latin *Vita Sancti Tathe*⁴ it presumably could represent some Irish name. The most likely candidates are *Cathal* and *Dathal*, allowing for scribal confusion of *c* and *t* and phonetic confusion of [d] and [t].⁵ Neither name has any literary association. The name *gilla. goeshyd*, which is given to the 'chief leaper of Ireland', shows a merely superficial Irish colouring.⁶ Because in many Irish names, from the tenth century on, *gilla*, 'servant', was followed by a saint's name in the genitive, *gilla* proved an easy means for foreign writers like Geoffrey of Monmouth and Layamon to form distinctively Irish-sounding names.⁷ The Welsh author gives himself away by following *gilla* with an epithet (meaning 'stag-foot'). The name of the 'chief huntsman of Ireland', who also figures in the main narrative, is *garselit* or *garsclit*; I suspect that this is really a Welsh epithet like *coeshyd*, formed from *gar* 'shank', plus an uncertain and possibly corrupt noun or adjective.⁸ Meyer thought that *Garselit* was Irish *gerr-selat* 'short-while', but this does not give very good sense.⁹ (Note, too, that the treatment of Irish *e(a)* as Welsh *a* would seem to belong to a later

stratum of text than the transcription by *e* that we see in *beruach* for *Ce(a)rnach* and *fercos* for *Fe(a)rg(h)us*, which occur in the list of names only.¹) *Llarcan* in the name *Eiladar* [var. *Eiladyr*] *m. penn llarcan* has been identified as the Irish personal name *Lorccán*.² This is speculative but, if correct, indicates no knowledge of Irish literature. The Irish name may have been well known in Wales as the name of the Irishman, Llorcan Wyddel, whom St. Beuno raised from the dead.³

The fact is that the presence of a few undoubted Irish personal names in *Culhwch* has misled scholars into venturing more and more improbable or impossible Irish derivations for many other names in *Culhwch*, such as *anlawd wledic*,⁴ *Kynyr keinuaruawc* and his son *Kei*,⁵ *kynnwas kwrr y uagyl*,⁶ *echel uordwytt twll*,⁷ *lluydeu mab kelcoet*,⁸ and *Wrnach gawr*.⁹ In particular there has been a tendency to regard names with final *-ch* as Irish, even if the characters who bear them have no connection with Ireland.¹⁰ Such names can be better understood if *-ch* [x] in medieval Welsh personal names is regarded as a 'phonaestheme' suggestive of various shades of uncouthness, brute vigour, and primitive heroism.¹¹ The ending *-ch* was particularly common in Irish proper names¹² and this may have lent it

¹ Irish *e(a)* [e^a] had become [a] to some extent by the early thirteenth century: see O'Rahilly, 'Middle-Irish Pronunciation', p. 162; *Irish Dialects Past and Present*, pp. 141 and 175-6; K. Jackson, 'Common Gaelic', *Proc. of the British Academy*, xxxvii (1951), 83-4; 'Gaelic Notitia', p. 90; *Book of Deer*, p. 129. This is not, in itself, an objection to Meyer's suggestion since parts of the list may be older than parts of the main narrative. Note also that the form *Cernach* may have been well established in Wales through the *Vita Sancti Carantoci (Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae)*, ed. Wade-Evans, pp. 142, 144, and 146).

² WM 468; RM 112. See DP iv. 677; S. Baring-Gould and John Fisher, *The Lives of the British Saints* (London, 1907-13), iii. 379 n. 1.

³ See *ibid.* iv. 374; *Gwaith Lewys Môn*, ed. Eurys I. Rowlands (Cardiff, 1975), p. 378.

⁴ WM 452; Foster, 'Irish Influence', pp. 29-30. But see A. O. H. Jarman, 'Emrys Wledig; Amlawdd Wledig; Uthr Bendragon', *LIC* ii (1952-3), 127; TYP 366 n. 1; Evans, *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, p. cxvi.

⁵ WM 464; TYP 303-4 and 307. But see TYP 547, and Evans, 'Comparison of the Formation', p. 420 n. 7; also DP iv. 410-11.

