

## CÚ CHULAINN IN WALES: WELSH SOURCES FOR IRISH ONOMASTICS

BRIAN Ó CUÍV has pointed out the potential value of a comprehensive study of Irish personal names.<sup>1</sup> In such a study Welsh literary and historical sources could play a small but interesting part. Among the most curious and neglected of these sources are the sixteenth-century Welsh lists of the names of traditional musical compositions.<sup>2</sup> These reveal a clear debt to Ireland: alongside Welsh titles such as *Caniad y Twrch Trwyth* and *Caniad ar gainc David ap Gwilim* occur titles such as *Caniad Jarll Cormac Wyddel* ('Tune of Earl Cormac the Irishman').<sup>3</sup> While such a title cannot necessarily be taken at face value as a translation of an Irish name for an Irish composition (still less as evidence of the name of its composer), it shows at least that Irish music was fashionable in late medieval Wales. A sceptic might argue that this fashion for Irish names may have been rather superficial, like the Continental craze for 'Turkish music' in the eighteenth century. There is certainly an element of invention in the sixteenth-century tracts. For example, the four musicians said to have settled the rule of music at 'Glyn Achlach' (Glendalough)<sup>4</sup> under the auspices of 'Mwrchan Wyddel', the lord of Ireland, comprise two people with Welsh names plus 'Olof(f) Gerddor' ('O. the musician') – which is probably Irish *ollamh* – and 'Matholwch Wyddel'.<sup>5</sup> The latter is not a genuine Irish name either, but an Irish-sounding name, presumably derived from the name of the Irish king in the well-known Middle Welsh story of *Branwen*; one may compare Iolo

<sup>1</sup> 'Aspects of Irish personal names', *Celtica* 18 (1986) 151–84.

<sup>2</sup> Attention was drawn to them by T. Gwynn Jones, 'Bardism and romance: a study of Welsh literary tradition', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* [*THSC*] (1913–14) 205–310, pp. 232–7; and idem, 'Cerdd Dant', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* [*BBCS*] 1 (1921–3) 139–56, pp. 141–2. They are now edited in full by Bethan E. Miles in her valuable unpublished M.A. dissertation, 'Swyddogaeth a Chelfyddyd y Crythor' (University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1983). Cf. C. O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales* (London 1924) 134–5; D. Simon Evans, *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* (Cardiff 1977) cii–ciii.

<sup>3</sup> Jones, *BBCS* 1 (1921–3) 149–50.

<sup>4</sup> O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales*, 134 n. 3, regarded this identification as 'mere guesswork'; but note that St Kevin is the son of 'Karfi o Lyn Achlach yn y Werddon' in a late-fifteenth-century manuscript of *Bonedd y Saint*: P. C. Bartrum (ed.), *Early Welsh genealogical tracts* (Cardiff 1966) 62 and 144. A variant in an early-sixteenth-century manuscript makes him the grandson of 'Corthi o Lyn'; and cf. 'Kassi/Kaffi o Llyn' in *Achau'r Saint*, *ibid.*, 69.

<sup>5</sup> Jones, *BBCS* 1 (1921–3) 143. The equation with Irish *ollamh* was suggested by Melville Richards to Enid Roberts, 'Marwnadau Telynorion', *Denbighshire Historical Soc. Trans.* 15 (1966) 80–117, p. 88 n. 5. Compare the 'fanciful' inclusion of an Irish lord Mathylwch/Malolwch as the saint's grandfather in the sixteenth-century Welsh *Life of St Collen*: Bartrum, *Tracts*, 30–31 and 133.

Goch's reference to Ireland as *gwlad Fatholwch* 'Matholwch's land'.<sup>6</sup> 'Mwrchan', too, looks like a variant on a stock name for Irish kings and Irishmen in Welsh sources.<sup>7</sup> Another suspicious name is 'Carsi delynnor' ('the harper'), who is said to have been in the audience at Glyn Achlach; variants of this name appear in late medieval Welsh manuscripts as the name of the father or grandfather of St Kevin of Glendalough.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, it is hard to believe that the Irish titles in the lists themselves were entirely invented, for no obvious motive, in the sixteenth century. Moreover, the testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis and others suggests that Irish music was known and admired in medieval Wales.<sup>9</sup> This is not at all surprising, since music transcends linguistic barriers; in modern Wales, for instance, music from Ireland is well known, even though literature in Irish is almost unknown outside the university colleges.

For literary historians, the most interesting item in the lists is a song or composition (*caniad*) upon (*ar*) a melody (*cainc*) listed as 'caniad ar gainc *Cochwlyn*' (varr. *Cycholyn*, *Cychôlyn*, *Kachwlyn*).<sup>10</sup> There can be

<sup>6</sup>D. R. Johnston (ed.), *Gwaith Iolo Goch* (Cardiff 1988) 87; E. I. Rowlands, 'Iolo Goch', in *Celtic studies: essays in memory of Angus Matheson* (ed. J. Carney and D. Greene, London 1968) 124–46, p. 125. On the name *Matholwch* (possibly dissimilated from *Mallochwch* under the influence of the Welsh name *Math* or of Irish names in *Math-*), see R. Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* 2nd ed. (Cardiff 1978) 450–51 and 557–8, and references (on *Caerfallwch* cf. M. Richards, 'Onomastica (II)', *BBCS* 25 (1972–4) 417–24, pp. 417–18).

<sup>7</sup>It may represent the Irish name *Murchad*, which appears in Welsh sources as *Murchath*, *Murheth* and (with metathesis?) *Murthach*, and even as (*Mac*) *Morwch*; *Murthach* may also represent *Muiredach* and *Muirchertach*. See Bromwich, *Trioedd*, 467 and 558; D. Myrddin Lloyd, *Rhai agweddau ar ddyys y Gogynfeirdd* (Cardiff 1977) 15; Johnston, *Iolo Goch*, 87 and 301; Evans, *Gruffud vab Kenan*, cxiv, 54 and 103; M. T. Flanagan, *Irish society, Anglo-Norman settler, Angevin kingship* (Oxford 1989) 62. Professor D. J. Bowen has pointed out to me the occurrence of *Macmurch* both in *Gwaith Dafydd ab Edmwnd* (ed. T. Roberts, Bangor 1914) no. LVII.25–6, and in his forthcoming edition of *Gruffudd Hiraethog* (poem 123 line 42).

<sup>8</sup>Jones, *BBCS* 1 (1921–3) 143, and note 4 above. Perhaps compare *Cesi/Céisi* (gen.), given as the name of Kevin's mother's grandfather in an Irish text on the Mothers of the Saints: P. Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus genealogiarum sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin 1985) 172.