⁶ WM 460 and 501; Foster, 'Irish Influence', pp. 31-2 (on *clrbachall* cf. *Die Romanze von Froech und Findabair*, ed. Wolfgang Meid (Innsbruck, 1970), pp. 105-6). The epithet was convincingly explained by J. Loth, 'Gall. *cwrr*, *irl. corr*, *curr*, *angle*, *recoin*', *RC* xxxiv (1913), 148.

⁷ WM 461 and 503; Foster, 'Irish Influence', p. 33. But see TYP 335-6 and 550.

⁸ WM 466 and 499; John Rhys, *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx* (Oxford, 1901), ii. 546 and n. 1; W. J. Gruffydd, *Rhiannon* (Cardiff, 1953), p. 76 n. 2; Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd*, p. 223. But note that both

names occur elsewhere in Welsh, and cf. DP ii. 306 n. 2; E. Anwyl, 'The Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *ZCP* iii (1901), 125-6; Williams, *Pedeir Keinc*, p. 247; and D. Machreth Ellis, 'Cilgwri', *BBCS* xxi (1964-6), 31.

⁹ Foster, 'Culhwch and Olwen and Rhonabwy's Dream', p. 38 n. 1. But for another instance of the name in Welsh see T. Jones, reviewing Loomis, *Arthurian Tradition and Chrétien de Troyes*, in *LIC* i (1950-1), 129; and for the origin of the notion that the name is of Irish derivation—in the Iolo forgeries—see Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, ii. 564-5.

¹⁰ See, for example, DP iv. 368 n. 1; Foster, 'Irish Influence', p. 32.

¹¹ The existence of such a phonaestheme is perhaps indicated by the use of the diminutive suffix *-ach* as a 'pejorative termination' (J. Lloyd-Jones, 'Welsh *Palach*, etc.', *Ériu*, xvi (1952), 124), and by the semantic decline of *gwrach* (cf. OIr *fracc* 'woman') and *eurych*. As with phonaesthemes in other languages there are plenty of examples where *-ch* has no apparent significance. On the concept of the 'phonaestheme' or 'psychomorph' see W. S. Allen, 'Ancient Ideas on the Origin and Development of Language', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1948), pp. 50-2; *ibid.* (1950), pp. 32-3; N. N. Markel and E. P. Hamp, 'Connotative Meanings of Certain Phoneme Sequences', *Studies in Linguistics*, xv (1960-1), 47-61; Dwight L. Bolinger, *Forms of English: Accent, Morpheme, Order* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 191-239; M. L. Samuels, *Linguistic Evolution with Special Reference to English* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 45-8; Gérard Genette, *Mimologiques: voyage en Cratylie* (Paris, 1976).

¹² See above, p. 604; and Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd*, pp. 1-18.

¹ Pope, *Latin to Modern French*, p. 217. See also J. R. F. Piette, *French Loanwords in Middle Breton* (Cardiff, 1973), p. 50.

² J. Lloyd-Jones, 'Finn', *BBCS* iv (1927-9), 133 (cf. *idem*, *Geirfa*, s.n. *Finn* and s.v. *ffin*); TYP lxxxii n. 1.

³ WM 460. See the objections of J. Loth, 'Le Mabinogi de Math vab Mathonwy d'après W. J. Gruffydd et la méthode en Celto-mythologie', *RC* xlvi (1929), 290-1. Cf. Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, 2nd edn. (Cardiff, 1951), pp. 251-2; Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd*, p. 52. The *Tethel* for *Túathal* in *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* (ed. Evans, pp. clxxiv, 4 and 54; also EWGT 37 and 135-6) may well be a corruption of **Twthel* or similar; cf. the variants *Dwthil*, *Twthyl*, etc., in EWGT 99-100. The second Irish *a* [ə] may have been treated as equivalent to a Welsh svarabhakti vowel and spelled accordingly. Cf. the forms of *Caer Dathyl* discussed by Loth and Williams, the Middle Welsh spellings of *cathl* and *dathl*, and the discussion of *coruill*, above, p. 608.

⁴ *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, ed. and trans. A. W. Wade-Evans (Cardiff, 1944), p. 270. The form *Tathal* in Brychan's genealogy (EWGT 213) may well be corrupt.

⁵ Cf. *Dyrnog/Tyrnog* and *Dwthil/Twthyl* above, p. 604 and p. 614 n. 3.