<sup>9</sup>See, for example, O'Rahilly, *Ireland and Wales*, 134–5; Evans, *Gruffud vab Kenan*, ciii and n. 266; L. Hibberd, 'Giraldus Cambrensis and English "organ" music', *American Musicological Soc. Jn.* 8 (1955) 208–212; A. O. H. Jarman, 'Telyn a Chrwth', *Llên Cymru* 6 (1960–61) 154–75 (reviewed in English by P. Mac Cana in *Celtica* 7 (1966) 261–2; and cf. also A. Lloyd Hughes, 'Llythyr gan yr Athro J. Lloyd-Jones', *Llên Cymru* 14 (1981–4) 144–5).

<sup>10</sup>Jones, *BBCS* 1 (1921–3) 141 and 149; J. D. Rhys, *Cambrobrytannicae Cymrae-caeve linguae institutiones et rudimenta* (London 1592) 299. There are five primary witnesses according to the 'Group I' stemma given by Miles (unpubl. M.A. diss.) 619: A C (related) and B DD CH (related). MS A has *kachwlyn* (presumably also the reading of MS C); MS B (followed by J. D. Rhys) has *cycholyn*; MS CH has *Cochwlyn*; and MS DD has *Kyhelyn*. The other texts of *caniadau* listed on p. 619 (i.e. not Group I) lack this item. (Some include the *caniad ar gainc Cyhelyn*, but that was a quite different item, despite the mistake in MS DD above, and is not evidence that *Cuhelyn/Cyhelyn*, the name of a famous master-musician, was a form of *Cú Chulainn*; see my 'Irish elements in late medieval Welsh literature: the problem of Cuhelyn and \*Nyf', in the forthcoming *Festschrift* for T. Arwyn Watkins (ed. M. J. Ball et

little doubt that the personal name here is *Cú Chulainn*, for in the early Welsh *Elegy on Cú Roí mac Dáiri* (*Marwnat Corroi m[ab] Dayry*) in the Book of Taliesin, *Cú Chulainn* appears as *Cocholyn*.<sup>11</sup> The author of this poem appears to know at least a little about *Cú Roí* and his conflict with *Cú Chulainn*, but this seems to have been rather esoteric information; at least, there is no evidence that he passed on his knowledge to later Welsh authors. *Cú Roí* (*Corroi/Corroy*) only occurs again once, in the corrupt form *cubert .m. daere* in the comprehensive list of heroes in *Culhwch and Olwen*, and it is uncertain whether the name meant much or anything to the compiler(s) of that list.<sup>12</sup> *Cú Chulainn* himself does not appear in *Culhwch*, an extraordinary omission if its compiler(s) were genuinely familiar with Irish literature.<sup>13</sup> So far as I can discover, there is only one further occurrence of his name in medieval Welsh literature, in a poem by Lewys Glyn Cothi (fl. 1447–89), recently published by E. D. Jones, in praise of Rhys ap Gruffudd ap Cadwgan of Glasgwm (Radnorshire).<sup>14</sup> In line 57 Lewys praises Rhys as *chwech haelach no chychwlynn* ‘six times more generous than Cychwlynn’.<sup>15</sup> Quite why Lewys should compare *Cú Chulainn*, who is not especially noted for generosity (rather than bravery and so on), is not clear, except that no other name would complete the *cynganedd* of ‘*chwech haelach*’. Most likely his allusion is to the *caniad ar gainc Cochwlyn*, which could have been known to his audience. Perhaps the name of Rhys’s grandfather, Cadwgan, who is mentioned more than once in the poem, put Lewys in mind of the musician Cadwgan, to whom a large number of traditional compositions were ascribed in the lists.<sup>16</sup> The name *Cychwlynn* does not seem to have established

al.). Jones, *BBCS* 1 (1921–3) 141 and 146, refers to ‘Cochol[o]fn’ (cf. *Cor Cholofn*, *Korcholofn*, pp. 148 and 152), but this was a *cwlwm* and quite distinct from the *caniad ar gainc*; it appears among the lists of *clymau* ed. by Miles (unpubl. M.A. diss.) 639, as *korcholofn* (var. *corcholfin* in only one MS) – see also pp. 663 *Corcholfn trusgl maur*, 680 *Krychlofn* (varr. *Cor colofn*, *korcholofn*, *Kroch olon*, *crach olon*, *Gorcholovn*), and 682 *Cocholf* (var. *Korcholofn*), and further instances at p. 684. This name has evidently nothing to do with *Cocholyn*, etc.

<sup>11</sup>For edition, translation and discussion 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 1982) 235–57, pp. 248–55.

<sup>12</sup>*Culhwch ac Olwen: testun Syr Idris Foster* (ed. R. Bromwich and D. S. Evans, Cardiff 1988) xc and line 178.

<sup>13</sup>It is often suggested that *Culhwch* ‘shows heavy Irish influence’ (D. Ó hÓgáin, *Fionn mac Cumhaill: images of the Gaelic hero* (Dublin 1988) 58); but see P. Sims-Williams, ‘The significance of the Irish personal names in *Culhwch ac Olwen*’, *BBCS* 29 (1980–82) 600–620.

<sup>14</sup>Mr A. Cynfael Lake pointed this out to me: *Lewys Glyn Cothi (Detholiad)* (ed. E. D. Jones, Cardiff 1984) no. 12.

<sup>15</sup>I quote from the MS (National Library of Wales, Peniarth 70, p. 33), almost certainly Lewys’s autograph; see E. D. Jones, ‘A Welsh *Pencerdd*’s manuscripts’, *Celtica* 5 (1960) 17–27. Lewys did not capitalize proper names.

<sup>16</sup>I owe this idea to Marged Haycock. Who Cadwgan was is obscure; one late source connects him either with Arfon or with Shrewsbury. See Sims-Williams, in *Festschrift* T. A. Watkins.

itself in Welsh literature. The early seventeenth-century lexicographer, Dr John Davies, who was widely read, evidently failed to recognize it as a proper name, since he did not capitalize *chychwlyn* (against his normal practice with proper names) when copying Lewys Glyn Cothi's manuscript (NLW Peniarth 70) in British Library, Add. 14871, f. 45 v. A later reader of Dr Davies's transcript, probably Lewis Morris, did see that *chychwlyn* was a name and wrote *Cyχwlyn* in the margin;<sup>17</sup> but, if Lewis Morris had heard of Cú Chulainn, that is not very surprising, because it was in Dublin that he had Dr Davies's transcript bound in 1730.