⁶ WM 466. Cf. Evans, *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, p. 56.

⁷ DIL s.v. *gilla*; Craigie, 'Gaelic Words and Names in the Icelandic Sagas', pp. 445-6; C. Marstrander, 'Altir. *gillae*', *ZCP* xii (1918), 313-14; A. H. Smith, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Yorkshire', *RC* xlv (1927), 42-3; D. Ellis Evans, 'A Comparison of the Formation of Some Continental and Early Insular Celtic Personal Names', *BBCS* xxiv (1970-2), 431 and n. 6; O'Brien, 'Old Irish Personal Names', pp. 229-30; CGH 660-1; B. Ó Cuív, 'Borrowed Elements in the Corpus of Irish Personal Names from Medieval Times', *Nomina*, iii (1979), 46-7. Cf. Tatlock, *Legendary History*, pp. 155-7 and 520-1; B. F. Roberts, 'The Treatment of Personal Names in the Early Welsh Versions of *Historia Regum Britanniae*', *BBCS* xxv (1972-4), 279; Evans, *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, p. cxv n. 323.

⁸ WM 466, 484, and 501; RM 110, 124, and 138. The 'Englynion y Clyweit', which take several names from *Culhwch*, include *garselit gwydel*; see Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa*, i. 522. A possible example of an epithet in *gar-* 'shank' is *Garwyn*; cf. TYP 318; *The Poems of Taliesin*, ed. Ifor Williams and J. E. Caerwyn Williams (Dublin, 1968), p. xxxiii; Gwyn Thomas, 'Cynan Garwyn fab Brochfael Ysgithrawg', *BBCS* xxvii (1976-8), 222-3.

⁹ Meyer, 'Early Relations', pp. 73 n. 5, and 74.

overtones of 'alien' and 'uncivilized' as well as 'Irish', given the hostile attitude to the Irish which is evident in Welsh sources throughout the Middle Ages.¹ A major source of *-ch* in native Welsh words was Common Celtic **kk*.² As the gemination occurred especially in words for animals, giving rise in Welsh to *broch*, *buwch*,³ *bwch*, *gwyach*, *hwch*, *moch*, etc., which by chance fell together with a number of other animal words with *-ch* from other sources (such as *gwalch*, *iwrch*, *march*, *twrch*, *ych*), the final *-ch* (which in the original geminate forms may have originated hypocoristically) may have developed associations of 'bestial' on the one hand and, given the connections between animals and warriors in Celtic nomenclature and heroic poetry,⁴ associations of 'heroic, strong' on the other. The hypothesis of a 'phonaestheme' *-ch* with the above range of meanings helps to explain why there are so many names in *-ch* in *Culhwch* for which no Irish or Welsh parallel can be found. It also raises the question whether names in *Culhwch* which resemble Irish names in *-ch* really are derived from Irish. For instance, *duach*, *Brathach*, and *nerthach* appear in Culhwch's list of heroes as the sons of Gwawrdur kyruach 'from the uplands of Hell'.⁵ The Irish name *Duach* was known in Wales through the Hiberno-Latin *Vita* of St. Máedóc, of which there is a Welsh copy in British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xiv (Monmouth, c. 1200),⁶ and *Brathach* might be compared with the Irish names *Bráth* and *Brethach*;⁷ but the resemblances may well be coincidental, and the Welsh names may have been invented by adding the expressive *-ach* to the Welsh words *du* 'black', *brath* 'stab', and *nerth* 'strength'.⁸

We may conclude that the number of identifiable Irish personal names in *Culhwch* is quite

¹ See GPC and Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa*, s.v. *Gwyddel*; O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales*, pp. 12, 79 n. 2, 87-8, and 90; *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, ed. Thomas Parry, 2nd edn. (Cardiff, 1963), p. 542; D. Bethell, 'English Monks and Irish Reform in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Historical Studies*, viii, ed. T. D. Williams (Dublin, 1971), 125-6.