There is one other unexpected occurrence of Cú Chulainn in Wales, in the name of a landholding (*gafael*) in Llanenddwyn in Ardudwy (Merionethshire) in the *Extent of Merioneth* of 1420: *Gauell Cocholyn* (var. *Cocholyn*).<sup>18</sup> This name was mentioned by Rhÿs in his paper on 'The Goidels in Wales', but in the context of such a farrago of unlikely 'Goidelic' names that its Irishness has since been overlooked.<sup>19</sup> *Gafael Cocholyn* was one of nearly two hundred *gafaelion* into which the commote of Ardudwy was divided, the *gafael* being 'a separate holding of land with a fixed boundary of its own, within which each heir, on his own, had to find patches of arable as best he could amongst the rocks, and keep to his own grazing land'.<sup>20</sup> The *gafael* in question was one of four *gafaelion* of demesne land (*terra dominicalis*) called 'Y Vaerdreff' which, as the name suggests, made up the former *maerdref* (bond demesne township) of Ystumgwern, to the south of Harlech; the appellation probably survives in the farm-name *Faeldref*, just north of Ystumgwern.<sup>21</sup> The other three clearly took their names from Welshmen: *Gauell Gwyñ Ymoche*, *Gauell Jeu<sup>a</sup>n ap Grono y lloc*, and *Gauell Eign ap Grono y lloc* (the last two were clearly named after two brothers). All four *gafaelion*

<sup>17</sup>This is simply followed by Owen Jones in his copy of Add. 14871 in Add. 14963, f. 59 v.

<sup>18</sup>H. Ellis (ed.), *The record of Caernarvon* (London 1838) 279. (See p. xx for the date 7 Henry V; the date 1422 in D. Stephenson, *The goverance of Gwynedd* (Cardiff 1984) 133 n. 172 is a misprint.) I am grateful to Dr A. D. Carr for the information that the original manuscript of the extent (Bangor, University College of North Wales, ms Baron Hill 6714) reads *Cocholyn*, and that Mr Tomos Roberts, who kindly checked the reading, agrees that this is probably Irish.

<sup>19</sup>J. Rhÿs, 'The Goidels in Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 5th ser. 12 (1895) 18–39, p. 32.

<sup>20</sup>C. A. Gresham, 'Ystumgwern and Prysor: medieval administrative districts of Ardudwy', *Merioneth Historical and Record Soc. Jn. [JMHRs]* 10 (1985–8) 100–118, p. 102; also idem, 'Medieval parish and township boundaries in Gwynedd', *BBCS* 34 (1987) 137–49, pp. 148–9.

<sup>21</sup>Gresham, *JMHRs* 10 (1985–8) 106. For a different view see T. Davies, 'Ystumgwern yn Ardudwy', *JMHRs* 10 (1985–8) 205–220; but see C. A. Gresham, 'Addendum: "Vairdre alias Vaildre"', *ibid.*, 221–6. On Ystumgwern see C. Thomas, 'Social organisation and rural settlement in medieval north Wales', *JMHRs* 6 (1969–72) 121–31, especially pp. 125–7; and cf. M. Richards, 'The significance of *is* and *uwch* in Welsh Commote and Cantref names', *Welsh History Review* 2 (1964–5) 9–18, p. 12. On bond settlements in general see G. R. J. Jones, 'The distribution of bond-settlements in north-west Wales', *ibid.*, 19–36.

owed suit to the royal mill called *Melyñ y brenin apud Stvmgwern*, of which the remains may still be seen just below the main road in Dyffryn Ardudwy.<sup>22</sup> Until recently it was thought that the four *gafaelion* names were not attested elsewhere, but Capt. Tom Davies has pointed out that they are mentioned twice in the mid-sixteenth century in the records of the Court of Augmentations. The spellings are poor, at least in the published text, where *gafael Cocholyn* appears as *Gavell Gochholyth* and *Gavell Cogholith* (and is indexed as *Gavel Goch Holeyth*).<sup>23</sup> This source shows that the 'gavel demesne land called Gavell Gochholyth' then consisted of four cottages, 16 acres of arable, 8 of meadow, and 6 of woodland, with appurtenances. This *gafael*, like the other three *gafaelion*, was now slightly less than its former size because 'of the residue of these 4 gavels, 4 of the ancestors of the tenants about (blank) years past gave' several parcels of land 'towards the finding of a priest to celebrate certain days in the year within the township of Llanendwyn, whereupon they built a chapel called Cappell Teulwyd'. The chapel in question is commemorated in the placename *Gwern y Capel* just west of Faeldref farm. Only scattered stones can be seen now, but some remains were still visible in 1850 when the Cambrian Archaeological Association visited the site, 'which promised much to interest the archaeologist, owing to there being some ground for supposing it to be a building coeval with the ancient Irish churches, so ably treated of by Dr. Petrie' – unfortunately the remains turned out to be more recent.<sup>24</sup>

*Gafael Cocholyn* presumably took its name from an individual – probably an Irishman who had settled on the coast – for *gafaelion* were, with few exceptions, distinguished by personal rather than placenames.<sup>25</sup> Who 'Cocholyn' was and what his social status was cannot easily be decided without firm evidence as to when he lived. By the time of the *Extent of Merioneth*, the tenants of the four *gafaelion* of the old *maerdref* may well have been freemen,<sup>26</sup> but if the eponymous 'Cocholyn' flourished many centuries earlier, when the *maerdref* was still a working

<sup>22</sup>Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments and Constructions in Wales and Monmouthshire [RCAHM], *County of Merioneth* (London 1915) 103.

<sup>23</sup>*Records of the Court of Augmentations relating to Wales and Monmouthshire* (ed. E. A. Lewis and J. Conway Davies, Cardiff 1954) 428, 442 and 548. Davies, *JMHR* 10 (1985–8) 213, unconvincingly modernises this as 'Gafael y Clochydd', but Gresham, *JMHR* 10 (1985–8) 223, prefers 'Gafael Cocholyn', and points out the 'inaccurate spelling' of the record.