² Thurneysen, *Grammar of Old Irish*, pp. 92-3; Jerzy Kuryłowicz, *Esquisses linguistiques* (Wrocław and Kraków, 1960), pp. 259-73 and 309-10. For examples (wrongly explained) see W. Stokes, 'On the Assimilation of Pretonic *n* in Celtic Suffixes', *TPS* (1891-4), pp. 297-307; Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, i. 159-61 and ii. 25-6. On expressive gemination in names and domestic vocabulary, see the discussion and references in D. Ellis Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 296-7 and 376; 'Comparison of the Formation', pp. 425-6; K. H. Schmidt, 'Zur Entwicklung einiger indogermanischer Verwandtschaftsnamen im Keltischen', *ÉC* xvi (1979-80), 117-22; idem, review of O. Szemerényi, *Studies in the Kinship Terminology of the Indo-European Languages*, in *ZCP* xxxvii (1979), 280 (but note that *merch* does not necessarily contain **kk*).

³ See E. P. Hamp, 'Notulae Cornicae', *BBCS* xxvii (1976-8), 252.

⁴ Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*, pp. 291-2; 'Comparison of the Formation', pp. 429-31; Helmut Birkhan, *Germanen und Kelten bis zum Ausgang der*

Römerzeit (Vienna, 1970), pp. 344-486; M. Richards, 'Gwŷr, Gwragedd a Gwehlyth', *THSC* (1965), p. 30; TYP 94 and n. 3; Kenneth H. Jackson, *The Gododdin* (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 41; P. L. Henry, *Saoithiullacht na Sean-Ghaeilge* (Dublin, 1978), pp. 176-83.

⁵ WM 461. Compare 'yn sach a salach . . . yghaer brythwch a brytach (*var.* brythach) a nerthach' in the porter's speech (above, p. 601). On *kyruach* see GPC s.v. *cyrfach* (cf. Foster, 'Irish Influence', p. 32).

⁶ *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1910), ii. 306. On this *Vita* and the manuscript see Sims-Williams, 'Evidence for Vernacular Irish Literary Influence', p. 236 and references. For *Duach* see DIL s.n. *Dau*, and CGH 465. Note that *u* in the orthography of the White Book stands for a different sound from the Irish *u*. It is hard to derive *Duach* from Irish *Dubthach* (with Foster, 'Irish Influence', p. 33), for one would expect to get *Dwthach* in Welsh (Evans, *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, p. cxv n. 324). On the survival of *th* [θ] see O'Rahilly, 'Middle-Irish Pronunciation', pp. 158 and 163-95.

⁷ CGH 522 and 524.

⁸ For the element *nerth* in names see Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names*, p. 237; 'Comparison of the Formation', pp. 419-20; Birkhan, *Germanen und Kelten*, pp. 544-51. A *Nerth* mab Kadarn appears in *Culhwch* and in *Breudwyd Ronabwy* (WM 221 and 461). Note also Olr *Dinertach*.

small (for a tale bursting with names), and that the only ones certainly drawn from Irish literature are the six in Culhwch's long list: Conchobor mac Nessa and company, and Caílte. What is the significance of the inclusion of these six literary names? Only one of them, Cú Roí, is mentioned elsewhere in medieval Welsh literature, in the *Marwnat Corroi*, and it is far from clear how much the author of that poem—let alone his audience—really knew about Cú Roí.¹ Nevertheless it is generally assumed that the author (or authors) of the list was familiar with Irish sagas, perhaps in Welsh adaptations. Sir Ifor Williams, for instance, wrote:

In order to enhance the glory of Arthur, the narrator forced Welsh heroes of many centuries to make their way to his court, and become his men: they belonged to saga literature, and so they had to belong to the Arthurian circle. We can therefore confidently infer that he found these Irish names also in Welsh heroic tales, adaptations of Irish sagas; and he enlisted the Irish heroes too with the others.²

This view deserves serious consideration, but the inference is not necessarily correct. Although it is more or less certain that many of the people named in Culhwch's list were the heroes of sagas current in Wales, in the case of others this is only a possibility; and some of them—in particular the ones bearing facetious names—may have had no previous literary existence at all. Moreover, even if Conchobor and the rest *were* the heroes of Welsh heroic tales, those tales could have been more or less new creations, rather than adaptations of Irish sagas. The coupling of exotic heroic names with new stories is a common phenomenon in Arthurian romance, and there are at least two late medieval Welsh pieces of evidence for stories not attested in Irish being attached to Irish heroic names.³ We have already noted that what is said about Caílte in *Culhwch* does not tally with Irish sources. In order to show that the six names in *Culhwch* do not require us to posit the existence of Welshmen well versed in Irish sagas, two alternative hypotheses may be presented.

As we see from *Senchas Síil Ír* and the genealogical verses attributed to Senchán Torpéist, for example, traditional heroes such as Conchobor and Caílte had been accepted as historical figures in Ireland well before the composition of *Culhwch*.⁴ This meant that they might appear in Hiberno-Latin 'historical' works which could be read by those who had no Irish. Thus Conchobor and other Ulster heroes were inserted in the Latin annals of Ireland in the eleventh century at the latest.⁵ The names of Conchobor, etc., and of Caílte Light-foot may have reached Wales in a Latin context or even in a bare list of Irish heroes, and they may have meant as little to the compiler(s) of the list in *Culhwch* as the names in the Welsh genealogies did to Geoffrey of Monmouth when he turned them into prehistoric kings of Britain.⁶ The fact that the Welsh compiler(s) was/were able to render the Irish names in Welsh orthography does not show that they meant anything to him/them in terms of

¹ See Sims-Williams, 'Evidence for Vernacular Irish Literary Influence', pp. 248-55.

² *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry*, p. 24.

³ See Sims-Williams, 'Evidence for Vernacular Irish Literary Influence', p. 256 and references.

⁴ CGH 22 and 269-86.

⁵ J. V. Kelleher, 'The Táin and the Annals', *Ériu*, xxii (1971), 107-27; D. N. Dumville, 'Ulster Heroes in the Early Irish Annals: A Caveat', *Éigse*, xvii (1977-9), 47-54.

⁶ See S. Piggott, 'The Sources of Geoffrey of Monmouth', *Antiquity*, xv (1941), 269-86.

literature; he/they may have known how to pronounce *Conchobor*, for instance, merely as a popular Irish name. Moreover, if the names were found in a Latin context their spelling may already have been fairly 'phonetic' from an international standpoint.

Some use of learned, Latin sources is suggested by another Irish name in the list: 'Brys uab bryssethach o dal y rydynawc du o brydein'.¹ *Brys uab bryssethach* is clearly the same as the Irish prince *Brusc* son of *Briscethach*, who is named as the ancestor of Brychan, the Irish eponymous founder of the Welsh kingdom of Brycheiniog, in the genealogies attached to the *Vita Sancti Cadoci* in Vespasian A. xiv, and he is probably the same as the *Briscus* mentioned in the *Vita Sancti Carantoci Prima* (in the same manuscript) as one of the early Irish conquerors of Wales.² The name *Brys/Brusc/Briscus* may be identified with the old Celtic name *Bruscus* (a *u*-stem), which is attested as the name of a Gaul of the Senones resident in Britain,³ and as the name of a Romano-British potter,⁴ and which occurs in ogham inscriptions in Kerry and Cork,⁵ and in the list of St. Patrick's priests in the Book of Armagh.⁶ It seems to have fallen out of fashion at an early date,⁷ while *Bryssethach/Briscethach* is not attested at all. Now in the recension of the Irish tract *The Expulsion of the Déisi* that refers to the alleged settlement of Dyfed by Eochaid Allmuir mac Artchuirp, the earliest ancestor of a Dyfed pedigree (Tryffin) is given an Irish ancestry including the name or epithet *Brosco*: Tryffin is 'm. Aeda Brosco m. Corath m. Echach Almuir m. Arttchuirp' (*var.* 'mc. Aeda mc. Brosco mc. Corach mc. Echdach Allmuir mc. Airtchuirp').⁸ This extension of the Dyfed line earlier than Tryffin is perhaps factitious, for the earliest Welsh genealogical collection does not include it,⁹ but a distinct, though corrupt, echo of it may be seen in the patronymic *mab Ewein vreis* given to Tryffin in later Welsh collections.¹⁰ Here *Ewein* seems to have replaced the Irish *Aed*,¹¹ and the epithet *breisc* seems to have replaced the

¹ WM 468: 'B. son of B. from the end of the black fernery of Britain'. The significance of this description is unclear. Phillimore suggested that *prydein* is for *prydy* 'Pictland' (DP iv. 368 n. 1).