<sup>24</sup>'Fourth annual meeting, Dolgellau', *Arch. Camb.* 2nd ser. 1 (1850) 315–34, p. 323. Cf. RCAHM, *Merioneth*, 102. Davies, *JMHR* 10 (1985–8), accepts at face value the statement that the 'ancestors' mentioned above built the chapel, but Gresham, *JMHR* 10 (1985–8) 224, argues that they simply rebuilt a decayed chapel that had served the royal hall at Ystumgwern.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. Gresham, *JMHR* 10 (1985–8) 106–7. In this article Gresham described the four *gafael*-names of the *maerdref* in the 1420 *Extent*, including 'Gafael Cochlyn' [*sic*, a misprint; cf. notes 18 and 23 above], as 'names which seem to be derived from the past' (p. 106), without explaining why; but for his later, more precise thoughts see below.

<sup>26</sup>Gresham, *JMHR* 10 (1985–8) 106.

centre of the native Welsh princes, he may have been a bondman. This would not necessarily mean that he was poor, but he would have suffered legal disadvantages.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, there is fourteenth-century evidence for outsiders moving into bond settlements, including *maerdrefi*, as avowry tenants, paying an annual fine to a lord for protection,<sup>28</sup> and one might expect an Irish incomer, as an alien (*alltud*), to be an avowry tenant, rather than a bondman. It should be stressed, however, that such avowry tenants were almost as low down the social scale as bondmen, and the distinction could be blurred. To give one relevant example, in 1305 there was a dispute in Cornwy, Talybolion, on the north-west coast of Anglesey over three men and their children who had long been regarded as bondmen (*nativi*) but themselves claimed to be freemen since their ancestors had come from Ireland and had come into avowry.<sup>29</sup>

Whatever his social status, the eponym of *gauell Cocholyn* is unlikely to have lived many centuries before 1420. Unfortunately the *Extent of Merioneth* does not specify the tenure by which the four *gafaelion* in the former *maerdref* of Ystumgwern were held. If they were still held by *tir cyfrif* tenure, as they would have been when the *maerdref* was active and as other bond *gafaelion* in Llanenddwyn still were in 1420, this would entail the land being reallocated regularly by the *maer* or bailiff according to the size of the adult population; as a result, the eponym of a *gafael* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries might even be the current tenant or his father: for instance, the heir of the bond *gafael* *Madog ab Ieuan Foel* in Llanenddwyn in 1420 was Dafydd ap Madog ab Ieuan Foel.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, if *gafael Cocholyn* was held as a free *gafael* in 1420, it may be noted that some free *gafaelion* in Llanenddwyn which were then held by *tir mál* tenure also seem to take their names from approximately contemporary tenants; for example, the eponym of the free *gafael* *Ieuan ab Einion ab Adda* was surely the grandfather of a certain 'Griffith ap John ap Jevan ap Eignion [ap Atha]', who is mentioned in a document dated 1556 and who, according to the above-mentioned Court of Augmentations record, was encroaching on 'Cappell y Teulwyd'.<sup>31</sup> At any rate, we must recognise that *Gauell Cocholyn* is

<sup>27</sup>Cf. *The Merioneth lay subsidy roll 1292-3* (ed. K. Williams-Jones, Cardiff 1976) xciv; A. D. Carr, *Medieval Anglesey* (Llangefni 1982) 147.

<sup>28</sup>*ibid.*, 31 and 140 n. 48; see Ellis, *Record of Caernarvon*, 104. This is likely to have been accelerated by rural depopulation in areas like Arduwy (see Williams-Jones, *Lay subsidy roll*, lvii; Thomas, *JMHR* 6 (1969-72) 129-30), although the former *maerdref* was probably on superior land (see Gresham, *JMHR* 10 (1985-8) 106).

<sup>29</sup>Ellis, *Record of Caernarvon*, 216; see Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, 143 and 161-2.

<sup>30</sup>Ellis, *Record of Caernarvon*, 278; Thomas, *JMHR* 6 (1969-72) 131 n. 28; Gresham, *JMHR* 10 (1985-8) 106-7; *idem*, *JMHR* 10 (1985-8) 225. Cf. Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, 30 and 140.

<sup>31</sup>Ellis, *Record of Caernarvon*, 279. Cf. Gresham, *JMHR* 10 (1985-8) 108; and Davies, *JMHR* 10 (1985-8) 213-14.

more likely to take its name from a fairly recent Irish settler rather than from one of Rhÿs's Dark Age Goidels.

A comparable case, which may be worth mentioning here, is a bond hamlet (of two carucates of land) in Twrcelyn on the north-east Anglesey coast, which was held by *tir gwelyog* tenure by the *Twrllachied duon*, or 'dark people of *Twrllach*', whose name, *Twrllachied* (-ied < -iaid), survived as a farmname. Thomas Jones derived it from Irish *turlach* 'mere', and G. R. J. Jones suggested that these dark-skinned or dark-haired bondmen, although first recorded from 1294 onwards, were perhaps Goidelic or even pre-Celtic serfs.<sup>32</sup> The tendency to assume that Welsh names containing *ch* are Irish is dangerous and has been carried too far in the past.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, Thomas Jones does seem to have been looking in the right direction, except that *Twrllach* is more likely to be a personal name: that is to say, Irish *Tairdelbach* (Turlough), a name which only became *popular* in Ireland from the late eleventh century onwards, as Donnchadh Ó Corráin has shown.<sup>34</sup> The phonetic form the Irish name has taken in Welsh suggests a fairly recent origin, and one is tempted to equate the eponymous *Twrllach* with the father of a Gwas Sanffraid<sup>35</sup> ap *Twrllach*, who is recorded just round the coast in Maenol Badrig ('Patrick's *maenol*'), at Llanbadrig, Talybolion, in 1325-6.<sup>36</sup> As in this instance, so in the case of *gafael Cocholyn*, it would be wrong to posit a prehistoric, Goidelic origin for the placename. The issue cannot be settled without further evidence about when and how the four *gafaelion* at Ystumgwern were named. The late Colin Gresham has suggested solutions to this problem in two recent studies of the fragmentary Edwardian *Extent of Ardudwy*, which was made c.1284, soon after the final defeat of the last Welsh prince, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. This refers to a carucate of ploughland and four *villani* in the manor of Ystumgwern.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately the *gafael*-names are not given in this

<sup>32</sup>G. R. J. Jones, 'The distribution of medieval settlement in Anglesey', *Anglesey Antiq. Soc. and Field Club Trans.* 1955, 27-96, pp. 76-7 (quoting Thomas Jones at p. 76 n. 22); see further Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, 31 and 304; and T. Jones Pierce, *Medieval Welsh society* (ed. J. Beverley Smith, Cardiff 1972) 89 and 285.

<sup>33</sup>For instance by R. J. Thomas, *Enwau afonydd a nentydd Cymru* (Cardiff 1938) 1. Cf. Sims-Williams, *BBCS* 29 (1980-82) 615-16.

<sup>34</sup>'Onomata', *Ériu* 30 (1979) 165-80, p. 166. Cf. D. Ó Corráin and F. Maguire, *Gaelic personal names* (Dublin 1981) 169.

<sup>35</sup>'Servant of St Brigit' i.e. *Máel Brigte*? There is an early occurrence of this name in Wales in *The text of the Book of Llan Dâv* (ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans and J. Rhÿs, Oxford 1893) 240: *mail-brigit* (the lack of a distinct genitive is presumably due to Welsh influence).

<sup>36</sup>Carr, *Medieval Anglesey*, 155 and 164.

<sup>37</sup>M. C. J[ones] (ed.), 'Extent of Merionethshire Temp. Edward I', *Arch. Camb.* 3rd ser. 13 (1867) 183-92, p. 189 (Public Record Office, Rentals and Surveys, Roll 789). This is usually dated 1284, and must in any case belong to 1284-6: see W. H. Waters, *The Edwardian settlement of north Wales in its administrative and legal aspects* (Cardiff 1935) 20 n. 1 and 168-9. Cf. Gresham, *JMHRS* 10 (1985-8) 103-4. For Ystumgwern see also the Sheriff's roll of Merioneth 1308-9, printed by E. A. Lewis, 'The decay of tribalism in north Wales', *THSC* (1902-3) 1-60, p. 57.

*Extent*, but Gresham made the reasonable guess that *gafael Cocholyn* and the other three *gafaelion* in the *maerdref* were in existence in 1284 and were held by the four unnamed villeins of the *Extent*.

In his first article Gresham suggested that the carucate and four *gafaelion* may have been the result of parcelling out royal demesne land even before the English conquest in 1282. He argued that the commotal centre may already have ceased to function as such before 1282.<sup>38</sup> This would not mean that Llywelyn ceased to frequent Ystumgwern – he was there as late as 7 November 1281<sup>39</sup> – but that some of his demesne lands may have been let to freemen for cash rents. In support of this view, it may be noted that the 1284 *Extent* itself shows that the pasture of Ystumgwern (at Nantcol), which one might have been expected to be retained in the direct control of the princes, was farmed out.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, a later enquiry (in 1328) reported that an unspecified part of the manor of Ystumgwern, whereof Llywelyn died seised, was farmed out to two (unnamed) persons;<sup>41</sup> these two persons held the land in question at the time of the 1284 *Extent*, but by 1308/9 it had changed hands and was held by a physician, Madog ab Iorwerth Feddyg.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, despite such changes in land tenure in Ystumgwern, it must be reiterated that the 1284 *Extent* specifically refers to four *villani* in Ystumgwern, so that *if* 'Cocholyn' lived then and *if* he was one of these four, he was regarded as a bondman.

In his second article Gresham saw the *Extent*, rather differently, as a description of the new order that ensued when Edward I, by an act of symbolic triumph, dismantled Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's timber hall at Ystumgwern and transported it four miles north to the inner ward of his new castle up the coast at Harlech. (A survey of the castle in 1343 reported that this hall, 'Styngwernehalle', was in disrepair; but it could still be seen in 1564, 'vtterlie decayed, whereof parte hath be couered with leade . . . length xx yerdes bredth vij yerdes'.)<sup>43</sup> In particular

<sup>38</sup>Gresham, *JMHR* 10 (1985–8) 108.

<sup>39</sup>*Littere Wallie* (ed. J. Goronwy Edwards, Cardiff 1940) 45–6.

<sup>40</sup>Jones, *Arch. Camb.* 3rd ser. 13 (1867) 189. Cf. Stephenson, *Governance of Gwynedd*, 61 and n. 23; Thomas, *JMHR* 6 (1969–72) 123; Gresham, *JMHR* 10 (1985–8) 104–5 and 109. For further references to Nantcol, see Lewis, *THSC* (1902–3) 57, and the sources cited in the following note.

<sup>41</sup>*Calendar of the Close Rolls, Edward III A.D. 1297–1330* (London 1896) 295; *Rotuli Parliamentorum: Rolls of Parliament* (Record Commission) II, 18.

<sup>42</sup>Jones, *Arch. Camb.* 3rd ser. 13 (1867) 190; Lewis, *THSC* (1902–3) 58. 'Madoco medico' is also recorded in Llanenddwyn in 1292–3 in Williams-Jones, *Lay subsidy roll*, 70.

<sup>43</sup>W. W. E. Wynne, 'Documents relating to the town and castle of Harlech', *Arch. Camb.* 1st ser. 1 (1846) 246–67, p. 252; and idem, 'Harlech Castle', *Arch. Camb.* 4th ser. 6 (1875) 21–31, pp. 22–3; C. R. Peers, 'Harlech Castle', *THSC* (1921–2) 63–82, pp. 68–9, 77–8 and 82. Cf. Davies, *JMHR* 10 (1985–8) 208–210; J. Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Tywysog Cymru* (Cardiff 1986) 182; R. R. Davies, *Conquest, coexistence, and change in Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford 1987) 254 and 355. The original lead covering was perhaps that carried out in 1289: see A. Taylor, *The Welsh castles of Edward I* (London 1986) 71.

Gresham drew attention to an endorsement to the 1284 *Extent*, which he interpreted as stating that the burgesses of the new English borough established beside Harlech castle had been granted the carucate of arable on the vacated demesne land at Ystumgwern, and that the villeins of Harlech who were evicted to make way for the burgesses were resettled on the remainder of this demesne land.<sup>44</sup> Gresham therefore suggested that the eponyms of the four *gafaelion* of the Ystumgwern *maerdref* listed in the 1420 *Extent of Merioneth* 'may well have been the heads of the displaced families settled there' c.1284.<sup>45</sup> If this solution were accepted, 'Cocholyn' could be identified as a bondman or *villanus* of Harlech, resettled at Ystumgwern c.1284. Unfortunately, the endorsement to the *Extent* was understood rather differently by E. A. Lewis, whose interpretation seems more faithful to the Latin: namely, that it was the carucate that was assigned to the evicted villeins, and that it was the remaining demesne land that was arrented to the burgesses.<sup>46</sup> In this case, the tenant of *gafael Cocholyn* would be dependent on the burgesses of Harlech, but would not necessarily have been transferred from Harlech himself.