² *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae*, ed. Wade-Evans, pp. 118 and 142; EWGT 25. On the manuscript see above, p. 616. These names are discussed by Phillimore DP iii. 278 and iv. 368 n. 1, and by C. H. Slover, 'Early Literary Channels Between Britain and Ireland', [Texas] *Studies in English*, vi (1926), 18-19.

³ *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, i. *Inscriptions on Stone*, ed. R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright (Oxford, 1965), p. 87, no. 262: *NOMINI SACRI BRUSCI FILI CIVIS SENONI* ('to the name of Sacer, son of Bruscus, a citizen of the Senones'). Cf. LHEB 36; *Inscriptio Britanniae Latinae*, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vii, ed. A. Hübner (Berlin, 1873), p. 53, no. 191.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 246, no. 1334, 18: *BRVSC . F[ecit]*.

⁵ *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*, ed. Macalister, i. 67 and 172, nos. 63 (*BRUSCO*) and 180 (*BRUSCCOS*). These are genitives of *Bruscus*: see Thurneysen, *Grammar of Old Irish*, p. 197.

⁶ *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ed. Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (Cambridge, 1901-3), ii. 262 and

264: *Bruscus* (9 b 2); *Bruscum* (11 a 1) (acc.); *Brusci* (11 a 2) (gen.).

⁷ No example occurs in the index of personal names to CGH (though there is a *Brost* listed on p. 527), but *Húi Broscae* is recorded as a family name (pp. 21 and 449); see also DIL and Kuno Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography* (Halle, 1906), s.v. *brosco*, where the place-name *Aired Brosca* is also noted. *Brosca* is a regular result of genitive **Bruskōs*, and *Broscae* could be a hypercorrect variant (seeing that *-a* and *-ae* fell together as *-a*).

⁸ EWGT 4. Cf. DP iii. 266 n. 1, where Phillimore argues that the Irish author of the *Expulsion* followed an Old Welsh genealogy for the names from the eighth century (the date of writing?) back to Triffin. A bibliography of studies of the *Expulsion* is given by T. Ó Cathasaigh, 'On the LU Version of "The Expulsion of the Déisi"', *Celtica*, xi (1976), 156-7.

⁹ Harley Genealogy no. 2 (as emended in EWGT 10) goes back no further than Triffin.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 45 (no. 13), 106 (no. 18), and 153.

¹¹ For a speculation as to how *Aed* might become *Ewein*, see M. Miller, 'Date-Guessing and Dyfed', *SC* xii/xiii (1977-8), 39. But perhaps *Ewein* is a corruption of (*A*)*ed m*?

name or epithet *Brosco*,¹ with the Welsh substituting the familiar for the unfamiliar in both cases. Despite the fact that *Brosco* appears to be an epithet in one manuscript of the *Expulsion*, like *breisc*, it is most probable that it is really a form of the personal name *Brusc*,² and refers to the *Brusc/Briscus* of the *Vita Cadoci* and the *Vita Carantoci*. I would suggest that the patronymic *Briscethach* given to *Brusc* in the *Vita Cadoci* arose from scribal conflation of *Br(o)sc* and either his father's name, *Corach*, or, more likely, his grandfather's name, *Echach* (genitive of *Eochaid*), with common scribal confusion of *c* and *t*. The dynastic significance of the pedigree used in the *Vita Cadoci* would seem to be that Brychan, far from being the son of a king of Ireland as Brycheiniog documents state,⁴ was really a scion of the Irish dynasty that founded the royal line of Dyfed. From our point of view the important point is that the reference to *Brusc* and *Briscethach* in the *Vita Cadoci* shows that a text about the Irish settlement(s) in Wales was circulating between Ireland and Wales as early as the twelfth century, and that the list of names in *Culhwch* drew on this lost text, directly or indirectly. It is most probable that the origin-legend which I postulate was written in Latin, but contained Irish proper names.⁵ Thus although it is unlikely that learned, Latin sources were a major source for the proper names in *Culhwch*, they could have been the source for some of them, including the ones from Irish literature.⁶