Like all other writers since Rhÿs, Dr Gresham was unaware of the Irish nature of the name *Cocholyn*. Hence he missed the significance of the interesting coincidence that, according to the Welsh genealogists, a certain Osbwrn Wyddel ('Osborn the Irishman') achieved prominence in the same area in the thirteenth century,<sup>47</sup> and, in the nineteenth century, was still associated with antiquities and families in Merioneth, including Corsygedol near Llanenddwyn.<sup>48</sup> Opinions have differed about his precise *floruit*. On one view, which seems to go back to W. W. E. Wynne, he is identical with the wealthy 'Osborn' listed under 'Lanaber' (Llanaber-is-mynydd?) in the Merioneth lay subsidy roll of 1292-3; Dr Bartrum accepts this, since he assigns the Osbwrn Wyddel of the genealogies the *floruit* 1293 and locates him in Llanaber.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, Major

<sup>44</sup>Jones, *Arch. Camb.* 3rd ser. 13 (1867) 192; Gresham, *JMHR* 10 (1985-8) 221-2. This endorsement may belong to a period later than 1284; cf. D. R. T[homas], 'Merionethshire six hundred years ago', *Arch. Camb.* 5th ser. 1 (1884) 272-83, p. 283.

<sup>45</sup>Gresham, *JMHR* 10 (1985-8) 222.

<sup>46</sup>E. A. Lewis, *The medieval boroughs of Snowdonia* (London 1912) 53-4; cf. pp. 43-4. Similarly Davies, *JMHR* 10 (1985-8) 207. Davies notes (p. 220 n. 35) that Faeldref was among the farms belonging to 'the Town and Liberties of Harlech' in 1718.

<sup>47</sup>Osbwrn is nevertheless mentioned by Davies, *JMHR* 10 (1985-8) 210-11. Note that the epithet of 'Osber/Osbwrn' is missing (perhaps suppressed) in the earliest extant genealogical manuscripts (of c.1500) cited by P. C. Bartrum, *Welsh genealogies AD 300-1400* VI (Cardiff 1974) 798 (see NLW Peniarth MSS 129, pp. 51 and 64, and 127, pp. 27 and 177).

<sup>48</sup>See e.g. *Tours in Wales (1804-1813)* by Richard Fenton, ed. J. Fisher, *Arch. Camb.* supplemental volume for 1917 (London 1917) 100, 118 and 126.

<sup>49</sup>Williams-Jones, *Lay subsidy roll*, 54 and n. 5; W. W. E. Wynne, *Pedigree of the family of Wynne of Peniarth in the county of Merioneth* (London 1872) 3-4 and 12; and idem, 'The Vaughans of Cors y Gedol', *Arch. Camb.* 4th ser. 6 (1875) 1-16, p. 2 n. 4; Bartrum, *Genealogies* IV, 727, and VI, 398. Wynne thought that

Francis Jones places Osbwrn in the early thirteenth century, identifying him (on the scanty basis of the name alone) with the grandfather of a *Llewelyn ap Ceneuwrlic ap Osbeirn* recorded in 1292 'at Lanhudo in Powys'.<sup>50</sup>

According to an account of the Vaughans of Corsygedol which the learned antiquary Robert Vaughan compiled in 1654, Osbwrn Wyddel was a descendant of Gerald de Windsor and Nest who returned from Ireland to Wales, 'Llewelyn the Great being then Prince of North Wales, about 1237'. 'Tradition' told that he was obliged to flee Ireland after slaying 'some great personage', and offered Llywelyn his services and those of his 'troop of one hundred men well mounted upon grey horses'. Llywelyn gave him the hand of his ward, the heiress of Corsygedol, and made him 'Governor of Harddlech Castle'.<sup>51</sup> Further details are given in an unpublished note by Vaughan, based on 'old Mss.' and 'G[wilyms display of] H[eraldry]', in NLW Peniarth 287, part II, p. 1139:

Osborn Wyddel a ddaeth or Iwerddon i Gymru gydag Gruffydd ab Ednyfed Vychan, pan gafaes y Gruffydd hwnnw ei Gymmod gan y Tywysog Llywelyn ab Iorwerth am yr Anair a gawsai Tywysoges Cymru o honaw; a honno oedd Ioan ferch Ieuan Frenhin Lloegr.

'Osborn the Irishman came from Ireland to Wales with Gruffudd ab Ednyfed Fychan, when that Gruffudd obtained reconciliation from the prince Llywelyn ab Iorwerth for the shame that the princess of Wales received from him; and she was Joan [Siwan] daughter of John, king of England.'<sup>52</sup>

This story conflicts with an account of Gruffudd, said to derive from a manuscript by Siôn Tudur (*ob.* 1602), according to which Gruffudd remained in Ireland 'as long as the Prince lived, and was highly

the unusual church at Llanaber was constructed under Osbwrn's patronage, but this was rejected by the RCAHM, *Merioneth*, 48. According to the genealogy set out by Bartrum, *Genealogies* III, 447 (cf. VI, 217), Osbwrn's sister married Cynwrig ap Llywelyn, who was constable of Rhuddlan, as was his father Llywelyn, the illegitimate son of Dafydd (*ob.* 1246), a son of Llywelyn the Great (1173-1240). A *Grono ap Ospern* appears in E. A. Lewis (ed.), 'The Proceedings of the Small Hundred Court of the Commote of Ardudwy in the county of Merioneth, from 8 October, 1325, to 18 September, 1326', *BBCS* 4 (1927-9) 153-66, p. 163.

<sup>50</sup>Francis Jones, 'The Subsidy of 1292', *BBCS* 13 (1948-50) 210-30, pp. 213 and 221. I cannot identify this place. For Llywelyn ap Cynrig as Osbwrn Wyddel's grandson see Wynne, *Arch. Camb.* 4th ser. 6 (1875) 4; and Bartrum, *Genealogies* VI, 358. Bartrum, *ibid.* IV, 727, identifies him as sheriff of Merioneth in 1373.

<sup>51</sup>Wynne, *Arch. Camb.* 4th ser. 6 (1875) 2-3, printing a transcript of a transcript.

<sup>52</sup>Wynne, *Pedigree*, 21 n. 7, also refers to a 'scandal regarding Llewelyn's princess and himself', but cites the authority of Gutun Owain (late fifteenth century), without reference. Dr Bartrum kindly writes to me as follows: 'I think Wynne may have seen the following statement by Simwnt Fychan in Peniarth 74, p. 47: "Osber, o enw arall Osbwrn, yr hwnn oedd vab jarll Dessmwnt o Ewerddon ac a ddoeth i'r ynys yma gyda Gruffudd ap Ednyfed vychan pann gavas y Gruffudd hwnnw i bardwn gan y tywysoc am y gogan a'r hort a gowssai dywysoges o honav val y dengys llyfr y Gvtyn Ywain"'.  
'

entertained'.<sup>53</sup> If this is accepted, Gruffudd (and presumably Osbwrn) came to Wales *after* the death of Llywelyn the Great in 1240, but *before* 1247–56, the period when Gruffudd was prominent in the service of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd.<sup>54</sup>

These traditions are obviously unreliable in details. For example, Vaughan himself noted that the Welsh pedigrees disagreed over Osbwrn's relationship to the Earls of Kildare and Desmond.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, although his Norman name was obviously a suggestive lead, Osbwrn's Irish lineage may have been unknown in Wales: a triad, first found in a manuscript of 1531–44, includes Osbwrn Wyddel among the three *beriach*, or short-pedigreed stocks, of Gwynedd, the others being another Irishman – Kantelli Wyddel (otherwise unknown) – and a certain Madog ap Mabon *Glochydd* ('the Sexton'). Since the pedigree of Osbwrn Wyddel's *descendants* is long, the significance of *beriach* must be that Osbwrn's own pedigree was short or non-existent; from a Welsh point of view he was a parvenu.<sup>56</sup> The first genealogist to give any further details seems to be Gruffudd Hiraethog (*ob.* 1564), who calls him 'Osber ap Gwythlach iarll Desmont'.<sup>57</sup> This name for the 'earl of Desmond' looks like a misunderstanding of Irish *Goídelach* 'Gaelic, a Gael', or possibly a typically invented Welsh name for an Irishman, influenced by the elements *Gwyddel* 'Irishman' and *gŵyth* 'anger, battle' plus the stock 'Irish' ending *-ach*.<sup>58</sup> Osbwrn's connection with Harlech Castle is also suspicious. If there was any earlier fortification under Edward I's castle, it has been completely obliterated, and Hugh of Longslow, appointed in 1284, is the first known Constable.<sup>59</sup> Perhaps Osbwrn's name was linked with Harlech to flatter the pretensions of his descendant Dafydd ab Ieuan (*fl.* 1440–68), who did indeed become Constable?<sup>60</sup>

<sup>53</sup>S. R. Meyrick (ed.), *Heraldic visitations of Wales by Lewis Dwnn II* (Llandovery 1846) 101 n. 7 (citing BL Harley 1971, f. 106). Cf. G. Roberts, *Aspects of Welsh history* (Cardiff 1969) 185; Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd*, 306 n. 108; Stephenson, *Governance of Gwynedd*, 105 and 214.

<sup>54</sup>*ibid.*, 18 and 214–15.

<sup>55</sup>Wynne, *Pedigree*, 3, quotes the opinion of Sir William Bethan, Ulster-King-at-Arms, that Osbwrn was 'a son of John Fitz Thomas Fitz Maurice Fitz Gerald de Windsor, the first Lord of Decies and Desmond' (*ob.* 1260).

<sup>56</sup>P. C. Bartrum, 'Pedigrees of the Welsh tribal patriarchs', *National Lib. Wales Jn.* 13 (1963–4) 93–146, pp. 125 and 144. Cf. Bromwich, *Trioedd*, 256, 259–60, 524, and 542; and review of the 1st ed. by E. I. Rowlands, *Llên Cymru* 6 (1960–61) 222–47, p. 236.

<sup>57</sup>e.g. Peniarth 134, pp. 120 and 422. Cf. Bartrum, *Genealogies* VI, 398. The father of 'Osbwrn Ystiwart Edward y I' is given as 'Gwŷthlath Iarll Desmwnt' in Meyrick, *Heraldic visitations by Lewis Dwnn II*, 71 and 218, where *Gwythlach* [*sic*] is explained as 'not a name, but a designation of country, and means an Irishman, as Sassenach a Saxon' (II, 71 n. 3).

<sup>58</sup>Cf. Sims-Williams, *BBCS* 29 (1980–82) 604 and 615–16.

<sup>59</sup>Wynne, *Arch. Camb.* 4th ser. 6 (1875) 22; L. W. Lloyd, *The Book of Harlech* (Buckingham 1986) 14 and 17.

<sup>60</sup>See Bartrum, *Genealogies* IV, 728.

On the other hand, there could be an element of fact behind the Osbwrn traditions. The title 'constable' was used for local officials of the thirteenth-century Welsh princes.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, some sort of role for Harlech as a native royal centre is suggested by the tale of *Branwen*: it is while holding court on the rock of Harlech that Brân sees the king of Ireland sailing from the south of Ireland, in thirteen ships loaded (we learn later) with horses, hoping to make an alliance by marrying Brân's sister, Branwen.<sup>62</sup> Later medieval tradition associated this story with Harlech castle itself.<sup>63</sup> The date of *Branwen* is uncertain,<sup>64</sup> but it is most unlikely that it is contemporary with or later than the time of Osbwrn Wyddel. It could not, then, have been inspired by his career. The reverse is possible, however: that is, that *Branwen* influenced the later 'tradition' about Osbwrn Wyddel.<sup>65</sup> If, nevertheless, there is a basis of fact in the 'tradition' – that Osbwrn did indeed cross the sea to serve either Llywelyn the Great or Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in or near Harlech – it may be conjectured that 'Cocholyn' was an Irish follower of his at Harlech who was resettled at the old *maerdref* at Ystumgwern c.1284 when the English castle and borough were established at Harlech. Unfortunately this speculation cannot be confirmed; but Osbwrn Wyddel's emigration to Ardudwy provides the most likely *known* context for the presence of a 'Cocholyn' there in the thirteenth century (if that is his correct *floruit*). This is not to deny that there were others from Ireland in the area: for instance, a 'Master William Drygda' (from Drogheda) was a major contractor at Harlech Castle in 1289, and had settled as a burgess at Caernarfon by 1298.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup>Stephenson, *Governance of Gwynedd*, 16 and 216–17. On Llywelyn the Great's control of Merionydd and Ardudwy see *ibid.*, 142–4.

<sup>62</sup>D. S. Thomson (ed.), *Branwen Uerch Lyr* (Dublin 1961) 1 and 3; *The Mabinogion* (transl. G. Jones and T. Jones, London 1949) 25–7.