As an alternative to a written Hiberno-Latin source one might suppose that the writer(s) of the name-list in *Culhwch* obtained the Irish heroic names from an Irishman by word of mouth. Here one may compare one of the theories that has been put forward to explain Wolfram von Eschenbach's long lists of names in Books XV and XVI of *Parzival*. He assigns to Feirefiz a list of the heathen knights he has vanquished, together with the names of the places from which they came, to Parzival a similar list of the knights of Christendom, to Cundrie a list of the planets in Arabic, and himself gives a list of fifty-eight precious stones, derived from a Latin lapidary. Like the lists in *Culhwch*, Wolfram's were probably intended to impress and entertain. The names assigned to Parzival appear to be Wolfram's invention, deliberately coined to sound like French names without actually being French, but Feirefiz's list of heathen knights and places derives from Solinus, though Wolfram gave

¹ It is most unlikely (as supposed by Meyer, *Contributions*, s.v. *brosco*, and in GPC, s.v. *braisg*) that *breisc* is a genuine cognate of *brosco* (starting from **braski*?). For an example of *breisc* being substituted for another (Welsh) epithet see *Canu Aneirin*, ed. Williams, v. 177 and note.

² For the *o* (< **u*) of the genitive appearing in the nominative note the Latinized *Bruscus* cited above, p. 618 n. 6. Whether there is any connection, as has been supposed, between the personal name and the Irish element(s) *brosco-* in the words *brosco*, *broscur*, *brosna*, etc., is uncertain. On these words see C. J. S. Marstrander, *Observations sur les présents indo-européens à nasale infixée en celtique* (Kristiania, 1924), pp. 27-8; J. Lloyd-Jones, 'The Compounds of **gar*', *Celtica*, iii (1956), 204; and P.-Y. Lambert, 'Restes de la flexion hétéroclitique en celtique?', *Étrennes de septantaine: travaux de linguistique et de grammaire*

comparée offerts à Michel Lejeune par un groupe de ses élèves (Paris, 1978), pp. 120-1.

³ *Echach* and *Echdach* were alternative genitives. See O. Bergin, 'Eochu, Eochaid', *Ériu*, xi (1932), 140-6. The use of the genitive does not imply a vernacular source; note, for example, 'mors Echdach', *ibid.*, p. 143. The Hiberno-Latin *Vita Sancti Declani* incorporates part of the *Expulsion*, but not the part that interests us (cf. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, i. lxii).

⁴ For example, EWGT 14-19, and *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae*, ed. Wade-Evans, pp. 313-18.

⁵ For a few remarks (which I hope to elaborate elsewhere) on the transmission of origin-legends in Latin see my 'Evidence for Vernacular Irish Literary Influence', pp. 235-6 and 246-7.

⁶ On the possibility that the names *Seueri* and *Glini* come from Latin sources see above, p. 606.

the names new terminations to correspond to his idea of a heathen-sounding name (cf. the *-ch* names in *Culhwch*). These largely meaningless lists may have appealed, like those in *Culhwch*, because of their incantatory rhythm and alliteration, their mixture of humour and wonder, and their 'phonaesthetic' significance. It has been argued, because of the blend of detailed classical knowledge and extreme ignorance of the Classics displayed in Feirefiz's list, because of the absence of any trace of Latin orthography, and because of errors suggesting mishearing, such as metathesis (cf. *cnychwr* in *Culhwch*?), that Wolfram had an informant who had read Solinus and Pliny and orally gave him 'random snippets of information which enabled him to pair off kings and countries'.¹ Similarly the author(s) of the list in *Culhwch* may have had Irish informants who were able to pass on orally, in the course of conversation in Welsh or Latin, the names of notable Irish heroes.

Neither of these two hypotheses—a Hiberno-Irish source or an Irish informant—can be proved or disproved, so far as I can see. Enough has been said, however, to show that it is unreasonable to argue from the presence of Irish names in the list that the Welsh author(s) had any real knowledge of Irish literature, still less that the inclusion of such names implies any knowledge on the part of the audience for which *Culhwch* was composed. As for the Irish personal names in the main narrative, they betray no knowledge of Irish literature, and appear to have been included merely to lend a foreign flavour to parts of the story. The way the Welsh scribes handled the Irish names in *Culhwch ac Olwen* shows that they were ignorant of Irish and Irish literature. We should be wary of assuming that the authors who created the tale were any more knowledgeable.

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¹ Lofmark, 'Name Lists in *Parzival*', p. 163.