<sup>63</sup>Before 1483 Tudur Penllyn refers to *Twr Bronwen* 'o fewn Harddlech'; for this and other late allusions (which may derive ultimately from *Branwen*) see B. L. Jones, 'Bedd Branwen – the literary evidence', *Anglesey Antiq. Soc. and Field Club Trans.* 1966, 32–7, p. 33; Glyn E. Jones, 'Y Wledd yn Harlech ac yng Ngwales ym Mabinogi *Branwen*', *BBCS* 25 (1972–4) 380–86, p. 382. 'Bronwyn towre' is first mentioned as one of the towers of the Castle (the one facing the south of Ireland!) in 1564: Wynne, *Arch. Camb.* 1st ser. 1 (1846) 252; H. Hughes, 'Harlech Castle', *Arch. Camb.* 6th ser. 13 (1913) 275–316, pp. 281 and 287. It was called 'le Wedercoktour' in 1343: Peers, *THSC* (1921–2) 79 and 82.

<sup>64</sup>T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The date of the Four Branches of the Mabinogi', *THSC* (1970) 263–98, pp. 292–3 and 298, argues from the fact that Matholwch is seen sailing from the south of Ireland that *Branwen* was composed some time before c.1120, when an Irish high-king might still be assumed to be based in *Leth Moga*. A problem here is that the Llŷn peninsula would obstruct the view of ships sailing from the north of Ireland. The author may have been concerned with literary effect rather than topicality.

<sup>65</sup>For family traditions akin to the Four Branches see Francis Jones, 'Family tales from Dyfed', *THSC* (1953) 61–83.

<sup>66</sup>Taylor, *Welsh castles of Edward I*, 69; T. Jones Pierce and J. Griffiths, 'Documents relating to the early history of the borough of Caernarvon', *BBCS* 9 (1937–9) 238–46, p. 240 ('Willelmo de Droghda').

Up to this point I have assumed that the eponymous 'Cocholyn' of *gafael Cocholyn* was not the hero Cú Chulainn. If the first element of *Gauell Cocholyn* were something other than *gafael* (say, a 'Cocholyn's Leap'<sup>67</sup> or a 'Cocholyn's Grave'), one might suppose that it was named after the hero; but in combination with *gafael*, the eponym was presumably a real settler, rather than a hero.<sup>68</sup> There is a problem, however, in that *Cú Chulainn* seems never to have been used as an ordinary personal name in Ireland, for some reason or other. Brian Ó Cuív has noted that 'It is hard to envisage present-day parents choosing to name an infant Cú Chulainn – even though Cú Chulainn Ó Corráin, for instance, could be said to provide a nice alliterative sequence'.<sup>69</sup> It is not for an *alltud* like myself to comment on current matters of taste, but it may be suggested that the past avoidance of the name can perhaps be compared with the avoidance of the correspondingly important name *Arthur* in medieval Wales, which was presumably due to superstition. I owe an alternative, and probably more convincing, explanation to Professor Ó Cuív:

As I see it *Cú Chulainn* came into existence as a nickname – 'Caulann's Hound' – given to Sétanta. In a sense Cú Chulainn was regarded as unique in Irish tradition so that in the historical period someone could be referred to as being 'a Cú Chulainn' or 'the Cú Chulainn (of his locality or of his generation, etc.)'.<sup>70</sup>

Whatever the explanation, the fact remains that a medieval Irishman bearing the name Cú Chulainn is an unlikely proposition. The only way out of this problem, so far as I can see, is to suppose that the heroic name 'Cocholyn' was applied *as a nickname* to the thirteenth-century(?) Irish settler (whose real name, maybe, was some other name in *Cú-*),<sup>71</sup> by Welsh people who knew that 'Cocholyn' was a famous Irish hero – just as today people might nickname a Spaniard 'Don Quixote' or an American

<sup>67</sup>Cf. *Léim Con Culainn*, Co. Clare, in E. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin 1910) 482; and Ó Riain, *Corpus genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 327.

<sup>68</sup>But since *gafaelion* were occasionally named from placenames (see note 25 above), one might postulate that *gafael Cocholyn* might be named from some legendary antiquity and be an ellipsis for *\*gafael bedd Cocholyn* or the like. Here may be noted the allusion to 'Bet Llia Gvitel in argel Ardudwy' ('The grave of Llia the Irishman in the remoteness of Ardudwy') in Thomas Jones (ed.), 'The Black Book of Carmarthen "Stanzas of the Graves"', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (1967) 97–137, p. 122. I suspect that this arose from misunderstanding Irish *lia* '(standing-, memorial-) stone', applied to some monument by Irish settlers in Ardudwy. *Liath* 'grey' (as a personal name) is a less likely possibility, as the dental should not be lost, unless the line is contemporary with the manuscript (c.1250), which is improbable; cf. T. F. O'Rahilly, 'Notes on Middle-Irish pronunciation', *Hermathena* 20 (1926–30) 152–95, p. 192.

<sup>69</sup>Reviewing Ó Corráin and Maguire, *Gaelic personal names*, in *Nomina* 8 (1984) 118–20, p. 118.

<sup>70</sup>Letter of 4 July 1988. See W. M. Hennessy (ed.), *The Annals of Loch Cé II* (Rolls Series, London 1871) 398.

<sup>71</sup>For these names see M. A. O'Brien, 'Old Irish personal names', *Celtica* 10 (1973) 211–36, p. 228; K. Meyer, *Contributions to Irish lexicography* (Halle 1906) 539–40.

'Lone Ranger'. The early Welsh *Elegy on Cú Roí* would be a possible source of knowledge about Cú Chulainn, especially in the vicinity of the royal hall at Ystumgwern, where such esoteric bardic material might be kept alive. This *Elegy* was still being copied in the early fourteenth century – the date of the only extant medieval manuscript, the Book of Taliesin.<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, a more popular source would be the already-mentioned *Caniad ar gainc Cochwlyn* in the sixteenth-century lists of traditional Welsh music; this would be a more likely source if the eponym of *gafael Cocholyn* flourished nearer 1420 than Gresham's arguments assume. In the latter case, the Irishman's nickname would be drawn from the title of a well-known piece of music, rather in the way that today a Frenchman might get the nickname 'Frère Jacques' or an Australian 'Waltzing Matilda'.

This note has only scratched the surface of a few records, but I hope that it has indicated that Welsh literary and documentary sources in the National Library of Wales, Public Record Office and elsewhere, have something to offer Professor Ó Cuív and other students of Irish onomastics. Apart from its philological interest and its occasional contribution to literary history, such material could eventually make a contribution to a statistically based analysis of Irish emigration in the Middle Ages.

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<sup>72</sup>M. Haycock, 'Llyfr Taliesin', *National Library of Wales Journal* 25 (1988) 357–86, p. 362.